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A Liberal Space: A History of the Illegalized Working-Class Extensions of Lisbon

By

Tiago Luis Lavandeira Castela

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Architecture

in the

Graduate Division

of the

University of California, Berkeley

Committee in charge:

Professor Nezar AlSayyad, Chair

Professor Greig Crysler

Professor Ananya Roy

Professor Teresa Caldeira

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Abstract

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This dissertation discusses the history of the so-called “clandestine” suburban subdivisions of the Lisbon metropolitan area of Portugal, focusing on the period between their emergence in 1958, as Salazar’s dictatorship adopted policies of economic liberalization, and the beginning of political democratization in 1974. After the Second World War, a significant part of the new extensions of the city in Southern Europe—in urbs such as Barcelona, Rome, Belgrade, Athens or Istanbul—were produced informally, i.e. land subdivision and the construction of new housing were often unlicensed by municipal governments. Portugal’s capital Lisbon was not an exception. The informal production of suburban subdivisions from the late 1950s onwards corresponded to a new form of working-class extension of the city, distinct from the older spaces of unlicensed self-building which took place in occupied or informally rented land. Those earlier “shack” neighborhoods, of which Quinta da Serra is a present-day example, had become part of Lisbon’s expansion since the end of the First World War, but were always subject to periodic demolitions undertaken by the city’s municipal government. In contrast, the creation of “clandestine” subdivisions by private developers in the late 1950s was done through legally registered sales of plots, in farms such as Brandoa or Casal de Cambra outside Lisbon’s municipal limits. Since there were no provisions for subdivision by private developers in national planning law, the new subdivisions were informally created through successive lot splits. For Lisbon’s low-income households, the process provided access to the ownership of land. Even though building was often unlicensed, this was initially not necessarily illegal, and in practice the local governments of the suburban municipalities around Lisbon rarely demonstrated a willingness to subject unlicensed housing to demolition practices. On the contrary, during the 1960s local municipalities started surveying the new *de facto* subdivisions and creating limited public infrastructure networks. However, at the same time the central state gradually changed national planning laws in an explicit reaction to fears about the “clandestine,” illegalizing informal modes of suburban subdivision and building. By the early 1970s, the coexistence of illegalization by the dictatorial central state and transformation through tentative municipal planning practices fostered a state of expectancy for re-legalization and for the provision of full

public infrastructure. This state of expectancy stimulated local community organization and participation in the creation of public infrastructure. In addition, the state of expectancy promoted the formation of municipal planners as entrepreneurial bureaucrats, employing elements of planning to manage the growth of spaces purportedly outside the domain of formal state planning. When political democratization started in 1974, the fundamental ideas of a national planning framework formed through the illegalization of informality were not challenged, and a dual planning regime became consolidated in the Lisbon suburbs. Today, this dual planning regime has not been fully dismantled. Even though full public infrastructure was provided to “clandestine” subdivisions during the 1990s, most informal land subdivision has yet to be licensed, as the existence of a thriving legalization industry shows. As for propertyless informality in present-day “shack” neighborhoods such as Quinta da Serra, demolition practices have recently been attuned to selecting households according to one of the ideas that has supported the management of the “clandestine” since the beginning: the need for the state to foster homeownership by low-income households.

To Lía

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Introduction
Endangered by Planning Knowledge Today

“*An examination of descent* [*provenance* in the original French] also permits the discovery, under the unique aspect of a trait or a concept, of the myriad events through which—thanks to which, against which—they were formed . . . to follow the complex course of descent is to maintain passing events in their proper dispersion; it is to identify the accidents, the minute deviations—or conversely, the complete reversals—the errors, the false appraisals, and the faulty calculations that gave birth to those things which continue to exist and have value for us” (Foucault [1971] 2003, 355; emphasis added).

“To articulate the past historically does not mean to recognize it ‘the way it really was’ (Ranke). It means to seize hold of a memory as it flashes up at a moment of danger” (Benjamin [1955] 1969, 255).

“Until 1975 [i.e. political democratization] the intervention of technicians had a specific context in terms of an [unelected municipal] administrative hierarchy, the study teams that got to the field were something akin to an *opposition*, like [the team including geographer] Teresa Barata Salgueiro.”¹

In the late spring of 2008 I met with three nuns living in an unlicensed house amidst a neighborhood partially ruined by the municipality, close to Lisbon’s airport. Other scholars and journalists had interviewed the nuns in the past, and one of the nuns forcefully stated that they felt “used,” exploited through their participation in the rituals of journalistic or ethnographic research on spaces conceptualized as marginal. This meeting impelled me to foreground those research practices that could provide an understanding of the provenance of state planning knowledge on Lisbon’s “clandestine neighborhoods,” instead of examining the spatial practices and discourses of residents. Drawing on the work of French philosopher Michel Foucault, I employ the term “provenance” to rebut of the idea of a fully formed planning apparatus, against which urban informality is often defined. He proposed that “what one finds, at the historical commencement of things, is not the still preserved identity of their origin—it is the discord of other things, it is disparateness” (Foucault [1971] 2004, 396; my translation).²

¹ Interview with architect José Manuel dos Reis Correia, invited assistant professor of the Geography department of the University of Lisbon—chaired by geographer Teresa Barata Salgueiro—and architect since 1996 in the Urban Planning Division of the Loures municipality, January 6, 2009.

² Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own. Foucault’s essay on provenance was originally titled “Nietzsche, la généalogie, l’histoire” (i.e. “Nietzsche, genealogy, history”), and was published in 1971 as he started teaching at the Collège de France in Paris. In the original French, Foucault employed the term *provenance* in contrast to “origin,” in reference to Nietzsche’s opposition of the German terms *Herkunft* and *Ursprung*.

In the Lisbon area, *bairros clandestinos* (i.e. clandestine neighborhoods) is a conventional phrase that denotes a range of settlements framed as having a marginal status due to their purported illegality. In itself, the Portuguese term *bairro* (i.e. neighborhood) has no particular connotation and denotes an area that may be urban or suburban, or even a section of a village. The range of “clandestine” settlements includes both unlicensed suburban subdivisions like Brandoa or Casal de Cambra, created from the late 1950s onwards, and occupied land, a mode of housing that has had significance since the end of the First World War in 1918. *Bairros clandestinos* housed a significant part of the population of the Lisbon area during the late Twentieth Century. During the 1960s, 55 percent of all new housing units in the larger Lisbon *distrito* (i.e. county) were unlicensed (Cardoso 1983, 11).³ Many of these new unlicensed houses were located in suburban subdivisions created without municipal permission: Brandoa and Casal de Cambra are but two of the 113 neighborhoods mentioned in a 1972 report, located overwhelmingly in the suburban municipalities surrounding the city of Lisbon (Salgueiro 1972, 5).⁴ By 1980, informally created settlements in the Lisbon area housed between twenty and thirty percent of the area’s population (Leeds 1994, 90).

The Portuguese adjective *clandestino* (i.e. clandestine) means “done in a hidden manner,” and has its origin in the Latin *clandestinus* which stems from *clam*. This adverbial word meant “secretly, in private.”⁵ In early Twentieth Century Portugal, the adjective *clandestino* was commonly deployed in various domains, both in scholarly and popular discourse. Public health reports on unregistered female sex workers used the phrase *prostituta clandestina* (i.e. clandestine prostitute) or sometimes simply the term *clandestina* (Bastos 1997, 225). In addition, the term *clandestino* was—and still is—commonly employed to identify areas of unlicensed housing located in occupied or informally rented land. Such squatter settlements were initially next to the city center (Fig. I.1 and I.2), and are presently more often characterized as *bairros de*

³ The importance of unlicensed housing rose slightly during the 1970s, as 66 percent of new units were built informally in the Lisbon *distrito* from 1970 to 1981 (Cardoso 1983, 11).

⁴ The first map included in the 1972 report show that the 113 unlicensed subdivisions that Salgueiro studied were located in three distinct suburban areas. Twenty-two subdivisions were located in or near the inland part of the privileged suburban municipality of Cascais, to the west of Lisbon. Sixty subdivisions were located in the northern periphery of Lisbon, mostly in the suburban Loures municipality. Of the latter, sixteen neighborhoods—including Brandoa and Casal de Cambra—were located in the plateau beyond the Odivelas Valley to the northwest of the city; most of the other neighborhoods in this group had been created in the plateaus along the Tagus River, to the north of the city. Finally, thirty-one subdivisions were located south of the river, mostly in the suburban Almada municipality. Another map, which includes only 106 subdivisions, claimed that 61 had been created before 1963 (Salgueiro 1972).

⁵ In English, the term “clandestine” has today a similar meaning, denoting “secret, private, concealed, usually in a bad sense, implying craft or deception,” according to the Oxford English Dictionary. The term started being used in written English in the late Sixteenth Century, drawing from coeval French.

barracas (i.e. shack neighborhoods) or as *bairros de lata* (i.e. tin neighborhoods).⁶ The latter terms foreground a building type and a construction material, both considered low-ranking in dominant discourse. Later, after the beginning of Salazar’s dictatorship in 1932, the safe-houses of the illegalized Communist Party were usually called *casas clandestinas* (i.e. clandestine houses). By the late 1950s, the term *clandestino* was repurposed by journalists, among others, to characterize the new unauthorized—and thus also “clandestine”—modes of subdivision and building, *preceding* their full illegalization. In contrast to “clandestine” squatter settlements, which were often contiguous to central Lisbon and recurrently demolished for the creation of formal extensions of the city, the new *bairros clandestinos* were suburban areas where land sales were registered, even though both subdivision and building were done without licensing.

Since scholarly research on Lisbon’s unlicensed subdivisions started during the late dictatorial regime under Caetano, the term *clandestino* has been made prominent in many texts by both social science researchers and architects. Initial research was careful about the employment of this popular term, even though the assumption of the illegality of informality implicit in the term was not challenged. In her 1972 report *Bairros Clandestinos na Periferia de Lisboa* (i.e. *Clandestine Neighborhoods in the Periphery of Lisbon*), geographer Teresa Barata Salgueiro starts precisely by stating that “clandestine construction [is] all the construction *built without a municipal license*,” encompassing both precarious or permanent buildings in rural or urban settings. The specificity of “clandestine neighborhoods” is the fact that unlicensed buildings “appear in perfectly defined collections, segregated from other built grids” (Salgueiro 1972, 2; emphasis added). Drawing from a 1970 text by Olga Torres on the various names given “in other countries where urban forms with similar characteristics exist” (Ibid.), Salgueiro states that “the term translates, commonly, what in the characterization of the settlement *is given most emphasis, by residents, technicians, or the Administration*” (Ibid., 3; emphasis added). She notes that the “legalist aspect is foregrounded” in Portugal (Ibid.). In a text on “evolutive housing” also published in 1972, architects Nuno Portas and Francisco Silva Dias used the term “clandestinity” in a similar fashion, in the context of their defense of the provision of public land by the state for “evolutive” housing—that could include self-building. Portas and Dias made a case for professionally designed “evolutive” housing as a solution for the rehousing of the “populations . . . building *in clandestinity*” (Portas and Dias [1972] 2005, 229; emphasis added). Later literature on “clandestine neighborhoods” has neglected the history of term usage, disregarding the ways in which the uses of *clandestino* as a supposedly self-evident category are power-laden.

⁶ A map originally published by physician Manuel Vicente Moreira in 1941 shows the location of “workers’ housing” within Lisbon municipality, employing the term *casebres*—a synonym of *barracas* (Moreira 1950). In this 1941 map, black areas indicate “state economic houses” and red areas indicate *casebres* (i.e. shacks). Moreira’s map represents about 170 discrete *manchas* (i.e. spots) of *casebres* within Lisbon municipality, possibly drawing from the 1938 municipal plan showing the “location of clandestine housing” (Fig. I.2). The latter had been included in a master plan survey whose creation had been led by municipal engineer Emídio Abrantes (1888-1970) (Brito and Camarinhas 2008).

I treat the terms “clandestine” or “clandestinity” not as analytic terms but as what anthropologists call a “native category.”⁷ I propose instead to use the term “illegalized” to decouple the often conflated concepts of illegality and informality, foregrounding the argument that both synchronic and diachronic modes of scholarly research cannot assume that unlicensed housing is necessarily illegal. For the purposes of this dissertation, I employ this term with a double meaning. “Illegalized” denotes the historical process of lawmaking that gradually made informality illegal in Portugal, during the 1960s and early 1970s. Furthermore, it also denotes how illegalization is an everyday process in contemporary Portugal, as quotidian bureaucratic practices continuously maintain the illegality of houses that were created informally.

After months of research in subdivisions such as Casal de Cambra or Brandoa (Fig. I.3-I.7), the motivations of the low-income immigrant laborers living in occupied private land in Quinta da Serra, where the nuns’ house was located, seemed familiar (Fig. I.8). Even though most of the self-built houses in Quinta da Serra were materially more precarious and spatially more modest than those in Casal de Cambra, for example, unlicensed building was similarly affordable and tolerated by the state, albeit only temporarily in the case of occupied land. What seemed disconcerting, and thus in need of examination, was that the residents of carefully maintained yet unlicensed houses lived surrounded by the wreckage of other unlicensed houses and vegetable gardens, demolished by workers of the suburban Loures municipality.

Of course, municipal demolition of so-called *bairros de barracas* or *de lata* (i.e. shack or tin neighborhoods) has shaped Lisbon’s growth for almost a century. The use of the term *barracas* (i.e. shacks) was current in expert discourse on housing by the late 1930s. The term was employed to identify unlicensed housing when located in occupied or in informally rented land, in municipal documents (Carvalho 1939, 19) or in the essays of a public health practitioner such as Manuel Vicente Moreira on *habitações operárias* (i.e. workers’ housing) (Moreira 1950, 2). In the 1940s, architects would often specify that *barracas* were “of clandestine construction” (Monteiro [1948] 2008, 250) or merely “clandestine” (Amaral 1945, 33; Vital [1948] 2008, 213).⁸ However, other terms were used. For example, writer Aquilino Ribeiro preferred the phrase *bairros marginais* (i.e. marginal neighborhoods) (1939, 217). The idea of marginality was often articulated with critiques of the crescent spatial separation according to class. Architects Teotónio Pereira and Costa Martins argued in 1948 that “the proletarian class . . . is living at the *margin* of the city, in reserved neighborhoods, and is not participating of the life that is properly urban” (Pereira and Martins [1948] 2008, 244; emphasis added).

Through archival research, I had already found an abundance of references to state practices of demolition of unlicensed housing located in occupied or informally rented land, since the emergence of such modes of housing in Lisbon after the First World War. At least until

⁷ Throughout the dissertation, I draw a distinction between the adjective “clandestine” as a purported attribute of specific spaces and the clandestine—or clandestinity—as a category of planning knowledge.

⁸ “According to the 1936 census, there were in Lisbon 41,796 people living in *barracas clandestinas* (i.e. clandestine shacks) or in *furnas* (i.e. cave dwellings); 31,384 families, corresponding to a total of about 150,000 people, living in rooms or in parts of rented units. The average number of inhabitants per each housing unit had risen from 3.86, in 1830, to 4.93” (Amaral 1945, 33).

the late 1960s, forcibly evicted residents were often allowed to carry their wooden *barracas* to more distant areas (Vieira 2006, 112). In alternative, residents are sometimes rehoused in outlying public housing; this was also the case of those evicted by 1997 from the northern half of Quinta da Serra, demolished for the construction of Lisbon's new Regional Inner Ring Road. However, the kind of slow ruination that the inhabitants of Quinta da Serra were being subjected to by the Loures municipality in 2008 seemed to be without precedent.

As the epilogue of this dissertation will address, it is pertinent to argue that a rationality of government that can be characterized as neoliberal supports such new municipal practices of slow ruination. The latter arise from a 1995 state rehousing program that imagined the possibility to individuate and select from *bairros de barracas* those entrepreneurial subjects deserving of homeownership, before full demolition. It may be claimed that planners in the Lisbon area are today articulating a globalized neoliberal discourse on the future of the city.⁹ However, a research interested in providing instruments to those endangered by the present-day knowledge of spatial clandestinity must understand the situatedness of the historical formation of this planning knowledge.¹⁰ This dissertation focuses on recalling how “the complex course of descent [i.e. provenance]” of the planning knowledge of urban informality in Portugal has been associated with situated conceptualizations of freedom. In particular, the dissertation argues that it is crucial for research to consider the ways in which an illegalized space may be characterized as “a liberal space.” Drawing on Henri Lefebvre's concept of the production of space ([1974] 1991), a recent literature has focused on the relations between spatial production and liberalism as a set of theories and practices of political organization. One strand of this literature has studied the emergence of liberal regimes in the Nineteenth Century, showing for example how the commodification of space or the problematization of working-class housing was integral to the formation of the liberal state (Scobey 2003). More importantly for this dissertation, another strand of this scholarship has studied the spatial practices of liberalism as constitutive of a political order that is inherently exclusionary (Mitchell 2004 and 2006). This dissertation contributes to this literature by addressing a situated definition of a Portuguese liberalism. From the early Nineteenth Century onwards, Portuguese liberal discourses foregrounded the problematization of the opposition of liberty and order. During the Twentieth Century dictatorships, often called in the literature the “*Estado Novo*” (i.e. “New State”), both Salazar and Caetano wrote often on the problem of excessive freedom, defending the idea of a private

⁹ I evoke the concept of articulation as proposed by Allan Pred: “as a conceptual term, ‘articulation’ is charged with two seemingly disparate sets of meanings, one cultural-linguistic and the other physical. To articulate, to make an articulation, is to give voice clearly, is . . . to represent ideas by verbal or other means in a manner that is highly comprehensible, in a manner that the audience finds meaning-filled. To articulate, to create an articulation, is . . . to bring into interaction elements that are otherwise discrete and separate. Yet, wherever industrial capitalism assumes new forms . . . these two aspects of articulation are virtually certain to become intertwined” (Pred 1995, 32). Stuart Hall conceptualizes articulation somewhat differently (Hall 1980, 328).

¹⁰ I draw from Gillian Hart's “method of relational comparison” and her argument that specific spaces are “not a bounded unit, but as always formed through relations and connections with dynamics at play in other places, and in wider regional, national, and transnational arenas. These understandings of space, place, and power decisively reject questions cast in terms of the impact of ‘global’ on ‘the local’” (Hart 2002, 14).

freedom within an authoritarian regime.¹¹ Salazar in particular described this private freedom as a freedom of propertied domesticity, explicitly relating space and liberty. It must be noted that both Salazar and Caetano were influential scholars. Salazar had been a prestigious professor of economic sciences at Coimbra University.¹² His successor Caetano was a leading professor at Lisbon University's Law School, and his vast published work remains today an important reference in the field of administrative law. Notably, a 2009 publication of the state Commission for Coordination and Regional Development of the North states that Caetano is "a tutelary figure of Administrative Law and, in part, of [regional] Planning" (Melo 2009, 16).¹³

I do not conceive such situated discourses of liberalism as exceptional, but as integral to a global history of liberalism. This dissertation thus argues that it is crucial to understand how elements of a Portuguese liberal governmentality predate the beginning of political democratization in 1974. How had planners during the Salazar and Caetano dictatorships formed related conceptions of clandestinity and freedom? As this dissertation will examine, the idea of freedom was an important one for theories of authoritarianism in dictatorial Portugal. Thinking about freedom in an authoritarian political order focused on the role of the state in balancing domestic freedoms and territorial order. By the late 1950s, many in the authoritarian state's planning apparatus conceived this role, integral to a project of class "elevation" of the urban working-class through housing, as being best fulfilled through indirect intervention. To what extent were such conceptions of planning at a distance for private freedom and class elevation articulated in the present-day exercise of spatial violence surrounding the nuns' house in Quinta da Serra?

After the end of the Second World War, the dictatorship's economic policies increasingly envisioned development through export-oriented industrialization. However, the maintenance of limited welfare spending entailed mostly indirect state intervention in housing, and Lisbon's growing contingent of young low-income wage-laborer households had few affordable housing

¹¹ Throughout the dissertation, I will privilege the use of a term like "Salazar and Caetano dictatorships" instead of "*Estado Novo*" or "New State." I intend to foreground how the authoritarian regime that emerged from the 1926-1932 military dictatorship became a *de facto* "personal dictatorship" of the government head (Cruz 1988, 97; Leitão 2007, 27). "*Estado Novo*" was a term employed by Salazar and by his supporters from the early 1930s onwards to describe the new political order. The use of the term drew from the conceptualization of an Italian *stato nuovo* (i.e. new state) by those thinkers opposed to early Twentieth Century liberalism in Italy (Torgal 2009, 75). The Portuguese term "*Estado Novo*" was also employed in Brazil during the dictatorship of politician Getúlio Vargas to designate the regime that lasted from the military coup of November 1937 to the deposition of Vargas in 1945 (Fausto [1994] 2002, 364).

¹² António de Oliveira Salazar (1889-1970) was a professor of Economics and Finances at Coimbra University until his 1928 nomination as Finance Minister. He had received his Ph.D. from Coimbra University in 1918, at the age of 29. Salazar would later be President of the Council of Ministers for 36 years, from 1932 to 1968.

¹³ Marcello Caetano (1906-1980) completed his doctoral studies in 1931 at Lisbon University at the age of 25, and later became the director of Lisbon's Law school. Caetano was the author of the *Manual de Direito Administrativo* (i.e. *Manual of Administrative Law*), a work of reference that had ten editions between 1937 and 1973. Among other important positions under Salazar, he was Minister of the Colonies from 1944 to 1947, Minister of the Presidency with authority over development planning from 1955 to 1958, and Dean of Lisbon University from 1959 to 1962. He was President of the Council of Ministers after Salazar, from 1968 to the military coup that ended the dictatorial regime in April 1974.

options except for expensive rented rooms or a precarious dwelling in occupied land. As the infrastructured city expanded, including through the relocation of *bairros de barracas*, Lisbon's public bus and tram system reached the city limits.¹⁴ By the mid-1950s, it became feasible for low-income workers to use public transit to commute from hitherto agricultural areas, distant from the three extant suburban railway lines. In 1945, architect Keil do Amaral had defended this expansion of the public transit system to Lisbon's municipal limits:

“those free terrains are neither found in the center of the cities, obviously, nor close to the places where their future inhabitants work or will work. This fact might constitute, by itself, an obstacle for the use of these terrains, if the modern means of collective transportation did not allow the miracle of reducing distances. In Lisbon, for example, with a network of rapid transportation—(Trains? Trams? Large buses? Only a serious and profound study may tell)—Portela de Sacavém, Beirolas or Caselas would be 10 times closer to Rossio, in terms of minutes, than they are today” (Amaral 1945, 37).

While unlicensed housing located in occupied or informally rented land—such as present-day Quinta da Serra—was always at the risk of demolition by the state, private *loteadores* (i.e. property developers) created a new form of urban informality in suburban municipalities, a form that was protected from state practices of demolition. These small private developers, who either had recently acquired one suburban farm or worked as intermediaries for the owners of one, started informally dividing suburban farms, but in such ways that sales of lots for housing were often fully legal. Similarly to Lisbon's unlicensed *bairros de barracas*, the new unlicensed subdivisions—soon also characterized as *clandestinos*—often initially lacked access to electricity, water and sewerage networks, or to garbage collection services. As in Barcelona, Athens or São Paulo during the same period (Solà-Morales et al. 1976; Leontidou 1990; Langenbuch 1971; Bonduki 1983; Caldeira 1984), high profit rates were reaped in the Lisbon area by developers dividing land often classified as rural.¹⁵ Similar profitable techniques had been employed by private developers within the Lisbon municipality right after the First World War, as Keil do Amaral noted in his 1943 lecture *The Housing Problem*:

“And speculation had not said its last word! It found more and better with the urbanization of free terrains: simple private [speculators] acquired estates and gardens, the characteristic estates and gardens of the ‘Lisbon of other eras,’ paying good money for agricultural land. Afterwards, they studied a street pattern that would maximize, almost absurdly, the use of the land, and they submitted the plan to the Municipality,

¹⁴ As can be evinced from a 1955 map of public transportation within Lisbon municipality, published by the central state's Secretariado Nacional de Informação (i.e. National Information Secretariat) (SNI 1955).

¹⁵ As Teresa Caldeira notes regarding São Paulo after the 1940s, “it was in general private subdividers, small and middling, that opened an infinity of lots in the periphery—it did not matter where, as long as one could count with a bus line—and placed these for sale with prices and conditions compatible with the budget of low-income workers” (Caldeira 1984, 16).

magnanimously offering the space for the streets” (Amaral 1945, 32; emphasis in the original).¹⁶

This dissertation focuses on this particular form of informality to recall the provenance of planning knowledge on the clandestine. I argue that suburban subdivisions such as Brandoa or Casal de Cambra had a central role in terms of shaping the legal apparatus of urban planning in Portugal. The new informal suburban subdivisions were seen by planners as illegitimate and undesirable modes of urban extension. A process of gradual illegalization—and discursive criminalization—of informal subdivision followed, with lasting consequences for the actual state management of all modes of informal spatial production. This illegalization of informality was integral to the construction of an authoritative field of planning expertise in Portugal, persistently associated with the elision of the class difference of the low-income wage-laborers living in informally created spaces. These were instead increasingly defined through an expert discourse as an autonomous and culturally marginal population, plannable through exceptional techniques—particularly after the beginning of political democratization in 1974.

For example, if one peruses the 1964 records of the weekly Municipal Chamber meetings of the suburban Sintra municipality, it is not uncommon to read among the numerous expoundings under the heading “*Construções Clandestinas*” (i.e. Clandestine Buildings) statements foregrounding the productive role of the working “poor classes” living in informally built housing:

“In truth, those who work in this *concelho* [i.e. municipality] and here toil spending their lives to gain means of sustenance, but at the same time for the progress of this *concelho*, have the right to a minimum of living conditions inherent to their quality and dignity of human person. Consequently, [council member and engineer Carlos Vidal] cannot agree that a minority continues to exploit a majority that lives poorly in *bairros de lata*.”¹⁷

Interestingly, in this particular case a council member values class difference to support a defense of municipal tolerance of “clandestine” subdivision and self-built—or self-managed—unlicensed building, including the building of precarious *barracas*. Even though in the occasion Sintra’s mayor reminded the council member that decisions on demolition belonged exclusively to the office of the mayor, he stated that “we only demolish those constructions that have been

¹⁶ Keil do Amaral added: “Sometimes they were so *magnanimous* that they built the streets with no expense for the Municipality and, in those cases, they would be granted a vote of praise in the official records of the municipal meetings. And once the streets had been built, the terrain would be sold for a multiple of its initial cost, filling the pockets of such ‘philanthropists’ that so ‘uninterestedly’ made efforts to provide the capital with necessary housing. In the meantime, the Municipality had the perpetual expense of conserving, lighting, and cleaning the new public streets, in addition to the much more serious problem of integrating those structurally wrong nuclei in the plans and principles for the correct extension of the city” (Amaral 1945, 32; emphasis in the original).

¹⁷ November 25, 1964, Minutes of the weekly Sintra Municipal Chamber meetings, *Arquivo Histórico da Câmara Municipal de Sintra* (hereafter cited as Minutes, Sintra).

built in unmistakable bad faith.”¹⁸ Four decades later, such valuations and distinctions are rarely found in municipal documents in suburban Lisbon. As an example, in a 2005 editorial of the *Loures Municipal* bimonthly magazine of the Loures municipality, the mayor Carlos Teixeira starts by defending how

“Municipal Chambers [i.e. municipalities] have an important role in the fight against poverty and *social exclusion* . . . the Loures municipality . . . has struggled in the past with grave [housing] shortages and with degrading and unacceptable situations of populations living in shacks. In a first phase, it is necessary to rehouse those people, a work that began some years ago. But today, the work of the municipality goes much further, including the requalifying of urban public spaces in the areas hitherto occupied by nuclei of shacks and the active promotion of the *social integration* of the rehoused populations” (Teixeira 2005, 3; emphasis added).

For a present-day elected official such as Loures’ mayor, what is foregrounded when talking about housing seen as “degrading and unacceptable” is the definition of a population that is purportedly *outside* of the domain of society, and that must be rehoused through the state and subsequently brought into membership of society. As this dissertation will address, this discourse on an abnormal population is presently common among planners, state officials and planning scholars in Portugal. This discourse is often associated with an ahistorical and parochial perspective on municipal practices for the management of informality, which has characterized official writings at least since the late 1940s. An example can be drawn from a 1963 trilingual report of the Ministry of Public Works prepared for a visit of representatives of the Housing, Planning and Building Commission of UNECE.¹⁹ *Housing in Portugal* argued that during the First Republic, from 1910 to 1926, industrialization, a lack of governmental preparedness, and rent speculation constituted a “situation [that] had, as direct consequences . . . the appearance of settlements of precarious constructions (tin neighborhoods)” (MOP 1963, 10). The necessary “direct intervention by the State itself” was ultimately “limited to the construction of a few workers’ neighborhoods fully realized at the expense of the State” and to a Tenant Law that “contributed to a rapid ‘aging’ of the older buildings” (Ibid.). However, this historical account implied that no intervention had been made regarding *bairros de lata*, including demolition. In addition, the report failed to consider how similar forms of housing had emerged elsewhere in Europe in the early Twentieth Century, for example in the periphery of Paris.²⁰

The report stated that demolitions practices had started only after Salazar’s nomination as Finance Minister in 1928: “the Government . . . immediately started demolishing several

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ UNECE was a regional economic organ of the United Nations, created in 1947, whose “work . . . supplement[ed] and reinforce[d]” the Marshall Plan (Rostow 1949).

²⁰ “Suburban expansion was particularly alarming [in Paris,] as over a million new residents settled there during the 1920s; unable to afford Parisian rents, most of them lived in makeshift shanties they had built themselves, without adequate sanitation, water supplies, or paved streets” (Wright 1991, 34).

insalubrious neighborhoods that constituted *a great danger for the social evolution of the population*” (Ibid., 11; emphasis added). Many prominent members of the dictatorial regime were keen to criticize the disordering effects of a purported lack of state intervention in housing during the preceding liberal regime, as Lisbon’s mayor did in the catalogue for the 1947 exhibition on *Fifteen Years of Public Works*: “[Before 1928] only private activity, sometimes, provided . . . the most urgent general [building] needs, often indeed *without the convenient order and method*” (Barreto 1949, 49.) Interestingly, the 1963 report does not mention the existence of the then new informal suburban subdivisions, maybe because neighborhoods such as Brandoa corresponded to the housing future envisioned by the report: “development campaigns have been initiated that tend to amplify self-building initiatives and the recourse to small capital to be applied in the building of *habitação própria* [i.e. owned housing], framed by an active cooperation of the technical services of the Municipalities as a form of discipline and orientation of the State” (MOP 1963, 23).

In the case of Mayor Teixeira’s 2005 editorial, demolition and forced rehousing is a “work that began some years ago.” As many other state officials in the Lisbon area have claimed throughout the last century, the Mayor suggests that *barracas* are finally being dealt with and that their disappearance is imminent. Since its problematization by planning knowledge, informally created housing in the Lisbon area has often been characterized as purportedly belonging to a less developed, transitory past. But if during the Salazar and Caetano dictatorships state officials were struggling with ways for actual planning practices to reconcile orderly growth with the regime’s vision of a private freedom as a way to transform the subjectivities of low-income laborers, after the beginning of political democratization in 1974 the clandestine has been often conflated with an excessive, unprepared freedom from planning—supposedly rooted in the so-called “ongoing revolutionary process” period of 1974 and 1975.

This dissertation will thus examine the history of the so-called “clandestine” suburban subdivisions of the Lisbon metropolitan area of Portugal during the late Twentieth Century, as a heuristic approach to a genealogy of planning knowledge. This history will focus on the period between 1958, when the first “clandestine” subdivisions emerged during Salazar’s dictatorship, and 1974, when political democratization began. After the Second World War, a significant part of the new extensions of the city in southern Europe—in urbs such as Barcelona, Rome, Belgrade, Athens or Istanbul—were produced informally, i.e. both land subdivision and the construction of new housing were often unlicensed by municipal governments. Portugal’s capital Lisbon was not an exception. The informal production of suburban subdivisions from the late 1950s onwards corresponded to a new form of working-class extension of the city, distinct from the areas where unlicensed self-building took place in occupied or informally rented land. Those earlier “shack” neighborhoods, of which Quinta da Serra is a present-day example, had become part of Lisbon’s expansion since the end of the First World War, but were always subject to periodic demolitions undertaken by the city’s municipal government. In contrast, the informal creation of suburban subdivisions by private developers in the late 1950s was initiated through legally registered sales of plots, in farms outside Lisbon’s municipal limits such as Brandoa or Casal de Cambra. Since there were no provisions for subdivision by private developers in

national planning law, these farms were informally subdivided through successive lot splits. For Lisbon's low-income wage-laborers, the process provided access to the ownership of land for the building of houses, albeit often unlicensed. The latter was initially not necessarily illegal, and in practice the growing municipalities around Lisbon rarely demonstrated a willingness to demolish unlicensed housing. On the contrary, during the 1960s local municipalities started surveying the new *de facto* subdivisions and creating limited public infrastructure networks. However, at the same time the central state gradually changed national planning laws in an explicit reaction to fears about the clandestine, illegalizing informal modes of suburban subdivision and building.

By the early 1970s, the dictatorial central state had fully illegalized the informal production of suburban subdivisions. Nevertheless, municipal governments continued tolerating unlicensed building and transforming the new neighborhoods through tentative municipal planning practices, partially confirming the expectations among lot owners and residents concerning future legalization and the provision of full public infrastructure. This state of expectancy stimulated local community organization and participation in the creation of infrastructure. In addition, the state of expectancy promoted the formation of municipal planners as entrepreneurial bureaucrats, employing elements of planning to manage the growth of spaces purportedly outside the domain of formal state planning. When political democratization started after a military *coup d'état* in April 1974, housing activists advanced the right to housing as a central issue in the debate around a new constitution. However, the fundamental ideas on the clandestine underlying the national planning framework were not challenged, and a dual planning regime became consolidated in the Lisbon suburbs. Today, this dual planning regime has not been fully dismantled. Even though full public infrastructure was provided to "clandestine" subdivisions during the 1990s, most informal land subdivision has yet to be licensed, as the existence of a thriving legalization industry shows. As for propertyless informality in present-day "shack" neighborhoods such as Quinta da Serra, the persistent demolition practices have recently been adapted to selecting households according to one of the ideas that has supported the *de facto* management of the clandestine since the beginning: the need for the state to foster homeownership by low-income households.

Understanding the production of the so-called "clandestine" neighborhoods in the periphery of Lisbon is crucial for a reflection on the situated formation of the fundamental categories of urban planning. Such categories are related to the idea of society and to practices for the ordering of its inequalities. This dissertation addresses in particular those planning categories that entail privileging the constitution of free and entrepreneurial subjects, including in authoritarian regimes such as Salazar's dictatorship in Twentieth Century Portugal.

Theories of marginality often define informally produced urban peripheries as "spontaneous," foregrounding the idea of a state of separation from the planned city, or even from society. I hypothesize instead the pertinence of understanding how the employment of elements of planning characterizes the production of "clandestine" neighborhoods, particularly by registering the modes of participation of architects and urbanists working for municipalities, an aspect that is rarely addressed in the literature. Economic historians have addressed how Salazar's dictatorship adopted economic liberalization policies from the late 1950s onwards. However, research has yet to address the ways in which techniques of liberalization to foster

self-ruling subjects were deployed within the state apparatus of Salazar's authoritarian regime. I hypothesize that such techniques of liberalization can only be properly understood by studying the history of the purportedly "marginal" spaces of the late dictatorship, notably Lisbon's illegalized suburban subdivisions.

Recent historical research on Twentieth Century Portugal has rarely studied the so-called "clandestine" neighborhoods in Lisbon's suburbs, even though a significant segment of new suburban housing from the late 1950s to the late 1970s was informally created under conditions of illegalization. Early research by geographers showed the role of informal housing processes in Portugal's relations of production, but more recent scholarly work disregarded such contributions, foregrounding "clandestine" housing as a marginal formation best categorized as rural. In addition, both literatures failed to interrogate the ways in which the informal production of suburban housing participated in processes of subjectivity formation that are associated—but not reducible—to changes in economic relations. In particular, research has yet to explore how planners—and their theories and practices—have participated in the production of "clandestine" spaces and framed planning in relation to such practices.

Markedly innovative research has been done on urban informality since the late 1960s in Latin America, and more recently in the Middle East and South Asia. However, the literature on urban informality has yet to study European histories of the illegalization of informality by exploring Lisbon's informally produced "clandestine" subdivisions. By situating this research on Portugal in the current debate on urban informality, a pertinent variant in a growing body of research on the contemporary city is created.

I have started the introduction by addressing why the provenance of state planning knowledge on the clandestine became the central concern of this dissertation. Visiting those living amidst ruins in Quinta da Serra in the spring of 2008, I was aware that municipal demolition of *bairros de barracas* had been common during the preceding century. However, the slow ruination to which the residents of this small neighborhood were being subjected by the Loures municipality seemed to be without precedent, while the residents' motivations for housing under conditions of informality were recognizable. I defended that such new practices of demolition can be better understood through an examination of the provenance of clandestine knowledge. By clandestine knowledge I mean the state planning knowledge on the illegalized informal settlements that housed up to thirty percent of the population of the Lisbon area by 1980, and in particular the knowledge on the informal suburban subdivisions that emerged in the late 1950s. I claimed that the punishing sorting techniques employed in Quinta da Serra are part of a neoliberal rationality of the government of the city, rearticulating the 1930s corporatist project of the freedom of homeownership as a means of class elevation for workers. This project, part of an authoritarian political order, entailed the elision of class difference, fostering the future emergence of a situated concept of spatial marginality. As I mentioned, the latter idea is reproduced by the dominant ahistorical discourse on "clandestine" neighborhoods in Portugal.

I concluded the initial part of the introduction with a summary of the formation of Lisbon's informal suburban subdivisions from the 1950s onwards. In addition, I briefly addressed the contribution of the dissertation to the literatures on Portuguese liberalism, and to

the scholarship on urban informality in Portugal and elsewhere. This contribution will be examined at length in the first chapter of the dissertation.

I will now continue the introduction with a description of the dissertation's central argument on the functioning of a liberal government of the city, and of the main research questions: on the deployment of liberal techniques of urban government by the Salazar and Caetano dictatorships; on the planning of informally created suburban subdivisions; and on how the illegalization of the informal was integral to the formation of state planning. The introduction will then address the research methodology that I employed to address these questions. I will then conclude the introduction with a description of the dissertation's structure.

The dissertation's central argument is that in mid-Twentieth Century Portugal, the illegalization of Lisbon's informal extensions was integral to the situated functioning of a liberal government of the city, and to its management of spatial illegalisms flexibly fostering or endangering different social classes. The illegalization of the informal created a purportedly marginal state of expectancy—a state in which workers' informal suburbanization was managed at a distance, for access to the homeownership integral to a politics of social harmony. In addition, the specter of illegalized informality was integral to the emergence of a planning field, able to govern.

I employ the term “field,” instead of profession, to indicate that mid-Twentieth Century planning for the central state assembled professionals from other disciplines, like architecture, civil engineering or geography. Architects often directed planning teams, which were mostly composed by civil engineers both at central state institutions and at local municipalities. Polish-French architect and urbanist Étienne de Gröer led the team that prepared Lisbon's first master plan between 1938 and 1948, and Italian architect and urbanist Giovanni Muzio was hired by the Porto municipality to prepare the city's regional plan in the early 1940s. The director of Porto's municipal planning team at the time was also an architect, Arménio Losa. By the 1950s, civil engineers who had worked with these architects started leading planning efforts. Miguel Rezende, who had worked with Muzio on Porto's unfinished regional plan, was invited to lead the team that created a regional plan for the Lisbon area. Nevertheless, in the early 1970s the first master plans for “clandestine” subdivisions were prepared by the prominent private office GPA, led by architects Maurício de Vasconcelos and Luís Alçada Baptista, and the office's interdisciplinary planning teams were dominated by architects. Planning as an autonomous professional discipline, set apart through the existence of specific university degrees and professional associations, started slowly being formed in Portugal after this period.²¹ Nevertheless, I do not conceptualize this central state planning field as having a monopoly on the

²¹ In 1972, civil engineer and planning researcher Manuel da Costa Lobo created a *curso de pós-graduação* (i.e. postgraduate degree) in Urban and Regional Planning at Lisbon's *Instituto Superior Técnico* (i.e. Higher Technical Institute, the engineering college). Lobo had worked from 1954 to 1963 in the Urbanization Studies Office of the central state's General-Directorate for Urbanization Services. In 1963 he started teaching Urbanization courses at *Técnico*. In 1982, the Planning degree was recognized as a master's program, and in 1991 Costa Lobo created the first 5-year professional planning degree, a *Licenciatura* in “Territorial Engineering.” By 2006, five *licenciaturas* in city planning were offered by Portuguese universities, in the cities of Lisbon, Porto and Aveiro. Two of the five programs were provided by Architecture colleges.

planning practices of the clandestine. Officials at local municipalities also deployed elements of urban planning as a technical means of government of population, and participated in the invention of the suburban clandestine.²²

In particular, I argue that the planning field's invention of the suburban clandestine responded to two ideas. Firstly, a professional idea of a limited and bounded urbanity subject to the planner as a social expert, entailing the imagination of single-family housing suburbanization as a privileged exception. This idea was dominant—in a field drawing initially from architectural expertise and including many architects—from the 1930s onwards, starting with the preparation of the Sun Coast plan for a cosmopolitan suburban landscape. The concept of the single-family housing subdivision as a privileged exception contrasted both with the celebration of mass suburbanization in the postwar United States and with Brazil's fostering of workers' suburbanization under conditions of informality. The idea corresponded to a situated understanding of the governing of spatial production and class imaginations by the state through spatial planning.

Secondly, the planning field also responded to a state project of political order that also emerged in the 1930s, imagining the owned single-family house as a means for the erosion of working-class identity to ensure an initially hierarchical social harmony. Similar explicitly anti-Communist projects for the fostering of homeownership were articulated in neighboring Spain in the 1950s (López and Rodríguez 2011), or across the Atlantic in the United States in the late 1940s (Beauregard 2006) and in Brazil in the 1930s (Caldeira 2000).²³ Furthermore, I argue that even though Portuguese corporatism initially encompassed a hierarchical society where different classes purportedly had their legitimate roles and specific spaces of domesticity and leisure, this did not necessarily correspond to a vision of stability. On the contrary, the harmonious social hierarchy was a developmental concept. It included the possibility of class elevation through homeownership and a sorting of deserving subjects, and hence of the dissolution of a social hierarchy based on class. Portuguese late 1950s films are a heuristic way to understand developmental social hierarchy as a discourse imagining the passage from a distinction created by the division of labor to a distinction based on property, where the distinction is between a normative homeownership and the propertyless vagabond.

²² Furthermore, informal developers and owners-builders also deployed planning practices.

²³ In Spain, “the modernization programme of the Franco dictatorship from the late 1950s [was] premised on the development of mass-market tourism from northern Europe and the radical expansion of private homeownership . . . as Franco's Minister for Housing, the Falangist José Luis Arrese, put it in 1957: *Queremos un país de propietarios, no de proletarios*—‘We want a country of proprietors, not proletarians’” (López and Rodríguez 2010, 6). Regarding the United States, Robert Beauregard has noted that “home ownership was considered a bulwark against socialism. As the suburban developer Levitt put it: ‘No man who owns his own house and lot can be a communist. He has too much to do.’ Being committed to a home and to private property rights would make people responsible and less likely to work against the system that provided these opportunities. Ostensibly, home ownership brought people into the political mainstream” (Beauregard 2006, 156). Commenting on the Vargas dictatorship in Brazil, Teresa Caldeira reminds that “Vargas created a totally new structure of labor management in Brazil, which remains largely in place to this day . . . the newly created labor ministry defended the creation of opportunities for the urban classes to become homeowners. In the same way as the industrialists, labor officials were interested in cutting housing expenses, and in disseminating the value of home ownership, which they considered to be one of the bases of social stability” (Caldeira 2000, 219).

I argue that 1960s owners-builders in Brandoa or Casal de Cambra corresponded to the ideal workers of the Portuguese authoritarian and liberal state, but their practices questioned the dominant planning idea of how to spatially order the classed subjects of urban growth, notably leading to a reflection on the relation between the rights of property as a fundamental freedom and the imperative of order in the exercise of liberal freedoms. In coeval Brazil, rent control fostered an illegal informality to be legalized (Holston 2008, 19) and social movements reacting to the dangers of urban informality were able to influence a shift in the state planning apparatus after the gradual transition to political democracy between the mid-1970s and 1989 (Caldeira and Holston 2005, 393). In contrast, in Portugal rent liberalization outside of the Lisbon and Porto city limits and rent control as an urban exception participated in the emergence of an informality that tended to be legal and that was gradually illegalized as a process during the 1960s, even though individual subdivisions were sometimes officially recognized. With the transition to political democracy that started in 1974-75 the planning field gained autonomy as a profession, but there was little challenge to the idea of illegalizing informality and to the ways in which the emerging planning apparatus was partly shaped by this idea. Increasingly excluded from a direct governing of spatial production in political democracy, some architects became interested in an aesthetics of the clandestine, ultimately contributing to the marginal state of expectancy through the affirmation of a professional monopoly of visual order.

Simultaneously, the democratic social-liberal state created policies to facilitate mass homeownership from the mid-1970s onwards, while continuing to avoid direct state intervention in housing. If in 1970 49 percent of Portugal's households lived in owned housing, by 1991 the percentage had risen to 65 (Neves 1996b, 2). Portuguese economist Vítor Neves has argued that state housing policies established conditions for the fostering of urban informality: "the Portuguese governments since 1976 tended to underpin their housing policy almost exclusively on a subsidised credit scheme for the acquisition or building of owner-occupied housing. The social housing sector represents only about 4% of the housing stock. As a consequence, low-income households hardly have access to housing and have had to search for housing solutions outside the formal building and credit sectors" (Ibid., 1). Indeed, many households avoided resorting to the now more easily available bank credit, continuing to opt for self-building (Ibid. 1998, 35). The liberal government of the city formed during the dictatorship of Salazar and Caetano was left unchallenged after political democratization.

The dissertation thus asks three main questions. The first main question asks how Lisbon's "clandestine" neighborhoods were part of a liberal government of the city, and particularly of a management of spatial illegalisms in the suburbs, by the Salazar and Caetano dictatorships. The second main question interrogates the ways in which informally created suburban subdivisions were not spontaneous but planned, including by state planning under conditions of illegalization. The third main question examines how the clandestine, i.e. the illegalization of the informal, was integral to the formation of contemporary state planning.

The research methodology for a history of the illegalization of informality necessarily combined an ethnographic perspective with historical methods. The scholarship on urban informality in Europe and elsewhere has often privileged synchronic studies of informal spaces.

However, as anthropologist James Holston notes, “a particular social problem encountered in the field takes on a specific articulation because its historical formulation continues to structure its present possibilities” (Holston 2008, 33). Furthermore, the valuable critical literature on the history of North Atlantic planning knowledge (Rabinow 1989; Wilson 1991; Melosi 2000; Hall [1988] 2002) has rarely examined the productive relations of mutual constitution between informal spatial production and the domain of planning expertise. The research thus intended to introduce Lisbon’s informal extensions to the realm of history, while studying the formation of Portuguese planning knowledge through an ethnographic perspective—i.e. one exploring how dominant ideas are “understood and used by [their] self-proclaimed practitioners” (Rabinow 1989, 9). I thus foregrounded a genealogy of the practices and discourses of planning, including those of professional state planners, but avoiding a filtering out—to paraphrase Bruno Latour—of how private developers or residents also made plans to change space.

Furthermore, I have started this dissertation recalling a meeting in a partially ruined squatter settlement because such a historical project is neither an account of a local variation of a global process,²⁴ nor a teleological one.²⁵ This is a history of the situated present, departing from the ruination of Quinta da Serra and from the state of expectancy for legality of Casal de Cambra to recall specific histories that have participated in shaping present-day Lisbon, and that are integral to the formation of Portugal’s planning apparatus. Evidently, this is a history of spaces and knowledges “always formed through relations with wider arenas and other places” (Hart 2006, 995).

As I hinted at in the beginning of the introduction, the research project started out with a focus on the actual spatial practices and discourses of residents in informal working-class extensions of Lisbon. I thus began by studying several specific spaces in the northern periphery of the city: Casal de Cambra, Casal da Silveira, Brandoa, and Quinta da Serra (Fig. I.9).

Casal de Cambra started being subdivided in 1962, and is one of the largest informal subdivisions in Lisbon’s northern periphery in terms of surface area. The Casal de Cambra *freguesia* (i.e. ward) covers 517 acres, corresponding roughly to the original farm. The neighborhood had 6,081 official residents in 1981, many of whom lived in single-family houses that were initially self-built.²⁶ The neighborhood is part of the suburban *concelho* (i.e. municipality) of Sintra, and it officially became a ward in 1997—it previously was part of the

²⁴ In the context of geography, Gillian Hart argues for the importance of a critical ethnographic perspective associated with strategies of “relational comparison” in a moment of discourses on globalization and empire, and of critical yet abstract theorizations on accumulation through dispossession (Hart 2006, 977). For Hart, “[critical] ethnographies are *not* accounts of ‘local’ variations or instances of a ‘global’ process,” but instead address “power-laden processes of constitution, connection, and dis-connection, along with slippages, openings and contradictions, and possibilities for alliance within and across different spatial scales” (Ibid., 982; emphasis in the original).

²⁵ As James Holston notes in his historical study of the ethnographic present of São Paulo, informal peripheries are often seen by those that do not live there “as targets of assorted political and economical proposals for a different future in Brazil. This bird’s-eye view of history is, paradoxically, dehistoricizing because it works backward from an imagined future to a proposal for the present as its precondition” (Holston 2008, 34).

²⁶ By 2001, Casal de Cambra had 9,865 official residents.

Belas ward.²⁷ Since the creation of the ward, the residents have elected administrators defending a social-liberal or liberal political order, in harmony with Sintra municipality as a whole.²⁸ The central area of Casal de Cambra is located 3.5 miles northwest of Lisbon's municipal limits at Pontinha, by way of the present-day Rua da Liberdade (i.e. Freedom Street).²⁹

Casal da Silveira is a much smaller single-family housing subdivision, immediately next to Casal de Cambra.³⁰ It is located in the Famões ward, created in 1989, and is part of the Odivelas municipality. The latter was created in 1998. Previously, Casal da Silveira and Famões were part of the Loures municipality. The neighborhood presents a relevant contrast to Casal de Cambra, because the neighborhood's lot subdivision was officially recognized in 1989, when Loures was administered by the *Partido Comunista Português* (PCP, i.e. Portuguese Communist Party).³¹ In Casal da Silveira, the PCP administration initially fostered self-help practices in association with a discourse of participatory democracy, cooperating with the residents' Improvements Commission. Casal da Silveira is located 2.6 miles north of Lisbon's municipal limits at Pontinha.

Brandoa started being subdivided in 1958, and quickly became one of the largest informal subdivisions in Lisbon's northern suburbs in terms of population. By 1981 the neighborhood had 17,777 official residents housed mostly in apartment buildings, in mere 133 acres.³² The larger Brandoa ward was created in 1979 when Amadora municipality was detached from Oeiras. The ward administration was run by the PCP in coalition with smaller communist parties from 1979 to 1993; in 1994 the social-liberal PS gained the ward administration. Brandoa's main entrance is located 1.2 miles northwest of Lisbon's municipal limits at Benfica or at Pontinha.

²⁷ Mainland Portugal is administratively divided into eighteen *distritos* (i.e. counties). The country's territory is further divided into 308 *concelhos* (municipalities), whose seat may be a *cidade* (i.e. city) or a *vila* (i.e. town). The *concelhos* are divided into 4,529 *freguesias* (wards). A *concelho* may sometimes include more than one city. For example, Sintra is a *vila*, even though it is the seat of Sintra municipality, and its territory includes two *idades*: Agualva-Cacém and Queluz. City limits very rarely coincide with municipal limits, but there are no unincorporated areas in Portugal. Municipal elections have been held since 1976: *concelhos* are administered by a *câmara municipal* (i.e. municipal chamber) and *freguesias* by a *junta de freguesia* (i.e. ward administration). "Suburban" (*suburbano* in Portuguese) is neither an administrative category nor a widely used term in Portugal, as it is often considered to be pejorative. The most commonly used term in Portuguese is *arredores* (i.e. environs). I employ "suburban" to describe the municipalities surrounding Lisbon municipality, indicating that these are today parts of the city outside the administrative city limits.

²⁸ From 1997 to 2009, the social-liberal *Partido Socialista* (PS, i.e. Socialist Party) narrowly won local elections. In 2009, the liberal *Partido Social Democrata* (PSD i.e. Social Democratic Party) gained the ward administration, in coalition with conservatives. Sintra itself was ruled by PS between 1976 and 1979, and from 1993 to 2001; members of the PSD, sometimes in coalition with conservatives, administered the *concelho* as a whole during the 1980s and since 2001.

²⁹ In Pontinha the 26 bus could be taken to downtown Lisbon as early as 1955.

³⁰ Casal da Silveira had 2,520 residents in 2001.

³¹ The PCP administered Loures from 1979 to 2001, in coalition with smaller communist parties.

³² By 2001, the official population of the whole ward had been reduced to 15,647.

Quinta da Serra is not a subdivision, but a more recent settlement built in occupied private land, from the late 1970s onwards. The municipality has been gradually demolishing the self-built dwellings since 1997. The former farm is located in Loures' Prior Velho ward, created in 1989; the area surrounding Quinta da Serra was originally an informal neighborhood, which started being built before 1960 (Salgueiro 1972, 38). Quinta da Serra is located a mere thousand feet from the terminus of buses for downtown Lisbon.

During preliminary research in the Summers of 2006 and 2007, the primary research methods were observation, open in-depth interviews, and archival research. I started by observing and documenting these four neighborhoods, conducting a photographic survey of streets and of the outward appearance of buildings. I did open in-depth interviews with a limited number of selected residents, including two wage-laborers who are owners-builders of single-family houses, the leader of Casal da Silveira's residents' association (Manuel de Carvalho Matos), two members of the elected ward administration of Casal de Cambra, the ward president of Casal de Cambra (José Manuel Silva Elias), and a former leader of Casal de Cambra's residents' association and owner of a private legalization office. These interviews gave me access to the archives of the Casal de Cambra ward administration, and to the private archives of the two residents' associations, and of the legalization office. The gathered material included photographs of the early history of Casal de Cambra and the handwritten minutes of the meetings of Casal de Cambra's association at the time of its creation (from January 1973 to June 1974). It also included legal records of land transactions, including the records of the sale of Casal de Cambra to its developer in August 1942 or the records of lot detachments from the original property from July 1962 to April 1973, among others. I complemented preliminary archival research by collecting and reviewing aerial photographs and maps archived at the *Instituto Geográfico Português* (i.e. Portuguese Geographic Institute, a central state archive). The aerial photographs depicted the development of the area in 1965, 1977, 1989, and 2004.

Furthermore, I reviewed the handwritten minutes of the weekly meeting of Sintra's municipal chamber at Sintra's historical archive. I started by reviewing the period from October 1964 to August 1965. This corresponded to the period when lots had started being sold with regularity in Casal de Cambra by the informal developer Batista Mota. Even though no reference was made in these mid-1960s records to Casal, I found that unpermitted subdivision and unlicensed building were both thoroughly discussed on a weekly basis by the municipal council, and that the municipality employed planning techniques in older "clandestine" neighborhoods close to Casal, such as Carenque. Such findings challenged earlier literature that not only described the clandestine as completely outside of the domain of state intervention, but that also suggested that municipalities merely tolerated or even ignored "clandestine" spaces. Maybe due to lawsuits currently in progress, I was tacitly refused access to more recent archival material at the Sintra's Urbanism Division.

Another conclusion of preliminary research was that lots in neighborhoods such as Casal de Cambra or Casal da Silveira were legally sold, even though subdivision was unpermitted and building was often unlicensed. In addition, the land was subdivided according to a regular street grid, created in the mid-1960s in the case of Casal de Cambra. Furthermore, although the contrasting management practices of the Sintra and of the Loures municipality have participated

in the creation of a similar visual order in Casal de Cambra and Casal da Silveira, preliminary research demonstrated that this concealed very different outcomes in terms of speed of legalization and public infrastructure provision. For example, the discursive articulation of the clandestine as a kind of participatory planning by the communist administration of Loures from the mid-1970s onwards seems to have facilitated the rapid legalization of Casal da Silveira's subdivision during the mid-1980s. In contrast, the legalization process in Casal de Cambra, managed by the Sintra municipality, was still not concluded. These findings validated the need for further employment of historical methods addressing the contingencies of the informal production of suburban subdivisions, and particularly the ways in which the latter process is articulated with visions of the political.

Finally, research showed that developers, small building firms and municipalities had much more intervention in the development of "clandestine" subdivisions than I had anticipated, based on a review of the extant literature. It thus became pertinent to foreground a history of expert practices and to start preparing research on the latter in other neighborhoods in the Lisbon area, in order to understand how the formation of the clandestine as an exceptional planning regime had conditioned the growth of other residential areas in the northern periphery of Lisbon. I thus started observation of the Brandoa neighborhood of the Amadora municipality, and of the Quinta da Serra neighborhood of the Loures municipality.

I continued research in 2008 and 2009 by employing the same primary methods of observation, open interviews and archival research. The apertures provided by preliminary research—regarding the relation of re-legalization with visions of the political, concerning municipal knowledge and planning of the clandestine, and with respect to the apparent elision of the role of informal developers—supported the formation of the beforementioned main research questions, which were best answered by foregrounding archival research, albeit maintaining an ethnographic perspective. In the spring of 2008, I started research by returning to observation and interviewing in Brandoa and in Quinta da Serra. I also obtained aerial photographs of both neighborhoods at the Portuguese Geographic Institute. In Brandoa, I decided to conduct one single extensive interview with the ward president Armando Jorge Paulino Domingos, as he provided me access to the ward's archive which—in contrast to Casal de Cambra—included past research on the history of the neighborhood. At Quinta da Serra, I conducted open in-depth interviews with residents, including a leader of the residents' association, the three nuns that lived in the neighborhood, and the parish priest. As I suggested at the beginning of this introduction, these interviews conducted amidst ruins questioned the objectives of my dissertation and led me to opt for an archival research privileging an examination of planning categories and of their formation. I limited further in-depth interviews to three extensive conversations with selected Portuguese professionals that were involved in the planning field and in the study of the clandestine: geographer Teresa Barata Salgueiro, architect José Manuel Reis Correia, and planner Jorge Carvalho. Henceforth, archival research was organized according to the emerging structure of the dissertation's argument.

The first chapter starts by recalling the provenance of the relation between the practice of spatial planning and discourses of freedom in post-democratization Portugal. The chapter starts

by arguing that past European accounts conflating peripheral “spontaneous” housing with a past moment of development often disregard situated histories of the planning of informality, and are thus disabling for those engaged in present-day struggles over informally created spaces in cities like Lisbon, Madrid or London. In the case of Portugal, this dissertation proposes that it is important to understand the provenance of two salient post-democratization discourses relating informal housing and the concept of freedom, corresponding to different perspectives on the question of how state planning should reconcile the right to housing, integral to freedom, with spatial order. The chapter claims that this question did not arise only after the beginning of political democratization. In fact, the question of housing as integral to freedom was part of Salazar’s authoritarian political order from the 1930s onwards. The chapter thus examines two main topics. Firstly, the chapter addresses the recent theories of liberalism in space, and the ways in which the formation of a liberal governmentality of the city in Portugal—notably during the Salazar and Caetano dictatorships—contributes to this literature. Secondly, the chapter examines the scholarship on urban informality, and how a conception of the illegalization of informality as part of a management of spatial illegalisms contributes to this literature. Furthermore, the chapter claims that in the Portuguese case, the management of spatial illegalisms is the functioning of a liberal government of the city, invested in fostering homeownership without direct state intervention. This project aims at an elision of class difference while maintaining unequal citizenships. For this chapter, archival research focused on the published writings of Salazar and Caetano, and on how freedom and housing were conceptualized in these texts. In addition, research examined how scholars interested in housing explicitly evoked Salazar’s project of workers’ homeownership for social harmony.

The second chapter is devoted to exploring how expert subjectivities were molded during the period immediately preceding the creation of informal subdivisions from the late 1950s onwards. The chapter addresses three strands of the debate in Portugal on the relation between state and housing. The first strand is the concern for modes of housing a working-class within a state, from the 1860s to the beginning of the Salazar dictatorship in 1932. As the discourse of direct state intervention in housing gradually became dominant, the practice of state housing provision was very limited and restricted to within Lisbon municipality. The second strand is the interest in the definition of a single-family detached *Casa Portuguesa* (i.e. Portuguese House) among design professionals from the 1900s onwards, and its articulation by state exhibitionary spaces during the 1930s and 1940s. The third strand is the rejection of mass single-family housing for workers by architecture discourse and by master planning in the postwar development project, which however foregrounded a bounded and restricted urbanity. Archival research for this chapter reviewed texts by professional architects from the first half of the Twentieth Century, written documents and photographs of the 1940 Exposition of the Portuguese World, and the texts of Lisbon’s first master plan, published in 1948. In addition, the third strand is complemented by a review of depictions of working-class space in Portuguese film during the 1940s and 1950s. This is pertinent, since professional architects were few and part of the elite for whom Portuguese films were produced; such films provide a glimpse into the ideas on working-class space that circulated among Portuguese intellectuals right before the emergence of informal suburban subdivisions. This research was conducted at the Portuguese national film archive.

The third chapter starts by addressing changes in spatial laws between the end of the Second World War and the late 1950s, arguing that informality—and suburban unlicensed building in particular—were not necessarily illegal. The chapter then addresses the early history of the Brandoa and the Casal de Cambra subdivisions, showing how both changes in spatial law and regional planning during the 1960s reacted to what started being characterized as a suburban clandestinity. Furthermore, the chapter shows how municipalities and planners participated in the formation of Brandoa and Casal de Cambra. Archival research for this chapter included reviewing changes in spatial law between the end of the war and the fall of the Caetano dictatorship in 1974, studying the 1964 Regional Plan for Lisbon, and examining extant research on the history of Brandoa. I also drew from the minutes of the meetings of Sintra’s municipal chamber and of the residents’ association of Casal de Cambra. After preliminary research, I had continued reviewing Sintra’s municipal minutes from August 1965 to February 1966, and from January 1973 to December 1974. Furthermore, I drew extensively from newspaper articles I read at Lisbon’s municipal newspaper archive, from 1962 to 1978.

At the newspaper archive, I had focused on three objectives. First, I reviewed articles published during the 1960s and 1970s that had been mentioned in scholarly sources on informal housing. Some of these articles were isolated accounts, but in three cases the initial reference led me to what are actually series of newspaper articles. I thus reviewed the campaign waged by the daily newspaper *Diário Ilustrado* during January and February 1962, a shorter series of articles that appeared in the daily newspaper *Diário de Lisboa* in late February and in early March 1969, a later sequence of articles signed by housing experts that appeared in the weekly magazine *Observador* in February and in March 1972, and a collection of interviews with housing officials published in daily newspaper *República* in August and September 1974. Secondly, I wanted to better understand the ways in which debates on housing in general during the final years of the dictatorship had been rearticulated during the revolutionary period and its immediate aftermath. This included reviewing not only newspaper articles but also housing advertisements. I resumed reviewing the main daily newspaper *Diário de Notícias*, having read all the 1973 editions. I also reviewed the weekly newspaper *Expresso* from its creation in January 1973 to June 1978. By 1978, the first economic “austerity” program mandated by an International Monetary Fund consortium of which the Federal Republic of Germany was a key member was associated with an erosion of the discursive possibilities of the period immediately after the 1974 Revolution. After 1978, debates on housing will increasingly be confined to expert forums. Thirdly, I explored the ways in which debates on housing were presented at the moment of the emergence of subdivision of agricultural land in Lisbon’s periphery as a new form of creating urban housing. I thus reviewed articles published in the main daily newspaper *Diário de Notícias* in March and April 1958.

The fourth chapter examines the production of knowledge on the clandestine from the full illegalization of informality in 1973 to 2001. The chapter draws from a close reading of the Portuguese scholarship on the clandestine. It starts by reviewing the documents on informality written between 1940 and the early 1970s, which often espouse a vision for housing similar to what developers and owners-building created in Brandoa or Casal de Cambra. It then addresses how the clandestine was an actant on scholars. The chapter shows how institutionalized research

on illegalized subdivisions starts around 1970 because of the participation of planners in the formation of neighborhoods such as Brandoa, and in the context of a project for government through an expertise of the social. After the beginning of political democratization, research briefly privileged a critique of semiperipheral development, while research from the 1980s onwards has focused on a purportedly “rural” culture of clandestinity. The second section of the chapter focuses on how clandestinity was an actant on architectural discourse and practice, through the concept of “popular participation” in the 1970s and the idea of the “ordinary” from the 1980s onwards. The chapter also recalls how a knowledge of the clandestine was diffused through the press, instead of writings intended to be read only by peers. By drawing from the beforementioned research on newspapers, the third and final section shows how the idea of mass ownership for a free nation was disseminated during the mid-1970s. Defenses of this idea were suffused with an ethos of quick self-building and an aesthetics of construction, clearly evoking the clandestine mode of spatial production.

The fifth and final chapter draws heavily from the findings of preliminary research, describing the state of expectancy for legality in Casal de Cambra during the late 2000s. This state of unequal citizenship implied until recently a lack of the social elements of citizenship—such as access to public infrastructure commonly available in formally created spaces—and it often entails the partial denial of a civil element of citizenship, such as the right to convert housing into capital. The state of expectancy is characterized by two discourses dealing with the problem of class elevation under conditions of illegalization. Firstly, a widespread discourse on crime and “race” is deployed by the residents of Casal de Cambra owning informally created housing, disallowing the *de facto* urban citizenship attained by former squatters, through rehousing in nearby public housing. This is a discourse on the disruption of a past quietness. Secondly, those residents involved with the neighborhood association and the ward administration propose a history of an original legality disordered by entrepreneurial households, through the ordered practices of a second stage of subdivision. This history evokes the original municipal facilitation of informal subdivision and the creation of expectations through planning, in contrast to the present-day state of the law as an opaque process of negotiation, entailing the emergence of profitable legalization companies.

The epilogue draws on research on Quinta da Serra, examining the ways in which non-proprietary informality in the neighborhood is subject to ruination practices by the Loures municipality, sorting those subjects capable of the freedom of homeownership. The final section of the dissertation shows that in the absence of formal property rights, the functioning of a liberal government of the city does not correspond today to a state of expectancy for legality or to indiscriminate rehousing in public housing. Instead, an assemblage of disparate planning documents for the supposedly less violent management of informality entails living in a ruined space, for those workers unable of participating in normative homeownership.

Chapter One
Recalling the Provenance of Planning and Freedom
in Post-democratization Portugal

1.1.A. Towards Situated Histories of Informality: Freedom Discourses and “Clandestine” Housing before Democratization

The argument on the temporariness of informally created housing has been employed in many scholarly accounts on southern European informality. For scholars such as geographer Lila Leontidou writing in the 1980s, an eradicated working-class “spontaneity” had been articulated with development, and with a possibly transitory status of the region as a “semiperiphery” (Leontidou 1990, 32).³³ However, the creation and demolition of informally produced housing persists in present-day Europe, in eastern London where thousands of “slum ‘super-sheds’” have been built (Hall 2011), in minute Lisbon neighborhoods such as Quinta da Serra, or in the Spanish capital Madrid, as for example in Cañada Real Galiana (Borasteros, Barroso and Torres 2007). The latter is a linear settlement estimated to house up to 30,000 people, including an undetermined number of migrants from Romania and from Morocco, and its residents are subject to occasional violent eviction. As mentioned in the initial section of this chapter, this dissertation claims that to understand the present-day state planning practices that informally created spaces are being subjected to, research needs to examine the situated histories of planning knowledge and its articulations with concepts of political organization. In the case of Portugal, the dissertation argues that a lasting debate on understandings of freedom is integral to expert conceptualizations of informality.

After the beginning of political democratization in 1974, it can be argued that there have been two salient discourses relating informality and freedom in Portugal. One is associated with the beforementioned conflation of informality and a purported excessive freedom of revolution. That discourse was articulated within a disciplinary field of architectural history that mostly disregarded “clandestine” spaces as an object of study. For example, architectural historian José Manuel Fernandes included in a 1994 account of Lisbon’s history directed at a non-scholarly audience a short reference to informality, stating that “[after 1974 there was an] ‘explosion’ of spontaneous constructions . . . fed by *an extemporaneous conception of freedom*” (Fernandes 1994, 511; emphasis added). For Fernandes, even though favorable conditions had been established by the creation of “vast clandestine subdivisions” before the end of the Salazar and Caetano dictatorships, the creation of “spontaneous” housing in *significant* numbers is associated

³³ Leontidou drew from World-System theory as developed by Imanuel Wallerstein in the 1970s (Wallerstein 1974). Leontidou employed the concept of semiperiphery “as used by Wallerstein to refer to the more developed part of the Third World . . . Greece differs from its neighbours [i.e. southern Italy, Spain and Portugal] especially in that the latter fell from core to semiperipheral status in the world economy” (Leontidou 1990, 30). It must be noted that Leontidou critiques the belief “that popular peripheral settlements belong to a residual mode of land colonization, which will inevitably be swept away with capitalist expansion . . . [such settlements have] emerged with capitalist development and [have] been ‘functional’ to it” (Ibid., 5).

with the temporary emergence of a state of unprepared freedom, characterized by an undesirable absence of limits to the freedom of building. Versions of this narrative have become commonsensical in present-day Portugal, particularly among privileged subjects in central Lisbon. However, the narrative is so pervasive that even officials that have lived most of their lives in informally created neighborhoods may articulate versions of it. In a brief face-to-face conversation at Brandoa's ward administration on June 30, 2008, the ward president—a man whose parents moved from a condemned house in central Lisbon to Brandoa when he was 13, six years before the end of the dictatorship—associated the consolidation of clandestinity with post-democratization socialism.³⁴

The version of this narrative that corresponds to a critique of disorderly freedom partially responds to the demands for the right to housing that burst out at the beginning of political democratization. Right after the military coup that overthrew the Caetano's dictatorship on April 25, numerous urban neighborhood organizations formed rapidly in Lisbon and Porto, contributing to making the idea of a right to housing as integral to the future political organization. These organizations employed the motto "*Casas Sim, Barracas Não*" (i.e. "Yes to Houses, No to Shacks"), and some arranged the occupation of thousands of apartments in Lisbon (Downs 1980 and 1989; Rodrigues 1999).³⁵ The celebrated opposition songwriter Sérgio Godinho included the claims of the new neighborhood organizations in the definition of "real freedom" he advanced in *Liberdade* (i.e. *Liberty*), a new song that became very popular in Portugal during 1974 and 1975:

"There is only real freedom when there is peace, bread, housing, health, education, there is only real freedom when there is freedom to change and to decide."³⁶

As will be addressed in the fourth chapter of this dissertation, many professional architects that had supported the opposition to the dictatorship drew on the interest in "participation" in housing production that had emerged in Portugal during the late dictatorship, partaking in the governmental housing program SAAL (*Serviço Ambulatório de Apoio Local*, i.e. Mobile Service for Local Support). SAAL was initiated by architect Nuno Portas, an influential theorist, while Secretary of State for Housing and Urbanism in August 1974. The program

³⁴ Nevertheless, in a later interview Brandoa's ward president described "clandestine" neighborhoods such as Brandoa as initially corresponding to "a model of the New State [regime] . . . [when] each one should make his own house." Interview with the president of Brandoa's *Junta de Freguesia* (i.e. ward administration), Armando Paulino of the Socialist Party, July 16, 2008.

³⁵ In the urban cores, these entities organized against rent speculation and around the occupation of extant apartments. In central Lisbon, 1,500 to 2,000 vacant public housing units are occupied in the two weeks following the military coup of April 25, 1974 (Downs 1980, 132). These initial occupations were legalized by the government on May 11. By February 1975, about 2,500 private apartments had been occupied in Lisbon. Few occupiers had been evicted by 1980 (Ibid., 147).

³⁶ Translation from the Portuguese of an excerpt of the lyrics of the 1974 song *Liberdade* (i.e. *Liberty*) by Sérgio Godinho, a Portuguese songwriter who lived in exile between 1965 and 1974. Sérgio Godinho. "Liberdade." In *A Queima Roupa*. Guilda da Música DP016.

included participatory design interventions in extant housing for low-income laborers, both formally and informally created, under the guidance of professional architects such as Álvaro Siza and Vítor Figueiredo. As Nuno Portas stated in an interview published in the daily newspaper *República* on August 30, the objective was for the State to support

“initiatives . . . that the populations of *bairros de lata*, of degraded neighborhoods, of clandestine neighborhoods that are *abarracados* [i.e. where many shack-like constructions exist] will take towards recuperating, rehabilitating, improving—any of these terms is good, albeit not very precise—the neighborhoods they inhabit, through the incorporation of their work, probably also of their savings and of other possible types of collaborations”³⁷

Even though relatively few SAAL interventions were completed, the program certainly contributed to advancing a conception of the right to housing that included the rejection of demolition without consultation and of forcible displacement.³⁸ However, it is noteworthy that Portas excluded “clandestine urbanizations” from the spaces to be included in this housing program. In the second part of the interview, published on August 31 under the headline “Clandestine urbanizations are a consequence of the mistakes of the housing policy of the preceding regime,” Portas claimed that informal subdivisions were due to the “lack of [municipal] *reservas fundiárias* [i.e. land reserves] . . . and to the retention of land by private landowners, because of the expectation of increases in land values.” He notably challenged the use of the phrase “clandestine constructions,” albeit to propose the use of the term *selvagem* (i.e. savage): “I said that I prefer to call these *savages*, in the sense that one cannot designate as clandestine those subdivisions that, although illegal, were intensely publicized in newspapers and in television, and addressed through the condescendence, the passivity, and maybe the conniving practices of the authorities of the old regime.” Such subdivisions had been “a kind of solution for the nonexistence or insufficiency of an affordable housing policy.”³⁹ As will be addressed later in the dissertation, Portas explicitly argued that the new regime should temporarily avoid creating any kind of public infrastructure in informally created subdivisions, heralding the state of expectancy examined in the fifth chapter.

Ultimately the right to housing was secured as a basic constitutional right in the new Constitution, approved by an elected Constitutional Assembly in 1976:

³⁷ “O Problema da Habitação em Portugal, 1: As Medidas Sociais Programadas Constituirão Apoio Considerável à Indústria da Construção Civil.” [“The Housing Problem in Portugal, 1: The Programmed Social Measures will constitute a Considerable Social Support to the Civil Construction Industry.”] *República*. August 30, 1974.

³⁸ The program included, at least initially, “self-help” construction as one of its principles (Downs 1980, 135). Nevertheless, in most of SAAL’s completed interventions, “transformation” entailed the complete destruction of extant housing. A valuable literature has examined the history of the SAAL program (Oliveira and Marconi 1977; Downs 1980 and 1989; Bandeirinha 2007).

³⁹ “O Problema da Habitação em Portugal, 2: As Urbanizações Clandestinas são uma Consequência dos Erros da Política Habitacional do anterior Regime.” [“The Housing Problem in Portugal, 2: The Clandestine Urbanizations are a Consequence of the Housing Policy mistakes of the previous Regime.”] *República*. August 31, 1974.

“Article 65—Housing and Urbanism: 1. All have the right, for themselves and for their family, to housing of adequate dimension, in conditions of hygiene and comfort and preserving the personal intimacy and the familial privacy.”⁴⁰

The two salient discourses relating housing and freedom in post-democratization Portugal both deal with the idea that an array of rights—including the right to housing with a required level of spatial quality—is integral to the autonomization of individuals, households and communities in a political democracy. The more recent discourse characterizing the clandestine as an undesirable consequence of revolutionary claims to the right to housing foregrounds the issue of reconciling the maintenance of spatial order with the fostering of self-ruling subjects.

This is not a new question, and not one that could only arise after the beginning of political democratization; indeed, it can be argued that envisioning a territorially orderly domestic freedom was an important issue in the early period of Salazar’s authoritarian political organization, particularly after his nomination as government leader in 1932. In the following decade, both prime political leaders such as Oliveira Salazar and little known professionals interested in housing such as architect Perfeito de Magalhães or physician Vicente Moreira celebrated the fostering of a private freedom for the family conceptualized as the basic political unit. In contrast to the citizen of political liberalism, the family was the “first of the organic political elements of the constitutional State” (Salazar [1930] 1935, 85). The 1933 Constitution defined the family as the “source of conservation and development of the race, as primary basis of education, of discipline and social harmony, and as basis of all the political order.”⁴¹ Notably, in “order to defend the family, the State and local municipalities are mandated to favor the constitution of independent homes in salubrious conditions, and the institution of the family couple.”⁴²

The idea of a private freedom was integral to the question of how to order society through planning, and to the ways in which modes of formal or informal spatial production would be managed. In a statement on the family as one of the main “economic concepts” of the new Constitution, cited at the beginning of Magalhães’ 1935 book *A Habitação* (i.e. *Housing*) ([1935] 1938, 9), Salazar argued that

“the family by itself demands two other institutions: private property and inheritance. First property—the owning of goods that may be enjoyed and even the owning of goods that may provide rent. The intimacy of family life calls for coziness, demands isolation, in one word it demands the house, the independent home, the *casa própria* [i.e. owned home], *our* home . . . it is very useful that the instinct of property that accompanies man

⁴⁰ Constitution of the Portuguese Republic, art. 65, sec. 1. The Constitution’s preamble states that “the Constitutional Assembly affirms the decision of the Portuguese people . . . to open a way for a socialist society.”

⁴¹ 1933 Political Constitution of the Portuguese Republic (hereafter cited as 1933 Constitution), art. 11.

⁴² *Ibid.*, art. 13, sec. 1.

may be exerted through the possession of the material part of his home. Naturally more economical, more stable, more well constituted is the family that is sheltered under its own roof . . . for our independent disposition and in benefit of our educated simplicity we desire the a small home, independent, inhabited with full ownership by the family” (Salazar [1933a] 1935; emphasis in the original).

Years later, a statement by physician Vicente Moreira in a book titled *Problemas da Habitação* (i.e. *Housing Problems*) shows how Salazar’s defense of “independent” (i.e. single-family) housing that was *fully owned* by the ideal familial political unit was articulated with the idea of enabling a “social evolution” of the working-class that would avoid revolution.⁴³ In 1950, Moreira bemoaned:

“If we knew how to take advantage of the innate sentiment of ownership that exists in workers! . . . Although [the expectation to become bourgeois] is not the only cause of the political and social tendency of the proletariat, the truth is that it represents one of its aspirations. Therefore, a great statesman’s vision was demonstrated by Salazar, aiming to create small owners through the constitution of urban and rural *casais de família* [i.e. homesteads]. We lament that the execution of this idea does not yet correspond to the needs of a greater number of families” (Moreira 1950, ix).

The defense of a social evolution of the “proletariat” through the fully owned, detached single-family house was articulated through an acknowledgment of class as a category of difference central to a debate on political organization, but it also corresponded to envisioning the erosion of proletarian politics.⁴⁴ The discursive foregrounding of a dichotomy between normal and marginal populations, which became salient from the late 1950s onwards as the following chapter will address, was ultimately inherent to the defense of the possibilities of

⁴³ During the two decades after the end of the Second World War, the concept of “social evolution” was often implicit in prospective texts on housing by design and planning professionals in Portugal. For example, in the 1948 First National Congress of Architecture, trainee architects Teotónio Pereira and Costa Martins defended the maximization of the “progressive *evolution of the life style* . . . through which elements of the proletariat become incorporated in the middle class” (Pereira and Costa [1948] 2008, 244; emphasis added). For that, the “proletarian class . . . should be placed in contact with the features that characterize [the city] socially . . . that contact will continuously furnish opportunities for *elevation*” (Ibid., 245; emphasis added). In the same congress, architect Andrade Gomes mentioned how “the elevation of the level of the worker [depended on] the solution of the housing problem” (Gomes [1948] 2008, 287). Sometimes the phrase “social evolution” was explicitly employed, as in a beforementioned 1963 state report: “[In 1928 started] the demolition of several insalubrious neighborhoods that constituted a great danger for the *social evolution of the population*” (MOP 1963, 10). Such conceptions of social evolution may have drawn from early Twentieth Century sociological debates on evolution and society, following the work of British scholars such as Herbert Spencer and Benjamin Kidd (Burrow 1966).

⁴⁴ It is noteworthy that the idea of social mobility through housing was by no means exclusively articulated by those defending authoritarian political orders. As Peter Hall has noted, from 1916 to 1939 socialist Henri Sellier planned sixteen garden suburbs for workers near Paris, like Suresnes (Hall [1988] 2002, 119). Sellier was “committed to the notion that the ordinary manual worker should become accustomed to bourgeois standards of respectability and comfort, so fostering the emergence of a new middle class” (Ibid., 118).

social evolution, as becoming “bourgeois” or “middle class” was naturalized as the normative path for subjectivation.

Thus, after the beginning of Salazar’s dictatorship in Portugal in 1932, the question of how to house low-income wage-laborers was discursively brought to center of the vision for a new authoritarian political order, as for example in the Brazil’s Vargas dictatorship.⁴⁵ As mentioned before, in Salazar’s corporative conception of the state, the nuclear family was defined as the smallest political unit. In order to maximize the possibilities for subjectivation ushered by the state’s fostering of nuclear family life, mass homeownership was envisioned; and the ideal housing form for an orderly nation was the detached, single-family house inhabited by a nuclear family.⁴⁶ Furthermore, the fostering of the nuclear family in the owned house was seen as explicitly maximizing production, if female labor outside the home was avoided: “the family is the purest source of the moral factors of production [i.e. of labor productivity]” (Salazar [1933] 1936, 201).⁴⁷

Such ideas on the ideal housing for Portuguese families were partly related to the earlier debate among anthropologists and architects on a *Casa Portuguesa*, and many architects—including fairly obscure ones today such as Perfeito de Magalhães—quickly embraced Salazar’s spatialization of the political in their writings. However, the focus on order did not entail a full rejection of the concept of freedom that had been integral to Liberalism in Portugal for one century. Instead, freedom was meant to blossom in the realm of domesticity. As the professor of German literature Agostinho de Campos noted in the preface of Magalhães’ 1935 book *Housing* notes, “on the day that we can give to each Home its very clear limits, we’ll be on our way to organize a better society: . . . one in which the Fatherland becomes the reunion of families in solidarity with their urbs and their neighborhood for all the effects of external collective life, but protected and the same time *free in all that is related to their intimate living*” (Campos 1938, 8; emphasis added).⁴⁸

⁴⁵ The Vargas dictatorship lasted from 1930 to 1945, and as Teresa Caldeira notes, “the newly created labor ministry defended the creation of opportunities for the urban classes to become homeowners. In the same way as the industrialists, labor officials were interested in cutting housing expenses, and in disseminating the value of home ownership, which they considered to be one of the bases of social stability” (Caldeira 2000, 219). Bonduki argues that “in the periphery, as in the *favela*, the conception of social housing was also present. Not as a positive action, but as an excuse, that justified the acceptance of any kind of housing settlement, regardless of precariousness or insalubrity, because this was the only way of actually facing the absence of dwellings” (Bonduki 1994, 730).

⁴⁶ So-called *cohabitação* [i.e. cohousing], a term that could describe extended family living, was considered by housing experts as an ill akin to the existence of *barracas* (MOP 1963, 10). In 1948, architect Pardal Monteiro lamented “how many [young couples], against their will, live in the same house as their parents, with all the inconvenients of the cohousing of generations, in most cases of different mentality and customs” (Monteiro [1948] 2008, 251).

⁴⁷ Commenting on female labor outside the realm of domesticity, Salazar claimed: “Who says family says home; who says home says a particular moral atmosphere and economy—a mixed economy of consumption and production. The work of the woman outside the home disaggregates it, separates the members of the family, tends to turn them into strangers towards each other” (Salazar [1933] 1936, 200).

⁴⁸ Agostinho de Campos was one of the main theorists of nationalism in early Twentieth Century Portugal, and an opponent of liberalism (Trindade 2008).

Research elsewhere in Southern Europe has long described the informal production of housing as integral to the “economic structure of a growing capitalism” (Solà-Morales et al. 1976, 12).⁴⁹ For those interested in challenging present-day planning practices fostering spatial violence in the Lisbon area, it is useful but not sufficient to deploy critiques of the political economy. However, it can be crucially enabling to examine the situated histories of the management of informality. The ways in which histories of informality unfolded across Southern Europe present many similarities, but present-day planning knowledge relies on categories formed in a situated fashion. How was clandestinity literally reinvented by planning knowledge in the late 1950s in the Lisbon area? What earlier debates were brought to bear in devising an expert reaction to informal suburban subdivision? After all, the modes of creation of working-class suburbs in North America from the 1920s to the 1950s shared some characteristics with informal subdivision in Portugal, including self-building or a lack of infrastructure (Harris 1996; Nicolaidis 2002; Hayden 2004). Yet, even though planners deplored individual cesspools in Levittown or “garage suburbs” in Los Angeles or Detroit, governments in North America did not legalize such spaces.⁵⁰ Why was informal suburban subdivision fully legalized in Portugal, and how was this process integral to the subjectivity formation of present-day planning experts?

French theorist Michel Foucault argued that “the mechanisms of subjection cannot be studied outside their relation to the mechanisms of exploitation and domination. But they do not constitute the ‘terminal’ of more fundamental mechanisms” (Foucault [1982] 2000, 332). In other words, the unequal relations of power through which humans are made subjects are not reducible to unequal economic relations. The political economy, including spatial production, is articulated with the exercise of governmental power amidst free subjects in specific spaces. Lisbon’s illegalized informal subdivisions were without doubt not a mere effect of semi-peripheral economic growth but a main site for both financial accumulation and middle-class formation. In addition, dealing with clandestinity was central to the constitution of contemporary planning knowledge. Single-family housing suburbs built initially for the working-class corresponded to a vision of “social evolution” through private freedom that was dominant during the early period of Salazar’s dictatorship. However, a dispersed working-class suburbanization did not correspond to the imagination of the future metropolitan region adopted by planners in the late 1950s, as will be addressed in the following chapter. Architects in particular defended a solution to the “housing problem” through state-built apartment buildings, as the fourth chapter

⁴⁹ Regarding Portugal itself, geographer Abilio Cardoso argued in 1983 that “illegal housing is a result of historical conditions which arise in countries engaged in particular processes of concentrated economic growth from a low level of development” (Cardoso 1983b, 27).

⁵⁰ Even though the original Levittown in Long Island, New York, may not be adequately be described as a working-class suburb, and self-building was employed only for transformations, the site is a pertinent example of how many North American suburbs were built with little public infrastructure in the late 1940s and 1950s. As Dolores Hayden notes, “the Levitts . . . proceeded to push the cost of building urban infrastructure for seventy to eighty thousand people onto the budgets of local governments” (Hayden 2004, 136). For example, Levittown had individual cesspools, instead of septic tanks or a sewerage system (Ibid., 137). Before the war, many “garage suburbs” in Los Angeles and Detroit had little or no public infrastructure (Ibid., 115). Furthermore, Becky Nicolaidis has shown how working-class Los Angeles suburbs such as South Gate were mostly created through self-building (Nicolaidis 2002, 30).

describes. For example, in his 1959 prospective study *Social Housing*, architect Nuno Portas argues that single-family housing is irrelevant for a study of state-built “social” housing:

“in effect, their construction, which has a disadvantageous cost, is made more expensive by the urbanization costs that are entailed; on the other hand, because [single-family housing] implies notoriously low urban densities that may contribute to individualistic tendencies for segregation . . . the recourse to this form of habitat . . . should be reserved for very special situations” (Portas [1959] 2004, 97).⁵¹

1.1.B. A History of the Invention of “Clandestine” Space in the Lisbon Area

This dissertation is thus a history of the illegalization of informal working-class suburbs during the Twentieth Century Salazar and Caetano dictatorships in Portugal, with a focus on understanding the role of the clandestine in planning knowledge formation. This first chapter provides a perspective on two important debates in contemporary social science research that are crucial for envisioning the future city, in Southern Europe and elsewhere: on liberalism and its articulation in authoritarian regimes; and on urban informality.

Firstly, this research draws on recent work on the deployment of elements of liberalism by authoritarian regimes in Eastern and Southeastern Asia, from the 1980s onwards. Such work, drawing from conceptions of liberalism invested in critiquing power relations, provides a way to reconsider Portuguese history in the mid-Twentieth Century, supporting an examination of the provenance of the present-day exercises of planning power under conditions of political democracy. The dissertation hopes to contribute to the recent proposals for a conceptualization of liberalism attentive to situated practices in contemporary cities (Mitchell 2004; Ong 2006; Postero 2006). This valuable research has worked in relation to a previous literature on a neoliberal rationality that had privileged discursive formations (Gordon 1991; Burchell 1996; Rose 1996a). The employment of ethnographic methods has shown the contingent ways in which liberal discourses are articulated through the production of space. Anthropologist Aihwa Ong in particular argues that in contemporary East Asia, regimes that cannot be characterized as liberal have deployed neoliberalism as an exceptional technology of government, including for example “talented expatriates” as “prototypical ideal citizens” (Ong 2006, 21). For Ong, the exceptional neoliberalism is conceptualized as an “extraordinary departure in policy that can be deployed to include as well as to exclude” (Ibid., 5).⁵² This dissertation argues that liberalizing techniques of power were articulated with an authoritarian political apparatus during the late period of the self-

⁵¹ The issue of cost had supported the rejection of single-family housing for the working-class by many participants in the 1948 congress (Lima [1948] 2008, 217; Jacobety [1948] 2008, 225). However, single-family housing was also seen antithetical to a “social harmony” that supposedly had hitherto characterized Lisbon’s urbanity (Monteiro [1948] 2008, 256).

⁵² “For instance, the intersection of politics of inclusion and of exclusion creates situations in which talented expatriates are incorporated as prototypical ideal citizens, while low-skill migrants brought in for labor extraction are politically excluded” (Ong 2006, 21).

styled “*Estado Novo*” (i.e. “New State”). This aspect has been neglected by the extant literature on liberalization during the Salazar and Caetano dictatorships. This literature was created mostly within the disciplinary field of economic history, and focuses on the late 1950s process of economic liberalization in a time of European development (Leeds 1984; Deubner 1984; Rosas 1998; among others). Furthermore, even though sociologist Hermínio Martins characterized the economic policy of the dictatorship as “avowedly ‘neo-liberal’” as early as 1971 (Martins [1971] 2006, 103),⁵³ more recent historical work seems to have largely avoided both this analytic category and valuable definitions of neoliberalism as governmentality. Through researching space, and in particular the history of the informal production of space, one can understand how technologies of self-rule were fostered both among the state bureaucracy and among a suburbanizing working-class, contributing to the formation of entrepreneurial subjectivities under authoritarian conditions.

Secondly, the dissertation also draws from past reflections on urban informality in authoritarianism. Past research focusing on informality in South America has validly described the emergence of urban informality in authoritarianism as part of a system of dependency characterized by “urban populism” (Castells 1983, 175).⁵⁴ Later research shows how in the Middle East the depoliticization of the informal as a mode of housing production has often been integral to defense from spatial violence by the state (AlSayyad 1993; Bayat 1997). More recent studies rearticulate the idea of the relation between the informal and political organization by proposing a conception of informalization as a governmental technique of spatial regulation (Roy 2004a). My work hopes to contribute to the literature on urban informality by articulating critical concepts of legality as a way to reach an understanding of the informal as relational process, encompassing both a mode of spatial production and a regime of regulation; the informal as a regime of regulation includes the making and changing of laws, as well as situated practices of spatial management that constitute *de facto* rules.

1.2. Theories of Liberalism in Authoritarian Polities

For a study of spatial production, one of the most valuable perspectives in the contemporary debate on conceptions of liberalism is the one inspired by French philosopher Michel Foucault and his interest on power relations, understood as a process of subjection through subjectivity. In the early 1990s, social scientists of various disciplines, such as Nikolas Rose, proposed studying liberalism in the United Kingdom as a “rationality of rule.” More recently, scholars working on the recent history of East Asia and on emerging forms of living there, like Ong, are interested in understanding the uses of liberalism as a rationality of rule by authoritarian regimes in the

⁵³ “The economic policy of the dictatorship has been avowedly ‘neo-liberal’: budgetary balance, monetary and price stability, a ‘hard’ currency, etc.” (Martins 1971, 63).

⁵⁴ “We mean by urban populism the process of establishing popular legitimacy on the basis of a popular mobilization supported by and aimed at the delivery of land, housing, and public services” (Castells 1983, 175).

region, notably socialist China (Ong 2006; Ong and Zhang 2008).⁵⁵ At the same time, research on liberalism as a philosophy has started examining the long history of the articulation in Europe of liberalizing discourses and practices with empire or dictatorship. For example, political philosophy Uday Mehta studies the crucial association of late Eighteenth Nineteenth Century British liberal thought with empire, and in particular “the liberal justification of the empire” (Mehta 1999, 2).

1.2.1. Critique of Power Relations and the Literature on Liberal Governmentality

The recent literature on liberal governmentality has drawn mostly on the influential conceptualization of liberalism and government by Michel Foucault, developed during the liberalizing presidency of Giscard d’Estaing. Foucault addressed liberalism in his Paris lectures of 1978 and 1979, as a “political rationality” concerned with ensuring “the free enterprise of individuals” (Foucault [1979] 2003, 202). For Foucault, the emergence of liberalism as a political rationality in the Eighteenth Century was associated with the beginning of “biopolitics,” i.e. “the endeavor . . . to rationalize the problems presented to governmental practice by the phenomena characteristic of a group of living beings constituted as a population: health, sanitation, birthrate, longevity, race” (Ibid.). While there were other methods for the rationalization of the exercise of government, as the Eighteenth Century “police knowledge” in present-day Germany, what distinguished liberalism for Foucault was the concept that “one always governs too much.” This concept is associated with the foregrounding of the idea of “society” as an entity that is distinguished from the “state.” Furthermore, Foucault warned against the idea that liberalism was “necessarily democratic or devoted to the forms of law” (Ibid., 205). In his lectures, Foucault addressed two contrasting postwar examples of liberalism as a model of “governmental reason:” 1950s “Ordo-liberalism” in occupied Western Germany, which defended the need for state vigilance of the regulation of prices “by the market;” and the theories of scholars at Chicago University that intended to extend “the rationality of the market . . . to areas that are not exclusively or not primarily economic” (Ibid., 207).

From the early 1990s onwards, English scholars translated Foucault’s late 1970s lectures on governmentality, reflecting on the implications of his work for the concept of politics and the study of its forms, in particular for the United Kingdom in the aftermath of the Thatcher

⁵⁵ As will be noted in this section, research foregrounding a critical conception of neoliberalism as a theory of political economical practices has also addressed the present-day articulations of liberalism in China (Harvey 2005). The literature on liberalism focused on a critique of the political economy has studied neoliberalism as “neoliberal globalization” and as an ideology in opposition to Keynesianism that emerged in 1930s Austrian economics. After the Second World War, this scholarly perspective was articulated both by the Ordo-economics school in West Germany and by Stanford’s Hoover Institute and the Chicago school in the United States, where it was also diffused through popular magazines like Newsweek or Reader’s Digest (Peet 2003, 9). Within the disciplinary field of economics, neoliberalism is associated with Milton Friedman’s monetarist analysis of inflation and with supply side theory, which argues for example that tax reduction for a high-income population does not decrease tax income for the state (Blyth 2002).

governments (Gordon 1991; Burchell 1996; Rose 1996a). Commenting on Foucault, Colin Gordon rearticulated the idea of early liberalism as “a critique of state reason,” foregrounding the notion of a present-day “society of security” (Gordon 1991, 20). Gordon was concerned about showing how Foucault’s work on rationality was crucial for an understanding of class formation, arguing that the emergence of the “society of security” during the Nineteenth Century was associated with the “question of class” and efforts for the “reconstruction of the population of the poor” (Ibid., 31). Sociologists Barry, Osborne and Rose foregrounded instead the conception of freedom as a “formula of rule” (Barry, Osborne and Rose 1996, 8) and of the role of the social sciences as “a kind of technical solution” through which an autonomous “society is brought into being” (Ibid., 9). This was framed as a critique of Stuart Hall’s conceptualization of neoliberalism. Hall supposedly neglected the inventiveness of the techniques or technologies of Thatcherism as a liberal “art of government” (Ibid., 11).⁵⁶

Nikolas Rose’s conceptualization of liberalism as a specific “array of technologies of government” (Rose 1996a, 42) instead of “a political philosophy [or] a type of society” (Ibid., 39), became particularly influential within the liberal governmentality literature. However, one central feature of Rose’s work has been establishing a periodization narrative of “formula[s] for the exercise of rule,” without problematizing its reliance on the political history of a few polities in Northwestern Europe and in North America, and particularly without considering how the unequal relations with other regions of the world establish conditions for such formulas (Ibid., 39). For Rose, Nineteenth Century liberalism and its focus on expertise and on the opposition between the need to govern and the need to restrict government, was ultimately perceived as a failure and replaced by the “social.” In turn, this is supposed to have been superseded by an “advanced liberal” model that includes destatization practices of government to “govern at a distance” (Ibid., 43), deploying techniques of audit and fostering “active individuals seeking to ‘enterprise themselves’” (Ibid., 57). By the late 1990s, a position emerged within the liberal governmentality literature arguing that early formulations had pitted genealogical work against critique, thus ignoring the idea of politics as involving relations of contest, and in particular the crucial relation between programs and their “process of messy implementation” (O’Malley, Weir and Shearing 1997, 512).

Nevertheless, and even though the early governmentality literature rarely considered space as a theoretical category, certain aspects of Rose’s work are valuable for spatial histories. For example, Rose argues that the celebration of “community” instead of the social in contemporary liberal programs has intended to foster “new modes of neighborhood participation, local empowerment and engagement of residents in decisions over their own lives [in order to] reactivate self-motivation, self-responsibility and self-reliance in the form of active citizenship within a self-governing community” (Rose 1996b, 335). In addition, Rose has valuably noted

⁵⁶ Stuart Hall drew from the work of Italian political thinker Antonio Gramsci to frame Thatcherism as a neoliberal “ideological bloc,” intent on reconstructing forms of social life, and resulting from an extended ideological struggle within the ruling classes (Hall 1988). Hall defended Foucault’s conception of power as indicating that power was not only an “imposed system of coercive constraint.” However, for Hall this conception of unequal power relations corresponded to a “conception of difference without a concept of articulation, that is, a conception of power without a conception of hegemony” (Ibid., 53).

how the deployment of techniques of liberalization is associated with a foregrounding of the imaginary figure of the “marginal” (Ibid., 345).

The second chapter of this dissertation will briefly address how late 1950s Portuguese cinema presaged this mode of distinction, which disregards notions of a class structure within which low-income wage-laborers have a place. In the fourth chapter, I will address how this 1950s transition in modes of cinematic performance of class heralded the articulation of the idea of marginality by Portuguese scholars studying “clandestine” neighborhoods from the mid-1980s onwards, at a new moment of economic liberalization in Portugal. One of the arguments of my dissertation is that a critique of “participation” by scholars interested in rationalities of government needs to be associated with an understanding of the formation of the figure of the “marginal” in contemporary liberal discourse. Such participation discourses are not merely productive of entrepreneurial subjectivities within the normative urbanities inhabited by the privileged subjects of “advanced liberal” polities. Techniques of liberalization to foster self-ruling subjects are also deployed within the state apparatus of authoritarian regimes such as Portugal’s “*Estado Novo*,” as the third chapter will explore. Furthermore, an understanding of such participation discourses is also crucial to understand the modes of destruction of settlements created under conditions of informality in contemporary Lisbon, as will be addressed in the last chapter.⁵⁷

1.2.2. Liberalization in Contemporary Authoritarian Polities

By the mid-2000s, authors working in United States universities like Aihwa Ong or geographers Katharyne Mitchell and David Harvey had become interested in extending or contesting—explicitly or implicitly—the conceptualization of neoliberalism by the governmentality literature of the previous decade, mostly produced in Northwestern Europe. Katharyne Mitchell, contributing to the critique within the disciplinary field of Geography of Rose’s reading of Foucault, provides ways in which to articulate a critique of liberalism as a political philosophy—instead of an art of government—with Henri Lefebvre’s concept of a production of space. Mitchell studies how reactions to the so-called “monster houses” built by privileged Hong Kong immigrants in Vancouver exposed the exclusions inherent to the imaginations of a “multicultural” and liberal polity espoused by Canadians of European descent.⁵⁸ Mitchell’s work shows the importance of being attentive to the “messy actualities of resistance and rule” (Mitchell 2004, 7). She focuses not on how subjects purportedly adapt to global regimes of

⁵⁷ In addition, the fourth chapter will mention how the discourse of “participation” was deployed by Communist municipalities in late 1970s Portugal to frame “clandestine” neighborhoods. Ideas of state management “at a distance” of suburban growth are not necessarily associated only with contemporary liberalism. For example, planning historian Peter Hall has noted how John Turner’s studies of Peru’s *barriadas* and his defense of autonomous housing systems could be understood within a tradition of anarchist thinking in planning initiated by Patrick Geddes (Hall [1988] 2002, 271).

⁵⁸ In a later text, Mitchell has addressed exclusion, notably gendered exclusion, as integral to the history of liberalism and neoliberalism (Mitchell 2006).

neoliberalism, but instead on how “*actions . . . consolidate and contest different logics of liberalism in space*” in Vancouver and elsewhere (Ibid., 8). This helps debunk Rose’s periodization narrative, by supporting the argument that there is a “deep overlap of liberal ideologies in the everyday social world” (Ibid., 214); and by noting that mid-Twentieth Century critiques of classical liberalism defending the need for redistributive policies do not necessarily correspond to a “social” formula of rule that replaced liberalism. Instead, they should be understood as a “social liberalism.”⁵⁹ This formation has not been neatly replaced by neoliberalism, but “actually existing liberalism as it is now experienced and activated is based in a sense of social liberalism deriving from Lockean principles of individual freedoms *and* Keynesian assumptions about state interventions and responsibilities” (Ibid. 213; emphasis in the original).

Also writing in the disciplinary field of Geography, David Harvey proposes a history of neoliberalism that can be evoked to contest the definition of liberalism by the governmentality literature inspired by Foucault’s scholarship. While scholars such as Mitchell were exploring the ways in which an understanding of logics of liberalism could be articulated through spatial practices associating both circuits of financial capital and of subjectivity formation, in this particular work Harvey aims at creating a perspective of liberalism firmly anchored in a critique of the political economy mostly concerned with denouncing liberalism as a project for increased inequality. For Harvey, the doctrine of neoliberalism in economics was adopted in the late 1970s in the United States and in the United Kingdom as a “central guiding principle of economic thought and management” (Harvey 2005, 2).⁶⁰ He argues that this was due to a “clear *political* threat to economic elites and ruling classes everywhere, both in the advanced capitalist countries (such as Italy, France, Spain, and Portugal) and in many developing countries (such as Chile, Mexico, and Argentina) . . . [and] beyond this, the *economic* threat to the position of ruling elites and classes was now becoming palpable” (Ibid., 15; emphasis in the original).

For the purposes of this dissertation, it is useful to note how Harvey approaches China. From late 1978 onwards, China has been characterized by “the construction of a particular kind

⁵⁹ Evoking Karl Polanyi ([1944] 2001), David Harvey characterized this “form of political-economic organization,” that lasted in Western Europe and in North America from the end of the Second World War to the mid-1970s, as “embedded liberalism” (Harvey 2005, 11).

⁶⁰ Harvey states that “neoliberalism is in the first instance a theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong property rights, free markets and free trade. The role of the state is to create and preserve an institutional framework appropriate to such practices” (Harvey 2005, 2). In Harvey’s account, in 1947 the Mont Perelin Society organized by political philosopher Friedrich Von Hayek started rearticulating the ideas of late Nineteenth Century neoclassical economics to challenge the dominance of Keynes and of centralized state planning. The society argued for “diffused power” as the means to preserve freedom (Ibid., 20). These theories would be developed by a series of “think-tanks” in the United States and by Milton Friedman at the University of Chicago. Two decades later, neoliberal theory influenced the practice of neoliberalization by the Thatcher government in the United Kingdom from 1979 onwards, and by the Reagan administration in the United States from 1980 onwards. By 1982 the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank “became centres for the propagation and enforcement of ‘free market fundamentalism’ and neoliberal orthodoxy. In return for debt rescheduling, indebted countries were required to implement institutional reforms, such as cuts in welfare expenditures, more flexible labour market laws, and privatization” (Harvey 2005, 29).

of market economy that increasingly incorporates *neoliberal elements* interdigitated with authoritarian centralized control” (Ibid., 120; emphasis added). Harvey argues that this process was characterized by a high level of foreign direct investment, which from the early 1990s onwards constituted a majority of capital inflows.⁶¹ Even though a distinction between urban and rural citizens was maintained formally in China, a mostly illegal rural exodus provided an urban “labor force . . . vulnerable to super-exploitation and [putting] downward pressure on the wages of urban residents” (Ibid. 127).⁶² At the same time, both formal and informal modes of commodification, privatization and urbanization of rural land have enabled great profits for private developers with “privileged relationships with the banks” (Ibid., 147).

Even though Harvey himself acknowledges that the Chinese state is more correctly described as a “Keynesian state,” at least in terms of external relations (Ibid., 141), it is undoubtedly possible to draw from Harvey’s work to understand how the policies of authoritarian states can foster economic liberalization while maintaining political authoritarianism. Nevertheless, the beforementioned understanding of liberalism as a rationality of rule seems to be necessary to fully understand the ways in which authoritarian regimes like the Salazar and Caetano dictatorships can deploy liberalism as an exceptional “technology of government” (Ong 2006, 3).

For anthropologist Aihwa Ong, neoliberalism must be understood as both a term employed in popular discourse and a theoretical category. In the latter sense, neoliberalism can be discussed as an economic doctrine or, drawing on Nikolas Rose, as “a new relationship between government and knowledge through which the governing activities are recast as nonpolitical and nonideological problems that need technical solutions” (Ibid.). However, whereas the 1990s literature on neoliberal governmentality had explored the idea of a new epoch of neoliberalism characteristic of purportedly advanced democracies, Ong focuses on the uses of elements of neoliberalism as an exception that “articulates sovereign rule and regimes of citizenship” (Ibid.).⁶³ While drawing on the conceptualizations of exception by Carl Schmitt and Giorgio Agamben, Ong proposes exception “as an extraordinary departure in policy that can be

⁶¹ However, foreign loans were increasingly avoided, and the existence of stock markets and capital markets was disallowed by the state; financial intermediation was undertaken by state-owned banks.

⁶² Earlier research has shown how “restructuring” in China was associated with a redefinition of development as “participation in the world market” (McMichael 1996, 148). As part of early restructuring, the state fostered for example private land concentration, and a shift of agricultural management from communes to households (Ibid., 155).

⁶³ Reworking Marshall’s approach to citizenship elements (Marshall [1950] 1964), Aihwa Ong argues that in the context of contemporary neoliberalism the concept of citizenship is becoming disarticulated from the national: “components formally tied to citizenship—rights, entitlements, as well as nation and territoriality—are becoming disarticulated from one another and rearticulated with government strategies that promote an economic logic in defining, evaluating, and protecting certain categories of subjects and not others. In some milieus, the neoliberal exception gives value to calculative practices and to self-governing subjects as preferred citizens” (Ong 2006, 16).

deployed to include as well to exclude” (Ibid., 5).⁶⁴ Arguing that the anthropological project should continue to be particularly attentive to actual practices, even though it may go beyond the “conceptual world” of subjects, Ong states that neoliberalism should not be studied “as a ‘culture’ or as a ‘structure’ but as *mobile calculative techniques of governing* that can be decontextualized from their original sources and recontextualized” (Ibid., 13; emphasis added). How were liberal techniques of governing articulated with spatial production in the Salazar and Caetano dictatorships in Portugal?

1.2.3. Early Liberalism in Nineteenth Century Portuguese Empire

This section of the chapter focuses on how processes of political and economical deliberalization and liberalization were undertaken during the Salazar and Caetano dictatorships. This discussion will be preceded by a brief reference to the early history of liberal discourse in Nineteenth Century Portuguese Empire. The implications of this discourse for the problematization of working-class housing conditions in the latter part of the century will be addressed in more detail in the following chapter.

In historical scholarship on Portugal and on Portuguese Empire, the term “liberal” is most commonly associated with the victorious side in the country’s only internal armed conflict, the civil war that started with a military uprising in Porto in August 1820. At the time, the Portuguese royal court had been in Brazil for 12 years. After three French invasions in 1807, 1809 and 1810, Portugal itself was administered by English general Beresford. The main objective of the 1820 uprising in Porto was to establish a constitutional monarchy for a United Kingdom of Portugal and Brazil, in order to broaden participation in political administration for the affluent classes. In addition, the Porto garrison demanded the return of King John VI to Lisbon and the establishment of a sovereign Congress in the Portuguese capital, so that the country could enjoy again the economic benefits of being the seat of Portuguese Empire. As historian Douglas Wheeler has argued, “the Portuguese army officer corps . . . under the influence of French revolutionary ideas and English liberalism, [had been] . . . transformed by the events of the years 1807-1820” (Wheeler 1978, 22). The main objectives of the uprising were articulated through a discourse on liberty and happiness: “the Portuguese people will have a just liberty, because he [sic] wants to have it” ([JPGSP] [1820] 1834, 310). The authors of the garrison’s manifesto defended that they did not espouse “the fake principles of a philosophism that is absurd and disorganizes societies; these patriotic movements were *not directed by love for an unlimited liberty*, one that cannot be conciliated with the true happiness of Man [sic]” (Ibid.; emphasis added).

⁶⁴ Ong distinguishes between the conventional understanding of exception as a denial of “protections” and an understanding of exception as the “positive decision to include” (Ong 2006, 5). As Ong focuses on the laborers that manufacture electronic machines and its parts in Northern California, she argues that “workers who are technically American citizens may not enjoy basic rights because their work rank and location, rather than formal citizenship, determine their conditions of existence. In contrast, transnational entrepreneurs often enjoy rights and privileges regardless of their formal citizenship status” (Ibid., 134).

More recent work has foregrounded the ways in which the manifesto issued by the Porto garrison evoked contemporary texts produced in the American continent. Historian Kenneth Maxwell has noted that the manifesto “reads very much like other such declarations of independence from colonial status and contained the same complaints; the only difference was this manifesto came from rebels in a European city, not rebels across the Atlantic in a colonial port city” (Maxwell 2003, 155). Indeed, the 1820 *Manifeste de la Nation Portugaise aux Souverains, et aux Peuples de l’Europe* (i.e. *Manifesto of the Portuguese Nation to the Sovereigns, and to the Peoples of Europe*) stated that “the Portuguese are beginning to lose the hope of the unique resource and the only means of salvation that remains to them in midst of ruin which has almost consumed their dear homeland. The idea of *the status of a colony to which Portugal in effect is reduced*, afflicts deeply all those citizens who still conserve a sentiment of national dignity. Justice is administered from Brazil to the loyal people in Europe, that is to say at a vast distance ... with excessive expense and delay” ([JPGSP] [1820] 1834; emphasis added).

The uprising was only partly successful: the royal court returned to Lisbon in 1821, but agreement in the new Lisbon Congress between representatives of Brazil and of Portugal was never reached. With the tacit agreement of monarch John VI, his heir Pedro declared the independence of Brazil in 1822, and the Portuguese empire was suddenly reduced to scattered coastal forts in Africa and in India, exerting little control over their hinterlands. Two years after the death of John VI in 1826, his other son Miguel declared the restoration of absolutist monarchy. A new military uprising in Porto in 1828 marked the start of a civil war between *liberais* (i.e. liberals) and *miguelistas* (i.e. the absolutists) that lasted for six years.

The beginning of the liberal monarchy in 1834 had immediate consequences for urban life in Portugal, since the need for the desacralization and commodification of urban space was central to the Portuguese practice of liberalism in the early Nineteenth Century. Indeed, one of the first objectives of the victorious liberals at the end of the civil war was to subjugate the Catholic Church to the new liberal state, by reducing its autonomy. This entailed forcibly eliminating the religious uses of Church buildings, except temples: one of the first acts of the new regime in 1834 was the dissolution of all Religious Orders and the confiscation by the state of their property. Particularly in the largest cities such as Lisbon or Porto, buildings that had housed Religious Orders began being transformed for use by state institutions, such as military barracks, hospitals or schools—or sold for use by the new private institutions of the affluent urbanites.⁶⁵ Furthermore, many convents included large enclosures in central urban locations that were swiftly subdivided and resold.

The change introduced in urban life by the dissolution of Religious Orders was of immense symbolic meaning, as the late medieval convents that had dominated the Portuguese cities for six centuries were destroyed or transformed beyond recognition. In addition, the sale of the convents’ enclosures spurred the foregrounding of commerce in land as a profitable pursuit.

⁶⁵ For example, Lisbon’s São Bento Monastery, one of the capital’s largest, was transformed to become the *Palácio das Cortes* (i.e. Palace of Parliament). In Porto, the ruined São Francisco convent started being replaced by a monumental *Palácio da Bolsa* (i.e. Stock Exchange Palace) from 1842 onwards, after the building was acquired by the new *Associação Comercial do Porto* (i.e. Porto Trade Association). The latter had been founded in 1834 by Ferreira Borges (Silva 1980, 367).

As Portuguese historian José Hermano Saraiva notes, “the sale of the national properties [i.e. the nationalized properties that had belonged to the Religious Orders] produced a new class of landowners: Cabral himself [a government minister] had bought part of the Tomar castle for a relatively low price in an auction, transforming the medieval building into a comfortable bourgeois villa. These new landowners viewed buying land as an investment and wanted to obtain profits; many convent farms were resold, subdivided, or commercially exploited. The replacement of the abbots and captains-major by the barons of liberalism was not a simple change of owners” (Saraiva 1993, 406).

Simultaneously, the diffusion of the new science of political economy among the “middle class” started being undertaken by scholars like the jurist Ferreira Borges (Silva 1980), the author of Portugal’s first Commercial Code, published in 1836, and of *Institutions of Political Economy* (Borges 1834); or physician Silveira Pinto, the author of a political economy textbook printed in the following year.⁶⁶ Both authors drew from the work of Scottish philosopher Adam Smith ([1776] 1993), interpreted through the more recent writings of Russian scholar of German descent Heinrich von Storch (1823) and French philosopher Jean-Baptiste Say (1828), as Santos Silva has noted (1980, 374). Borges argued that political economy “influences and reflects on the well-being of each one, teaching the way of achieving the general prosperity of the nation. No nation is more in need of the study and teaching of this science than our Portugal and Brazil . . . it is necessary to work to exist and to pay what is owed: but one cannot work if there is no security in the product and freedom in work” (Borges 1834, xxiv). In particular, Borges defended the “security of property” and a “free choice of the employment of capitals” (Ibid., 94). Freedom is defined as the freedom of property and investment from the purported arbitrariness of absolutist monarchy; a constitutional order is necessary for such freedom, without which nations will not develop.

During the 1840s the emerging liberal state introduced two additional policies fostering the commodification of urban space. Firstly, the state illegalized intramural burial practices in 1844, further desacralizing extant and future urban land.⁶⁷ Secondly, new instruments for the taxation of land property were created, linking state revenue and land property valuation: a new property tax (the *contribuição predial*) was introduced in 1845, necessitating the creation of a national land cadastre. As José Luís Cardoso and Pedro Lains have stated, “the transfer of

⁶⁶ Besides diffusion through the publication of books or newspaper articles, courses in Political Economy were created at Coimbra’s new Law school in 1836, at Lisbon’s new Polytechnic school in 1840 (Silva 1980, 366), and briefly at Porto’s Trade Association from 1837 to 1838 (Ibid., 372). Silveira Pinto taught the latter course, having been invited by Ferreira Borges.

⁶⁷ In 1844 the liberal state forbid burials in parish churches. By then, the construction of large extramural state cemeteries had already begun, such as the Prazeres and Alto de São João cemeteries in Lisbon, both created in 1833, or the Prado do Repouso in eastern Porto, created in 1838. The new law spurred the construction of new state cemeteries, such as the Agramonte cemetery in western Porto in 1855. This first wave of creation of extramural public cemeteries in Lisbon and Porto constituted a Portuguese articulation of a movement for the withdrawal of burials from residential areas that started elsewhere in Europe in the late Eighteenth Century. For architectural historian Spiro Kostof, this “detachment of . . . cemeteries from the parish church . . . may well be the most significant urban response of the new [Enlightenment] age” (Kostof [1985] 1995, 568). The creation of public cemeteries also entailed almost universal access to identified and permanent burial places, previously a privilege of only the most affluent.

taxation from ancien régime collectors [i.e. the clergy and the nobility] to the state proved crucial for the consolidation of the liberal regime . . . [but] the major challenge facing the nascent liberal state was to find new forms of taxation and a corresponding institutional framework” (Cardoso and Lains 2010, 257).⁶⁸

From 1820 onwards, the emerging discourse of liberalism in Portugal foregrounded the relation between the possibilities of liberty and the need of societal order for happiness. In Portuguese cities, this discourse was ultimately associated with practices of forced land commodification reordering the relation between urban extension and state financing. Indeed, one of the central aspects of the liberal state apparatus formed after 1834 was the development of an urban land market. Among the first measures of the new state was the confiscation of the Church properties for reuse or sale, often through subdivision. The commodification of the vast swathes of urban land owned by the Church soon became associated with additional forms of spatial financing, including a new property tax and the beginning of the creation of a national land cadastre. As the following chapter will mention, by the 1850s a progressivist discourse on *Regeneração* (i.e. Regeneration) emerged, foregrounding both the creation of new transportation infrastructure and the facilitation by the state of the construction of new kinds of residential spaces geared to privileged urban subjects. According to Hermínio Martins, “the engineers and financiers . . . sought to modernize the country” drawing on French social thinkers like Saint-Simon (1970, 303) and his vision of “an industrial class—by far the largest—divided into two groups, the workers and the administrative elite, who would run the temporal affairs of society, placing heavy emphasis on large scale-public works projects and on conquering nature through engineering” (Rabinow 1989, 29). Indeed, Saint-Simon’s ideas had become prominent in France, “in the business world, and particularly among Second Empire industrialists” (Ibid., 30).

At the same time, early nationalist critiques of political economy by prominent writers such as Almeida Garrett emerge in Portugal (Godinho [1971] 1977, 287), foregrounding a future ruination of the world by the “modern science of political economy” (Garrett 1845, 223). By 1850, two years after the publication of the *Communist Manifesto* in both London and Paris (Marx and Engels [1848] 1978), Garrett had started suggesting the need for an order that would avoid the violence of actual political-economical practice and communist protest (Garrett [1850] 1871).⁶⁹ In Portugal, Garrett’s warning against the dangers of both liberalism and communism heralds one of the central themes of Catholic conservative political thought in Southern Europe from the late Nineteenth Century onwards—including the corporatist political thought of Salazar

⁶⁸ The *contribuição predial* was temporarily suspended until 1852, due to the Maria da Fonte revolt of 1846.

⁶⁹ Garrett argued in 1845 in an endnote of a poetry book that political economy was a “science that will ruin the civilization and the world, because it launched us in the absolute and exclusive individualism, inevitable consequence of the doctrines of the utilitarians” (Garrett 1845, 223). He later added in another endnote, to a romance, that “after Adam Smith . . . Political Economy . . . degenerated, became exaggerated, became all material and materialist . . . socialism and communism are the reaction, are the protest—as violent as you will—surely not more exaggerated than the action over society that the pernicious doctrines of ill-ventured Political Economy” (Ibid. [1850] 1871, 291).

and Caetano, supporting the practice of a dictatorial government flexibly deploying both elements of police knowledge and of a liberal governmentality.⁷⁰

Briefly addressing the early history of Portuguese liberalism is important to understand how the early liberal concern with the relation between liberty and order was rearticulated one century later in the Salazar dictatorship, even though a narrative of rejection of the old liberal order was central to the regime, as historians such as Fernando Rosas have noted (Rosas 1998, 179). For example, Salazar denounced in a 1930 speech “the ever more serious disorders of individualism, socialism, and parliamentarism, marked by internationalist actuations” (Salazar [1930] 1935, 71).⁷¹ However, for Salazar order meant precisely a guarantee of freedoms, recalling the rejection of an “unlimited liberty” in the beforementioned manifesto of the 1820 military uprising: “we have seen through experience that it is not possible to base on this concept—*liberty*—a political system that effectively guarantees *the legitimate individual and collective freedoms*” (Ibid., 90; emphasis added).⁷² Salazar added: “that the State does not constrain the free expansion of activities that move and act in its bosom, except for what is reclaimed by the necessities of social harmony and coexistence . . . that is freedom” (Ibid., 91).

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the conception of a territorially orderly domestic freedom soon became an important issue. As the limited economic liberalization of the 1950s spurred urban growth, an urban planning apparatus developed partly around the conundrum presented by a disorderly “clandestine” subdivision process that boosted access by low-income wage-laborers to the ideal housing form for private freedom.

1.2.4. Liberalization in the Salazar and Caetano Dictatorships, 1932-1974

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, in the historiography of the Salazar and Caetano dictatorships, the deployment of discourses and practices and liberalism is usually neglected, even though there is a valuable scholarship on the limited economic liberalization of the 1950s. The latter was undertaken in relation to the framework established by the economic policies in 1930s Portugal, developed as part of what Karl Polanyi described as the collapse of the European “balance-of-power system,” which he considered a “superstructure” of a failed world economy

⁷⁰ Foucault proposed that “the *Polizeiwissenschaft* [i.e. police knowledge] developed by the Germans in the eighteenth century . . . always subscribed to the principle . . . one is governing too little.” In contrast, “liberalism resonates with the principle: ‘One always governs too much’” (Foucault [1979] 2003, 203).

⁷¹ Salazar contrasted such “disorders” with the equally undesirable “open or disguised dictatorships that, beyond their legitimation by the necessities of the moment, also represent an abnormality” ([1930] 1935, 71).

⁷² In a later speech, Salazar argued that “our most recent democracy did not efficiently guarantee the safety of individuals or the public freedoms: freedom of association, freedom of reunion, freedom of press” ([1934] 1936, 375).

(Polanyi [1944] 2001, 3).⁷³ Ultimately, “the liberal state was in many countries replaced by totalitarian dictatorships, and the central institution of the century—production based on free markets—was superseded by new forms of economy” (Ibid., 29).

1.2.4.A. Ending Liberalism for a “New State,” 1932-1945

“[The new Portuguese Constitution] attempts to build, without the risks of swift leaps, the New State that Portugal has to be, *ending the epoch of individualistic liberalism* and establishing the balanced nationalism that is inspired in the historic destiny of the Portuguese Nation and in the principles of true social science” (Salazar [1932] 1935, 145; emphasis added).

In Portugal, the military dictatorship that started in 1926 nominated Salazar, a leading member of the Catholic Center party, to be the new Finance Minister in 1928. The *Centro Católico Português* (i.e. Portuguese Catholic Center) had been founded in 1917 with support of the Portuguese bishops in response to the anticlerical policies of the new republican regime (Neto 2009, 143). The Catholic Center was one of several anti-liberal conservative parties created during the Great War.⁷⁴ Its discourse drew mostly from the doctrine of the Catholic Church, notably Pope Leo XIII’s *Rerum Novarum* encyclical, published in 1891. In *Rerum Novarum*, the Church defended an alternative to both Socialism and the extant liberal regimes in Europe (Leal 2009). Portugal’s anti-liberal conservatives like Salazar were also inspired by French conservative thinkers such as Le Play and by Maurras’ *Action Française* (Martins [1970] 2006, 22).⁷⁵ It is noteworthy that the architects invited by the Salazar dictatorship in the 1930s to direct the creation of masters plan for the Lisbon area, Alfred Agache (1875-1959) and Étienne de Gröer (1882-1970), were both teachers at the Paris Urbanism Institute—an institution created in 1919 with origins in the Le Playist Musée Social (Wright 1991, 27). Academics like Salazar and

⁷³ By the 1930s, Polanyi noted, “change set in with abruptness. Its landmarks were the abandonment of the gold standard by Great Britain; the Five-Year Plans in Russia; the launching of the New Deal; the National Socialist Revolution in Germany; the collapse of the League in favor of autarchic empires. While at the end of the Great War nineteenth-century ideals were paramount, and their influence dominated the following decade, by 1940 every vestige of the international system had disappeared . . . [and] there was hardly an internal crisis in Europe that did not reach its climax on an issue of foreign economy” (Polanyi [1944] 2001, 24). Portugal was no exception: as historian Fernando Rosas notes, Salazar’s nomination to lead the Finances Ministry in April 1928, which marks the start of his ascent to dictatorship, resulted from the failure of the military dictatorship to obtain acceptable conditions from an endorsement from the League of Nations for a twelve million Pound loan, to be raised in London (Rosas 1998, 155). Spanish Socialist politician Luis Araquistain argued then in *Foreign Affairs* that the military dictatorship wanted to avoid scrutiny regarding the fostering of plutocracy (1928).

⁷⁴ The Catholic Center ended in the early 1930s, when a new organization called *Acção Católica Portuguesa* (Portuguese Catholic Action) was created by the “*Estado Novo*” regime (Barreto 1994, 295).

⁷⁵ Metallurgical engineer Frédéric Le Play (1806-1882) “sought to create an alternative to liberal individualism, revolutionary change, and the reactionary advocacy of preindustrial society” (Rabinow 1989, 86). He “advocated an elitist hierarchy in which men of science, drawing on the accumulated wisdom of local authorities, would institute humanitarian social reform in the interests of a more harmonious society” (Ibid., 88).

architects like Agache or De Gröer thus had a shared focus on the idea of social harmony and on constructing fields of expertise for reform.

Salazar swiftly stabilized the currency, balanced the state's budget, and introduced price controls (Rosas 1998, 255).⁷⁶ After Salazar's nomination as government leader in 1932, such interventions were followed by new policies of "controlled development" that protected the interests of an "agricultural aristocracy," while industrialization was relatively neglected (Leeds 1984, 14).⁷⁷ This controlled development was based on a process of economic deliberalization, including a credit reform, a public works policy, industrial conditioning laws, the fostering of a state sector of the economy, and enforcing a containment of labor costs (Rosas 1998, 225). Such policies were partly associated with the objective of ending a long-term relation of economic dependency from England (Rosas [1986] 1996, 75).⁷⁸

Salazar's government aimed at deliberalizing the political economy according to theories of *corporativismo* (i.e. corporatism). Research has often foregrounded the inspiration on the recent policies of Mussolini in Italy; regime scholars preferred arguing that Salazar's understanding of corporatism drew mostly on the model "defined and defended by the social doctrine of the Catholic Church" at the time (Caetano [1972c] 1973, 217).⁷⁹ The Portuguese articulation of corporatism fostered the emergence of what some historians have described as an "authoritarian version of capitalism" (Leitão 2007, 27). In the new corporatist political economy, "unions and industrialists' organizations were . . . part of the formal structure of the state. This intended to avoid 'class struggle' (i.e., both strikes and lockouts were illegal) . . . [and such

⁷⁶ In addition, Salazar introduced stimulus measures that precociously challenged the liberal orthodoxy regarding state policies in economic crises, since the classical response followed in many other European polities at the time still focused on the need for the state to abstain from intervening (Rosas 1998, 225).

⁷⁷ Research has suggested that one of the effects of the 1930s economic policies affecting agricultural production was proletarianization, i.e. the increase in landless wage-laborers among those working in agriculture (Rosas [1986] 1996 and 1998; Carmo 2007). This happened particularly in the Alentejo region of southern Portugal. The state's policies included the protection of expensive wheat production while avoiding intervention in agricultural labor relations.

⁷⁸ Rosas argues that early "*Estado Novo*" economic policies and the associated strategies for a contained expansion of capitalist modes of production in mainland Portugal were devised in relation to a long-term economic dependency from England. Around 1930, the most technologically advanced sectors (such as energy production and distribution, transportation, and telecommunications) were dominated by foreign capital, mostly British. Some of the most important Portuguese exports, such as wine, raw cork or cork products, were also partially controlled by British capital (Rosas [1986] 1996, 55).

⁷⁹ As Leo Panitch has noted, in "fascist states . . . corporatism was introduced concomitantly with the abrogation of liberal democracy and the smashing of the indigenous organizations of the working class to the end of repressing both political and industrial class conflict" (Panitch 1977, 62). However, Panitch notes that "in liberal democracies implicit tendencies towards corporatism structures developed both before and concurrently with the emergence of fascism" (Ibid.). In the latter polities, corporatism has more recently been studied as a "system of representation adopted by governments that seek to secure pacts between the state and representatives of trade unions and employers in the interest of the national economy (Meade and O'Donovan 2002, 1). Corporatist theories had developed in the Nineteenth Century; their "common premise was that class harmony and organic unity were essential to society and could be secured if the various functional groups, and especially the organizations of capital and labour, were imbued with a conception of mutual rights and obligations somewhat similar to that presumed to have united the medieval estates in a stable society" (Panitch 1977, 61).

organizations] were controlled by the dictatorship and were employed as instruments of its policies” (Neves 1996a, 330). The corporatist idea of societal harmony was also subjacent to the creation of a series of laws of *condicionamento industrial* (i.e. industrial conditioning): private companies that wished to modify their production capacities now had to obtain authorization from the state. *Condicionamento industrial* aimed at creating obstacles to both competition and concentration, but in certain industrial sectors considered strategic—such as cement production—the policy fostered monopolies or cartelization (Rosas 1998, 231). It is noteworthy that this policy of state control of industrial production provoked no protests by industrialists or by their organizations.

Simultaneously, state intervention in the production of space dramatically increased. The public works program included in economic deliberalization started in 1927, focusing on state creation of public infrastructure, including harbors, a network of new National Roads, and public buildings such as schools, hospitals and courthouses (Ibid., 227). However, major direct state interventions in housing production were not undertaken in the 1930s.

Formally, the 1933 Constitution did not completely break with political liberalism.⁸⁰ The right to vote was extended in relation to the purportedly democratic First Republic.⁸¹ However, laws were created that restricted the freedom of expression and imposed a rigorous system of censorship on the press. Opposition candidates could be easily rejected by the state, and only one political organization, the *União Nacional* (i.e. National Union) was legalized. Theoretically, other parties could be created, but ultimately only informal and temporary alliances were allowed to support opposition candidates. Furthermore, electoral fraud was extensively practiced by the new regime, since electoral rolls were fully controlled by the National Union and by government agents; and a violent “system of *political justice*” was created (Cruz 1988, 85; emphasis in the original).⁸² In practice, the new regime swiftly became a “*personal dictatorship*” of the government head, Salazar (Cruz 1988, 97; emphasis in the original).

Political deliberalization increased after the end of the Second World War. During the war, Portugal had remained neutral, but the period was characterized by numerous industrial strikes and rural riots. A constitutional revision in 1945 confirmed the *de facto* authoritarian

⁸⁰ As historian Andresen Leitão notes, the 1933 Constitution “did not represent . . . a total rupture in relation to liberalism, because it attempted to maintain an appearance of legitimacy through the election of a National Assembly and of the president (the latter until 1959), and through the recognition of individual and democratic rights, such as the right to vote, the right to organize political parties, freedom of expression, and protection against arbitrary arrests” (Leitão 2007, 27).

⁸¹ Only literate adult male citizens had an unrestricted right to vote. Illiterate men were allowed to vote if they paid taxes above a certain value. Adult females could only vote if they had completed high school. The right to vote was extended in relation to the First Republic, due to these exceptions regarding illiterate wealthy men and highly educated women. Still, by 1945 there were only 834,000 registered voters in a population of about 7,000,000 citizens. Those considered “indigenous” in the colonies had no access to citizenship then.

⁸² The political police PVDE (i.e. *Polícia de Vigilância e Defesa do Estado*, renamed *Polícia Internacional e de Defesa do Estado* in 1945) developed a network of informants, special tribunals and special prisons. Arbitrary detention by the political police was legally possible for up to six months, sometimes with no visits or legal assistance. The political police commonly employed physical and psychological torture (Rosas 1998, 247; Pimentel, 2007a).

political organization. The government was defined as the normal legislative branch, eliminating any pretense of an autonomy of the National Assembly, which was described as a merely exceptional legislative organ (Rosas 1998, 241). By 1951, another revision undermined the separation of Church and state, as Catholicism was recognized as the “religion of the Portuguese nation” (Ibid., 242).

With hindsight, the 1958 candidacy of General Humberto Delgado in the last direct presidential elections was the last opportunity for a formally initiated political democratization. Delgado publicly promised to dismiss Salazar if elected, and on May 14 more than one hundred thousand demonstrators showed their support in Porto’s downtown. A potentially similar event in Lisbon two days later was prevented through violent repression, and Delgado was defeated due to the regime’s recourse to massive electoral fraud. After the elections, all opposition activity was disallowed.⁸³ During the summer of 1958 the regime announced a new development plan focusing on increased industrialization, and a series of measures favoring the state bureaucracy, private landowners and industrialists.⁸⁴ As the process of formal political deliberalization started after the end of the Second World War culminated in the late 1950s, the Salazar dictatorship introduced measures for the reliberalization of the political economy that stimulated urban growth in the capital, and particularly in its suburbs. Simultaneously, the candidacy of Delgado marked the beginning of a period of renewed contestation from 1958 to 1962, characterized by attempted coups, labor strikes and street demonstrations (Reis 1989, 7).

It was in this period that developers started informally creating suburban subdivisions through the commodification of hitherto agricultural land, maximizing the possibilities for Lisbon’s growing contingent of low-income wage-laborer households to achieve homeownership, and consequently the private freedoms eulogized by the dictator himself. However, “clandestine” subdivision also challenged the need for order, a concept that was increasingly defined by state planning experts as necessarily encompassing the regulation by the state of any kind of spatial production.

⁸³ The political police started a violent offensive against the illegal Communist Party, partially dismantling the party’s network of “clandestine houses” and arresting, torturing or even murdering Communist militants. In early 1959, Delgado was forced to exile, and so was the leader of the liberal wing of the Catholic Church, the bishop of Porto António Ferreira Gomes, who had publicly criticized the extant political organization. Delgado was murdered by the Portuguese political police in Spain in 1965. The bishop of Porto returned from exile in 1969, after Marcello Caetano replaced Salazar as government head.

⁸⁴ The introduction to the *Final Preparatory Report of the Second Development Plan* started by examining the relation between “economic liberalism and planning” (Presidência do Conselho 1959, 9). The report stated that “one can consider definitely abandoned the basic principle of the epoch of economic liberalism according to which the State only had the competence of ‘maintaining a free environment,’ that is, of creating the conditions for the free manifestation of the diverse economic forces” (Ibid.). After the “experience of the New Deal” in the USA and the work of Keynes, there was “a complete revision of ideas on economic policy of the governments of the countries with capitalist regimes” (Ibid., 10). Classic liberalism had been replaced by state development programs of economic activity, in association with state control of “specific economic forces,” maintaining however the “individual activity of the entrepreneur” (Ibid., 11).

1.2.4.B. Economic Liberalization in European Development, 1945-1974

Salazar's decision to reliberalize the political economy in the late 1950s must be understood as part of the unequal relationship between the United States and the countries now described as Western European, including Portugal. The formation of this new state of allegiance entailed the establishment of a "postwar triangular trade system" between the United States, Western European countries, and European colonies (McMichael 1996, 47).⁸⁵ In addition, it included the creation of several international finance and trade institutions of which dictatorial Portugal became a member, in some cases from the very beginning, in contrast to neighboring Spain. For example, Portugal received 54 million US dollars as a beneficiary of the 1947 Marshall Plan. The country was a founding member of the OEEC (i.e. Organization for European Economic Cooperation, the precursor to the OECD), created in 1948, and of the European Payments Union, created by the OEEC two years later. Portugal's partial inclusion in the new international economic apparatus during the 1950s was associated with a shift from protectionism in postwar economic policies. These implicitly entailed the neglect of the development of agricultural areas and of the few inland industrial areas (Leeds 1984, 27). Even if the regime continued its strategies of controlled development, the latter were adapted to foster the development of large-scale private industry around Lisbon and Porto.⁸⁶ Direct state intervention in industry was increasingly rejected among Portuguese economics experts. As the Minister of Economy noted in 1957, one year before Brandoa started being informally subdivided,

"state action should consist less in direct investment, devising instead orientations, proposing objectives, creating fiscal stimuli, orienting credit and instituting the *indirect conditions*, both economic and financial, both technical and cultural, *that foster the development of private initiatives and creative efforts*" (Cortês 1957, 201; emphasis added).⁸⁷

⁸⁵ "Through this arrangement, the United States obtained economic access to formerly protected European colonial territories. Raw materials exported from these territories to the United States produced dollar deposits in European colonial accounts in London banks. From these accounts, Western European states could finance their imports from the United States" (McMichael 1996, 47).

⁸⁶ The regime started experimenting with economic planning for industrial development, even though the first 1953-1958 *Plano de Fomento* (i.e. Development Plan) only encompassed infrastructure creation in practice. The second 1959-1964 focused instead on fostering industrialization through state research and credit.

⁸⁷ The minister Ulisses Cortês spoke at the end of the second Congresses of Portuguese Industry and Economists, which were held in Lisbon from May 26 to June 1. Simultaneously, the 1957 Portuguese Industries Fair was held. The first Industry congress had been held in 1933 (AIP 1957, 196). The 1957 congresses and fair were held in a new modernist building designed by architects Francisco Keil do Amaral and Alberto Cruz in the mid-1950s.

In 1960, Portugal joined the institutions created through the 1944 Bretton Woods agreements.⁸⁸ At the same time, the country participated in the creation of the European Free Trade Association (EFTA).⁸⁹ The creation of EFTA was followed by a dramatic increase of foreign direct investment (FDI) in Portugal, most coming from occupied West Germany, the USA, and the United Kingdom. The increase in FDI contributed to industrial development in the Lisbon and Porto areas, characterized by firms dedicated to the “labor-intensive, low-wage production of simple consumer goods” for export (Deubner 1984, 170).⁹⁰ The EFTA countries soon became the largest market for Portuguese exports, which changed from being mostly primary sector products to manufactured products such as transportation equipment, paper and paper pulp, clothing, shoes and chemicals.⁹¹ A decade of unprecedented economic growth rates would ensue, and the material conditions of the average Portuguese household became more similar to those of other Western Europeans.⁹²

⁸⁸ In 1960, Portugal joined the IBRD (i.e. International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, part of the World Bank) and the International Monetary Fund. Two years later, the country became a member of the 1947 GATT (i.e. General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade).

⁸⁹ Negotiations for the creation of EFTA had started in late 1958. The organization was led by the United Kingdom, also including Switzerland, Austria, Sweden and Norway. Negotiations started after the British plan to create a Free Trade Zone (FTZ) encompassing the whole of Western Europe failed. The creation of the FTZ would have supposedly moderated Western Europe’s federalization, started with the creation of the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1957 (Leitão 2007, 112). In contrast to the customs union EEC, EFTA was conceived as a mere intergovernmental agreement depending on unanimous decisions, and notably excluding agricultural production.

⁹⁰ Estimates suggest that by the 1970s 61 percent of Portuguese firms were under foreign majority control (Deubner 1984, 167). Nevertheless, the increase in FDI coincided with a process of industrial concentration, and with the creation of seven large Portuguese financial groups that increasingly controlled most of the national economy, each including banks, insurance companies, industries, and investments in the colonies. Only two of the seven groups had important links to foreign capital (Rosas 1998, 421). For example, the CUF group included 112 different companies, dominating chemical production and shipbuilding in Portugal. The seven financial groups were controlled by a mere 44 families, which by 1974 dominated the Portuguese economy (Santos 1989, 118).

⁹¹ Within EFTA, the United Kingdom remained the largest market for Portugal, accounting for 24 percent of the country’s exports in 1973. It is noteworthy that when the United Kingdom joined the EEC in 1973, Portugal immediately signed a trade agreement with the organization.

⁹² Average GDP growth during the 1960s was 7 percent, in contrast to 4.4 percent during the 1950s. Nevertheless, the whole period from the end of the Second World War to the beginning of political democratization was characterized by high growth rates in Portugal, above the Western European average. Portugal’s GDP growth averaged 6 percent from the creation of the European Payments Union in 1950 to 1974, while average GDP growth in Western Europe as a whole was about 4.5 percent. In consequence, between 1960 and 1974 Portugal’s per capita GDP at purchasing power parity (PPP) changed from 47 percent to 65 percent of the Western European average.

1.2.4.C. The Promise of Political Liberalization in the End of Empire, 1968-1974

“For the jurist that I am, individual freedom cannot be evaluated outside the social milieu in which citizens live and that entails imperious duties that must be respected and fulfilled. Freedom is not a whim, it is not the realm of the fanciful selfishness of each one, it is not a license for anarchical proceedings: *[freedom] is the faculty that is recognized to persons of obeying laws more than men*, the right of only being obliged to do or not in consequence of the general law, that is, one that establishes equal terms for those that find themselves in equal conditions. There is no freedom without order” (Caetano [1970] 1971, 61; emphasis added).

Marcello Caetano replaced Salazar as government head in September 1968, announcing a project for political liberalization in Portugal, while maintaining the wars against the independence of the country’s colonies in continental Africa. During 1969, a new law regulating trade unions improved the legal conditions for industrial workers’ organizations, the regime extended the right to vote to all literate women, and censorship was reduced. Furthermore, both opposition movements and an independent “liberal wing” of the National Union were formally accepted for the October 1969 elections. However, in practice only 28 percent of potential voters were registered for the elections, and electoral fraud remained widespread (Rosas 1998, 489). From 1970 onwards, the promise of political liberalization was partly abandoned: university student unions were closed, trade unions were purged, and there was a new rise in political arrests.

The promise of freedom, now understood as the rule of law, remained unfulfilled in Portugal. While freedom was no longer confined by dominant discourse as a private or domestic freedom, the issue of the relation between autonomy and order was still central to the articulation of liberalism in Portugal’s authoritarian regime: “the first obligation of a government is to ensure order—that is, the normal development of the activities of the citizens without illegal disturbances of their lives and of their property” (Caetano 1973a, 126). Caetano foregrounded particularly the need to defend the freedom of property from Communism. In the preface to the collection of his 1970 speeches, Caetano argued that “it is no longer possible to govern [the world we live in] as in the epoch in which the ideology of liberalism flourished and gave fruits” (Caetano 1971a, xvii), since “freedom these days is a fragile flower” (Ibid., xxviii). In a May 1973 speech titled “In Defense of Freedom,” Caetano stated:

“Freedom? For sure. But to maintain what constitutes the essence of a personalist society, to conserve the dignity of man as the center of decisions and as the master of his destinies, to commit individuals in the construction of the future by their own hands—and not to leave the way open to totalitarianisms that only want the *bourgeois rights* to exterminate the bourgeoisie” (Caetano 1973b, 100; emphasis added).⁹³

⁹³ Caetano added: “And to found the insulting materialist dictatorship that, in the name of a false humanism, reduces man to a mere producer in a mechanical society submitted to a despotic power” (1973b, 100).

The owned house did not explicitly remain a fundamental block of dominant political discourse. Instead, in his speeches Caetano foregrounded the idea of a social right to housing, or a set of fundamental freedoms that included the rights to property and to a private domesticity. Simultaneously, he clearly described profiting from speculation in land as generating an undesirable disorder. The envisioned solution, never fulfilled during the Caetano dictatorship, was the expropriation of land in urban edges, impeding the abuse of the freedom of property to reestablish order. Taking into account this discursive framework, the actual illegalization of the profitable process of informal subdivision was integral to the late dictatorship's political rationality. While the existence of informally created housing remained unmentioned in Caetano's speeches, one can infer that in the case informally built single-family houses, often inhabited by their lawful owners, a combination of the rights of property and of the emerging right to housing trumped arguments for their potential destruction by the state. Furthermore, while increasingly illegalized, the informal practices of small owners-builders in neighborhoods like Brandoa or Casal de Cambra did correspond to the ethos of male autonomy publicly defended by Caetano.

Commenting on "social rights" in his new "Social State of Law," Caetano included the *direito à habitação* (i.e. right to housing) among those social rights that constituted freedom, demanding an "active State" so that such rights would have an "effective content" (1971a, xxxiii). Supposedly, social rights corresponded to the liberty demanded by the "popular mass," a liberty distinct from the "juridical freedom" invoked by the new liberal wing of parliament (Ibid., xxxiv). Such popular demands included "*casas decentes* [i.e. decent houses]" (Ibid., xxxiii).⁹⁴ Caetano added later that "fundamental freedoms" included "the right to the intimacy of the person and of the *home* . . . [and] the right of *appropriation* and of disposing of what is owned" (1973b, 104; emphasis added).

However, the disorder provoked by *private* spatial production was described as increasingly problematic. The undesirable private production problematized by Caetano was not necessarily informal. In fact, Caetano criticizes explicitly profit through land commodification, but the issue of clandestinity remains implicit. The new government head envisioned eliminating the possibility of profit through subdivision:

"When my Government attacks the problems of *ordenamento do território* [i.e. ordering of the territory], of urbanization and of housing, and to avoid speculations in land and its potential value, expropriates the soil of great areas that will not be returned to private owners, to which it will only concede surface rights for specific ends—is my government doing conservative politics?" (Caetano 1973a, 125).

Simultaneously, the presentation of Portugal's renewed political order—the Social State of Right—in speeches like *Neither Oppressive Communism, Nor Suicidal Liberalism* (Caetano

⁹⁴ "In the contacts with the popular mass, what it solicits from the governors is not more freedom—but prices in balance with the salaries, decent houses, affordable education, efficient social welfare with good medical assistance in sickness and guaranteed pensions in old age and in disability" (Caetano 1971a, xxxiii).

1971b) included a celebration of individual creativeness and private entrepreneurialism. “Social reform” was necessary to avoid “socialist revolution” (Ibid., 176), “so that men are not dependent in their everyday actions and even in their food, *dwelling*, and clothing, on the despotism of an omnipotent bureaucracy, so that *the creative spirit of individuals* can survive” (Ibid., 179; emphasis added). When the creation of the *Fundo de Fomento da Habitação* (i.e. Housing Development Fund) and the organization of a conference on housing was announced to the general public by Caetano in 1969, he made it clear that “we do not want to impede that others beyond the State work in this field [of affordable housing]; on the contrary, all the help is welcome” (Caetano 1969, 211). Three years later, in an early fall speech at Parliament he opted to stress that the government’s housing policy focused on “foster[ing] private activity while the public sector makes an enormous effort to increase its contribution” ([1972a] 1973, 17). During a summer visit to Brazil Caetano had clearly stated that a mass entrepreneurial ethos was essential for the evolution of Portuguese economy. According to him, it was unfortunate that “there is in the country no taste for initiative and risk, and the modern entrepreneurial spirit is not generalized” (Caetano [1972b] 1973, 208).

The terms for the post-democratization debate on clandestinity were formed in this period. As the third chapter will address, this was a time when the rule *by law* placed informality fully within the domain of illegality, subjecting the residents of “clandestine” neighborhoods to a state of expectancy as unequal citizens and to study through an emerging scholarship on life at the purported margins of urbanity. At the same time, the very concept of informality was being developed by European scholars engaged in knowing the development of former colonies in Africa, and in eulogizing the productiveness of a global marginality whose identification helped to cement a prospective Europeaness.

1.3. Urban Informality Theory

“Despite the changing form of colonialism, the west has not lost interest in former dependencies and new ‘spheres of influence.’ On the contrary, research on a huge scale has been undertaken into the problems of the new world mega-cities. Sometimes this research is financed by the countries concerned, but often by the United Nations, American, or other global interests. As a result, there is today a mass of information about non-western cities, but this knowledge is itself used as an instrument of power and domination” (Wilson 1991, 123).

1.3.1. The Informal Sector in Development Knowledge in Africa

The concept of an informal sector of the economy initially emerged in the context of development economics, a field concerned with the production of a knowledge reworking power-laden representations of a former global space of occupation. This concept of the informal became articulated with theories on dependency, notably in the regional context of South America. This section will address the two main approaches to informality that emerged in this

regional context. As will be described in more detail, one group of scholars focused on conceptualizing informal urban labor in the context of a critique of extant relations of production, while another school of thought employed the concept of informality as part of a liberal critique of the state.

By the 1980s, approaches to informality started to be articulated with a tradition of research on housing that had long been engaged in debunking the marginalization of low-income urban dwelling in the so-called “Third World.” As the emerging literature on housing produced under conditions of informality encompasses other regions of the world, informality has been reconceptualized as both a mode of housing production and a governmental technique of spatial regulation—in mutual constitution with the new realm of formality.

However, few studies have addressed informal housing processes in North America and in Europe. This section will briefly explore extant research on the Southwestern United States and on Southern Europe. In the case of research on the United States, interrogating informality at both the scale of the settlement and of the dwelling in the so-called “colonias”—ethnicized and unserved subdivisions that have been discursively confined to a miasmatic border region, from California to Texas—contributes to a reflection on the ways in which theories on informality can be dislocated from narratives on a global order of the earth that often entail an opposition between the status of modernity and its absence (Ferguson 2006). Evidently, this reflection does not imply a dismissal of the very concrete and unequal relations of production and power between so-called “First World” countries and “Third World” countries; instead, it attempts to understand how those conditions may be reproduced through situated practices and discourses, including those producing spaces of informal housing in North America and in Europe.

As both Caroline Moser and Nezar AlSayyad point out, research on informality draws from earlier debates in development literature concerning the “informal sector” of urban economies in so-called “developing” countries (Moser 1994; AlSayyad 2004). By the early 1970s, experts participating in the project of development were concerned with ways to track and measure production and employment in the growing cities of an increasingly decolonized “Third World,” arguing that the employment of economic categories generated in the context of the industrialization of “developed” countries entailed the marginalization of a population often defined as the “working poor.” Such critical discourses within the production of development knowledge evoked Arthur Lewis’ concept of the emergence of a “dual economy” in the context of the transition to a “modern” economy (Lewis 1954).⁹⁵

A 1972 International Labour Office (ILO) report on recently independent Kenya, co-authored by Hans Singer and part of the recently launched ILO World Employment Programme, conceptualized an opposition between a formal sector and an informal sector—in order to problematize both a focus on rates of economic growth and extant employment statistics (ILO

⁹⁵ Economist Arthur Lewis employed the concept of the coexistence of a subsistence sector, i.e. that “part of the economy which is not using reproducible capital,” and a capitalist sector of the economy. Lewis associated the latter with a “more regimented and urbanized environment” (Lewis 1954). Lewis’ concern was to develop a theory on the implications for economic growth of the extant “unlimited supply of labor” for the capitalist sector in some “undeveloped” countries.

1972).⁹⁶ The state's employment of such techniques "omitt[ed] a range of wage earners and self-employed persons, male as well as female, in what [the authors] term[ed] 'the informal sector'" (Ibid. 5). The report thus criticized both "the popular view of informal-sector activities . . . [as] those of petty traders, street hawkers, shoeshine boys and other groups 'underemployed' on the streets of the big towns" (Ibid.) and expert discourses on a "traditional-modern division of the economy" and of urban space (Ibid., 503).⁹⁷ In this context, the idea of two distinct "modern" urban sectors was employed as an "analytical terminology to describe a duality that avoids the bias against the low-incomes sector inherent in the traditional-modern dichotomy" (Ibid.). For the authors of the ILO report, what distinguished the formal sector was its privileged relationship to the "Government."⁹⁸ Even though the report participated in a shift in development studies to address "basic needs," ultimately the report recreated a dual opposition between sectors of the economy, entailing the idea of a productive informality attributed to the "working poor," and conflated with a "small scale of operation" and with "unregulated and competitive markets" (Ibid. 6).⁹⁹

English anthropologists doing fieldwork in British colonies in Africa had long been interested in the actual practices of colonized subjects in the context of rapid postwar urbanization.¹⁰⁰ In 1973, Keith Hart contributed to the emerging debate on informality and development by studying Ghanaian migrants to Accra.¹⁰¹ Similarly to the authors of the ILO report, Hart critiqued the "unthinking transfer of western categories to . . . African cities" (Hart 1973, 61). However, Hart not only acknowledged that "informal activities are typical of

⁹⁶ The report was co-led by economist Hans Singer, a student of John Maynard Keynes. Singer worked with the United Nations (UN) organization from 1947 to 1969. One of his early contributions while at the UN was his thesis on declining terms of trade between "developed" and "developing" countries. After the breakdown of the original Bretton Woods system in the early 1970s, Singer continued criticizing the lack of attention by "IMF and World Bank missions" to the "real economy" of specific countries (Singer 1995).

⁹⁷ In particular, the report argued that "slums . . . are completely modern and due to differences in wealth and income between different sectors of the economy" (ILO 1972, 503).

⁹⁸ In addition, evoking illegality as one of the possible attributes of informal activities, the report argued that "illegality here is generally due not to the nature of the economic activity but to an official limitation of access to legitimate activity" (ILO 1972, 504). However, what seems to be implicit in this argument is the concept of a "legitimate" relationship between sovereignty and legality that supposedly may exist in "developed" countries, but which is represented as absent in Kenya: "the regulations ensure a high quality of services and commodities for the wealthy few at the expense of the impoverished many" (Ibid.).

⁹⁹ The report also conflated the informal sector with the spaces of "slums," recommending a revision of construction standards (ILO 1972, 201), and an abandonment of the policy of "slum" demolition (Ibid., 229). Instead, the state should consider a "site-and-service approach" (Ibid., 19), and respect the "traditional methods of designing [and] building" that were purportedly employed in the "slum" (Ibid., 198).

¹⁰⁰ As Jennifer Robinson recently noted, between the 1940s and the late 1960s the so-called Manchester School focused on anthropological research in then British Central Africa. In the context of a critique of the assumptions of the Chicago School of urban sociology, Robinson explores how the Manchester School anthropologists addressed the strong continuities between cities and countryside, and in particular the ways in which "ethnicities [were] invented in the city" (Robinson 2006, 49).

¹⁰¹ An earlier version of Hart's paper was in fact presented in 1971 at the Institute for Development Studies, an institution chaired by Hans Singer at the University of Sussex.

economic life in the cities of developing and developed countries”(Ibid., 84; emphasis added), but also argued that the distinction between formality and informality “is based . . . on that between wage-earning and self-employment,” associated with the existence or the lack of labor recruitment “on a permanent and regular basis for fixed rewards” (Ibid., 68). In this context, engagement by individuals in informal “income-generating activities” is flexible and not necessarily regular. Hart’s approach to labor in Ghana dismisses issues of legality, criticizing the ways in which informal labor is rendered invisible by surveys concerned with the so-called “‘modern sector’ of the urban economy” and with the associated themes of tradition and “low-productivity” (Ibid.).¹⁰²

During the following decade, other development scholars would rethink the concept of the informal sector (Mazumdar 1976; Bromley 1978; Moser 1978).¹⁰³ As Ananya Roy notes (Roy 2004b, 292), researchers engaged in fieldwork in South American countries started conceptualizing informality in the context of a critique of the capitalist political economy, associated with the perspectives on development proposed by analyses of dependency since the late 1960s (Frank 1966; Cardoso and Falletto [1971] 1979).¹⁰⁴ In particular, Milton Santos would argue that the urban economy of “underdevelopment” consists of an upper and a lower circuit that are interrelated in space (Santos [1975] 1979).¹⁰⁵

¹⁰² In addition, Hart distinguishes between legitimate and illegitimate informal income opportunities. Illegitimate opportunities are those that do not “transgress the law,” including “building contractors” and “housing” (Hart 1973, 68). It seems that in this passage Hart makes a distinction between crime and mere civil law offenses, i.e. “legitimate” informality. In a later passage, Hart differentiates between illegitimacy and illegality. For Hart, “the system of bourgeois values enshrined in a nation’s code of laws may not coincide with concepts of legitimacy prevalent in certain subcultures of that society” (Ibid., 74).

¹⁰³ Economist Dipak Mazumdar characterized the formal-informal sector dichotomy as only one of the “structural” factors affecting the distribution of earnings. In addition, Mazumdar debunked the conflation of informal labour with a migrant population (Mazumdar 1976). In 1978, in an introduction to an issue of *World Development* dedicated to the “urban informal sector,” geographer Ray Bromley contested the “formal/informal dualist classification,” arguing for the importance of focusing on the relations of mutual constitution between the two sectors in the context of a capitalist political economy. Bromley also debunked the discursive articulation between an informal sector and the “urban poor” (1978). In the same issue, Caroline Moser argued for an association of the concept of the informal sector with theories on dependency (Moser 1978).

¹⁰⁴ In a seminal 1966 article, Andre Gunder Frank argued that “underdevelopment” was the historical product of economic relations between “the satellite underdeveloped and the now developed metropolitan countries,” and that these relations were integral to a world capitalist system (Frank 1966). Cardoso and Faletto would later argue that some Latin American countries are characterized by a process of dependent capitalist development. Among “developed” and “developing” countries there is not only a difference in the state of the production system, but also of position within an international economic structure characterized by relations of domination (Cardoso and Faletto [1971] 1979).

¹⁰⁵ Charles Gore suggests that the two “circuits” described by Santos may be understood as the formal and the informal sectors (Gore 1984, 138).

1.3.2.A. Informality and Critiques of the Political Economy in South America

Two different and influential perspectives on informality emerged during the 1980s in relation to Southern American cities (Rakowski 1994; AlSayyad 2004). One group of scholars—according to Rakowski, engaged in “structuralist” approaches—drew on the ILO concept of an informal sector, articulating a critique of the capitalist political economy. Another group of “legalist” scholars would focus instead on informality in the context of a liberal critique of the state (Soto [1987] 1989). Political stakes were high in a region particularly affected by the debt crisis that followed the 1970s liberalization of international credit (Harvey 2005, 28), as Brazil slowly transitioned to political democracy during the 1980s and Peru plunged into a civil war.

In the context of the approach interested in a critique of capitalism, sociologists Manuel Castells and Alejandro Portes would begin to disarticulate the concept of informality from both the “Third World” and the debate on its economic development (Castells and Portes 1989). Following earlier research on South America, Castells and Portes debunked persistent arguments on economic dualism and marginality in development literature, arguing for the existence of complex interactions between formal and informal economic activities. In addition, Castells and Portes redefined the informal economy as “a process of income-generation characterized by one central feature: it is unregulated by the institutions of society, in a legal and social environment in which similar activities are regulated” (Ibid., 12; emphasis in the original). In this context, informality is understood as a process, and related to the mode of production—and not to the status of the product itself. Informalization is thus understood as “the expression of a new form of control characterized by the disenfranchisement of a large sector of the working class, often with the acquiescence of the state” (Ibid., 27).

1.3.2.B. Informality in the Liberal Critique of the State in South America

As mentioned earlier, the other main approach to a concept of informality is engaged in a liberal critique of the state. Hernando de Soto, one of the main proponents of this perspective, defines the informal sector in *The Other Path* ([1987] 1989) as an extralegal economic sector of entrepreneurial rural migrants that have made “their own rules,” an alternative law which is supposedly analogous to the law of an ideal-typical “market economy.”¹⁰⁶ In this context, informality itself is not a process but a status created by the existence of excessive and inefficient state regulation—informal activities thus have legal ends that cannot be pursued through legal means, requiring a “moral judgment” on whether illegal means are being legitimately used or not (Bromley 2004, 273). This liberal approach to informality disarticulates it from a critique of dependency to argue precisely that capitalism is not implemented outside the “West” (Soto

¹⁰⁶ *The Other Path* was originally published in Spanish, in the context of a civil war involving the Shining Path (one of Peru’s communist parties), with the subtitle *La Revolución Informal*, i.e. the informal revolution. The book’s original subtitle in English, *The Invisible Revolution in the Third World*, was changed in 2002 to *The Economic Answer to Terrorism* in the aftermath of the 2001 airline hijackings and suicide attacks in the United States and during the beginning of the United States’ “War on Terrorism” campaign.

2000). This approach has been extremely successful in influencing development policies in a moment of domination of neoliberalism as a political project (Harvey 2005, 14). Researchers engaged in theories of informality critiquing capitalism have indicated some of the limitations of this approach. Cathy Rakowski argues that Soto dismisses both the economic causes of informality and the fact that “inefficiency and bureaucratization exist in advanced economies too” (Rakowski 1994, 41). Ananya Roy has noted that Soto’s discourse on informality is supported by a “mythicized history” of “First World” capitalism (Roy 2004b, 304). In addition, while Ray Bromley does not doubt the usefulness of administrative simplification in Peru, he rightly characterizes Soto’s definition of informality as a means to advance a liberal agenda promoting “free-market policies emphasizing grassroots entrepreneurship and community self-help” (Bromley 1994, 148). More recently, James Holston’s research on São Paulo rejects “an essentialist and functionalist view of law,” focusing instead on “law as a system of power” (Holston 2008, 206). In this context, “law produces illegality and injustice,” as Soto could also suggest, but also “illegality and injustice produce law” (Ibid.), which is different from defining informality as an alternative law. Changes in the regulatory framework such as those influenced by Soto may not provoke any epochal shift in a history of dependency and of struggles over law and land that seems to have emerged at the beginning of European colonization—and not in the 1910s, the supposed date of “birth of informality” in Peru (Soto [1987] 1989, 35).

1.3.3. The Literature on Demarginalizing Housing in South America

The “structuralist” theorization of informality avoided some of the ambiguities of previous research and opened possibilities for a renewed understanding of housing produced under conditions of informality. An important body of literature on the new settlements of South American urban areas had been challenging theories of marginality since the 1960s, but the terms employed by housing scholars to characterize settlements—such as “self-built” or “squatter”—entailed their own theoretical limitations and political implications.¹⁰⁷

One of the main proponents of an approach concerned with “self-help” was English scholar John Turner, whose work associated European and North American critiques of state-built modernist housing and urbanism with praise for the “autonomous” characteristics of “self-built

¹⁰⁷ Theories on the marginality of settlements produced under conditions of informality evoked the ideal-typical assumptions on urbanity of the interwar Chicago School of urban sociology (Burgess [1925] 2000; Wirth 1964). The Chicago School produced a “social ecological” knowledge on a city purportedly endangered by new ethnicized wage-laborers lacking “urban culture.” In particular, Louis Wirth proposed an opposition between “the rural and urban mode of living” (Wirth 1964, 61). Such concepts partially influenced some of the first studies on housing in the “Third World” (Abrams 1964). In addition, during the two decades after the Second World War, anthropologist Oscar Lewis would publish influential research on a “culture of poverty” which however was not articulated with a concept of disorganization (Lewis 1966).

and self-governing” urban settlements in Peru (Turner 1976, 2).¹⁰⁸ For Turner, “oversimplified and standardized centralized housing control systems” could not address housing demands which were inherently complex (Ibid., 104). Thus, self-help housing constituted a liberating alternative to state-built housing, enabling low-income nonprofessionals to achieve for themselves “progressive development” with limited resources.

World Bank recommendations started drawing from research on self-help, influencing housing policies in many “Third World” countries. By the late 1970s, such policies started being critiqued by researchers—mostly based in Northwestern Europe and in the United States—concerned with the framework of housing production in the context of dependent capitalist development (Ward and Macoloo 1992), similarly to the contemporary “structuralist” approach to the informal economy. In particular, Hans Harms argued that self-help housing as a practice and as a discourse was associated with “crisis in capitalism,” and that its emergence could not be understood outside economic and political relations. In this context, Turner’s dismissal of the exchange value of housing as a commodity was associated with his disregard for the fact that self-help housing was most often not a question of choice for the self-helpers themselves (Harms 1982). At the time, Rod Burgess added that actual self-help practices did not necessarily entail self-building, and that the defining factor of “squatter” settlement is its insertion in the “sphere of circulation of capital . . . covered by . . . petty commodity production” (Burgess 1982, 66). Thus, self-help as an “‘alternative’ housing strategy involves the rearrangement rather than replacement of existing capitalist social relations” (Ibid., 87).¹⁰⁹

If the concept of self-help ultimately defines a spatial realm characterized through the absence of professional or state intervention, the term “squattling” may entail the reproduction of a liberal conception of the law as articulated with a juridical concept of sovereignty.¹¹⁰ During the 1970s, a group of scholars based in the United States and interested in the ways in which informal housing was articulated with political struggles produced an important body of literature, again in the South American context (Leeds and Leeds 1976; Collier 1976; Perlman 1976; Castells 1983). For political scientist David Collier, “squatter” settlements in Peru are “residential communities, formed by low-income families, in which the houses are constructed in large measure by the residents and which are generally, but not exclusively, formed illegally” (Collier 1976, 18). This category corresponds to the “native” term *pueblo joven*, and contrasts with the central “slums” that Collier associates with a higher degree of disorganization. Illegal formation refers here to a historically situated type of state authorization of settlement, since Collier’s concern is to track the ways in which changes in state policies towards “squatter”

¹⁰⁸ Peter Hall argues that such themes were characteristic of an “anarchist strain of planning”—defended by scholars such as Colin Ward—which evoked the theories of Scottish scholar Patrick Geddes. His concept of self-help housing for “conservative surgery” was conceived in the context of the destructive sanitizing of cities like Lahore in colonized India during the 1910s (Hall 2002, 263).

¹⁰⁹ As Burgess himself notes, this position evokes Friedrich Engels’ critique of Proudhon in *The Housing Question* (Engels [1872] n.d.).

¹¹⁰ Defining a settlement as a “squatter” settlement implies that its defining characteristic is that dwellings were built without permission on land owned by others or by the state.

settlement are related to national political shifts associated with ongoing structural changes in Peru. In contrast, Janice Perlman focused on debunking the ideal type of “social, cultural, and economic” marginality associated with dependent development by addressing life in two *favelas* in Rio de Janeiro. *Favelas* are “squatter” settlements in state land—or in private land whose ownership was contested. Perlman argues that what distinguishes them from other “lower-class communities is [their] illegal status in terms of land use” (Perlman 1976, 13). In the context of a broader history of the relation between social movements organized in and through urban space and processes of social change, Manuel Castells returned to the theme of the relation between state “urban populism” and the “squatter communities and slums” of dependent “developing” countries (Castells 1983, 175). For Castells, as for Milton Santos, the “squatters,” the state, and the informal economy—in relation with the formal sector—are elements of a system of dependency. In particular, the “dependent city” that the “squatters” produce is “interconnected in an asymmetric way” with the political system (Ibid., 212).

Taking into account the crucial contributions of this literature on self-help and “squatter” settlements, one of the strengths of approaching housing through an understanding of informality as a productive process is that it can enable to avoid a reproduction of the criminalization of settlements as “squatter.” In addition, it allows one to evade histories of the built environment defined by a lack—the purported absence of the expert intervention of architects and planners. Furthermore, thinking of housing as produced under conditions of informality articulates research on the built environment with the ways in which housing participates in economic production and social reproduction is spatialized.

1.3.4. Informality and Government in the Middle East, South Asia and North America

By the mid-1980s, research focusing on the built environment had started contributing to theories of informality. For example, Perlman critiqued the conflation of “informal housing” and squatting, while relating informally produced settlements with the “urban poor” working in the context of an “informal sector” (Perlman 1986). In addition, knowledge on informal housing started being produced outside the South American context—important research on informality and the built environment emerged in the Middle East, including Ahmed Soliman’s work on informal land acquisition in Alexandria, Egypt, for example (Soliman 1987). Even though many scholars continued being based in North America and in Northwestern Europe, this shift to research on housing in other regions of the “Third World” seems to mark an important decentering of the debate on informality. Some scholars engaged the debate on the relation of informality and political struggles, arguing that in the context of the Middle East no linkage seemed to exist between national political shifts and informal processes of settlement. Instead, the explicit depoliticization of such processes was integral to their success (AlSaiyyad 1993; Bayat 1997). Research has also recently emerged in the United States, as will be later addressed in detail (Ward 1999 and 2004), and in South Asia (Roy 2003 and 2004a).

Ananya Roy and Nezar AlSaiyyad propose a reconceptualization of urban informality that aims to encompass housing disallowed by law transnationally. Roy characterizes informality as

“a realm of regulation” through extra-legality (Roy 2004a, 159). Furthermore, “informalization” is conceptualized as a state “technique of discipline and power” (Ibid.). AlSayyad notes both that urban informality and urban formality are related realms of production (AlSayyad 1993, 25) and that formality itself is “the ‘new’ mode . . . introduced to organize urban society only in the nineteenth century” (AlSayyad 2004, 25). This suggests that formality and informality in housing can be considered as two different but interacting modes of spatial regulation.

Other recent contributions for theories of informality have traced the relations of postsocialist informalization in Central Europe, and of its manifestations in space, to the informal “second economy” of socialism, defined as a redistributive system that allowed the existence of market elements (Bodnár 2001). Finally, other scholars have reflected on informalities in cities such as Dakar in Senegal as a “platform for the creation of a very different kind of . . . urban configuration than we have yet generally to know” (Simone 2004, 9). In this context, the informal is a “heuristic entry point into describing capacities of diverse residents to operate in concert without discernible infrastructures, policy frameworks, and institutional practices” (Ibid., 13); it is thus a process crucially articulated with emerging formal institutions.

As this discussion will now address, complex situated interactions between formal and informal processes, including those of the production of housing, are also characteristic of North American and European cities like Los Angeles, thus described by Jack Kerouac in the late 1950s:

“We hurried to her sister’s house in the sliverous Mexican shacks somewhere beyond Alameda Avenue. I waited in a dark alley behind Mexican kitchens because her sister wasn’t supposed to see me. Dogs ran by. There were little lamps illuminating the little rat alleys. I could hear Terry and her sister arguing in the soft, warm night. I was ready for anything. Terry came out and led me by the hand to Central Avenue, which is the colored main drag of LA” (Kerouac 1976 [1959], 88).

Recent research on early Twentieth Century North American settlements that may be characterized as informal, such as the unserviced self-built suburbs in Toronto (Harris 1996), Los Angeles (Nicolaidis 2002), and elsewhere in North America (Hayden 2004), pertinently focuses on establishing the relations between the history of these settlements and the conditions of existence of a low-income wage-laborer population. In addition, some scholars have started addressing the even less well-known history of continuous processes of legalization and illegalization of supposedly temporary dwellings, such as trailers (Wallis 1989, 28).¹¹¹

However, the numerous accounts dealing with urbanization and housing in the postwar period focus on state-fostered suburban housing or on state-built housing in the “inner” city, seemingly disregarding the continuing existence of informal processes of housing, at least in the southwestern part of the country. Extant discourses on these settlements often evade references to the division of labor, relying on narratives on an ethnicized identity (i.e., a “nonwhite” identity)

¹¹¹ In 1938, approximately 300,000 trailers were in use in the United States, and estimates indicate that between 10 and 50 percent were used for seasonal or for permanent dwelling (Wallis 1989).

for establishing distinction.

In the 1990s, Peter Ward started researching the so-called “colonias” in both sides of the border between the state of Texas and Mexico (Ward 1999). “Colonia” is a Spanish term employed in Mexico to designate any urban neighborhood. In Texas, and elsewhere in the southwestern United States, “colonia” is a term commonly used to identify initially unserved subdivisions located outside city borders, but often inside the city’s Extraterritorial Jurisdiction, an area in which Texan cities can choose to apply subdivision and building regulation—but often choose not to. In fact, contrarily to what happened in the Toronto area in the 1930s (Harris 1996), cities in Texas have sometimes avoided incorporating “colonias” while expanding their borders. Ward notes that in Brownsville “the city boundary is carefully gerrymandered to leave the principal colonia areas outside” (Ward 1999, 98). These unserved subdivisions started being created as early as 1950, from California to Texas (Mukhija and Monkkonen 2007). By the mid-1990s, such settlements included approximately 350,000 inhabitants in the Texas counties bordering Mexico (Ward 1999, 1), and existed near cities such as Houston (Ibid., 90) or Austin (Ward 2004, 266).

“Colonias” are created by private developers in areas outside cities and under the jurisdiction of counties, for which Texas state law included no regulations concerning subdivision until 1989. In that year, the state created the Texas Water Development Board’s Model Subdivision Rules, but their adoption by counties is not mandatory (Ward 1999, 100). In addition, state law continues to grant counties little authority for the enforcement of subdivision or building regulations (Ibid., 98). Thus, at least for four decades, unserved subdivision outside city limits seems to have been legal (Ibid., 90), even though “colonias” may be characterized as informal in contrast to formal subdivision within city limits. Lots in “colonias” are bought by low-income wage-laborer families, mostly citizens of Mexican descent who want to move from rented apartments or from the trailer “parks” to which trailers are often legally confined. Nevertheless, while most “colonias” have been completely sold, between 20 and 80 percent of the lots are left vacant by their owners (Ward and Carew 2000). Most sales are legally made through the Contract for Deed, which until 1995 provided few protections to the purchaser in Texas, as the property title is only transferred after full payment. Ward characterizes this form of transaction as informal, even though it seems to belong fully to the realm of regulation. In contrast, the fact that often the allocation of lots by developers is imprecise or repeated (Ward 2004, 252) can certainly be characterized as informal. In addition, sometimes “colonias” are characterized by additional, informal subdivision (Ward 1999, 42), or by the informal sharing of lots.¹¹² Thus, the employment of the term “quasi-formal” to characterize these subdivisions seems adequate (Ward 2004).

Federal government intervention has literally contributed to the invention of these “colonias” as an ethnicized border settlement. Since 1990, the United States Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) has a Colonias Program. The National Affordable Housing Act of 1990 requires that the states of Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and California set

¹¹² In the case of Cameron Park near Brownsville, for example, 40 percent of households either share or rent. Sometimes lots are temporarily occupied through squatting (Ward 1999, 96).

aside up to 10 percent of their Community Development Block Grant (CDBG) funds for “colonias.” For the purposes of this HUD program, the definition of a “colonia” is

“any identifiable community in the U.S.-Mexico border regions of Arizona, California, New Mexico, and Texas that is determined to be a colonia on the basis of objective criteria, including lack of a potable water supply, inadequate sewage systems, and a shortage of decent, safe, and sanitary housing. The border region means the area within 150 miles of the U.S.-Mexico border excluding Metropolitan Statistical Areas with populations exceeding one million.”¹¹³

In this context, unserviced subdivision in Arizona and in New Mexico interacts with a specific legal and discursive framework. In Arizona, situated understandings of settlement patterns seem to distinguish “rural” or “Hispanic communities” from “wildcat subdivisions” characterized “by families of both lower and higher income who would like to own property and are unfamiliar with and/or unwilling to conform to government regulation” (Donelson and Holguin 2001, 40). What may distinguish “colonias” from “wildcat subdivisions” is an imagination of the latter as “sprawl” produced by predatorial and most probably “white” families. Such settlements emerge in the context of a subdivision law that allows property to be divided up to five times without compliance to regulations. Thus, “wildcat” informal settlements, widespread in Pima County, are “unregulated” but not illegal (Huckelberry 2000). In most of New Mexico, owners can split their lots into only four parcels without being subject to subdivision regulations, but these can be legally split again after only two years. In any case, illegal subdivision is often tolerated by local authorities in Arizona and in New Mexico (Donelson and Holguin 2001, 40).

One may describe informal settlements in the southwestern United States as increasingly managed through a flexible and ethnicized process of illegalization associated with distinguishing and surveying “colonias” along the miasmatic border. The present benevolent expert discourses on the “colonia” often seem to invoke late Nineteenth Century elite problematizations of housing, characterized by explicit associations with the fear of a spreading “moral miasma” (Wilson 1991, 39). Today, it is an ethnicized border population that must be medicalized. In 1993, the Texas Attorney General created a “Colonias Strike Force . . . to stem the proliferation of Colonias” (Federal Reserve Bank of Dallas, n.d.). In 1995, the Texas Senate passed Bill 336, redefining the Contract for Deed, but the bill only has full effect within 200 miles of the border. In the same year, Texas House Bill 1001 required basic services on all newly

¹¹³ U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, “Community Development Block Grant: Colonias.” <http://www.hud.gov/offices/cpd/communitydevelopment/programs/colonias/cdbgcolonias.cfm> (accessed November 15, 2007). Hence, counties and sovereign tribal councils from California to Texas have designated “tribal communities, long-established mining towns, [and] fast growing retirement communities” as a “colonia” (Donelson and Holguin 2001, 39). There are over 1,800 “designated colonias” in Texas, about 138 in New Mexico, around 77 in Arizona, and 32 in California (Mukhija and Monkkonen 2007). In Arizona, 24 of the 77 “designated colonias” are incorporated cities. In California, “the non-tribal colonias include many well-established old towns and rural communities that were subdivided almost a century ago, before the state’s subdivision laws imposed infrastructure requirements on developers” (Ibid. 2007, 479).

sold lots (including repossessed ones), or in new subdivisions outside city limits, but only within 50 miles of the border and in “economically distressed” counties. Such legal reactions, coordinated with HUD policies, paradoxically may foster the creation of unserved subdivisions outside the border region. For example, New Mexico recently legalized lot splits, but only in the ten southernmost counties of the state; unserved subdivisions continue to be legally created around Albuquerque.

Federal documents also discursively associate “colonias” with the border, even though they exist elsewhere in the state, as Ward notes (Ward 2004). A Federal Reserve Bank of Dallas report claims that the problems of border “colonias” is a “drag on the Texas economy” (FRBD n.d.). A 2007 United States Geological Survey (USGS) report presenting a GIS (i.e. Geographic Information System) tool defines “colonias” exclusively as “Hispanic” and as “border settlements” (Parcher and Delbert 2007). This GIS system, called CHIPS (i.e. Colonia Health, Infrastructure, and Platting Status), includes a color-coded classification of colonias according to health risk.

Initially unserved settlements for ethnicized low-income wage-laborers in the Southwestern United States seem to have emerged mostly legally, in the context of a dual regulatory framework—in contrast with Southern Europe and elsewhere. Furthermore, extant research indicates a strong articulation with an industrial system of housing production.¹¹⁴ Yet, “colonias” increasingly seem to be managed in the context of techniques of flexible illegalization that distinguish between different types of settlement outside city borders.

¹¹⁴ Little research has been done on the informality of housing in initially unserved subdivisions in the Southwestern United States. Peter Ward notes that self-built housing, or even self-managed housing, is not often found in most “colonias” in Texas. It is thus symptomatic that all the images in the report of the Reserve Bank depict houses that seem to have been self-built. Even when self-managed housing is prevalent in a specific settlement, such as Cameron Park near Brownsville, Ward notes that most residents have built as if they were complying with city building codes “in terms of setbacks and clearance of property lines” (Ward 1999, 54). However, most houses in “colonias” are trailers and “manufactured homes,” relatively new and well-kept (Ibid., 258). Unfortunately, little research documents the characteristics or the history of the development and use of these housing types (Wallis 1989; Davies 2005). In 1976, HUD put into effect a code that exempted structures built on a permanent chassis, such as “manufactured homes,” from local building regulations (Davies 2005, 77). These can only be disallowed by local zoning restrictions. In consequence, “manufactured homes” have become very widespread in the United States. Indeed, by 2000 manufactured homes accounted for 30 percent of all new single-family houses sold in the United States (Ibid.).

1.3.5. Southern European Informality

“I’m seventeen, I arrive here in 1964 . . . we live in shanties for a France that deceives us, but it’s ok, I’m just here for the money . . . I save and I send directly to my country, and then I’ll return and I’ll get married straight away . . . in France, they say there’s welfare, there’s rights and unions, I will choose the nicest girl, perhaps not the most beautiful one, far away from Lille.”¹¹⁵

Axiom’s rap ends up telling a bittersweet story on a promise of social ascension, often elsewhere, coupled with the denial of an ethnicized identity. Yet, “shanties” in Europe do not belong to a supposedly less developed, transitory past. Early Southern European research on urban informality often addressed informal housing as a transitory process, associated with the urbanization of a developing semiperiphery. In Spain, research on informal processes of housing in the Catalan countries starts in the 1970s, addressing a “marginal” capitalist land market in cities such as Barcelona (Busquets 1999) or Castelló (Viñeta 1987). As Manuel Solá-Morales argued early on, “marginal” urbanization in Spain is not an “accidental deformation,” but instead a necessary condition for the growth of the “bourgeois city” (Solá-Morales et al. 1976, 31). But also in neighboring Southern Italy and in Greece, “cities [were] encircled by . . . illegal building” by the 1950s (Leontidou 1990, 19). In the introduction to her history of urban growth in Twentieth Century Athens, geographer Lila Leontidou claims that these “unauthorized settlements . . . have been based on illegal use, not illegal occupation, of land” (Ibid., 20), although her own evidence indicates that this is not always the case. Ultimately, this claim supported an invalid comparison with an ideal-typical South American informality of “illegal occupation.” Pertinently, Leontidou notes that informality was not limited to the fringes of the city, but characterized “many spheres of urban life in the Mediterranean” (Ibid., 249).¹¹⁶

However, she—as other authors such as Solá-Morales—tends to articulate this Mediterranean informality with development, and with a now past status as a semiperiphery from which these countries have “risen.”¹¹⁷ In contrast to a peripheral South America, informal settlement and feminized informal labor developed in Southern Europe in the context of rapid

¹¹⁵ Translation from the French of an excerpt of the lyrics of the 2006 song *Lille ma Medina* by Axiom, a French rapper born in Lille in 1975. Axiom gained notoriety for his song *Ma lettre au Président*, an open letter to President Jacques Chirac, composed during the 2005 urban riots, and which evoked the writings of both Émile Zola and Boris Vian. Axiom. “Lille ma Medina.” In *Axiom*. Booster.

¹¹⁶ Leontidou draws on the literature on South American countries and on its concept of an informal mode of housing production. According to her, in the realm of housing production in Southern Europe, “speculation and illegality [were] predominant and spread among all social classes” (Leontidou 1990, 249).

¹¹⁷ The rare approaches to informal settlement in Southern Europe by architectural historians differ from such critiques of development, arguing instead for a lack in urban planning practice, unable to manage a purported globalization of the “irregular.” Italian historian Leonardo Benevolo stated in the mid-1980s that “‘developed’ countries are not sheltered from these mechanisms that happen at a global scale, and irregular buildings appear where urban planning does not accompany the transformations of inhabited space: in Rome . . . about 60,000 people live in shacks and about 800,000 in houses built without permits in land not destined for construction” (Benevolo [1985] 2009, 131).

export-oriented industrialization and very high rates of emigration to countries in Northwestern Europe; as Castells mentions, most men in informal settlements were formally employed (Castells 1983, 218). Many regional economies did undergo processes of increased informalization by the early 1970s, in the context of local patterns of vertical integration of the informal economy with formal industry (Ybarra 1989; Benton 1989). However, evidence indicates that informal settlement processes in most Southern European cities diminished in importance at this time. Leontidou thus focuses on defining urban informality as past, and as a temporary product of a “popular” agency challenging an ineffective “bourgeois hegemony” that was purportedly not effective (Leontidou 1990, 271).

Nevertheless, recent scholarly and newspaper articles remind us that informal housing has not disappeared in this new moment of “advanced” capitalism in Europe. As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, research on the Barcelona area and journalistic accounts on eastern London, articulated with a discourse on marginality that is now ethnicized, show that processes of informal housing continue to exist (Hidalgo 2003; Hall 2011). In addition, ongoing processes of municipal tolerance, legalization, rehousing—and occasional violent eviction—characterize the Madrid area, where several *chabolista* settlements continue to be built without state permission, often in state-owned land.¹¹⁸ The linear settlement of Cañada Real Galiana is estimated to house up to 30,000 people, including an undetermined number of migrants from Romania and from Morocco (Borasteros, Barroso and Torres 2007). It seems that in Europe a purported “core” modernity has not been associated with the end of spatial production under conditions of informality. In contrast to the beforementioned extant processes of urban informality in the southwestern United States, present-day European informalities seem to be subject to more tactical techniques of management.

1.4. The Illegalization of the Informal

In this first chapter, I proposed that histories of urban informality in postwar Southern Europe—such as Lisbon’s “clandestine” suburban subdivisions—can foreground a concept of informality as a process relating a mode of spatial production and a regime of regulation. In the case of Portugal, after a decade of legal stability in terms of the regulation of building and subdivision during the 1950s, the changes in national planning laws after 1960 were frequent and emerged always in consequence of a notion of the illegitimacy of the spaces characterized as clandestine. Through this process, laws were gradually and always tentatively defined for what a legislator at the time called a “rational urban development,”¹¹⁹ and the clandestine was increasingly

¹¹⁸ This is not an emergent situation. As Manuel Castells notes, in the early 1950s “shanty towns spread all around the city’s periphery which accounted, in 1956, for 20 percent of Madrid’s population. These settlements were, of course, illegal but tolerated: by the landowners who, besides obtaining high rents in the short term, had expectations of rising land values after years of urbanization by shanty town dwellers who would improve their neighborhood; by the police, accepting money and cooperation in exchange for indifference; and by the administration, relieved of the duty of providing housing for workers who were required by the new industrial policy” (Castells 1983, 218).

¹¹⁹ Decree-Law 289/73, June 6, 1973.

illegalized—even though the clandestine, the central figure of this slow legislative change, was never positively defined. Only in 1973 would the central state choose to create exceptional legislation for the so-called “renovation” of the new informally created suburban subdivisions. Henceforth, informal building and subdivision was outside the domain of legality, and a dual planning regime emerged, as municipalities continued participating in the planning of “clandestine” neighborhoods such as Brandoa or Casal de Cambra through an exceptional set of practices. As mentioned before, in the European region this dual planning regime emerged in other Southern cities.

Understanding how the creation of suburban environments in Southern Europe was done partially under conditions of informality and illegalization contributes to an understanding of cities everywhere as a space of experimentation and tentativeness. As mentioned in the introduction, in the Portuguese case, by 1980 the “clandestine” parts of metropolitan Lisbon assured housing for twenty to thirty percent of the area’s population (Leeds 1994, 90). Since then, scholarship on “clandestine” subdivisions in Portugal has addressed their suburban architectures as related to a longing for an unchanging rural landscape (Soares, Ferreira and Guerra 1985; Matos 1989; Pinto 1998; among others).¹²⁰ The valuable literature on North American suburbs shows that this has often been the case in other regions (Wright 1981; Hayden 2004; Nicolaides 2002; Self 2003; Beauregard 2006). The residents of illegalized subdivisions also employed similar discourses from the early 1970s onwards, responding to elite disapproval by foregrounding the idea of a pastoral space outside the market: a self-built space for family living and not for profit.¹²¹

Yet, even though the invocation of permanence and rurality has undoubtedly played an important discursive role in the formation of suburbanities in Europe and elsewhere, this dissertation argues for an attention to the ways in which suburban environments can be seen as sites of experimental spatial practices involving multiple agencies. I conceptualize experimental spatial practices not only as those practices that are new and untested, but also as practices that may be based on experience instead of authority, challenging the ways in which “the *ideologically* dominant tendency divides space up into parts and parcels in accordance with the social division of labor,” as Henri Lefebvre states ([1974] 1991, 89; emphasis in the original). In this context, “architects are assigned architectural space as their (private) property” (Ibid.). I also draw on Lefebvre’s theorization of “(social) space as a (social) product” (Ibid., 26) and of the “spatial practice of a society [that] secretes that society’s space” (Ibid., 38). However, for the purposes of this work the term “spatial practices” encompasses the everyday practices that constantly maintain both expert conceptions and symbolic imaginations of space, and the activities—quodidian or not—that materially shape space. The latter may correspond to the labor of a construction worker, but also to a lot sale made by an informal developer at an official notary, or to a decision by a mayor during a weekly municipal council meeting to create a sewerage system. As Lefebvre himself suggested, categories are used in a heuristic fashion; for

¹²⁰ Even though this literature on the “clandestine” balks at describing such spaces as suburban.

¹²¹ “Urbanização Ameaça Mil Casas na Freguesia de Belas.” [“Urbanization Threatens a Thousand Houses in the Belas Ward.”] *A Capital*. May 10, 1972.

example, expert conceptions of the city expressed through postwar plans for Lisbon are undoubtedly suffused with symbolic imaginations of a classed city clearly separated from a supposedly static rurality.

This reflection on the extensions of the city as a space created through tentative practices by planners, administrators or residents is part of a project to go past the specter of marginality in architectural and urban history. It has often been assumed that certain kinds of spaces, such as suburban spaces, spaces created principally by actors characterized as nonprofessionals, or spaces created partially outside a regulatory framework defined by a state, are at the margins of urban life, both materially and conceptually. The rich literature that has increasingly made such spaces the object of a specialized attention often aims to constitute the specificity of their marginality. Instead, I propose drawing from critiques of the law by Foucault and Deleuze, and more specifically from the idea of the law as an “economy of illegalities” (Foucault [1975] 1995, 87). Commenting in *Discipline and Punish* on a new “policy with regard to illegalities” that conditioned penal reform in late Eighteenth Century France (Ibid.), Foucault writes that

“with the new forms of capital accumulation, new relations of production and the new legal status of property, all the popular practices that belonged, either in a silent, everyday, tolerated form, or in a violent form, to the illegality of rights were reduced by force to an illegality of property. In that movement which transformed a society of juridico-political levies into a society of the appropriation of the means and products of labour, theft tended to become the first of the great loopholes in legality. Or, to put it another way, the economy of illegalities was restructured with the development of capitalist society. The illegality of property was separated from the illegality of rights. This distinction represents a class opposition because, on the one hand, the illegality that was to be most accessible to the lower classes was that of property—the violent transfer of ownership—and because, on the other, the bourgeoisie was to reserve to itself the illegality of rights: the possibility of getting round its own regulations and its own laws, of ensuring for itself an immense sector of economic circulation by a skilful manipulation of gaps in the law—gaps that were foreseen by its silences, or opened up by *de facto* tolerance” (Ibid., 86).

Reflecting on the above passage one decade later, Deleuze would characterize the law as a “management of illegalisms” that constitutes a conflict between classes:

“One of the most profound themes of Foucault’s book consists in replacing the gross opposition law-illegality with a fine correlation *illegalisms-laws*. The law is always a composition of illegalisms that it differentiates through formalizing . . . the law is a management of illegalisms . . . and Foucault shows that the law is neither a state of peace nor the result of a won war: it is war itself, and the strategy of this war in action, exactly like power is not an acquired property of the dominant class, but an actual exercise of its strategy” (Deleuze [1986] 2004, 37).

I also propose evoking earlier critiques by German constitutional theorist Carl Schmitt, who in 1950 expressed a concern for “how totally the word *law* was functionalized by late 19th century jurists into the positivistic legal system of the modern state apparatus, until legality had become merely a weapon used at any given time by those legislating against the party excluded from legislation” (Schmitt [1950] 2003, 78).¹²² My dissertation thus explores how illegalized informal spaces hitherto framed as marginal may be conceptualized as participating in an assemblage of urbanities. This organization of forms of urban life is always related to the legal apparatus that regulates the production of space.

¹²² Schmitt commented in 1950—in the context of a critique of contemporary understandings of the law—that “legality now is only the functional mode of a state bureaucracy, which, of course, must concern itself with enactment of acts emanating from the central command-post responsible for this bureaucracy” (Schmitt [1950] 2003, 71). Commenting on the late Nineteenth Century emergence of “legal positivism,” Schmitt argued that “‘law’ and ‘regulation’ no longer could be distinguished. Every public or secret decree could be called a law, because it was executed by state authorities; its chance to compel obedience was not lower, but perhaps even higher than that of statutes, which, after the most unwieldy discussions, were acclaimed and proclaimed in the most public manner” (Ibid., 76). Even though one may critique the narrative of degradation subjacent to Schmitt’s argument, it is pertinent to note how some of his formulations seem to herald the ways in which Foucault would theorize law—even though Schmitt’s critique of liberalism participated in a defence of populist authoritarianism.

Chapter Two
The Idea of Housing Workers, 1932-1958

2.1. The Education of Expertise

As mentioned in the introduction to this dissertation, the central concern of my research became to understand the ways in which a significant part of suburban housing for households of low-income wage-laborers was materially and discursively produced under conditions of illegalization in 1960s Portugal. In this context, it was increasingly crucial to comprehend how experts such as architects and engineers working within and outside of local government participated in reasonably direct fashion in this process from its beginning. Through their participation as entrepreneurial bureaucrats, they developed a discourse on a spatial clandestinity to be known and to be changed through expertise. I argue that conceptualizing the actions of such experts as an “upgrading” practice that renders purportedly spontaneous spaces amenable to participation in a realm of authentic planning disregards not only how such spaces are decided on and arranged in advance, but also the ways in which their history is integral to the formation of planning expertise. To put it differently, how was spatial expertise in Portugal formed through professional participation in the planning of settlements such as Brandoa, Casal de Cambra or Prior Velho? How is the regulatory apparatus of planning not simply a factor of informality, as scholars as Hernando de Soto have argued (Soto [1987] 1989)? How was planning actually shaped in reaction to suburbanization processes that were often not illegal or informal at all at the time of their inception, but that rather started to be described as improper through different kinds of utterances directed at a privileged audience—scholarly articles, municipal council records, or newspaper articles—from the late 1950s onwards by actors such as the housing expert, the local official, or the journalist? How is the dual planning regime whose formation I characterize as a “liberal urbanity” affected by the emergence of suburban clandestinity, notably in its relation to the territory of the Portuguese state outside the domain of the urban?

This chapter focuses on recalling the discursive assemblage instructing expert actors learning how to plan, actors in effect reordering a dual planning regime that was not by any means new but whose effects were increasingly dangerous, actors reacting to the postwar suburbanization processes that surprised them, caught within a narrative of complete control by the state. Those actors involved in representing the city, in taming its supposedly wild growth, in ordering its purportedly irrational, irreflexive chaos—what were the debates they formed and that formed them? How did the idea of a working-class, and of housing for a working-class, fit within state propaganda, including in exhibitory spaces built or sponsored by the state? What was the role of discourses on housing in the formation of the architectural profession, sponsored by the central state? In this context, what were the ways in which housing was represented and problematized in the context of legitimizing practices, such as the narrative—still prevalent in the architectural field—on the adoption of modernist urbanism as a practice of resistance to fascism? In addition, how do literary works and film from the 1940s and 1950s deal with such issues? In sum, this chapter explores how expert subjectivities were molded during the period

immediately preceding the creation of the first so-called “clandestine” subdivisions in Lisbon’s suburbs.

The chapter thus addresses three strands of the debates in Portugal on the relation between the state and housing, from the beginning of the problematization of housing in the new liberal regime from the 1860s onwards to the emergence of informal suburban subdivision around 1958, the year Brandoa started to be built. The first strand, or series of programmatic statements, may be characterized as a concern for the care of the “poor” or of “laborers,” and for modes of housing a working-class within the state. Even though after the 1880s positions defending direct state intervention start gaining importance within the political elite, the first state-built housing neighborhood in Portugal was concluded only in 1934, fifteen years after the start of construction. This year thus marks a tipping point in the debate on modes of housing within the state. From 1934 onwards, one can describe an emerging state practice of direct eviction and rehousing in “economic” neighborhoods. In addition, even though the dictatorial regime that replaced Portugal’s First Republic started in 1926, only in 1934 would labor unions and the free press be abolished under the new Constitution that declared a “New State.”

The second strand of the debate on state and housing addressed in this chapter is the interest in the definition of a *Casa Portuguesa* (i.e. Portuguese House) among design professionals. From the 1900s to the early 1930s, architects involved in what amounted to an elite movement elected the single-family, detached house for affluent subjects as a privileged site for the representation of national specificity—drawing from earlier, ethnographic representations of rurality. After 1934, the debate on a national mode of domesticity and settlement became articulated with state propaganda practices, including exhibitory spaces and film; and with state housing practices, as the new state-built “economic” houses employed the formal prescriptions of the *Casa Portuguesa* movement.

The formation of the third strand addressed in this chapter is contemporary to postwar economic liberalization, and is characterized by an erosion of class discourses and the emergence of the figure of the vagabond in counterpoint to a normative, classless urbanity. At the same time, architectural discourse rejected the model of the *Casa Portuguesa*, through an argument for a progressive state modernism in housing and urbanism that was opposed to an unchanging rural framed as actual.

2.2. Housing Workers: Discourses and Practices

By the early 1970s, fifteen years after the creation of the neighborhoods such as Brandoa, Portuguese architects such as Nuno Portas explored a discourse on the commodification of the city from the late Nineteenth Century onwards that undoubtedly reflected the influence of the recent works of French philosopher Henri Lefebvre (Portas [1967] 1973, 20), easily read in the

original by the then mostly Francophile Portuguese intellectuals.¹²³ In a chapter on the “evolution of modern architecture in Portugal” initially written for the 1973 publication of the second volume of a survey by Italian architectural historian Bruno Zevi, Portas commented on the Nineteenth Century as “the obscure decades” for the architecture profession when

“little is built but a lot is changed in the socioeconomic context of Portuguese cities with the emergence of the liberal bourgeoisie, owning land and a surplus that is immobilized in *imobiliário* [i.e. real estate] (subtracting it, naturally, to industrialization), and also an urban service sector that will constitute the best demand for that burgeoning business sector, *recently discovered: to produce, sell and rent city*” (Portas 1978, 694; emphasis added).¹²⁴

Such critical understandings have been replaced by an affection for the past in more recent scholarship on Portuguese urban history: by 1995, architectural historian Walter Rossa’s valuable contribution towards a delineation of the characteristics of Portuguese urbanism, notably in the context of the imperial project, evokes Portas and includes a reference to Nineteenth Century “merchants of the city,” but in order to support a nostalgic statement on the less “petty” aristocratic imagination of the city that supposedly predated commodification (Rossa 1995, 316).

What both these perspectives disregard is how the late Nineteenth Century was a period of intense production of scholarly knowledge on the city, and how what may be characterized as the liberalization of an urbanity that would remain conceptually bounded until the 1960s cannot be reduced to an inevitable unleashing of the forces of capitalism or to the end of a grand manner of building the city. Instead, the liberalization of urbanity entailed not only the emergence of a real estate market but also both a foregrounding of class as a key category and a change in the use of space as a way of managing class differences.

¹²³ “The second line of [interdisciplinary] research [on architectural space] is more directly of interest for architecture criticism as art criticism: it has its sources beyond the suggestions of Bachelard, Heidegger or Adorno, in the technicians of communication and semiotics (Wiener, 1948; Sapir, 1949; Morris, 1946) and, more recently, in French semiological studies (Barthes, 1965; Lefebvre, 1965; Foucauld, 1966), having been interpreted in the field of architecture by theory (König, 1961; Dorfler, 1962; N-Shulz, 1964; Portas, 1964; Gregotti, 1996)” (Portas [1967] 1970, 20).

¹²⁴ Portas added: “As it is evident, the new role of the architect as a professional is also determined: intervening in a major or minor fraction of that ‘production’ and in clearly delimited moments of the ‘fabrication’ process, but no longer being the orchestra chief, the enlightened master of all the process, cultured arm of who possesses the power of decision,—at least until, besides the capitalist urbanization we described, the State appears *again* as the great unitarian promotor of pieces of city, for ‘social’ housing, or of singular buildings of collective interest—but that moment was far . . . [in late Nineteenth Century Portugal] the social conflicts provoked by capitalist exploitation weren’t sufficiently acute to force the State of ‘laissez faire’ to assume the role of ‘social’ State” (Portas 1973, 694).

2.2.1. The Liberal State and Classed Urban Space, 1865-1932

Pierre Joseph Pezerat (1801-1872), a French engineer hired by the Lisbon municipality in 1840 and soon nominated as Drawing professor at Lisbon's Polytechnic School, wrote in 1865 in his *Memory on the Studies for the Improvements and Embellishments of Lisbon* a defense of the need to build new districts of two-floor "detached buildings" (Pezerat 1865, 17).¹²⁵ Such new housing would be "undoubtedly occupied by the *aisée* [i.e. comfortable] class, the high commerce, the bourgeois and public officials" (Ibid.). This would

"leave housing available for small commerce and the workers; while the old districts like Alfama [a former suburb of the early Christian city created during Islamic rule] will be reserved for the most *malhereuse* [i.e. unlucky] class. Through this means all the needs will be satisfied, the price of renting will be lowered and the poor will find affordable housing, so that we will no longer be concerned with building special districts for this class; that is an absurd utopia by those that propose districts for the poor, since no entrepreneur will ever be disposed to employ his capital in buildings that will not provide him the interest and the return of this capital: and if for this reason he would be obliged to raise rents, the poor would not be able to pay them and would remain in conditions worse than those they find themselves in today" (Ibid.).

Pezerat added a defense of workers' homeownership through rent-to-own contracts as an orderly and moral system, but argued that the latter was convenient only for "laborious and honest workers" (Ibid., 18).¹²⁶ Arguments such as Pezerat's, advocating mass working-class housing provision through the freeing of housing hitherto occupied by the privileged classes, would surely influence the planning team that was formed at the Lisbon municipality soon after Pezerat's death by Portuguese engineer Frederico Ressano Garcia (1847-1911) in 1874. Also educated in Paris, but at the *École Impériale des Ponts et Chaussées*, where he concluded his degree in 1869, Garcia had the opportunity to obtain firsthand experience of the dramatic transformations that planning practices operated in mid-Nineteenth Century Paris (Lôbo [1993] 1995, 17). By 1878 the Passeio Público, a closed garden outside the late medieval gate of Santo Antão, had been demolished so that Lisbon's first boulevard, the Avenida da Liberdade (i.e.

¹²⁵ Pierre Joseph Pezerat graduated in 1825 from the *École Polytechnique de Paris*. He had previously been hired between 1828 and 1831 by the first Emperor of independent Brazil, where he oversaw the renovation of two imperial palaces in Rio de Janeiro.

¹²⁶ "I know that one can make housing of this type in advantageous conditions for the tenant, assuring him the property of his housing, after a certain time . . . during which he should return the capital through a rent increase. This system is without doubt within conditions of order and morality, but while it is convenient for laborious and honest workers, it cannot be applied to the poor classes that barely can pay for miserable housing that is insalubrious and insufficient" (Pezerat 1865, 18).

Liberty Avenue) could start being built.¹²⁷ Only in 1895 did the boulevard reach its present-day end at a large traffic circle designed to have a monument at its center to the Marquis of Pombal, the government head during Lisbon's rebuilding after the 1755 earthquake. During the boulevard's construction, Garcia prepared plans for a large residential grid linked by the Avenida da Liberdade to the downtown commercial, office and entertainment area, bypassing older suburban neighborhoods built along the narrow roads linking the city to the surrounding countryside.

The first plan for the Avenidas Novas (i.e. New Avenues) was divulged in 1888, and the final version of the plan for a large grid of tree-lined streets was concluded in 1903 and approved in 1904 as the first *Plano Geral de Melhoramentos de Lisboa* (i.e. General Plan for the Improvements of Lisbon) (Ibid., 22). The creation of the grid involved an initial land expropriation process by the municipality, fostering a land commodification process and the ulterior start of the transference of Lisbon's bourgeois population towards the plateau, away from industry and working-class tenement areas. Recent architectural histories in Portugal such as Raquel Silva's have focused on the regulatory aspects of the plan to advance a discourse on a purported "excessive freedom" of the Avenidas Novas plan (Silva 2008, 163) and the "mediocre freedom of the developers" (Tostões 1995, 510). Indeed, there were few prescriptions concerning the relation of housing and public circulation spaces: private developers could choose whether to build houses or apartment buildings, and there were no rules concerning whether the buildings should be detached or not, setbacks, regular height limits, facade materials or architectural style. However, focusing on the "ephemeral" character of buildings in the Avenidas Novas glosses over how effectively Garcia's 1904 plan contributes to realizing Pezerat's 1865 proposal for spatial segregation according to class through state facilitation of the creation of new upper-class neighborhoods.

Yet, Pezerat's vision regarding the foolishness of special neighborhoods for the working-class would start being contested during the strong industrialization of the city in the last two decades of the century, even though state or municipal direct intervention in housing would only commence after the First World War. The 1880 *Comissão de Higiene* (i.e. Hygiene Commission) in Lisbon proposed the demolition of insalubrious areas and the building of workers' districts (Portas 1978, 695), and the 1881 *Inquérito Industrial* (i.e. Industrial Survey) also included censures of the inadequate housing conditions of workers. By 1884 engineer and parliamentarian Augusto Fuschini (1843-1911) presented a proposal for the construction of "economical and salubrious" housing for Lisbon's "poor classes" (Figueiredo 2007, 69), and in 1889 the Lisbon municipality produced its first project for a municipal neighborhood in the industrial area of Alcântara (França 1989, 76). In 1896 the architect Adães Bermudes (1864-1948)—a disciple of French architect Paul Blondel—proposed the creation of a society to promote economic houses

¹²⁷ The Passeio Público, i.e. Public Walk, had initially been built as a walled garden in 1764. Only in the 1840s does it become fashionable as a space for leisure among Lisbon's privileged classes, when a major renovation project entailed the substitution of the wall for a fence, and the introduction of water features and a bandstand. In 1859 Lisbon's mayor defends the creation of a boulevard in Lisbon (França 1989, 77; Silva 2008, 167), which starts being built in Valverde (i.e. Green Valley) two decades later in 1879, linking the riverside downtown to the higher plateau to its north.

for the “laborious classes,” winning the first prize in a state competition for a program for economic neighborhoods in Lisbon, Porto and Covilhã (Portas 1978, 696).¹²⁸ However, Lisbon’s first municipal neighborhoods started being built almost three decades afterwards—at Ajuda in 1917 and in Arco do Cego in 1919 (Almeida and Fernandes [1986] 1993, 40). In the meantime, as Nuno Portas described,

“the bulk of proletarian urbanization was done without politicians, without urbanist or architect . . . in Lisbon through the appearance, in the difficult slopes, of clandestine construction *em barraca ou em duro* [i.e. in wood or in brick,] without infrastructures or minimum safety conditions—by the 1920s this phenomenon merited an alarmed reference by *edis* [i.e. municipal officials] through the proverbial proposals of expropriation, destruction and replacement by dignified and properly urbanized houses” (Portas 1978, 696).

2.2.2. A Working-Class Discourse on Housing?

Even though intellectuals in the late Nineteenth Century were increasingly concerned with housing, and with the possibilities for public intervention in this realm that for experts such as Pizarat was firmly outside the role of the state, the working-class press of the time includes very few references to housing and to the conditions of everyday life outside the factory.¹²⁹ When housing is rarely addressed, the authors deal less with material conditions, focusing instead on the possibilities of industrialist-owned housing or of homeownership as a means of achieving tenure stability and conditions for savings. For example, a February 19, 1910, article in *O Corticeiro*, a cork workers’ journal, laments the fact that factories in Lisbon do not have houses for their workers, and that the overwhelming majority of workers do not own but rent usually “insalubrious” dwellings, costing a week’s worth of male wages a month and lacking stability of tenure due to the prevalence of monthly contracts (Mónica 1982, 87).

¹²⁸ “His concerns in practical terms for the solution of the housing problem for the laborious classes gained importance in 1896 when he won first prize in a public competition, organized for the Fourth Centennial of the Discovery of the Maritime Route to India, for a program of economic neighborhoods” (Almeida and Fernandes [1986] 1993, 55). Pedro Vieira de Almeida associates this interest to Bermudes’ “masonic affiliation” (Ibid., 48). Bermudes had studied at the Paris Fine Arts School with French architect Paul Blondel (1847-1897) (Ibid., 55), notable for foregrounding technological innovation and for his work on Mulhouse’s hospitals and public library. Socialist architect Tony Garnier (1869-1948) also worked with Blondel in the early 1890s (Rabinow 1989, 221). With Rosendo Carvalheira, Adães Bermudes wrote in 1902 the statutes of the *Sociedade dos Arquitectos Portugueses* (i.e. Society of Portuguese Architects), delinking the architecture profession from the archeology field (Almeida and Fernandes [1986] 1993, 53).

¹²⁹ It is pertinent to note how such sources have been neglected in histories of Portugal. Maria Filomena Mónica notes in her valuable 1982 anthology that “until recently, the proletariat was one of the big suppressions of Portuguese historiography. To the global minimization of the labor world and to the dominating rural ideology, the Salazar regime had added a formal interdiction. Portugal, ‘an essentially agrarian country,’ was also a country where the proletariat did not fight against the bosses who, careful and paternal, cared for them with devotion” (Mónica 1982, 10).

More often, working-class textual sources attest to the prejudices of male, literate Portuguese workers. The portrayal of women working outside the home as a menace—and the comparison of wage labor and racialized slavery—were crucial elements of working-class discourses that still resonate in present-day housing practices. Indeed, evocations of slaves, “moors” or “blacks” as categories whose undignified conditions of labor Portuguese workers are being subjected to are very frequent. For example, Santos Pina wrote in *Voz do Trabalho* (i.e. Voice of Labor) on May Day 1896: “the old slave, albeit oppressed, working under the orders of the master, was happier in relation to today’s wage laborer, who enjoys only *an illusory and conditional freedom*” (Pina [1896] 1982, 35; emphasis added). In addition, more privileged male workers frequently express the ideal of the place of a woman being the home, for example in the article “Women and Labor” published in July 1897 in *O Eco Metalúrgico* (i.e. The Metallurgical Echo) (Ibid., 149).

It must be noted that an elite among low-income wage-laborers produced such texts. Lisbon and its industrial suburbs constituted the only region of the country where factory workers both had a significant presence in the population and relied exclusively on wage-labor for subsistence (Rosas [1986] 1996, 84). The area, characterized by industrial diversity, was the site of emergence for all the main strike movements of the early Twentieth Century in Portugal, but the limited discursive possibilities for Portuguese wage-laborers would be violently curtailed on May 28, 1926, as a military coup ended one century of what Portuguese historian Fernando Rosas has characterized as “oligarchic liberalism” (Ibid., 13). Repeated attempts to reinstate a democratic government in the years up to the beginning of Second World War in 1939 were violently repressed by the new regime, resulting in at least 12,000 political prisoners, about 1,500 deportees, and about 200 dead in street combats and in jail (Ibid., 189). The failure of a general strike in January 1934 would mark the end of more than half a century of organized labor unionism, and the end of the free press, including evidently the working-class press. This move had been heralded in the previous year by the approval of the *Estatuto de Trabalho Nacional*, i.e. the National Labor Statute, defending a discourse on the harmony of capital and labor while at the same time abolishing labor unions.

2.3. Architects in Portugal and the House

To understand how the dictatorial regime employed the idea of a national domesticity in its propaganda practices, particularly from 1934 onwards, it is crucial the recall the history of the formation of architecture as a professional field in the initial decades of the Twentieth Century in Portugal, and the ways in which this formation included a debate on domesticity that implied the idea of the architect as the expert on forms appropriate for an imagined national identity. If the late Nineteenth Century housing experts, including architects, had focused on material conditions and particularly on health, architects now increasingly centered the debate on architectural style. The concerns of stability and savings that elite working-class subjects foregrounded were disregarded; if the idea of ownership was also crucial for architects, it must be stated that during

this period it was so at a symbolic level and in relation to a celebration of the virtues of rurality, not of justice in class relations.

As Lisbon was gradually transformed into a city where the bourgeoisie had a dominant role, conditions for architects quickly changed at the turn of the new century. In 1900, the first journal exclusively devoted to architecture, *Construção Moderna* (i.e. Modern Construction) was launched, in 1901 the Society of Portuguese Architects was created, and in the following year an award for the best building in Lisbon was instituted, the Valmor Award. In this context, perspectives on “folk” housing in the context of an urban-rural dichotomy became integral to the development of a professional discourse in Portugal.

As the field became institutionalized, a group of professional architects started drawing on the first ethnographic studies of “folk” architecture as unchanging, such as the work of Rocha Peixoto. Conscious of extant processes of change and explicitly concerned with the “denationalization of the house” (Peixoto 1899, 80), Peixoto focused only on a few insulated rural settlements where a “regional” architecture seemed to persist. Peixoto’s engagement with conflations between rural life and a “primitive state of man” was thus only partial. However, architects drew on such ethnographic documentation to propose the so-called *Casa Portuguesa* as a basis for a new “popular” architecture (Fernandes 2003, 40). Nevertheless, the type was initially developed through the building of single-family houses for privileged subjects in the Lisbon area, and the origins of the formal characteristics of the actual designs were eclectic.¹³⁰

Prominent among these designers in the *Casa Portuguesa* movement was Raul Lino (1879-1974).¹³¹ Lino is notable for the design of several suburban villas in the Lisbon area, such as his own residence in the cosmopolitan town of Sintra. Among the formal characteristics he employed, the limited use of *azulejos* (i.e. decorative ceramic tiles) in the building envelope or in porches seems to evoke not “regional” architecture but instead the residential architecture of the Portuguese aristocracy. However, his influence spread mostly through the publication of several prescriptive writings on architecture, of which some are still in print today. In his first book published in 1918, *A Nossa Casa* (i.e. *Our House*), Lino defended a house type that included formal characteristics of “traditional” architecture—such as whitewashed walls and red tile roofs, for example. In *Our House*, the definition of taste as conferring “true nobility,” to quote Pierre Bourdieu ([1979] 1984, 11), is indeed associated with the construction of the profession’s position in the social space: “it is commonly qualified as *good taste* the instinctive subjection to certain indefinable laws by which the artists rule themselves for the creation of any work of their specialty” (Lino 1918, 13; emphasis in the original).

In 1933 Lino published *Casas Portuguesas* (i.e. *Portuguese Houses*), his most popular book. Here, the “housing problem” is initially framed as a timeless, seemingly depoliticized

¹³⁰ As Mia Fuller comments on farmer’s houses in Italy under the Fascist regime, there is a simultaneous “naming and dismantling” of tradition: “the houses seemed ‘traditional,’ and yet, did not allude unambiguously to a particular ‘tradition’” (Fuller 2004, 172).

¹³¹ Lino lived in Hannover, Germany, from 1893 to 1897 and worked with architect and architectural historian Albrecht Haupt, author of a seminal book on Renaissance architecture in Portugal (*Die Baukunst der Renaissance in Portugal*, published in German in 1890).

concern; but in the new political context, Lino does articulate a defense of an aesthetic tradition in housing explicitly with issues of ownership, with the crisis of capitalism and with debates over conceptualizations of liberty. Lino starts by arguing that what he characterizes as “the Americanization of customs” has not managed to eliminate the “natural and instinctive” yearning for “Man” to have his own *and* independent housing for himself or for his family. The *moradia* (i.e. single-family house) is defended as a redoubt of intimacy, the last refuge of the individual against the attack of all the aberrations of collectivism. However, “not all can aspire to possess their own, independent house; but also those who are forced to live in conjugated or in bloc housing have the right to demand improvement” (Lino [1933] 1992, 11). Indeed, his ideal, male subject—the “master”—employs a female cook, and has bread delivered to his door (Ibid., 14).

Lino also aims to discursively disconnect housing from the realm of capital. The idea of the *Casa Portuguesa* is instead linked to “economy” not as mere thrift, but as “good order, precise measure, equilibrium between effort or expense and the results, concordance of the parts and harmony of the whole; economy as the maximum and essential virtue, revealed to us in the creations of Nature” (Ibid., 20). This is the “true economy,” unlike that of the house as a “machine for living.”

In addition, the practice of the architect is above the level of a mere paid service, since the architect is participating in the construction of a national landscape. For the architect, “besides the private interests of the entity that orders the work, there are also . . . the effects of the executed work as a constituting element *of the great panorama* on which the life of the nation unfolds” (Ibid., 49). Architecture is not mere building, it is instead a work of “love” (Ibid., 53).

It must be noted that Lino’s text is not an explicit apology for the lack of change. The author is well aware that what he is proposing is new, but he is explicitly against the employment both of a modernist style and what he characterizes as the “old Portuguese” mask (Ibid., 69). The change that he is proposing is one towards a disciplined liberty understood as the maintenance of visual order. Lisbon’s new neighborhoods, such as the Avenidas Novas, are for Lino “true neighborhoods of liberty—not of good disciplined liberty, respecting the rights of the neighbors, but of the tumultuous agglomeration where all shout and elbow and where no one is right, plastically speaking” (Ibid., 68).

2.3.1. Representing Rural Housing and the Aestheticization of Politics

The early decades of the Salazar dictatorship were characterized by the employment of power-laden images of tradition that undoubtedly participated in the transformation of subjectivities. After 1933, representations of both the rural and the urban working-class were circulated both through the state educational system and through state-sponsored cinema. Such representations reworked and diffused early Twentieth Century elite conceptualizations of a traditional *Casa Portuguesa* within ethnography and architecture. Two open-air museums built in 1940 actualized the representations of agricultural wage-laborer spaces, including the temporary *Aldeias Portuguesas* (i.e. Portuguese Villages) area of Lisbon’s Exposition of the Portuguese World. The margins of this spectacular space were dedicated to ethnographic a-historical representations: of

the colonies *and* of “typical” Portuguese dwellings, supporting the construction of a timeless rural domesticity as one of the bases for the reconfiguration of Portugal’s imperial identity by the regime. Paraphrasing AlSayyad (2001, 26), such images became an important frame of reference for the definition of an “authentic” Portuguese rurality, endangered by the actual settlements of a growing urban wage-laborer population for whom few places would be reserved in the first Lisbon master plan, concluded in 1948.

In the early decades of the dictatorial regime, the first built public housing designs incorporated formal characteristics associated with the *Casa Portuguesa* type. The Arco do Cego neighborhood, Lisbon’s first municipal housing area that had started being built soon after the First World War, was concluded by the new regime in 1935. In 1937 two more “economic” neighborhoods were inaugurated in Lisbon, and in the following year several “economic neighborhoods of prefabricated houses” were created, such as the Quinta da Calçada neighborhood that was created to house residents evicted from the demolished Minhocas squatter settlement. Nevertheless, even if the regime could invoke such new spaces as representative of a new policy of care for laborers by a state that defended the beforementioned harmony between labor and capital, direct state investment in housing happened mostly at the discursive level. Between 1928 and 1939, of public expenses on infrastructure, only 2.8 percent was spent on “economic” houses. In comparison, eleven percent was spent on public buildings to strengthen the state apparatus, such as hospitals, sports facilities, courthouses, and jails. In turn, this expense is dwarfed by the 32 percent spent on roads (Rosas [1986] 1996, 259). The expansion of the national road network fostered a rapid increase of automobile transportation, and especially of trucking, laying the conditions for the state to reach all of its European territory more efficiently, for the large postwar population movements towards the coastal cities, and for suburbanization in such centers. Urban workers engaged in informal housing could be managed at a distance, admonished by a few exemplary evictions and forced rehousing.

It is important to recall here that the regime considered that the state should “not constrain the free expansion of activities . . . except for what is reclaimed by the necessities of social harmony and coexistence” (Salazar 1930b [1936], 91). According to Salazar, the “social problem . . . has no advantageous solution without *the rise of production*,” without which “legislation of social character and for the protection of workers will be almost useless” (Salazar [1928] 1936, 15). Furthermore, housing itself was not necessarily considered a major part of a “social problem” which for Salazar encompassed hygiene, welfare, instruction, education and labor problems (Ibid. 1930a [1936], 57). One could argue that the creation of *mass* single-family housing mandated by the 1933 Constitution was supposed to be made possible indirectly through economic development, and preferably as a result of building without direct state intervention.

A group of agronomy engineers would contest the discourse celebrating rural “tradition” by publishing the *Inquérito à Habitação Rural* (i.e. *Survey of Rural Housing*), addressing rural houses as dwellings characterized by poverty and lack of hygiene (Leal 2000, 163). Nevertheless, professional concepts of the *Casa Portuguesa* would continue participating in the state-led reworking of national identity during the Salazar dictatorship. In 1940, the children’s amusement park *Portugal dos Pequenitos* (i.e. Portugal of the Little Ones) included a permanent scenery of “regional” houses, presented as a group of freestanding houses built at a reduced

scale.¹³² Furthermore, in the same year the Lisbon *Exposição do Mundo Português* (i.e. Exposition of the Portuguese World) included an area of *Aldeias Portuguesas*.

On June 23, the Exposition of the Portuguese World was inaugurated in Lisbon, the capital of the neutral Portuguese Empire; Brazil was the only invited country. The 1940 Exposition defined an insulated “Portuguese World” and constituted a pivotal moment in the reconfiguration of Portugal’s imperial identity by the state. In addition, the Exposition permanently reorganized the urban area surrounding the sixteenth century Monastery of Hieronymites built partly to commemorate Vasco da Gama’s 1498 voyage.¹³³ What were the ways in which its spaces—both temporary and permanent—were used as a means of state propaganda?

In a contrast to world fairs since London’s 1851 Great Exhibition, industrial progress was not celebrated in 1940. Instead, Portuguese nationalism was reworked through representations of a past characterized by mythical traits. According to the official Catalogue, this was the first “great Exposition of History,” unlike any previous industrial, commercial or colonial fair (Castro 1940b). Inside temporary monumental buildings such as the Pavilion of Honor and Lisbon, the visitor was not exposed, as Allan Pred writes, “to ideological articulations that linked industrial technology with continuous progress” (Pred 1995, 40). In Lisbon, the visitor was exposed to a Pavilion of the Portuguese in the World, or to a genealogical tree of the “chiefs of Christian Europe” related to Portugal’s first monarch (Castro 1940b). What dominated the 1940 Exposition were representations of history associated with a disregard for imaginations of a future.

As in earlier fairs, part of the spectacular space was dedicated to ethnographic a-historical representations. In the 1940 Exposition, these provided the necessary polar opposite in the context of a dichotomy between the teleological historical narrative presented inside the central pavilions and the pastoral spaces representing both metropolitan and colonial otherness. One of the marginal spaces of the fair was thus dedicated, similarly to contemporary European exhibitions, to the national colonial project. The *Secção Colonial* (i.e. Colonial Section) included physical displays of “aboriginal groups” in their “indigenous villages.” The other marginal space was the *Aldeias Portuguesas* area within the *Centro Regional* (i.e. Regional Center). This was a scenery composed of so-called “typical” houses characterized by formal elements associated with peasant dwellings of various regions of mainland Portugal. This space of exhibition of architecture itself supported the construction of an imaginary timeless rurality as one of the bases for the reconfiguration of national identity. How may the *Aldeias Portuguesas* area of the 1940 Exposition be understood in the context of state propaganda?

Even if visitors were not exposed to representations of industrial progress at the 1940 Exposition, the country was engaged in industrialization and colonization processes. Research on

¹³² The Coimbra park was designed by architect Cassiano Branco (1897-1970) in 1937, remembered mostly for his designs of privately developed apartment buildings in Lisbon. In this pedagogical space, Portuguese children are still educated on their national identity through model domestic spaces that evoke little of the internal paradoxes of historical peasant communities.

¹³³ The Monastery has become a World Heritage Site and its surrounding area has been for decades one of the most visited urban spaces in Portugal.

state propaganda during the early Salazar dictatorship (Paulo 1994; Melo 2001) evinces that the praise of rurality was systematically combined with an ideology of stability and order that dismissed a glorification of progress.¹³⁴ The scholarship on the political economy of dictatorship suggests that this combination was integral to the initial compromise of the regime: a compromise between the interests of a growing albeit not hegemonic industrial bourgeoisie and the interests of the traditional large landowners (Rosas [1986] 1996, 123). In 1933, Salazar appointed António Ferro as the first director of the new *Secretariado de Propaganda Nacional* (i.e. National Propaganda Secretariat), declaring in his speech that

“politically, it only exists what the public knows that exists: the ignorance of realities, of the services, of the existing improvements is a cause for discontent, of coldness in the souls, of a lack of patriotic pride, of a lack of trust, joy in living. The fact has political interest, because it has interest in terrain of cohesion, of national vitality” (Salazar [1933b] 1935, 259).

Salazar defined the Secretariat’s action as one of “elevating the spirit of the Portuguese people through the knowledge of what they are and of their value” (Ibid., 261). This definition adapted contemporary German and Italian state policies, even though he argued that “we will detach ourselves from identical services in other countries, of the exaggerated nationalisms that dominate them, and of the theatrical effects for an international stage” (Ibid., 258). The central problem of the Secretariat would be the systematic construction of national identity. In this context, propaganda focused on extolling the private components of rural living and on aestheticizing rural material culture, notably housing. An example is a series of pedagogic posters, “Salazar’s lesson,” that was distributed to all elementary schools in Portugal in 1938. The last of the series, “God, Fatherland, Family: the Trilogy of National Education,” presents an ideal rural domestic space—patriarchal and religious—apparently devoid of any “modern” elements. Through the window, a castle and the national flag are visible, evoking the glorious history of the fatherland. The regime thus propagated the meanings that were to be articulated with representations of rural housing.

The action of the Secretariat also included organizing Portugal’s presence in the 1937 Exposition in Paris, and two years later both in the New York and San Francisco fairs. By 1938, Salazar decided to celebrate the so-called “double centennial” in 1940: 800 years after the foundation of the state and 300 years after the restoration of independence. By the late Nineteenth Century, under Liberalism, the area around the site chosen by Salazar, Belém, was characterized partly by industrial buildings mostly built on reclaimed land. As General Commissioner Augusto de Castro wrote in 1939, the “true city of the history of Portugal”

¹³⁴ In a 1937 speech, Salazar stated that “we are not seduced or satisfied by wealth, by the luxury of technique, by the apparatus that diminishes man, by the delirium of mechanics, by the colossal, the immense, the unique, brute force, unless the wing of the spirit touches and submits these to the service of a life increasingly beautiful, elevated and noble” (Salazar [1953] 1966, 46). Salazar often affirmed his own rurality, as for example in a 1949 speech in the agricultural Alentejo region: “In the spirit of the rural that I am—through my roots, in my heart, in my temperament —[I cherish] the land, fountain of joy and nourishment of men” (Salazar [1949] 1951, 399).

required the demolition of the “horrible constructions” that constituted Belém’s downtown so that the Monastery could “face” the river (Castro 1940a, 18). Thus, what Castro called the “New Portugal” could encounter a symbolic “Old Portugal” (Ibid., 57). Demolitions allowed the placement of the two main pavilions at each extremity of the Monastery: on the east side the Pavilion of Honor and of Lisbon, and on the west side the Pavilion of the Portuguese in the World. The buildings composed a monumental square, still called Praça do Império (i.e. Empire Square) today.

The *Aldeias Portuguesas* area, supervised by the National Propaganda Secretariat and designed by architect Jorge Segurado, was located west of the Praça do Império. In the inauguration speech, Commissioner Castro described this area as the representation of “that Portugal, naïve and loving, that was the humus of the heroic Portugal that is there” (Castro 1940a, 115). As in the Colonial Section, cast members were employed—according to Ferro, “authentic peasants” (Acciaiuoli 1998, 173). In this case, their exotic presence was complemented by the display of their crafts within the houses.¹³⁵

In Lisbon there is no representation of a progressive rurality as in the Rural Center of the 1937 Paris fair (Peer 1998). These are spaces of imagination of a timeless rural present linked to the political project of the Salazar dictatorship. These spaces construct a rural, inner other: the hinterland of urban Portugal. In the Exposition of Portuguese World, Segurado converted so-called “popular” symbols into national symbols, drawing on contemporary ethnographic work focusing on peasant architecture as unchanging and on early Twentieth Century imaginations of a *Casa Portuguesa*. These spaces also participated in a definition of a dual opposition between country and city associated with a conception of the urban as a historical and bounded realm—celebrating inequalities in the context of a “New State” and defining particular forms of modernity that present-day illegalized settlements seem to partially evoke.

The Exposition received approximately 3 million visits until its closing on December 2, 1940. During the winter, a storm destroyed most of the temporary pavilions at Belém, including the *Aldeias Portuguesas*. Even though Portugal maintained its neutral position during the remainder of the war, protests by low-income wage-laborers soon returned, especially after food rationing was introduced in December 1943. Industrial worker strikes were frequent from 1942 to 1944, and rural strikes and peasant mutinies from 1943 to 1945.

After the end of the war, a different perspective on rural housing would be proposed by design professionals engaged in the development of the first professional organization in the 1950s. By 1949 the state’s police forces had imposed an end to the opposition movements that demanded the return to political democracy after the end of the war and the defeat of the Axis

¹³⁵ Since the late Nineteenth Century, representations of peasant dwellings had been one of the bases for the construction of European national identities through the consumption of exhibition space. Outdoor architectural museums such as Skansen, grew precisely out of the International Exhibitions of the late Nineteenth Century (Kaufman 1989). However, research has also noted how diverse kinds of representations of rurality are employed. An example is the Paris 1937 Exposition, taking place during the Popular Front’s government. If the Regional Center at Paris focuses on representing the urbanity of the provinces instead of rural housing, the Rural Center articulates the realm of the rural itself with a belief in efficient change: the Rural Center was a model village complete with modern farm buildings, working cooperatives, a schoolhouse – and a silo instead of a Church (Peer 1998).

powers. However, a group of professional architects, including young architects such as Fernando Távora (1923-2005), saw themselves as continuing resistance against the Salazar dictatorship by challenging the purportedly traditional visual order of public housing.¹³⁶

As the first “clandestine” subdivisions such as Brandoa started being built in the Lisbon suburbs in 1958, challenging the *Casa Portuguesa* was linked by architects to the idea of resistance and to a modernist style. When the state commissioned a survey of Portuguese “folk” architecture to the recently created *Sindicato Nacional dos Arquitectos* (i.e. National Syndicate of the Architects), the professionals involved in the survey focused on evoking the functionality of regional domesticities in order to support their argument for the adoption of a modernist style in state-built housing.¹³⁷ Opposition architects thus reproduced the fascist aestheticization of politics. The *Inquérito à Arquitectura Popular em Portugal* (i.e. *Survey on Folk Architecture in Portugal*), started in 1956 under the direction of Keil do Amaral and published in 1961, does not include images of change in rural or informal urban building. When rarely mentioned in the text, change is represented as beyond modernity and traditionality. In the chapter on the central coastal area surrounding Lisbon, even though there is just one photograph of a concrete structure, the authors lament how

“all over the Zone, concrete replaces the ancient methods of overcoming spans and supporting loads through pillars or surfaces. The use of the material is still disorderly and, very often, wrong. Those that build have no notion of dimensions and do not know its constructive principles” (SNA [1961] 1988, 193; emphasis added).

Emerging building traditions thus endangered the purportedly authentic and unchanging architectures of the *povo* (i.e. the people, in the sense of “populace”). Most of the authors engaged in the survey conflate *popular*, i.e. folk, and rural in their texts. The published survey neglects documenting working-class houses in urban settlements, and does not include one single building in the larger urban areas of Lisbon or Porto. The 1961 survey may thus be defined as participating in a definition of a dual opposition between country and city associated with a conception of the urban as a ‘progressive’ and bounded realm. The focus on the realm of the rural and the negation of change will also characterize later studies on rural housing in Portugal.¹³⁸

The idea of an aesthetic resistance was later employed in histories of the profession addressing the importance of the 1961 survey. By the late 1970s, Nuno Portas’ seminal text on

¹³⁶ Távora would become a leading figure of the Porto University’s Architecture School and a mentor of Álvaro Siza.

¹³⁷ The *Sindicato Nacional dos Arquitectos* had been founded in 1933 but only held its first congress in 1948. Architecture was an elite profession until after the 1974 Revolution. By 1969 there were only 500 professional architects in Portugal—most were based in Lisbon or Porto, the two primate cities.

¹³⁸ Such as the 1990s books *Arquitectura Tradicional Portuguesa*, i.e. *Portuguese Traditional Architecture* (Oliveira and Galhano, 1992) and *A Arquitectura Popular Portuguesa*, i.e. *The Popular Portuguese Architecture* (Moutinho, 1995).

the “evolution of modern architecture in Portugal” used the word *Resistência* (i.e. Resistance) to designate the section on the period between the death of Public Works minister Duarte Pacheco in 1943 and the publication of the *Inquérito* (i.e. *Survey*) in 1961 (Portas 1978, 736). For Portas, the beforementioned 1948 National Architecture Congress had been “a capital moment of the architectural ‘resistance’ during which, for the first time, the problems of the social and economic context of the production of architecture were foregrounded” (Ibid., 733). “Resistance” in this case meant “the rejection of the ‘soft portuguese’ [architectural style] . . . and the attention to the ‘very serious housing problem’ and role of modern architecture and urbanism in its ‘solution’” (Ibid.).¹³⁹ In particular, opposition architects were concerned with the rejection of the single-family housing garden-city and the defense of CIAM modernism as integral to the solution of the housing problem, even though by the early 1970s it had become clear that “the housing question had little to do” with such questions (Ibid., 734).

In the domain of state-built housing, evocations of the *Casa Portuguesa* were rapidly abandoned. In 1963, the cover of the beforementioned Ministry of Public Works report *Housing in Portugal* showed a new modernist neighborhood (MOP 1963). The emerging informal suburban subdivisions were left out of the report; but these were not hidden in elite debates. For example, a new Lisbon daily newspaper directed at Lisbon professionals—the *Diário Ilustrado*—had published in early 1962 a 3-week long series of investigative reports on “the case of the clandestine constructions.” Nevertheless, the ministerial report explicitly eulogizes the “planning operations” conducted to abolish “shacks” since 1956, noting the surveys conducted by the Lisbon municipality (Ibid., 27).

2.3.2. Class Fragmentation in Postwar Portugal

If the import substitution policies implemented during the first two decades of the dictatorial regime were associated with a worsening of labor conditions and a gradual increase of the dependence on wages, the mode of fragmentation of the working-class would remain unchanged until the late 1950s. Still in 1950, only 24 percent of the population worked in industry, concentrated in the coastal regions around the primate cities of Lisbon and Porto, and as mentioned earlier, only in the Lisbon region were industrial wage-laborers mostly disarticulated from agricultural production—otherwise, most industrial wage-laborers were also engaged in subsistence farming.¹⁴⁰

In the years immediately after the Second World War the overwhelming majority of the country’s population, as in other regions of Southern Europe, still lived in small settlements such

¹³⁹ Portas acknowledged that “for the Regime, the nationalist architectural style no longer constituted an important element because the will to continue the ideological battle was dissipated in favor of the new image of ‘development’” (Portas 1973, 733).

¹⁴⁰ A majority of industrial units was very small: by 1938, 51 percent had less than 20 workers. In addition, most industrial wage-laborers were employed only on a temporary basis, partly because unions had been abolished by the Salazar dictatorship in 1933 (Rosas 1998, 73).

as *aldeias* (i.e. villages) and *vilas* (i.e. towns).¹⁴¹ In 1950, 77 percent of the mainland population lived in settlements with less than 10,000 residents, and 48 percent was involved in agriculture.¹⁴² In this context, a mass of small landowners and agricultural wage-laborers perceived themselves in contrast to a class of large landowners, particularly in the southern Alentejo region where latifundia dominated the landscape.¹⁴³ However, the social division of labor, and its distribution in the national territory, entailed an “infinite fragmentation of interest and rank,” to recall Karl Marx’s comment on the actual division of labor in late Nineteenth-Century England (Marx [1894] 1978, 442). Nineteen percent of those involved in agriculture were *camponeses médios* (i.e. middling farmers): small landowning households, concentrated in the coastal northern regions, who did not hire wage-laborers or sell their own labor power. Another 20 percent, concentrated also in the North, were *camponeses pobres* (i.e. poor farmers) who explored several tracts, both owned and rented, and sold their labor-power either seasonally or permanently—including in industry in some areas. Finally, 50 percent—approximately one quarter of the mainland’s population—were wage-laborers who did not own or rent any land. Nevertheless, this agricultural proletariat concentrated in the Alentejo region was itself stratified, as only a minority was permanently hired (Rosas 1998, 51).

The stratification of the agricultural working class was characterized by an increasing reliance on wage-labor partially produced by the effects of the 1930s economic policies of the Salazar dictatorship. As mentioned in the first chapter, these policies focused on protecting the interests of an “agricultural aristocracy” (Leeds 1984, 14) and reforming national finance by balancing the national budget, reducing public debt, and restoring the currency. A shift from protectionism characterized the postwar state economic policies. These now implicitly entailed the neglect of the development of agricultural areas and of the few inland industrial areas (Leeds 1984, 27). Even if after the Second World War the state continued its strategies of what Elizabeth Leeds described as controlled development, it now focused on explicitly fostering the development of large-scale industry around Lisbon and Porto. A decade of unprecedented economic growth rates would ensue, but no explicit state policies were specifically aimed at

¹⁴¹ In Portugal, *vila* is the official designation for the seat of a municipality, in case the settlement has not been recognized by the national parliament as a *cidade* (i.e. city). Therefore, an *aldeia* is not necessarily smaller than a *vila*. Since 1982, according to Law 11/82, a *vila* may be “elevated” to the status of a city only if it includes more than 8,000 registered voters and a set of certain collective equipments. However, many older inland *idades* have either never grown or declined in population, and little distinguishes them from nearby *vilas* or *aldeias*. For example, inland Pinhel, a city since 1770, only had 2,578 residents in 2001.

¹⁴² According to the *Instituto Nacional de Estatística* (INE, i.e. National Institute of Statistics).

¹⁴³ According to the National Institute of Statistics, by 1954, only 0.4 percent of farms in mainland Portugal had more than 247 acres (100 hectares). Those latifundia encompassed 45 percent of agricultural land, and were overwhelmingly located in the southern Alentejo region. In contrast, 50 percent of mainland farms had less than 2.5 acres (1 hectare), encompassing only 4 percent of the mainland’s territory. In addition, these small properties mainly dedicated to subsistence farming were very fragmented—only one quarter of farms were constituted by one single tract.

planning both suburbanization and the increased migration from agricultural areas to Lisbon and Porto.¹⁴⁴

2.3.3. From Workers to Vagabonds in the 1950s

In everyday Lisbon in the late 1930s and in the 1940s, a few of the evicted from Lisbon's *barracas*, demolished for the regime's transformation of Lisbon into a modern imperial capital, were being rehoused in isolated settlements characterized by small houses evoking "folk" architecture, as in Fascist Italy or in Nazi Germany. Postwar films do not depict such new spaces: set in an implausibly orderly central Lisbon, the very few *comédias de bairro* (i.e. neighborhood comedies) that depicted urban working-class spaces initially showed affectionate conflicts between enlightened wage-laborers and small industrialists or aristocratic capitalists, hiding the messy violence of urbanization and of the colonial economy that supported it.¹⁴⁵ Representations of the domestic spaces of the urban working-class are central to such films. In addition, these films imagine the elevation of deserving working-class subjects through alliances between households, forced by young love.

I will start by addressing two films, *Madragoa* and the *Os Vizinhos do Rés-do-Chão* (i.e. *Ground Floor Neighbors*), produced few years after the industrial strikes that lasted from 1942 to 1944, and immediately after the postwar opposition movements.¹⁴⁶ I will then address a later film, *Vidas Sem Rumor* (i.e. *Lives without Direction*), premiered in 1956, having also reviewed *O Milionário* (i.e. *The Millionaire*), opened in 1962.¹⁴⁷ Both were produced in a context of

¹⁴⁴ State policies fostered mass permanent emigration, explicitly to the African colonies of Angola and Mozambique, and implicitly to countries of Northwestern Europe (Baganha 2003). During the 1960s over one million Portuguese migrated to France, for example (Brettell 1984, 65). Rick Chaney addresses how emigrants' remittances helped finance the Colonial War that started in 1961 (Chaney 1986, 28). The war itself contributed to an increase in migration from the agricultural areas: for thirteen years, almost one million men fulfilled military duties in three fronts in Africa. Upon their return, having acquired new skills, many would choose to settle in coastal urban areas such as Lisbon—some in neighborhoods such as Casal de Cambra (Matos 2001, 8). Remittances also contributed directly to an increased investment in the construction industry (Chaney 1986, 193). By 1972, remittances represented 10.3 percent of Portugal's Gross Domestic Product (Ibid., 28).

¹⁴⁵ From the end of the Second World War in 1945 to the creation of the European Free Trade Association in 1960, few fictional feature films exclusively produced in mainland Portugal opened each year. A record was reached in 1952, when eight films opened; but in the year of 1955, there were no premieres whatsoever (Matos-Cruz 1999). This small and censored industry never depicted urban housing created under conditions of informality during this period, and it can be argued that a representation of urban working-class spaces was integral only to the three films examined in this section. The first cinematic depiction of *barracas* was created after the beginning of political democratization. In 1976, Luís Filipe Rocha created the documentary film *Barronhos: Quem Teve Medo do Poder Popular?* (i.e. *Barronhos: Who Was Afraid of Popular Power?*). Informal suburban subdivisions have never been represented in Portuguese cinema.

¹⁴⁶ *Madragoa* [*Madragoa*,] directed by Perdígão Queiroga (1951). *Os Vizinhos do Rés-do-Chão* [*Ground Floor Neighbors*,] directed by Alejandro Perla (1947).

¹⁴⁷ *Vidas Sem Rumor* [*Lives Without Direction*,] directed by Manuel Guimarães (1956). *O Milionário* [*The Millionaire*,] directed by Perdígão Queiroga (1962).

economic liberalization including Portugal's participation in the creation of EFTA (i.e. European Free Trade Association) in 1960. A decade of unprecedented economic growth and urbanization would ensue in Portugal, during the 1960s. In these later films, a discourse conflating poverty and marginality enables a less implausible depiction of working-class spaces, which are however not explicitly characterized as such.

Reflecting on these shifts in imaginations of working-class houses for a "New State" may provide two contributions. Firstly, it expands current research on cinematic space, and particularly AlSayyad's articulation of a reflection on cinematic performances of class with Henri Lefebvre's conceptualization of space (AlSayyad 2006, 170). Indeed, the symbolic "representational spaces" in postwar Portuguese cinema participated in the broader elite debate on housing workers, and understanding cinematic performances of class contributes to an understanding of expert responses to suburban "clandestine" space from the early 1960s onwards. In addition, this brief examination contributes to a history of the Salazar and Caetano dictatorships, and particularly to a history of the cinema produced during the dictatorships. Arguing that these lesser known films participate in a repressive apparatus would certainly be valid, but it would disregard the productiveness of cinematic representations of space, and the ways in which these played a role in debates on class and space.

The 1951 neighborhood comedy *Madrageo* was directed by Perdigão Queiroga (1916-1980), who had recently spent three years in the United States working as a film editor at Paramount Studios. *Madrageo* opened at the Monumental in January 1952; the building had recently been inaugurated, signaling a change in the character of the Avenidas Novas residential area from an exclusively residential upper bourgeoisie area to a space marked by the new regime's spaces of bureaucracy, education, religion and privileged entertainment.

Madrageo readily employs the language of an opposition between labor and capital, and may be characterized as a eulogy to an artistic and enlightened working-class, conscious of "the value of work." The protagonist Zé Luís lives in the old *Madrageo* neighborhood with his mother Isabel, played by fado singer Ercília Costa. Zé Luís works at a sausage factory in the "countryside" that surrounded the city within the municipal territory. The factory belongs to his godfather, Santana das Carnes, a "new rich" industrialist that used to live in *Madrageo* too, but that moved to nearby aristocratic Lapa. Zé Luís and Santana's daughter Clara are in love, but she is supposed to marry the financial capitalist Dom Eusébio, another resident of Lapa—so that the factory can grow with a loan from Dom Eusébio.

Zé Luís is fired by Santana and gets one of the new jobs in postwar Lisbon: delivering General Electric radios in the new bourgeois neighborhood of Alvalade. Later he finds a job in the docks. In the end of the film, finance capital cannot save the sausage factory. Only the alliance of "labor" and "capital" saves Santana's company: Zé Luís returns, and he and his neighbors introduce technological innovations and work for free after hours to save the company. The alliance is sealed by the marriage of Zé Luís and Clara.

In *Madrageo*, the pact between an enlightened laboring class and the new small industrialists—who do not share the idleness of buffoonish aristocratic capitalists—is almost invisibly supported by the colonial economy: the names of cities in Angola mark the numerous crates ready for shipping in the nearby Lisbon harbor. The film's defense of the importance of

“work” as opposed to “money” hides the real violence of the workings of this economy. Invisible too are the “shack” neighborhoods of the new urban wage-laborers, as I mentioned earlier. Madragoa, the picturesque neighborhood of this cinematic working-class, is old—and implausibly clean and orderly.

In *Madragoa* capital and labor are spatially segregated but live in adjacent neighborhoods—unlike developer Batista Mota and the Casal de Cambra residents, as will be addressed in the following chapter. In *Os Vizinhos do Rés-do-Chão*, created by the Spanish director Alejandro Perla in 1947, three households corresponding to three different class positions live in the same building in a generic old Lisbon neighborhood. In the basement lives Mr. Ernesto’s proletarian household. In the ground floor, Carlos’s “petty bourgeois” family; and in the first floor, the Viscount’s family, characterized by Ernesto as “useless capitalists.” As in *Madragoa*, both the street and the interiors are well-ordered.

If in *Madragoa* the neighborhood gathers in a recreational society called “Order and Labor,” here Mr. Ernesto takes his family to a “cultural soirée.” In *Vizinhos*, it is explicit that each class has a segregated entertainment space: the Viscount’s family goes to the Opera, and Carlos’ household listens to the Opera on the radio, at home—going to the theatre, the appropriate choice, would “ruin the month’s finances.”

Soon the spectator learns that the younger generation intends to cross class lines. Fernando, the Viscount’s son, is in love with Beatriz, the sister of Carlos. Carlos himself is in love with Graziela, Ernesto’s daughter. Obviously, the Viscount rejects the idea of a marriage “with a girl of the petty bourgeoisie”; after all, “Beatriz can quickly find a man of her own condition.” Ernesto is also not pleased at all: Graziela should find “someone that gives guarantees, a mechanic or an electrician.”

However, social mobility is made possible through education. Carlos is plausible as a protagonist because he has just completed a Law degree; both the Viscount and Mr. Ernesto visit the ground floor to congratulate little Carlos, who henceforth will be treated as Dr. Carlos. When he finally gets a job as a teacher in a private school in Sintra, he frees his parents from a monthly struggle to maintain a respectable household, and their family is elevated; love can now conquer class divisions. The proletarian family is also elevated through the marriage of Carlos and Graziela after she runs away from home, and both return “pure” to their parents. Fernando is allowed to marry Beatriz, but only after she shows her caring gifts by bringing Fernando back to health after a car accident.

Vizinhos participates in the beforementioned imagination of the social mobility of deserving, classed subjects through alliances between slightly unwilling urban families, forced by young love (Fig. 2.1). If in *Madragoa* the agent of change is the entrepreneurial and educated male worker Zé Luís, in *Vizinhos* the working-class household is elevated by the love of the graduate Carlos for Graziela. Soon class ceased to be an explicit category in Portuguese films, and this classlessness was partially produced by a focus on the figure of the vagabond, a clandestine urbanite that allows for the imagination of normal population.

Vidas Sem Rumo opened in 1956. Director Manuel Guimarães (1915-1975) had studied painting at Porto’s Fine Arts school in the early 1930s. The script was co-written by Guimarães and the influential neorealist novelist Alves Redol (1911-1969). Mad girl Gaivota (i.e. Seagull)

lives with her sister Marlene in a room near Lisbon's harbor, and she sings by the window holding a baby doll, singing to a drowned sailor she loves and misses. Mute vagabond Pardal (i.e. Sparrow) loves Gaivota and plays the harmonica in the alley below as she sings. When he returns to the abandoned boat, which he shares with other harbor vagabonds, he dreams of Gaivota. Their lives will soon be transformed by the actions of another character, Meia-Lua (i.e. Half-Moon).

Meia-Lua is Marlene's lover, but he recently had a child with another woman. He is a former sailor turned contrabandist—according to him, a “free worker”—and a patron of the harbor's vagabonds. Meia-Lua accidentally pushes the mother of his baby off the quay during an argument over contraband, and she disappears into the water. Earlier, she had accused Meia-Lua of living in a “misery worse than the one of the poor.” He had dreamed of having a family “waiting for him at home, one of those houses that you see in the movies, that wouldn't be bad.”

Meia-Lua decides to leave the baby by the abandoned boat that the vagabonds use as a dwelling. These, led by Pardal, welcome the baby and give it to Gaivota when she visits. She is suspicious and surprised, but she sings again with tenderness, now to the real baby. The vagabonds start improving the boat—they build a ladder, they buy milk for the baby, and Pardal finds a job in the docks. However, soon they will start telling Gaivota to go home—she suspects that Pardal is not really the dead sailor, and they are afraid she will drown herself with the baby. She leaves with the doll and disappears. At night, the vagabonds look for her body in the waters, and they find the baby's mother corpse. A rag that Marlene had found in Meia-Lua's suit links him to her death. The vagabonds surround him: he treated them badly, but they are honest and had held good jobs earlier in their lives. He runs and throws himself under a passing train. In the end, Marlene keeps the baby.

Films like *Vidas Sem Rumor* or the later *O Milionário* can perhaps be understood in the context of a disillusion with the possibilities of the period immediately after the end of the Second World War. A less idealized representation of working-class spaces seems to be possible because it is not characterized as such. Instead, what is foregrounded is vagabond space, a space whose depiction does not explicitly challenge the extant class structure. Instead of the earlier imaginations of an elevation of the working-class, working-class space is conflated with marginality (Fig. 2.2).

2.4. Planning the City: Suburbanization as Exception

Both class distinction and the concern for a clear border between the urban and the rural were one of the characteristics of the first Lisbon master plan, a plan that was never officially approved by the central state, although it was partially implemented: the 1948 *Plano Director de*

Urbanização de Lisboa (i.e. the Director Plan for the Urbanization of Lisbon), prepared from 1938 onwards by a team led by urbanist Étienne de Gröer (1882-1970).¹⁴⁸

The 1948 Director Plan ordered Lisbon as a monumental imperial capital, imagining spatial segregation according to class. The plan was articulated with expropriation strategies that had started in 1938 and that had resulted in the municipality acquiring a third of the municipal territory, mostly in agricultural areas surrounding the extant city (Ferreira 1987, 178). This had allowed for the possibility of the employment of total planning in new urban spaces that were occupied mainly by housing, but also by the new airport and by a large new park described as Lisbon's "lung;" the *Parque de Monsanto* (i.e. Monsanto Park) insulated the future western suburbs from the city proper.

Another plan by Etienne de Gröer was officially approved in 1948, designing the city's suburban expansion along the Estoril coast, to the west of the city. The *Plano de Urbanização da Costa do Sol* (PUCS, i.e. Sun Coast Urbanization Plan) was imagined as establishing discipline and organization in order to preserve the coast's character.¹⁴⁹ Indeed, since the late Nineteenth Century, the Estoril coast had become a summering area both for Lisbon's elite and for a foreign audience.¹⁵⁰ The construction of a scenic coastal highway in 1940, the Avenida Marginal, was associated with the increasing development of the coast as an area of permanent residence. The Sun Coast plan was the only one prepared during the dictatorial regime that conceptualized the development of a large suburban area, albeit for privileged subjects, extending the city of Lisbon outside its municipal boundaries.

One of the main concerns of the 1948 Director Plan was to limit population growth, and immediately outside Lisbon's municipal limits, "buildings or settlements of urban character" were to be forbidden (Câmara Municipal de Lisboa 1952, 7). In order to achieve this goal, a three-kilometer wide belt defined by de Gröer as a rural protection zone not only safeguarded "a permanent reserve of pure air," but also avoided an undesirable continuity with the towns neighbouring Lisbon (Ibid., 8). A schematic plan of the rural protection zone suggested that the growth of the three extant suburbs of Algés, Amadora and Sacavém would be limited through the creation of specific urbanization plans; furthermore, the various extant "villages" would not be

¹⁴⁸ Architect Étienne de Gröer was hired in 1938 by engineer Duarte Pacheco (1899-1943), Lisbon's mayor and the minister for Public Works. De Gröer, born in Warsaw in Russian Poland, had worked before the 1917 Revolution for the municipality of St. Petersburg. In 1920, he emigrated to Paris, France, where he would lecture at the recently founded *Institut de l'Urbanisme* on the principles of the English Garden-City. This institution included professionals such as Henri Prost and Henri Sellier. The latter, as previously mentioned, defended that "the ordinary manual worker should become accustomed to bourgeois standards" (Hall [1988] 2002, 118). He associated this project for class elevation with the form of garden suburbs. It was thus in an institution engaged in rearticulating Ebenezer Howard's idea for a "Social City" that De Gröer would meet Portuguese architect Faria da Costa (1906-1971), who was studying for a degree in Urbanism concluded in 1935. After the start of the German occupation of France in 1940, De Gröer emigrated to Portugal, where he resided until the early 1950s.

¹⁴⁹ The plan was approved by *Decreto-Lei* (i.e. Decree-Law) 37,521 in December 1948, and remained in effect until 1994. Decree-Law 37,521, December 28, 1948. The preparation of the plan had been determined by a 1935 law that defined the need to protect the characteristics of the coastal territory. Law 1,909, May 22, 1935.

¹⁵⁰ The building of the first Portuguese casino in Estoril in 1916 was explicitly articulated with the project of attracting other European tourists to the region.

allowed to grow (Silva 1994a, 21).¹⁵¹ The summary of the plan's texts prepared in 1952 by engineer Jorge Mesquita explicitly presented this zone as defending the city from any "parasitic" development (Câmara Municipal de Lisboa 1952, 12). It is notable how the representations of the city attached to the 1952 edition of the plan do not include the territories belonging to neighbouring municipalities, displaying the then imperial capital in an insular fashion (Fig. 2.3). The idea of a green belt that remains agricultural instead of becoming a park landscape, and that is characterized by the absence of plans for a set of New Towns, was maintained in the 1959 Director Plan for Lisbon, prepared from 1954 onwards by a team led by Portuguese engineer Guimarães Lobato.

In 1959 a law determined the preparation of a regional plan for the whole Lisbon area.¹⁵² However, the plan was initially not expected to constitute a break with imaginations of the urban as a bounded realm, and of suburbanization as a controlled process of production of privileged spaces directed at a cosmopolitan audience. The *proposta de lei* (i.e. law proposal) presented by the Ministry of Public Works and regarding the creation of the *Plano Director do Desenvolvimento Urbanístico da Região de Lisboa* (i.e. Director Plan for the Urban Development of the Lisbon Region) conceptualized for the first time a "Lisbon region," but in order to halt "the disordered growth of suburban settlements." These practices were described as "evading the discipline" of the master plans that had previously been created for the Lisbon municipality (MOP [1959] 1960a, 14). According to the preamble of the law proposal, Lisbon's periphery had been "invaded by an intense construction activity that . . . destroys the *traditional* expression" of settlements in the city's environs (Ibid.). This regional plan will be examined at length in the following chapter, but it is pertinent to note here that the law explicitly maintained the assumptions of the previous municipal plans regarding limits to growth, even though the report of the *Câmara Corporativa* (i.e. Corporative Chamber) on the proposal invoked Abercrombie's 1944 Greater London Plan (MOP [1959] 1960b, 74).¹⁵³ Indeed, no state-built New Towns were included in the initial conception.

By the late 1950s, plans focused on imagining the control of urban change. A narrative of social stability reserved the concept of progress for an urban realm whose counterpart was an a-historical, traditional rurality. As Lisbon's growth was constrained, the right to belong to urban space was also limited. Hence, formal national citizenship did not necessarily imply access to *de facto* urban citizenship. In the moment of the "establishment of a universalist modern," as Ananya Roy notes, "the modern was untainted by tradition because the traditional was marked

¹⁵¹ It is noteworthy that although Brandoa or Prior Velho were located within Lisbon's rural protection zone, Casal de Cambra lay beyond the limits of the zone.

¹⁵² Law 2,099, August 14, 1959. The plan itself was never formally approved.

¹⁵³ The Corporative Chamber was one of two parliamentary chambers during the Salazar and Caetano dictatorships. The Corporative Chamber was a consultative organ. The other parliamentary chamber was the beforementioned National Assembly; the Corporative Chamber provided opinions on law proposals before these were submitted to the elected National Assembly. Rosas claims that the Chamber's opinions "were infrequently considered . . . by the executive and legislative powers" (1998, 249). According to the 1933 Constitution, it was "composed of representatives of local municipalities and of the social interests, the latter being considered according to their fundamental branches of administrative, moral, cultural and economical order." 1933 Constitution, art. 102.

off, secure behind a *cordon sanitaire*” (Roy 2001, 8). In addition, in these plans suburbanization is conceived as an exception, appropriate only in the case of the Estoril Coast, as a controlled process of production of privileged spaces directed at a cosmopolitan audience. There, non-citizen professionals associated with foreign investment in industrialization enjoyed access to a kind of space—suburban space—that was denied to low-income Portuguese citizens, in the case of residents in unserviced subdivisions.

To understand the ways in which the emergence of subdivisions such as Brandoa or Casal de Cambra would be framed by municipal experts, it is pertinent to note that representations of disciplined working-class spaces were integral to state propaganda from the 1930s to the beginning of economic liberalization in the late 1950s. In addition, contemporary plans for a metropolitan Lisbon were characterized by a dichotomy of tradition and modernity that implied the definition of informal settlements as inauthentic.

Chapter Three
Illegalizing the Informal, 1958-1973

“[In Brandoa in 1969] it was a bit confusing for me, because I was a geographer, focused on surveying the population, and then [architect] Bartolomeu [Costa Cabral] found everything very beautiful . . . the team didn’t want to solve a problem, because the problem could not be solved by itself . . . this was evidently a political case, involving the Directorate-General for Urbanization, up to the highest positions, and it forced laws to be changed because of the clandestines, because at a certain moment we understood that with the law we had, we would be getting nowhere, afterwards of course the changes to the laws were not advantageous, because there was no political will.”¹⁵⁴

The terrain in Brandoa is shaped like a saddle, and the entrance to the neighborhood, if one is coming from Lisbon, is done by the lowest part on the south side. Today, the original entrance is preceded by a public market, on the right side, and by the *Forum Camões*, a building used for exhibitions like the annual Amadora comics fair. At end of the climb between these two buildings there is a small triangular garden, the Largo Primeiro de Maio (i.e. May Day Square). If one keeps walking north, along Rua do Município (i.e. Municipality Street) or Rua 25 de Abril (i.e. April 25 Street), one enters the commercial center of the neighborhood. Almost all ground floor spaces house a store or some kind of service, the narrow sidewalks are trodden by men and women of various ages, and automobile traffic is intense; trucks loading and unloading make traffic difficult. If one walks to the East or to the West, climbing in both cases, one finds streets with less commercial spaces. Nevertheless, almost all streets have at least a *café*, sometimes with a few tables on the sidewalk. The quality of building finishings in the eastern extremity, from which one sees the whole of the Odivelas Valley, is worse than in the rest of the neighborhood; and it is evident that many buildings in this part of Brandoa have particularly small interior areas.

Most of the constructions in Brandoa are formally similar to other suburban apartment neighborhoods built from the late 1950s onwards in the Lisbon area. As in the railway suburbs formed during the same period along the Sintra line, for example, the austere facades are painted white, or with pastel colors such as pink, green and brown. There are few adornments except the *marquises*, balconies enclosed with aluminum frames, differently added after the initial construction for each unit; or temporarily, drying clothes. The windows perforate the smooth surfaces of painted plaster, sometimes framed by thin white marble slabs. Often the plaster is tainted by grey shadows, revealing the zones where the reinforced concrete frame is infilled with brick. There are few trees and no public gardens inside the neighborhood, and buildings housing public institutions are rarely prominent. Justino Batista, a retired public transportation worker born in Lisbon in 1922, thus recalled in February 1988 his move to Brandoa in 1960:

¹⁵⁴ Interview with geographer Teresa Barata Salgueiro, chair of the Geography department of the University of Lisbon, January 5, 2009.

“I lived in Estrela at the home of my fathers-in-law, the daughters were born, we needed more space, so I gathered some money and I bought a lot here. It cost me 16,500 Escudos and it occupied an area of 300 square meters [i.e. 3,229 square feet] . . . In Brandoa there was nothing, some houses and little more, and then clandestine building progressed very rapidly and the houses were built during the weekends, the wives and the sons helped open the foundations and to transport the materials for the building of the houses. Also at that time the materials were transported in a wagon, pulled by a donkey, which transported the materials to where trucks could not get. Accesses were very bad, trips were made by foot, wearing rubber boots until Benfica, the men washed them in a fountain and the ladies took their shoes in plastic bags. When the first bus showed up linking the neighborhood to Benfica, it was a party. There was a TV set only in some cafés, which worked with power produced by an engine and fuel. In the evening, people gathered in the cafés to amuse themselves, with the noise and the smell of fuel.”¹⁵⁵

Justino Batista moved to Brandoa in November 1960, when he was in his late thirties, from the Estrela area—developed in the Nineteenth Century in central Lisbon—to the new suburban subdivision located 1.2 miles north of Lisbon’s ring road. Brandoa was one of the first suburban subdivisions created by informal developers in the late 1950s. By the beginning of the new decade at least half the lots in the erstwhile *Quinta* (i.e. farm) had been sold. A few hundred residential buildings had been or were being built along the unpaved streets, their concrete structures and brick infill walls often visible as the new suburbanites walked up or down the steep, gently curving central road that crossed all the streets ending abruptly at the old property limits. If the pilot that took an aerial photograph in a 1965 afternoon had looked down when flying over Brandoa, he would have seen a faint form akin to a fishbone plan amidst the dry grass fields outside of the city (Fig. 3.1 and 3.2). At the bottom of the slope, Justino would have had to walk for more than half an hour along the dirt road that led from the farm—and from an adjacent quarry—to the Portas de Benfica (i.e. Gates of Benfica), since 1952 the last stop of bus 15 for Restauradores in downtown Lisbon. The first bus departed for downtown at 5:30 am, taking half an hour to reach Restauradores, and there were buses every 10 minutes until shortly after 1 am. Employing buses to commute in Lisbon was a relatively recent experience for Lisboners such as Justino, as the public bus network had only been created in 1944 to support the electric streetcars that had been responsible for the growth of outer neighborhoods such as Benfica or Lumiar since the beginning of the century. During the morning walk to the bus in Benfica, Justino would have been able to see the brand new television tower on Monsanto hill; viewing television at night in a café in Brandoa or elsewhere in Portugal was a very recent experience, since daily television broadcasting had only started in the spring of 1957. From early 1961 onwards, the daily evening news showed black-and-white scenes from the “Overseas War” in Angola or Portuguese Guinea (present-day Guinea-Bissau), where sons and cousins subject to the draft defended the African “overseas provinces” from so-called “terrorists.” Meanwhile, Brandoa became one of the largest so-called “clandestine” neighborhoods in terms of population

¹⁵⁵ Translation from the Portuguese of an interview given by Justino Batista in February 1988 (JFB 1988, 160).

in the Lisbon metropolitan area. According to the 2001 census, the Brandoa ward—created in 1979—had 15,647 residents.

This chapter reflects on how a history of the creation of suburban environments such as Brandoa contributes to an understanding of cities as spaces of experimentation and tentativeness. As I mentioned in the first chapter of this dissertation, during the 1950s developers in southern European cities such as Barcelona, Rome, Belgrade, Athens and Istanbul started dividing agricultural land in urban peripheries, often without licensing, and selling the lots for construction by low-income households (Solà-Morales et al. 1976; Castells 1983; Leontidou 1990). In the case of the Lisbon area of Portugal, these subdivision practices were soon characterized in the press and in official documents as clandestine, a term hitherto reserved to the earlier and more precarious architectures mentioned in the introduction, associated with less secure informal land renting or squatting.

In subdivisions such as Brandoa or nearby Casal de Cambra, architecture mediated the tentative new relations of power between two domains of spatial expertise in formation: that of small builders and low-income wage-laborers engaged in self-building, and that of architects and urbanists regulating suburban growth for local government. Furthermore, in less dense neighborhoods such as Casal builders drew on building typologies and aesthetics associated with more privileged, exclusively residential suburbs—combining the creation of an elevational domesticity with spaces for gainful activities.¹⁵⁶

3.1. Urban Legitimacy and Spatial Legality, 1944-1951

In the Lisbon area of Portugal from the late 1950s onwards, developers and builders collaborated to create a new form of suburban housing for low-income households, not only under rapidly changing legal conditions, but also in the absence of planning for mass suburbanization among the disparate state policies affecting housing practices. However, amidst the latter were some policies that undoubtedly fostered the creation of such suburbs. For example, the 1948 freeze of urban rents in Lisbon and in Porto had resulted in the gradual reduction of the share of apartments and rooms available for renting in these cities, effectively promoting housing ownership (Gaspar 1980, 32),¹⁵⁷ similarly to São Paulo after the 1940s (Bonduki 1994; Caldeira

¹⁵⁶ This issue will be mentioned in the fifth chapter of this dissertation.

¹⁵⁷ The first rent freeze law had been declared during the First Republic, soon after the proclamation of the new regime on October 5, 1910, through Decree, November 12, 1910. Rents were only allowed to rise once a decade, and up to ten percent (Silva 1994b, 657). The regime lasted from October 1910 to the military coup of May 26, 1926. During the military dictatorship that preceded Salazar's nomination as President of the Council, the state allowed an exceptional increase of the fixed rents and decided that new rents would be free from state control, through Decree 15,289, March 30, 1928. Carlos Silva has characterized this decision as a "liberalization of the rental housing market" (1994, 659). The beforementioned 1948 rental housing legislation, Law 2,030, extended this liberalization policy, since it eliminated rent controls, with an important exception: the municipalities of Lisbon and Porto. Law 2,030, June 22, 1948.

2000, 220).¹⁵⁸ In addition, it is pertinent to explore how in the earlier period between 1936 and 1951 the part of the national territory where building was subject to licensing by the state through local municipalities had expanded rapidly, albeit without a corresponding increase of the areas encompassed by plans endowed with legal force.

For example, according to a law published in 1944, urban plans in Portugal were to include the device of a rural protection zone where “urban” building was disallowed.¹⁵⁹ The objective was to maintain a clear distinction between the urban part and the rural part within Portugal’s municipalities. Municipal licenses for building in such protection zones were hitherto mandatory, but as the chapter will address, it may be argued that the plans guiding municipal practice in the 1950s had no legal force, and that unlicensed construction was thus not necessarily illegal in such peripheral areas.

As we saw, the concern for a clear border between the urban and the rural was also one of the characteristics of the first master plans that encompassed the whole of Lisbon’s municipality. However, most postwar plans—including the beforementioned Lisbon plans—were both never officially approved by the central state and not officially published, disrespecting the procedure established by Decree-Law 33,921.¹⁶⁰ Municipal licensing was thus not necessarily mandatory in the areas defined as rural protection zones in the unpublished plans, except for building in lots adjacent to public “streets and other public places.”

As Fernando Gonçalves notes, the *Anteplanos de Urbanização* (i.e. Urbanization Preplans) gained legal force in 1946 through Decree-Law 35,931, published on November 4,¹⁶¹ but the new law also established that municipalities had 3 years to submit a more developed *Plano Geral de Urbanização* (i.e. General Urbanization Plan) (Gonçalves [1989] 1997, 32). This law was passed so that the territory subject to licensing could be expanded before plans were complete (Lobo [2001] 2005, 113). However, soon even drafts of the Preplans approved by the central state—but not officially published—were often employed by municipalities to guide licensing practices. Ultimately, the 1944 law that had defined the need for General Urbanization Plans had legal force until 1971, and no plans actually received the mandatory final approval and publication by the central state—a step that the 1946 amendment did not revoke (Gonçalves [1989] 1997, 33). The *Plano de Urbanização da Costa do Sol* (i.e. Sun Coast Urbanization Plan), the regional plan for the suburbanization of the Estoril coast to the west of Lisbon, constituted an exception.¹⁶²

¹⁵⁸ Caldeira indicates that “the change that was to have the greatest effect in the city . . . occurred in 1942 . . . this factor was the *Lei do Inquilinato* (renter’s law), which froze all rents at December 1941 levels. It was supposed to last for two years but was successively renewed for residential properties until 1964, with only a few minor increases in response to high inflation. In São Paulo, the immediate consequence was a tightening of the rental market, as fewer rental units were built. This trend accelerated the departure of the working classes to the periphery, where they could find cheap (and irregular) land on which to build their own houses” (Caldeira 2000, 220).

¹⁵⁹ Decree-Law 33,921, September 5, 1944.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

¹⁶¹ Decree-Law 35,931, November 4, 1946.

¹⁶² As mentioned previously, it was officially published through Decree-Law 37,521, December 28, 1948.

Nevertheless, after the approval of a new Administrative Code in 1936, municipal building licenses were indeed necessary for any building or rebuilding next to “streets and other public places.” In addition, in seats of urban municipalities—many municipalities were officially considered rural—licenses could only be granted after approval of a project “in harmony with the urbanization and extension plan,” to be created. In 1941, a new Administrative Code stated that licensing was necessary for “any buildings in lots next to streets and other public places.” The need for municipalities to prepare Urbanization and Extension Plans had been defined in 1934; but it must be noted that such plans were supposed to encompass only built areas and peripheral areas to be urbanized, not the whole of the municipality (Lobo 2001, 111). As mentioned above, a 1944 law added the need to define a rural protection zone, where construction deemed “urban” could not be undertaken (Ibid., 113). The 1951 publication of a new building code through Decree-Law 38,382, the *Regulamento Geral de Edificações Urbanas* (i.e. General Regulation for Urban Buildings) confirmed that licensing was mandatory for buildings within the urban perimeter and the rural protection zones.¹⁶³

It is certain that mass suburbanization had no place in urban plans in Portugal in the years after the end of the war. However, it must be noted that certain suburban building practices of the late 1950s are not appropriately understood as disregarding a fully formed planning apparatus. Instead, planning knowledge on actual suburbanization would entail a sorting of building practices; some were recognized as illegitimate, thus fostering changes in planning law that would gradually legalize unlicensed building, for example.

The two recent histories of planning law in Portugal (Gonçalves [1989] 1997; Lobo [2001] 2005) do not dwell on this tipping point, regarding “clandestine” building as an illegality that is repressed through exceptional legal measures; a marginal anomaly in a history of legal “evolution.”¹⁶⁴ This dissertation argues that the process by which the clandestine was recognized, characterized as problem, and dealt with is integral to the history of Portuguese planning law, a history that is characterized by hesitations and uncertainties. Therefore, for the local municipalities responsible for licensing in Lisbon’s periphery, the late 1950s were a time of disjunction between legality and legitimacy in terms of building in rural protection belts. As mentioned above, the law specified that licensing was mandatory in such areas, and these were defined by plans such as the 1948 Lisbon plan. However, according to the law itself, it may be argued that such plans had no legal force and that thus municipalities could not demand licensing for building in such areas. It is reasonable to suppose that building not immediately adjacent to public roads or to other public spaces could legally be undertaken without any license at all, even if its lot was encompassed by an unpublished urbanization plan that guided municipal practices.

This disjunction may have potentiated profits for developers dividing erstwhile agricultural land for building, and the relative affordability of lots legally classified as “rural” for low-income households interested in attaining both the financial security of home ownership and the respectability of middle-class domesticity. Indeed, until the creation of neighborhoods such

¹⁶³ Decree-Law 38,382, August 7, 1951.

¹⁶⁴ The concept of “evolution” is indeed foregrounded in the title of both works.

as Brandoa in 1958, low-income households could find housing only in the city centre, either in rented rooms or in the precarious *barracas* (i.e. shacks) that had emerged since the 1910s—sometimes referred to as “clandestine” neighborhoods.

As described in the introduction to the dissertation, the use of the term “clandestine” to characterize a kind of space lacking state control, and implying the use of precarious building techniques or squatting practices, was relatively recent. From the mid-Nineteenth-Century onwards, the term had been employed to characterize uncontrolled bodies in the city: reports on female sex workers in Lisbon include comments on the dangers of the “clandestine prostitute,” the sex worker unregulated by public health practices (Bastos 1997, 225). By the 1930s, the use of the term had started being employed to define the spaces of low-income workers unregulated by new planning practices. However, in the early 1960s the Lisbon press and official documents started employing the term “clandestine” to characterize new suburban subdivisions, completely disregarding the ways in which land sales were legal, and failing to establish whether unlicensed construction was legal or not. Part of my work has thus been to understand why experts faced in Portugal with less dense kinds of suburbanization decided to employ a term that had been hitherto used to characterize squatting practices.

Following an expansion of the part of the national territory where building was subject to licensing by the state, from 1936 to 1951, the approval of the beforementioned *Regulamento* in the latter year entailed the definition of spatial standards for new urban housing. This new building code included rigid rules concerning not only the minimum dimensions of interior spaces and of wall openings, but also the setbacks in relation to adjacent buildings and to public space. If a building design failed to comply with any of the spatial standards in the code, the municipality to whom the design had been submitted could not grant a building permit.¹⁶⁵

Nevertheless, if a lot owner decided to start building without a building permit, until the early 1960s municipalities were legally only allowed to employ fines as a punishment for unlicensed building—in areas where licensing was mandatory. Only after the start of the publication of texts defining unlicensed building in Brandoa and elsewhere as “clandestine,” for example in the Lisbon press, would the *Regulamento* be amended.

Interestingly, if unlicensed construction in “rural” lots such as the ones in Brandoa seems to have been legal in this early period, the legal framework concerning *loteamento* (i.e. subdivision) was less ambiguous. The 1936 Administrative Code “tacitly prohibited the creation of private subdivisions” (Gonçalves [1989] 1997, 41), but so-called *propriedade rústica* (i.e. rural property) could be divided and sold only under the conditions established by the 1929

¹⁶⁵ Portuguese *concelhos* (i.e. municipalities) had no political, financial or technical autonomy in the context of the authoritarian “New State” regime that lasted from 1926 until 1974. Challenging a long tradition of local government in Portugal, the Salazar dictatorship reduced the powers of municipalities. After the approval of the 1936 Administrative Code, municipalities operated as an administrative agent of the central state with few planning powers (Syrett 1995, 150). The *Presidente da Câmara* (i.e. the mayor) was directly appointed by the central state. With few exceptions, mayors were local wealthy landowners or factory owners. In turn, the mayor appointed the other members of the executive *Câmara Municipal* (i.e. Municipal Council). Even lower level local officials had to be approved by the central state (Ibid.). In addition, plans were prepared in Lisbon with no public participation.

Fiscal Reform Law.¹⁶⁶ This law “prohibited division resulting in new properties of less than 5,000 square meters” (i.e. 58,820 square feet), and most lots legally bought and sold in neighborhoods such as Brandoa were smaller. Nevertheless, the law itself allowed for some leeway, as it created an exemption for “the division of rustic property conditioned by constructions.”

3.2. “Criminal Illegality:” the Creation of Brandoa from 1958 onwards and the Legal Reaction

Until 1958, Brandoa was the name of a farm encompassing 133 acres of land mostly devoted to cereal crops, and including a small manor house that may have been built in the Eighteenth Century. The Mesquita family, who had inhabited the house at least since 1836, sold the farm in 1941 to Eduardo Freitas for 180 thousand Escudos—about 0.33 Escudos per square meter. By 1958 the four descendants of Eduardo, who had recently died, decided to raise cash by mortgaging the land to the *União Continental* firm for 800 thousand Escudos. According to one account written in the late 1980s, two developers, Delegado and Capela, then made an offer to the Freitas siblings: they would pay for the mortgage by dividing the farm into smaller lots and selling these, and ten percent of the profit would be given to the Freitas. The account adds that by the end of the 1958 about half the land was sold, and the profit obtained until then was 1,800 thousand Escudos.¹⁶⁷

A subdivision plan was designed, possibly by a draftsman. This plan was used for sales, and a copy of it was kept at an office in Brandoa.¹⁶⁸ In addition, advertisements were placed in newspapers, as noted by João, an owner interviewed by a reporter in February 1962. João, a mason by trade, stated that he had sold land “*lá na terra*” (i.e. in his village), to buy a lot in Brandoa for 50 Escudos per square meter. He added that this was a common way of raising funds to buy suburban lots, and that some of his neighbors—police officers and workers at public transportation companies such as Justino—had done the same to avoid living in rented rooms.¹⁶⁹ Besides preparing the subdivision plan and placing advertisements in newspapers, developers also had to pay for the use of a bulldozer to open paths—and for the wages of the workers who operated them. Nevertheless, an earning of around 1,620 thousand Escudos during 1958 must

¹⁶⁶ Decree 16,731, April 13, 1929. The 1929 Fiscal Reform Law was valid until 1970.

¹⁶⁷ This value for the attained profit is plausible, since a value of 2,600 thousand Escudos obtained through the sale of about 270 thousand square meters would correspond to a price of about 10 Escudos per square meter. The same account indicates that by 1960 the price had reached 20 Escudos (JFB 1988, 12), and a newspaper article published in February 1962 stated that “in the beginning” prices hovered between 25 and 50 Escudos, so the profit may be slightly underestimated. “O Caso das Construções Clandestinas.” [“The Case of Clandestine Constructions.”] *Diário Ilustrado*. February 6, 1962.

¹⁶⁸ As stated by Joaquim, a builder interviewed by a reporter in February 1962. “Construções Clandestinas na Quinta da Brandoa.” [“Clandestine Constructions in Brandoa Farm.”] *Diário Ilustrado*. February 2, 1962.

¹⁶⁹ “Construções Clandestinas na Quinta da Brandoa.” [“Clandestine Constructions in Brandoa Farm.”] *Diário Ilustrado*. February 1, 1962.

have been vastly larger than the cost of the subdivision operation. As for the Freitas siblings, in one year they may have received a profit of 180 thousand Escudos, almost equivalent to what their father had paid for the whole farm only 17 years before, in a period of low inflation.

Such neighborhoods were immediately characterized as “clandestine,” notably in the press (Fig. 3.3); and it became evident that regulations had to change so that informal suburban building was repressed. For example, on February 6, 1962, the Lisbon daily newspaper *Diário Ilustrado* published a cover story titled “The Case of Clandestine Constructions in Brandoa Farm.” The article started by asking: “Should one conclude that disrespect for the law can be tolerated?” The reporter noted that all that builders do is to pay a fine of 800 or 1,600 Escudos, refusing to stop building, in the knowledge that municipalities need to take each individual case to court if demolition is to be achieved.¹⁷⁰

Though the building of new housing may have been often unlicensed during the 1950s, this was a practice that may have been illegal, but not a serious offense. However, on the following day, a cover story on “clandestine constructions” characterizes these as a “criminal illegality.”¹⁷¹ Most of the February 6 article is however not devoted to the buildings themselves, even if the final section of the article is a eulogy to the possibilities of self-building for the “poor”—heralding the scholarly turn of the late 1960s that will be addressed in the following chapter. Instead, the reporter focuses on describing the profits obtained through land sales that seem to have been legal, although the article strongly implies that such sales are inappropriate. According to the reporter, also the “little ones” benefited from the “immoral” process. For example, a butcher is said to have bought lots in Brandoa at 25 to 50 Escudos per square meter, to later sell them at 190 Escudos per square meter.

As mentioned earlier, the *Regulamento* was soon amended so that from March 1962 onwards municipalities were allowed to order demolitions or building stoppages; they could also now decide to evict renters living in housing produced without a building license. However, the amendment also admitted the possibility of avoiding demolition “if it is recognized that these [clandestine constructions] may satisfy the legal requisites and the regulations concerning urbanization, aesthetics and salubriousness” (MOP 1964, 142). The potential legalization of purportedly illegal informal constructions was however arduous, because in these cases municipalities could only provide licenses after consulting the central state’s Ministry of Public Works.¹⁷² In May 1963, a new amendment allowed municipalities to refuse licenses for new building in areas subject to urbanization plans, if streets had not been paved and if water and sewerage systems had not been created.¹⁷³ On the other hand, the first law on subdivision by

¹⁷⁰ “O Caso das Construções Clandestinas.” [“The Case of Clandestine Constructions.”] *Diário Ilustrado*. February 6, 1962.

¹⁷¹ “As Construções Clandestinas.” [“The Clandestine Constructions.”] *Diário Ilustrado*. February 7, 1962.

¹⁷² According to Decree-Law 44,258, March 31, 1962.

¹⁷³ Decree-Law 45,027, May 13, 1963. Only in 1970 would the central state create a law specifically addressing building licensing.

private developers—a responsibility of the state since 1936—was only created in 1965, and henceforth municipalities also gained the power to license subdivision.¹⁷⁴

However, the division of “rural” land without a license was still possible. For example, until 1973, many developers could employ the *destaque* as a legal means of subdivision, i.e. lots were sold one at a time and detached from the larger, original lot. In addition, official notaries continued accepting lot sales for building, even if no municipal subdivision license was presented (Lobo [2001] 2005, 210). Finally, employing the *destaque* as a means of unlicensed subdivision became illegal in 1973. In addition, the new law stated that any officially registered sales that did not include a reference to the municipal license were henceforth invalid. According to the law’s authors, this was explicitly intended to repress “clandestine subdivisions . . . contrary to a rational urban development.”¹⁷⁵

After a decade characterized by a lack of revisions in terms of building and subdivision law in the 1950s, changes in planning law from 1962 onwards were frequent and always emerged in consequence of the illegitimacy of spaces characterized as clandestine. Through this process, laws for a “rational urban development” were gradually and always tentatively defined, as the clandestine was increasingly illegalized. However, the term itself was never defined, even after the central state opted from 1973 onwards to create exceptional legislation for the “renovation” of “clandestine” spaces, now that these were to be created fully outside the domain of legality.¹⁷⁶

However, municipalities did not abstain from participating in the planning of neighborhoods such as Brandoa. The first municipal plan for Brandoa was prepared in 1962. The Oeiras municipality proposed then for construction to be halted—360 buildings including about 900 housing units already existed. Public infrastructure would be introduced, and also a school and a church; the remaining land would be turned into a park landscape (JFB 1988, 12). This plan was not followed, but during the whole decade, the municipality inspected the neighborhood, fining builders and declaring building stoppages—on 247 occasions from August 1964 to February 1969. At the same time, the municipality also conducted campaigns inviting owners through public notices to obtain a housing license. In 1968, a new municipal plan was prepared, now following the grid established by the original owners and aiming solely at street paving and public infrastructure creation.

After the fall of a 6-story apartment building under construction on February 26, 1969, the Lisbon newspapers turned their attention again to Brandoa and the Oeiras mayor threatened to demolish, albeit only buildings that were either under construction or uninhabited. Two days later, a magnitude 7.9 earthquake—the largest in Lisbon since 1755—spared all buildings in Brandoa, proving their structural soundness. The deputy mayor at Oeiras immediately created a municipal committee for the legalization of building in Brandoa (Fig. 3.4). In addition, he hired the *Laboratório Nacional de Engenharia Civil* (i.e. the National Laboratory for Civil

¹⁷⁴ Decree-Law 46,673, November 29, 1965.

¹⁷⁵ Decree-Law 289/73, June 6, 1973.

¹⁷⁶ Decree-Law 8/73, January 8, 1973.

Engineering) to do a survey of structural safety in Brandoa. Less than two weeks later, the deputy mayor made an ultimatum to building owners: anyone failing to present a legalization request by April 7 would lose that possibility. By late April the infrastructure creation plan was recuperated. In the following year the municipality started public infrastructure construction and hired the Lisbon planning office *Grupo de Planeamento e Arquitectura* (i.e. Planning and Architecture Group, henceforth referred to as GPA) to create an urbanization plan.¹⁷⁷

GPA had been founded by architects Maurício de Vasconcelos and Luís Alçada Baptista in 1968. After graduating, Vasconcelos had interned in Brazil from 1950 to 1952 with Vilanova Artigas, a prominent Communist and modernist architect in São Paulo. For Vasconcelos and many other Portuguese architects studying in the late 1940s, New York's Museum of Modern Art's *Brazil Builds*, initially published in 1943, was "our second Vignola" (André 2009). After returning to Lisbon, Vasconcelos partnered with architect Conceição e Silva from 1965 to 1967 (Leite 2007, 28). At the time, Vasconcelos was not only a pioneering figure in terms of the creation of professionals master plans for informally created subdivisions, but also an important participant in a group of professionals that experimented with alternative modes for organization that centered on the idea of design and planning as a business, instead of centering in individual architectural design artistry.¹⁷⁸ However, the firm's activity became troubled after the military coup that overthrew Caetano in April 1974, as GPA workers started a strike and occupation of the firm's offices on July 30 that lasted until late October.

The Brandoa plan that Vasconcelos and his firm started preparing in 1970 was part of an inter-municipal plan of the Oeiras and Lisbon municipalities for the *Núcleo* of Amadora (i.e. the Amadora Nucleus). The planning team included young architecture professionals such as José Charters Monteiro, Luís Bruno Soares, and Helena Roseta, and even Geography students such as Teresa Barata Salgueiro—the latter published a beforementioned seminal study of informal suburban neighborhoods in 1972, as the following section of this chapter will describe.¹⁷⁹ Young architect Bruno Soares, who had graduated in 1965, would also become a prominent housing researcher, as will be addressed in the fourth chapter. Soon after his participation in the Brandoa plan, he contributed to a working group for the preparation of the 1976 *Lei dos Solos* (i.e. Land Use Law).¹⁸⁰ The preparation of the Brandoa plan at GPA may have had little direct influence in future spatial change in the neighborhood, but it played a major role in conditioning the subjectivities of a group of architects that oriented themselves towards research and politics.

¹⁷⁷ The GPA plan for Brandoa was approved and officially published on March 19, 1974 (JFB 1988, 188).

¹⁷⁸ Vasconcelos was one of the organizers of the First National Congress of "Projectistas" and Consultants, held at Lisbon's International Fair from May 7 to May 10, 1973. In 1975, he was one of the founders of a trade association for private architecture and engineering firms, APCC.

¹⁷⁹ Teresa Barata Salgueiro was then a young geography student of prominent Portuguese geographer Orlando Ribeiro (1911-1997). Interview with Teresa Barata Salgueiro, January 5, 2009. In 1973, Salgueiro took a leave of absence from Lisbon's Center for Geographic Studies to study with Brian Berry at the University of Chicago, where she received a Master's degree. As mentioned previously, she is the chair of the Geography department at the University of Lisbon.

¹⁸⁰ Decree-Law 749/76, November 5, 1976.

Often early 1970s Brandoa is recalled in an imaginative fashion, as if it constituted an antithesis of orderly, professionally designed plans. Post-democratization Lisbon mayoral candidate Helena Roseta stated three decades later to a journalist writing a report titled *Cities Without Name* for Lisbon's regional state development authority:

“The first time I went there, with architect Bruno Soares, it was a magnificent sunny day. And suddenly that appeared, there in the middle of nothing, with high buildings with diverse colors, the side facades covered with black tar, it was a cubist painting, with an organic air, an epic thing. I sometimes thought that was beautiful . . . I had that aesthetic shock, I was shocked with myself. Maybe because it contrasted with the look of social neighborhoods of the epoch, designed with a ruler, very arranged, very orderly in the bad sense.”¹⁸¹

By 1973, both the central state and the municipality had built a water tower, a primary school, a clinic and an office for the municipal infrastructure services. In addition, about two-thirds of the neighborhood's residents had gained access to the public water system, and a smaller share to the public electricity network. At the same time that legal changes increasingly placed low-income suburban neighborhoods such as Brandoa in the domain of the illegal, municipal administration and architecture professionals became increasingly involved in planning the future development of Brandoa, while fundamentally maintaining the grid and the lot subdivision that had been informally created in 1958 (Fig. 3.5).

3.3. Limits to Development: The 1960-64 Regional Plan

During the early 1960s, actual suburbanization practices—“clandestine” or not—seem to have fostered a reconsideration of the earlier planning conceptions of urban growth relying on a strict distinction between urbanity and rurality. This section will focus on how the clandestine conditioned the preparation of Lisbon's first regional plan. Portuguese geographer Jorge Gaspar has noted that the need for regional planning started being foregrounded in Portugal during the preparation of the second national *Plano de Fomento* (i.e. Development Plan) in the mid-1950s (Gaspar 1995). Law professor Marcello Caetano, who was then Salazar's Minister for the Presidency, wrote in 1956 that

“the third objective [of solving the problems of unemployment] . . . must be most present in the creation of the *regional plans* to create for the application of the general principles of the New [national economic] Plan, to try to solve the problems resulting from the

¹⁸¹ Cândia [2005] 2008, 24.

overpopulation of certain regions of the country” (Caetano [1956] 1958, 111; emphasis added).¹⁸²

The Minister for Public Works, Eduardo de Arantes e Oliveira, had created in the previous year a commission to study the concept of a Regional Urbanism Plan.¹⁸³ This team examined legal planning frameworks in Spain, France and Italy, but drew mostly from the 1947 and 1954 Town and Country Planning Acts in the United Kingdom (Gonçalves 1997, 53). In Portugal, the sole experience in regional planning had been the unfinished work of Italian architect and urbanist Giovanni Muzio towards a Regional Plan for Porto, between 1940 and 1943 (Garrett 1974b).¹⁸⁴

As mentioned at the end of the preceding chapter, in February 1959 the Minister for Public Works submitted to the National Assembly a law proposal on a “Director Plan for the Urbanistic Development of the Lisbon Region.” The proposal shows that central state planners problematized both the extent and the forms of suburbanization in the Lisbon area. Even though there was a “natural tendency for the concentration of national activities around the main urban centers,” heightened migration to the Lisbon area was thought to have “recognized inconveniences of a social and economic order, and even for the safety of the Nation” (MOP [1959] 1960, 13). Purportedly unplanned suburbanization thus had to be oriented through a “master plan of the development of the Capital’s area of influence” (Ibid., 14). Even though the term “clandestine” is not employed, the preamble of the proposal states that disciplining

¹⁸² According to Caetano, the objectives of the new *Plano de Fomento* (i.e. Development Plan) were: firstly, “the rise of the national product in an annual cadence faster than the one hitherto registered, considering that this increase is the basis of the whole improvement of the country” (Caetano [1956] 1958, 99); secondly, “the elevation of the *nível de vida* [i.e. level of life] of the Portuguese population” (Ibid.); thirdly, “helping to solve the employment problems” (Ibid., 103); and to “improve the metropolitan balance of payments” (Ibid.). It must be noted that Caetano’s vision of the plan rejected “a socialist conception of economic planning.” Instead, “the Plan in itself will be a simple instrument orienting the economic policy of the State, which means that it will include norms . . . only to the extent that the State has to intervene with conditioning measures, with fiscal protection, through capital participation, through the concession of credit or through any other form of *stimulus, orientation, help and discipline*” (Ibid.; emphasis added). Within this conceptual framework, housing was an investment of “weak reproductiveness” (Ibid., 110), albeit a necessary one, which merited mention but “should not be included in the program” of development (Ibid., 111).

¹⁸³ Military engineer Eduardo de Arantes e Oliveira (1907-1982) was Minister for Public Works from 1954 to 1967. He had been the director of Lisbon’s Urbanization services from 1938 to 1940, and later from 1944 to 1953. He was also the founder of the National Laboratory of Civil Engineering in 1947, and its first director until 1954.

¹⁸⁴ Milanese architect Giovanni Muzio (1893-1982) was a prominent member of the 1920s *Novecento* artistic group. In the mid-1920s Muzio founded the *Club degli Urbanisti* (i.e. Urbanists’ Club). The group won the second prize in the 1926 Milan master plan competition. In 1936 Muzio started teaching an urbanism course in Milan’s new Architecture college. In February 1940, Muzio accepted the invitation to be the “consultant urbanist” for the Porto municipality (Garrett 1974b, 26).

suburban subdivisions should be central to the future regional plan.¹⁸⁵ Supposedly because such a plan was lacking, it

“has not been possible to stop the disordered growth of suburban settlements and the creation of new population nuclei, according to private initiatives. The latter are moved in most cases by the simple purposes of land speculation or with the objective of *evading the discipline of the urbanization plans* to which the most important population centers are subjected, including the Capital, gravely reducing the efficiency of those plans and even compromising their utility in many aspects” (Ibid.; emphasis added).

Furthermore, this “undisciplined development” forced local municipalities to create and maintain “very dispersed urban services,” when the costs of dispersion could not be covered due to the absence of an increase in local tax revenues, purportedly impeded “by the ‘*sui generis*’ nature of the new settlement areas” (Ibid.). Such concerns recall the arguments of British transportation manager Frank Pick before the Barlow Commission that created the 1947 Town and Country Planning Act in the United Kingdom. As Peter Hall notes, from the 1930s onwards Pick defended that London’s growth must be contained and that low-density sprawl was undesirable (Hall [1988] 2002, 85).¹⁸⁶

The 1959 opinion on the law proposal prepared by the unelected Corporative Chamber, one of the two parliamentary chambers, also drew from conceptions developed by the French urbanism and regional planning schools, including Gaston Bardet’s idea of “biological limits to urban concentration” (MOP [1959] 1960b, 33) and Jacques Boudeville’s work on the “optimal dimension” entailed by such biological limits (Ibid., 34). For Bardet, a city’s ideal dimension was 10,000 households.¹⁸⁷ The opinion notes that this limit corresponded to the one chosen by the “pioneer of garden-cities, Ebenezer Howard” for Letchworth and Welwyn (Ibid.). French economist Boudeville had suggested in 1958 that “optimal dimension” varied according to

¹⁸⁵ The preamble describes how “the suburbs of Lisbon have been progressively invaded by an intense construction activity that, as quickly as it destroys the traditional expression and the peculiar beauty of the *povoações arrabaldinas* [i.e. settlements in the city’s environs,] seems to give birth to multiple settlements that are amorphous and uncharacteristic and that tend to surround the city as an asphyxiating belt—every day more profound, as the ease of transportation demanded by these settlements increases—of mere mounds of unaesthetic construction, devoid of personality and proper life, true dormitories for very important population masses that flow daily to the capital to exert in it their activities” (MOP [1959] 1960a, 14).

¹⁸⁶ Pick had been the commercial manager of the Underground Electric Railways of London, and became the Vice-Chairman of London Transport when the organization was created in 1933 (Hall [1988] 2002, 65).

¹⁸⁷ French architect and urbanist Gaston Bardet (1907-1989), an admirer of Prost’s *villes nouvelles* in colonial Morocco (Wright 1991, 130), had graduated in 1932 from the Paris Urbanism Institute. He had visited Porto in 1947, invited by engineer Antão de Almeida Garrett (Lôbo 1995, 208). He opposed Le Corbusier’s urban visions, and from 1947 to 1974 he taught at the International Institute for Applied Urbanism in Brussels (Frey 1999). He developed the concept of “biological limits to urban concentration” in the 1949 book *Mission de l’Urbanisme* (i.e. *The Mission of Urbanism*). At the time of Bardet’s 1947 visit the director of the team that developed Lisbon’s regional plan during the early 1960s, engineer Miguel Rezende, also worked at Porto’s municipal planning team.

country, and to the type of city.¹⁸⁸ The opinion stated that even though the concept of an optimal dimension was crucial for the creation of new urban settlements, “we cannot conceive the reduction of the present-day overcrowded cities to that ideal size” (Ibid., 35). Thus, limits to growth were to be imposed to the size of future suburban settlements. The main model were “neighborhood units” such as Lansbury Estate in the Poplar area of London, an area conceived to be a Live Architecture Exhibition for the 1951 Festival of Britain (Hobhouse 1994), which had been foregrounded in a study tour report published in 1954 by Public Works’ engineers Ferreira Pimentel and Silva Ferreira (MOP [1959] 1960b, 39).¹⁸⁹

The position of the Ministry led by Arantes e Oliveira was that low-density suburbanization under conditions of informality was undesirable, since municipalities could not obtain taxes to fulfill the expectations for costly dispersed public infrastructure. A regional plan was thus necessary to provide the state with a legally enforceable design for a region of high-density suburbanization, preferably concentrated along the extant mass transportation infrastructure. Developing the logic of the previous Lisbon plans, the new regional plan would “delimit the expansion, not only of the Capital [i.e. within Lisbon municipality], but also of the urban nuclei that exist or that will be constituted in its zone of influence” (Ibid., 15).

The text of the law proposal itself envisioned the need for ministerial authorization for the “creation of new population nuclei . . . located outside the zones reserved for that purpose in the legally approved urbanization plans.” This corresponded to envisioning the illegalization of unlicensed subdivision or building in the whole of the new Lisbon region. Furthermore, the law also illegalized the informal “construction of new buildings in extant settlements, when situated outside present perimeters or the expansion zones defined in the legally approved urbanization plans” (Ibid., 18). Both building and subdivision outside urban or extension zones in the Lisbon area would be subject to approval by the central state’s Ministry of Public Works. The Ministry and local municipalities would be legally endowed with the power to halt and demolish unlicensed new construction (Ibid.).

It is thus noteworthy that the opinion of the Corporative Chamber started by reminding the future authors of the plan of the predominance of “economic causes . . . in the evolution and growth of the great urbs” (MOP [1959] 1960b, 26) and of

“the endless possibilities that city life encompasses, in terms of access to the most diverse careers, of *promotion to a better life for all those that judge themselves capable of conquering it*, of a greater ease of entertainment and of comfort” (Ibid., 29; emphasis added).

¹⁸⁸ Jacques Boudeville work as an economist focused on regional planning. He notably developed François Perroux’s “growth poles” theory. Neil Brenner recently argued that this theory was integral to postwar “spatial Keynesianism” in western Europe (Brenner 2004, 139).

¹⁸⁹ Lansbury also attracted the interest of commentators in North America. In 1953, Lewis Mumford wrote about the area as a “masterly effort” in the *New Yorker* (Hobhouse 1994).

It is significant that a debating body mostly representing the interests of Portugal's industrialists reduced the idea of limits to growth to an argument on the need to limit the population of individual new settlements. What the Chamber's opinion seems to foreground is instead the city as a developmental site, both for individual social "promotion" and for national development. Notably, the Chamber invoked as seminal the work of the United States' National Resources Planning Board "on the role of cities in the national economy" (Ibid. 30). The latter was a New Deal governmental organization whose 1937 report, titled *Our Cities: Their Role in the National Economy*, concluded by defending the possibilities of "a more decentralized metropolitan pattern" (NRC 1937, 84).¹⁹⁰

After debate in the National Assembly, the law was published in August 1959.¹⁹¹ According to the new law, the plan was supposed to be ready by 1962. For that purpose, a special planning unit was created within the central state's Ministry of Public Works, the *Gabinete do Plano Director da Região de Lisboa* (i.e. Office of the Master Plan for the Lisbon Region). The minister Arantes e Oliveira invited engineer Miguel Rezende (1910-1976) to be the *Gabinete's* director. Rezende, who was 52 years old at the time, had belonged to the municipal planning team at Porto, a group mostly composed of engineers, and directed by modernist architect Arménio Losa. Rezende had cooperated with beforementioned Italian architect and urbanist Giovanni Muzio in the preparation of an unfinished Regional Plan for Porto from 1940 to 1943, having sojourned at Muzio's office in Milan during the Second World War, from April to September 1941 (Garrett 1974b, 83). From 1948 onwards, he started being hired to create numerous urbanization preplans. He was mostly involved in planning for towns in the coastal region around the city of Porto. This included beach resorts such as Póvoa do Varzim, Praia do Furadouro and Praia da Torreira, Porto suburbs such as Gondomar, and growing industrial towns such as Vila Nova de Famalicão, Penafiel, Santo Tirso, Ovar, and Estarreja. In 1958, he prepared a plan for the southern extension of Braga, one of Portugal's largest cities outside the Lisbon and Porto regions (Lôbo 1995, 284). Rezende's planning work during the 1950s articulated the ideas developed at Porto's Urbanization Office during the cooperation with Muzio, as Souza Lôbo hints (Ibid., 145).¹⁹²

As the 1959 law mandated, the *Gabinete* led by Rezende started by undertaking a survey that supported a design for the future development of the Lisbon area. In 1963, the *Gabinete* submitted their work to the Plan's *Comissão* (i.e. Commission) (Lobo [2001] 2005, 106), in the

¹⁹⁰ The report's conclusion, titled "The Great Cities of Tomorrow," stated that "the concentration of so large a proportion of the urban population in extremely limited areas is wasteful of resources, time and energy. The same would be true of undue dispersion. The Committee believes that the most desirable environment for the urban dweller and for the effective use of human and material resources is more likely to be found somewhere between these two extremes" (NRC 1937, 84). Peter Hall claims that this was a vague conclusion "to which both [Thomas] Adams and [Lewis] Mumford would doubtless have acceded" (Hall [1988] 2002, 174).

¹⁹¹ Law 2,099, August 14, 1959.

¹⁹² In the case of the unfinished regional plan for Porto, the team led by Muzio had focused on a morphological prospective exercise. The plan combined monumental boulevards extending the city with zoning, distinguishing between future areas for privileged housing, park landscapes, and for industry with adjacent "worker agglomerations."

form of an *Anteplano* (i.e. Preplan) of the future *Plano Director da Região de Lisboa* (PDRL, i.e. Director Plan for the Lisbon Region).

As mentioned earlier in the introduction, the 1963 report on housing prepared for a visit of the housing commission of UNECE did not acknowledge the emergence of informal suburban neighborhoods in the Lisbon area; in fact, it avoided using the term “clandestine” altogether, employing the terms *bairros de lata* (MOP 1963, 10) or *barracas* (Ibid., 27) to designate those spaces that had hitherto been usually described as clandestine. The report does not even mention the fact that such settlements were often built without permits; what defines *barracas* is that construction is “precarious.” Furthermore, material precariousness was not necessarily a problem in itself, since *barracas* were described as being initially outside the city. What had made *barracas* a nuisance is that “they were rapidly absorbed by growth . . . provoking grave social and public hygiene problems” (Ibid., 10). The settlements where many of the city’s wage-laborers lived were thus described as being outside the urban, and as endangering the new privileged extensions of the city. The report suggested these were spaces inhabited by recent migrants to the city. Implicitly, these were spaces built by rural migrants, destined for demolition or “recovery” (Ibid., 13). One of the central arguments of *Housing in Portugal* was that the experience of “the abolition of *barracas*” in the Porto municipality since 1956 “allows one to face with confidence the prosecution of such activities of this kind, encompassing other important urban zones, in which identical plans are becoming indispensable, notably in the area and region of Lisbon” (Ibid., 27). Nevertheless, the report shied away from stating explicitly that *barracas* would soon disappear completely from the face of the country. This was probably seen as unnecessary: it is pertinent to again recall that other Western European capitals such as Rome or Paris had important “squatter” settlements in the early 1960s, and many were not demolished until the 1980s.¹⁹³ In addition, the existence of *barracas* was purportedly a temporary phenomenon caused by the imbalances of liberal democracy: the authors of the report argued that Lisbon’s “tin neighborhoods” had originally emerged due to rent “profiteering” after 1918, during Portugal’s First Republic (Ibid., 10). It was implied that their disappearance was inevitable under the conditions of continued economic development assured by the new regime.

In contrast to the 1963 housing report, produced for an international audience, the Preplan’s *Memória Descritiva e Justificativa* (i.e. Description and Justification Memorandum) acknowledges the widespread creation of informal subdivisions in Lisbon’s suburbs, notably as a consequence of planning itself:

“Following the survey undertaken by the *Gabinete*, it can be stated that the main *areas of clandestine constructions* forming groupings are concentrated mostly in the periphery of the Capital and in the strip along the Vila Franca de Xira [train] line. Taking into account that these areas are close to agglomerates with plans that have been already approved,

¹⁹³ As mentioned in the introduction, the Paris *bidonvilles* (i.e. container towns) had emerged in the beginning of the century (Wright 1991, 34). Such settlements were notorious in the 1960s, when they housed mostly North African and Portuguese laborers, and lasted at least until the 1980s (Leontidou 1990, 248). Leonardo Benevolo has stated that in early 1980s Rome 60,000 people lived in shacks and 800,000 people in unlicensed housing in informal—and possibly illegal—subdivisions (Benevolo [1985] 2009).

one must foreground the abnormality of the extraordinary rise of the prices of land destined to new urbanizations, in those plans, making prohibitive its use for housing of the less favored social strata of the population that, for that reason, embark on clandestine building, very often sheltered by the illegal and speculative activities of certain landowners, not always swiftly repressed” (MOP 1964, 142; emphasis in the original).

The connection between planning practices and informal spatial production was also discussed by the Regional Plan Commission after the Memorandum was submitted. For example, the engineer Viegas Louro argued that urbanization plans, and particularly the use of zoning techniques, were “the origin and cause of clandestine subdivisions” (MOP 1965, 91). In contrast to Rezende’s team, Louro foregrounded the profit attained by informal subdividers, albeit implicitly.¹⁹⁴

The Memorandum prepared by Rezende’s team had defined a set of “deficiencies” in extant settlements in the Lisbon region, distinguishing notably between “deficient construction” and “deficiencies in the mode of implantation” (MOP 1964). Only a few of the areas of informal housing could be encompassed within the category of “defective construction,” which included both “areas of shack-like construction and areas of clandestine constructions” (Ibid.). It is noteworthy that as early as 1964, only six years after the emergence of the first informal subdivisions in suburban Lisbon, the term “clandestine” was no longer employed by planning experts in Portugal to designate areas of informal land rental or occupation, where unlicensed housing was mostly built in wood or metal sheeting: these were now identified only by the term *barracas*. Regarding the new informal suburban subdivisions, the Memorandum decidedly foregrounded the issue of unlicensed “implantation,” implicitly acknowledging that construction in unlicensed subdivisions could rarely be classified as “defective,” i.e. not conforming to professional expectations regarding how urban and modern houses should be built: indeed, houses in suburban subdivisions usually had a reinforced concrete structure with brick infill, covered with cement plaster and industrial paints.

Furthermore, the Memorandum explicitly acknowledges the lack of affordable housing in the new licensed suburbs. In consequence, and in harmony with the beforementioned 1962 amendment to the 1951 *Regulamento*, the report stated that even though the region was

“clearly affected by the great number of clandestine housing agglomerates, their permanence should be tolerated, through the ministerial approval of municipal studies that include the indispensable costs of infrastructures and equipment, only *for the cases of clandestine agglomerates extant at the date of the publication of the beforementioned Decree-Law*” (MOP 1964, 142; emphasis in the original).

¹⁹⁴ “These plans, besides taking a long time to be created, generate through their zoning landowners that are privileged in relation to others. Because the Municipalities do not have [proper] legislation, and do not have the adequate financial means, imbalances are created, due to those plans, that lead to clandestine subdivisions” (MOP 1965, 91).

Extant “clandestine” neighborhoods like Brandoa should thus not only be tolerated, but municipalities should prepare plans for legalization and the introduction of public infrastructure. As for future clandestinity, the private subdivision law that was published in 1965 was supposed to provide “disciplinary negative measures” that should be deployed by local municipalities (Ibid., 143).¹⁹⁵

For the future region, Rezende and his team envisaged the maintenance of “rural agglomerates,” which were not to be extended, and the creation of “urban extension” zones beyond a green belt surrounding central Lisbon. Such extension zones would be composed by discrete *núcleos* (i.e. nuclei) to be created along radial train lines and roads. Brandoa’s existence is not explicitly recognized in the plan itself, but the neighborhood is to be included in a proposed urban extension zone beyond the belt of public parks and woods.¹⁹⁶ In contrast, the Casal de Cambra area had few constructions at the time of the plan’s preparation, and it was included in a “zone for the protection of a landscape infrastructure.” The 1966 opinion on the plan by the High Council for Public Works hoped that new “legal and financial measures” would enable the attainment of the “correction of the anarchy that presently characterizes the urban occupation of the territory” (MOP 1966, 152).

3.4. Planning Casal de Cambra from 1962 onwards

Recent scholarly contributions, which will be addressed in the following chapter, rely on an operation of purification: the removal from the history of planning of the techniques employed by the state in informal suburban neighborhoods. As we saw in the case of Brandoa, from the 1960s onwards municipalities surveyed growing settlements and created limited public infrastructure, while maintaining “clandestine” neighborhoods outside the domain of legality. However, only after Portugal’s entry in the then European Economic Community in 1986 would municipalities start providing full access to the infrastructure commonly available in formal urban settlements; municipalities also renewed legalization processes that have dragged on until the present.

Casal de Cambra is located 3.1 miles north of Lisbon’s municipal limits. It is also one of the largest erstwhile “clandestine” neighborhoods in terms of area in the Lisbon metropolitan area. The Casal de Cambra ward—created in 1997—encompasses 517 acres, corresponding roughly to the area of the original farm. In contrast, the Brandoa farm had only 133 acres. Echoing the frequent interclass pacts in 1940s Portuguese films, and in contrast to residents’ stories on Brandoa, the present-day stories of the first Casal residents include a narrative on an alliance between the residents and António Batista Mota, Casal’s heroified developer—characterized as a small industrialist from a town north of Lisbon. Batista Mota was indeed the

¹⁹⁵ This is a reference to the beforementioned Decree-Law 46,673, November 29, 1965.

¹⁹⁶ However, Brandoa was mentioned during the meetings of the Regional Plan Commission. During the debate, the mayor of Oeiras characterized Brandoa as “the most significant case” of the “problems of clandestine construction” (MOP 1965, 44).

heir of a provincial tannery, but by the early 1940s he resided in the privileged Avenidas Novas; and in 1985 he would become a founding shareholder of one of Portugal's main private banks, *Banco Comercial Português*.¹⁹⁷

In August 1942, Batista Mota acquired agricultural land in the vicinity of Lisbon from the erstwhile aristocratic Gama Lobo Salema family, close to a small hamlet connected to the city by a gravel highway.¹⁹⁸ The sale was registered on August 4, 1942, and the declared cost in the *certidão da escritura* (i.e. official sales record) was 410,500 Escudos. The description of the farm in the *certidão da escritura* provides a sense of the area's history as an agricultural suburb of Lisbon, with place names referencing not only cattle and windmills, but also an Italian surname or the Águas Livres aqueduct that served Lisbon's population from 1748 to 1967.¹⁹⁹

“a *prédio rústico* [i.e. a rural property] called ‘Casaes da Câmara,’²⁰⁰ located in Dabeja, in the Belas *freguesia* [i.e. ward] of the Sintra municipality, . . . traversed by the road from Dabeja to Caneças, laying one part to the East and another to the West, the part to the East being limited, to the North by Bento's Windmill by Picoto Valley, to the South by the Casal dos Silveiros and Guizo's windmill, to the East by the Casal of the Bishop's Hill . . . and the part to the West [is limited,] to the North by the Casal do Bastão, Tedeschi field, Road from Carenque Bridge to Caneças, land of the Brôco, Casal do Greito and the aqueduct of Águas Livres, to the South by [the village of] Dabeja], trees or family farms, field of the Municipal Chamber and Quinta das Águas Livres”^{201 202}

¹⁹⁷ “DIAP investiga nova queixa contra o BCP.” [“DIAP investigates new charges against BCP.”] *Diário Económico*. February 18, 2008.

¹⁹⁸ The farm was sold two years after the death of Manuel da Gama Lobo Salema de Saldanha e Sousa by his widow, descendants, and other family members. Most of the 26 sellers lived in the privileged Lapa neighborhood, in Lisbon's privileged suburb of Cascais, and in Lourenço Marques, the capital of the Portuguese colony of Mozambique. In the beginning of the century, Manuel de Saldanha e Sousa had been the customs treasurer for “Oriental Africa,” i.e. Mozambique, according to an authorization published in Portugal's official gazette. *Diário do Governo*. January 25, 1911.

¹⁹⁹ According to the *certidão da escritura*, created by notary public Avelino de Faria at his offices in downtown Lisbon on August 4, 1942. The *certidão da escritura* was submitted to Sintra's First *Conservatória do Registo Predial* (i.e. Land Property Registry Office) on June 7, 1943.

²⁰⁰ *Câmara* literally means “chamber.” It also means “municipality,” and particularly an executive body of local government. *Casal*, of which *Casaes* is the plural, literally means “couple formed by a male and a female.” In addition, the term *Casal* is commonly employed to signify a small family farm, or sometimes a hamlet.

²⁰¹ *Bento* is the Portuguese version of the name Benedict, but it can also signify “consecrated by an ecclesiastical benediction.” *Picoto* means “top of the hill.” *Silveiros* is the plural form of *Silveiro*, which can mean a black-headed bull with a white spot on its forehead. *Guizo* means “sleigh bell,” often placed on domesticated cattle. *Bastão* means “baton.” *Tedeschi* is the plural of “german” or “germanic,” albeit in the Italian language; it is also an Italian surname. *Brôco* is also a family name. *Greito* is a name of unknown etymology.

²⁰² Construction for Lisbon's aqueduct of the Águas Livres (i.e. Free Waters) began in 1731. The aqueduct was ready in 1748, and its length, including all extensions, is 36 miles. It was delinked from Lisbon's public water supply system in 1967. Its main source of water was the Águas Livres area between Carenque and Caneças, of which the Casaes da Câmara property bought by Batista Mota in 1942 was part.

By 1960 the surrounding area was becoming increasingly populated: the road from Carenque bridge to Caneças mentioned in the description was used by an average of 158 buses and 1,132 automobiles every day. Traffic had almost doubled since 1950 (MOP 1964).²⁰³ In the summer of 1962, Batista Mota started subdividing the land according to regular, orthogonal grids of dirt streets on both sides of the gravel highway, without building any other infrastructure. The large, affordable lots were sold one at a time, detached from the property, often respecting the law on lot splits of agricultural land. The first lot split in Casal de Cambra was officially registered on July 30, 1962: a lot with 2,000 square meters (i.e. about 21,500 square feet) was detached from the property, then still called “Casaes de Câmara.”²⁰⁴ During the remainder of 1962, fifteen lots were detached from the original property, ranging from 300 square meters (i.e. about 3,200 square feet) to about 70,000 square meters (i.e. about 750,000 square feet), adding up to a total of 116,300 square meters (i.e. almost 29 acres). 8 of the 15 lots sold from July to December 1962 were under 5,000 square meters, and thus the sale could be considered illegal under the conditions established by the 1929 Fiscal Reform Law, but this did not impede the sales from being officially registered. During 1963, only seven lots were sold, but during the following year Mota sold 18 lots. By the beginning of 1965, the informal subdivision of Casal de Cambra through lot splits was well under way: 40 lots had been sold.

A 1965 aerial photograph shows that many of the dirt paths that composed the original grid had already been opened by then (Fig. 3.6). The parallel dirt paths following the contours of the slope to the east of the Lisbon-Caneças highway (the present-day Avenida de Lisboa, i.e. Lisbon Avenue) were ready, but only a few lot owners had started building houses. An article published in the daily newspaper *A Capital* in May 1972 states that building started in earnest only in 1968, according to accounts by residents such as Anselmo Rodrigues. By 1972, the lots next to the highway were selling for 250 Escudos per square meter, and there were buses every thirty minutes for Lisbon’s Sete Rios area, where the subway line for the city’s inner northwestern suburbs ended since 1959.

Until 1973, the Sintra municipality did not intervene directly in Casal de Cambra, except through the imposition of fines by Sintra’s municipal building inspectors.²⁰⁵ However, Anselmo Rodrigues was very much aware of how nearby “clandestine” neighborhoods were being dealt with: “Brandoa goes on. It hasn’t been torn down. Here the same will happen. We have about one thousand [sic] *casas* [i.e. houses.] Almost two thousand families live here. Who can wreck this?” The *A Capital* article also foregrounds the ways in which residents did not perceive infrastructure

²⁰³ In comparison, the coastal road between Lisbon and the privileged western suburbs was used by an average of 86 buses and 9,201 automobiles every day, and traffic here grew only by 76,81 percent between 1950 and 1960. However, the coastal road ran parallel to one of the Lisbon area’s three suburban railways, the Estoril Line (MOP 1964).

²⁰⁴ According to the official record of *prédio* (i.e. land property) #5,022 of Sintra’s First *Conservatória do Registo Predial*.

²⁰⁵ Casal de Cambra is rarely mentioned in the recorded discussions during the weekly meetings of the Sintra municipality until late 1973, after the first visit by Sintra’s mayor on September 23, 1973. A request by resident Horácio Dias Bento for the creation of a taxicab stand in Casal de Cambra had been accepted by the municipality in late May 1973, according to the recommendation of the Belas *Junta*. May 30, 1973, Minutes, Sintra.

as lacking: “Almost every house has a [water] well . . . we make septic tanks . . . and the arrival of electricity will be easy. There is here one factory, Sovena, that is already linked to the ‘general’ [network].”²⁰⁶ Only paving was expected to be undertaken by the municipality: “when the municipality wants to urbanize this, streets will be easy [to pave]” (Ibid.).²⁰⁷ Even though I have found no explicit evidence of this, residents must have known how the Sintra municipality was providing infrastructure to the informal subdivision of Carenque and to the village of A-da-Beja, both close to Casal de Cambra.

Unlike in Oeiras municipality, which was adjacent to the city of Lisbon, the issue of unlicensed building in the more distant Sintra municipality only started concerning the local administrators by the mid-1960s. The first housing areas characterized as clandestine were built precisely in the southeastern corner of the municipality, two miles away from Lisbon’s Portas de Benfica. In late 1964, one of Sintra’s *vereadores* (i.e. aldermen) presented a report to the municipal chamber on “the problem of clandestine constructions in the zone of this municipality bordering Oeiras municipality,” and the chamber decided then to “intensify inspecting in that zone and proceed with the immediate demolition of all and any constructions that have been or are being built without licenses from this municipality.”²⁰⁸ Most of this early 1960s unlicensed construction in Sintra was not being undertaken in lots acquired in informal subdivisions, but in a more precarious fashion in informally rented land. Indeed, a list of “clandestine” neighborhoods built “to last” in suburban Lisbon had been published by the newspaper *Diário Ilustrado* on February 9, 1962. The neighborhoods included in this list were distinguished from the extant “tin neighborhoods” within the city of Lisbon due to the existence of “houses and buildings with multiple floors, where stone, cement and iron are employed, but no one thought of water, electricity and sewers.” Only two were located within the territory administered by Sintra: the beforementioned Carenque and São Marcos, both relatively close to suburban train stations in the Sintra line.²⁰⁹

The handwritten records of the weekly Sintra Municipal Council meetings show how the administrators discussed unlicensed subdivision and building every week, and how they took decisions on such practices. In addition, they demonstrate how they grappled with both the concept of clandestinity and the possibilities for municipal intervention in what was seen as a consequence of a national housing problem that could not be dealt with at a local level. Even though the southeastern half of Sintra’s territory was to become a suburban area during the 1960s, the town that served as the seat of municipal authority had been established by a 1154 *foral* (i.e. charter), one of the first granted by a Portuguese monarch. By 1964, when

²⁰⁶ Sovena was a company created in 1956, through a partnership between CUF, Macedo e Coelho, and the *Sociedade Nacional de Sabões*, for the sale of vegetable oils and soap. Presently Sovena is the second largest olive oil company worldwide, and part of Portuguese holding Nutrinveste.

²⁰⁷ “Urbanização Ameaça Mil Casas na Freguesia de Belas.” [“Urbanization Threatens a Thousand Houses in the Belas Ward.”] *A Capital*. May 10, 1972.

²⁰⁸ November 4, 1964, Minutes, Sintra.

²⁰⁹ “O Caso das Construções Clandestinas: A Impunidade Fez Alastrar o Mal.” [“The Case of Clandestine Constructions: Impunity made the Evil Spread.”] *Diário Ilustrado*. February 9, 1962.

“clandestine” settlements close to Lisbon started being perceived as a major issue in Sintra, António Correia de Sá (1900-1968) had been president of the Municipal Council (i.e. mayor) for four years. Correia de Sá was the Tenth Viscount of Asseca, a hereditary title first granted in 1666, and he would be nominated again as a mayor later that year, in November.

The recorded decisions on subdivision and licensing seem to have been taken rather quickly, and requests were often made by owners of property in the areas that would soon be characterized as dominated by unlicensed subdivision and building. For example, on October 28, 1964, the Chamber approved a request for “*loteamento e urbanização*” (i.e. subdivision and urbanization) of a property in the village of A-da-Beja adjacent to Casal de Cambra, by José Emílio Pereira and other residents of the village.²¹⁰ The request had been filed a month and a half before, on September 15, and it is important to note that the council’s decision was illegal, since the central state had not yet allowed municipalities to license subdivision. Licensing of building, even for very simple structures, seems to have taken much longer. On November 11 the council granted a building permit to Joaquim Cabrita for the construction of a mere “*barracão*” (i.e. shed), also in A-da-Beja. This particular request had been filed more than three months before, on August 3.²¹¹

A-da-Beja was then located next to the limits of the municipality. To the south of the village, along the border with the Oeiras municipality where Brandoa was located, unlicensed building was becoming common. The week before Joaquim Cabrita was allowed to build a shed, the council’s meeting had been chaired by the vice-president, Francisco Henriques, an engineer—the Viscount was often absent. As mentioned above, that week the council spent part of the meeting discussing a report on “*construções clandestinas*” (i.e. clandestine buildings). *Vereador* Carlos Vidal, also an engineer and a militant of the government party *União Nacional* (i.e. National Union), had been asked to study “the problem of clandestine building” in the areas bordering Oeiras, which then encompassed the present-day Amadora municipality.

This border ran for a few miles in an east-west direction south of the road connecting Sintra and Lisbon, National Road 249, very close to the present-day freeway IC19. Halfway between the railroad suburbs of Queluz and Amadora, it turned north following the valley where the Eighteenth Century Aquaduct of Águas Livres passed, until it reached National Road 250, then the outer ring road of the Lisbon region. This area encompassed the hillside subdivision of Carenque, and the emerging Military Road squatter settlement—a settlement that still exists 45 years later, at the time of writing of this dissertation. The records state that Vidal declared the following:

“Several individuals from the Province, being it impossible to do so in the area of the Oeiras municipality, try to settle in this municipality, clandestinely building *barracas* (i.e. shacks) without any conditions for salubriousness or safety . . . this reality will

²¹⁰ October 28, 1964, Minutes, Sintra.

²¹¹ November 11, 1964, Minutes, Sintra.

progressively worsen the welfare and housing problem in this municipality, creating expenses that presently do not belong to it.”²¹²

The council decided to intensify inspections, and to order the immediate demolition of all constructions without a municipal license. Two weeks later, the matter was discussed again. Vidal stated that “the council should try to solve the housing problem experienced by those *municipes* [i.e. the inhabitants of the municipality] that for many years have resided here permanently in precarious conditions.” He then proposed the creation of a committee that would produce an inquiry on the economic situation of those *municipes* that reside in *barracas*, since only an inquiry would make it possible to “face the problem.” The presiding member of the council riposted that it would be necessary to nominate a worker to survey exclusively the “clandestine buildings” in the Carenque zone. The present inspector’s action had impeded the construction of “several” *barracas*, and 106 extant ones had been demolished, but the residents were now “threaten[ing] with aggression and death the municipal inspector.”²¹³ He added that no matter what happened, repression would continue: inspectors would carry guns and defend themselves if necessary. Nevertheless, the municipal administration would facilitate the building of housing, as long as the submitted projects assured minimal habitability conditions.

Vidal would return to the issue during the following meeting on November 25, 1964, commenting again on the “housing problem of the poor classes of this municipality.” For Vidal, those that work in Sintra do so not only to make a living, but also for the progress of the municipality. Those deserving workers had a right to minimal living conditions inherent to their quality and dignity as a “human person.” Thus, the exploration by a minority of the majority living poorly in “tin” neighborhoods had to be denounced. This statement was a prologue to a challenge on a decision by the mayor. Ten “*chefes de familia*” (i.e. family chiefs) had built their houses in A-da-Beja village through “uncountable sacrifices.” They had recently received eviction notices, and their *barracas* would be demolished in 45 days. Vidal asked whether it would be possible to legalize the buildings, since the owners had purportedly acquired the land believing that the municipality would consent to building. In addition, Vidal seemingly proposed to demarcate land in the municipality where housing could be self-built—although he does not employ this specific term—by such low-income workers.

The president replied that the *municipes* had known for long that they had to “inform themselves” before acquiring new land. Notices had been posted in public places, so that the interest of the *municipes* themselves would be defended. He added that according to the law, the president—and not the council—was responsible for decisions on the demolition of “clandestine” buildings with one or two stories. However, the municipality had tried to avoid evicting people without making housing available, except when there was clear “bad faith” in building. The mayor seems here to argue that “bad faith” existed when the benevolence of local administrators capable of creating exceptions was somehow abused. There were two types of

²¹² November 4, 1964, Minutes, Sintra.

²¹³ November 18, 1964, Minutes, Sintra.

“bad faith,” according to the president: building from “one day to the next,” thus creating a *fait accompli*; or “bad faith” by those that associate themselves to create new shack settlements by acquiring land that is not destined for construction.²¹⁴

About three months later, on March 7, 1965, the Viscount of Asseca visited both Carenque and A-da-Beja. This Sunday visit was preceded by the inauguration of the new offices for the Belas’ *Junta de Freguesia* at the town’s central square. On the second page of its Monday edition, the Lisbon newspaper of record *Diário de Notícias* stated that the mayor “learned about the need for various *melhoramentos* [improvements] in localities of that *autarquia* [i.e. local government].” Sintra’s *vereador* [i.e. alderman] Carlos Vidal and António José de Carvalho, the *Junta*’s president since 1938, presented “problems” at the beginning of the visit in the village of Idanha. In Belas itself, the mayor enjoyed a “festive reception. Firework shells and skyrockets, clapping . . . from the windows hung bedspreads. Local firefighters formed an honor guard. Reverend Trincão, the priest of that locality, blessed the new building and, that authority [i.e. the mayor] cut a ribbon.” At the end of the ceremony, the mayor announced that the sewerage system for the *freguesia* would soon start being built, and that the cost would be 1,500 *contos* [i.e. 1.5 million Escudos.] Other “improvements” would follow, “within the budget possibilities of the municipality.” It is noteworthy that the absence of the provision of a sewerage system by Casal de Cambra’s informal subdivider was not unusual, as none of the extant settlements in the Belas ward had such public infrastructure in the early 1960s.

After the inauguration ceremony at Belas, the mayor then visited Carenque, the neighborhood that had been created through informal subdivision one mile east of the new *Junta* offices at the center of Belas. The article in *Diário de Notícias* avoids describing the area as a “clandestine” subdivision, preferring instead to foreground the lack of infrastructure, and also the purported precariousness of “*barracas*” in Carenque, described as fated to be replaced by a state-built rehousing neighborhood: “the mayor . . . studied the location of future primary school and he saw the land, to urbanize [i.e. to introduce infrastructure], destined to a workers’ neighborhood, where the hundreds of families that live in more than 500 shacks may find shelter.”²¹⁵ As mentioned earlier, Carenque had been included in the list of “clandestine” neighborhoods built “to last” published almost three years earlier by *Diário Ilustrado*, on February 9, 1962.

The beforementioned official minutes of the meeting of Sintra’s *Câmara Municipal* on November 18, 1964, show that the *Diário de Notícias* article also avoided addressing the issue of ongoing municipal inspections and demolitions of unlicensed buildings in Carenque.²¹⁶ This record shows that the municipality grudgingly acknowledged that Carenque’s supposed “shacks”

²¹⁴ November 25, 1964, Minutes, Sintra.

²¹⁵ “A Sede da Junta da Freguesia de Belas foi ontem inaugurada.” [“The Office of the Ward Administration of Belas was inaugurated yesterday.”] *Diário de Notícias*. March 8, 1965.

²¹⁶ As alderman Carlos Vidal stated in a meeting presided by the vice-mayor in the absence of the Viscount of Asseca, “this officer [a municipal inspector] has been of good service and due to his actions, not only was it possible to stop several shacks from being built, but it was also possible to this date to demolish 106 newly built shacks, thus avoiding the worsening of the problem.” November 18, 1964, Minutes, Sintra.

were in fact being built—at least since 1962—with less precarious materials for renting: “the clandestine building of shacks has become industrialized and thus individuals without scruples, landowners or simple renters of land in that zone, are building shacks to rent to individuals recently arrived from the provinces or transferred from the ‘tin neighborhoods’ of Lisbon.”²¹⁷ Furthermore, the record shows that Carenque was not adequately described as a neighborhood for *operários* (i.e. factory workers): “it is a fact that many workers of Lisbon’s public services came there to find dwelling because they cannot do it in the capital.”²¹⁸ Only four months after the mayor’s visit in March 1965, the minutes’ descriptions of Carenque had clearly changed in tone, stating that “the settlement of Carenque is in frank development, the hundreds of shacks there have been considerably improved, and in the zone closer to the road a series of buildings are being created that obey the principles of modern construction.”²¹⁹

By the end of the year the new primary school had not been built yet: “many children have no education because there is no building where more shifts of classes can function. The construction of a building with 8 rooms is planned, a fact that complicates the problem, because it has been impossible to buy adequate land for so many rooms.” In early November Sintra’s municipal chamber thus decided to contact the Delegation for the Building of Primary Schools, an office at the central state’s Ministry for Public Works, so that “a solution to the problem” could be found.²²⁰ Seven years later, in late 1972, the Ministry informed the municipality that four prefabricated classrooms would be installed in Carenque, and two in A-da-Beja, “to be removed after the permanent buildings are ready.”²²¹ As for street paving in Carenque, an article published in newspaper *O Século* in October 1974 described how paving had been budgeted but postponed.²²²

On the day of the inauguration of the new offices for the Belas *Junta* in March 1965, Sintra’s mayor visited the village of A-da-Beja after seeing Carenque. A new road had been built between Belas and Carenque, and the newspaper *Diário de Notícias* stated that paving was imminent. The mayor announced the construction of a small garden in the central square, and the introduction of electrical street lights, causing “enthusiasm” among the villagers, according to the reporter. Lot owners in adjacent Casal de Cambra certainly welcomed these news too; and the fact that suburban villages such as A-da-Beja had no street lighting in the mid-1960s shows that the lack of provision of streets lights by subdivider Batista Mota was at least in accordance with the lack of public infrastructure in the adjacent settlements.

²¹⁷ November 18, 1964, Minutes, Sintra.

²¹⁸ Ibid.. It is noteworthy that the term “clandestine” was then employed within local government in Sintra to indicate informality in the building process instead of the status of an informally subdivided space: *barracas* were thus still described as clandestine buildings, a usage that would soon disappear from official documents.

²¹⁹ July 8, 1965, Minutes, Sintra.

²²⁰ November 4, 1965, Minutes, Sintra.

²²¹ January 3, 1973, Minutes, Sintra.

²²² “Intensificadas obras municipais no concelho de Sintra.” [“Intensified municipal works in the Sintra municipality.”] *O Século*. October 17, 1974.

In early 1970s Casal de Cambra, owners-builders could now accumulate savings by avoiding paying a rent for decrepit rooms or apartments, and as mentioned frequent buses allowed for a quick commute to downtown Lisbon, 30 minutes away by automobile. If there was a health emergency, residents could take a taxicab to Lisbon's central Santa Maria hospital, which had opened north of the Avenidas Novas in 1953 and was even closer. Primary schools were available for Casal de Cambra's children in Caneças, and later in A-da-Beja. There was a market in Caneças and a few general stores in A-da-Beja, and as the May 1972 story in newspaper *A Capital* notes, there was one general store and one café in Casal de Cambra. In the absence of access to mortgages, families gradually built their houses during the weekends, often with the help of family and neighbors. Most of the male population of Casal then was involved in the construction industry, but similarly to Brandoa, there were also unskilled laborers in several other industries, public transit workers, and other low-income state functionaries. Most women worked at home; a few were employed in the city, for example as domestic staff or as tailors.

By late 1972, even though the Sintra municipal council had recently announced its intent to demolish all "clandestine" buildings in the municipality, the municipality had already installed public fountains in Casal de Cambra. Handwritten records archived by the Casal de Cambra ward administration state that in January 1973, 101 residents created a *Comissão do Povo de Casais de Cambra* (i.e. Committee of the People of Casal de Cambra, hereafter referred to as *Comissão*). 10 of the male signatories provided funding, amounting to a total of 410 Escudos.²²³ By this date, 254 lots had been detached from the original property,²²⁴ and many of these lots had undergone further subdivision. On January 13, all the members of the *Comissão* were provided with forms for identification of every household,²²⁵ and by February 3, 162 forms had been filled out.²²⁶ The new organization immediately contacted Belas' *Junta*, which on February 15 discussed a letter sent by the *Comissão* in their weekly meeting.²²⁷ Before March 3, the organization had contacted Lisbon's private electricity company *Companhias Reunidas Gás e Electricidade* (i.e. CRGE) regarding the introduction of an electricity network in the neighborhood.²²⁸ On March 9, there was a second meeting with the *Junta* to discuss electricity, primary education, and additional public water fountains.²²⁹ Two days later, the *Junta* members visited Casal de Cambra officially for the first time, and the organization's records state that they

²²³ January 6, 1973, Minutes of the meetings of the Committee of the People of Casal de Cambra, archive of the Junta de Freguesia de Casal de Cambra (hereafter cited as Minutes, Casal de Cambra).

²²⁴ According to the beforementioned official record of *prédio* (i.e. land property) #5,022 of Sintra's First *Conservatória do Registo Predial*.

²²⁵ January 13, 1973, Minutes, Casal de Cambra.

²²⁶ February 3, 1973, Minutes, Casal de Cambra.

²²⁷ February 17, 1973, Minutes, Casal de Cambra.

²²⁸ March 3, 1973, Minutes, Casal de Cambra. CRGE had been formed in 1891 through the fusion of two previous private utility companies, and was nationalized in 1975.

²²⁹ March 9, 1973, Minutes, Casal de Cambra.

were assured that “the *Junta* . . . and the Sintra municipality itself are becoming interested in the problems of Casais de Cambra.”²³⁰

In two months, Casal de Cambra’s *Comissão* had thus organized a survey of the neighborhood’s inhabitants and the local ward council had met twice with the *Comissão*’s representatives to discuss the introduction of public infrastructure. By April 7, the *Junta* and the neighbors’ organization were already concerned with the location of the future primary school.²³¹ As mentioned earlier, the *Junta* contacted the Sintra municipality sometime before May 30 and recommended the approval of a taxicab stand.

On September 23, 1973, the mayor of Sintra visited the neighborhood and was received with music, fireworks, balloons and a bouquet.²³² The mayor met with a representative of CRGE in the following February, and informed the company that the introduction of electricity to the neighborhood was urgent.²³³ Furthermore, a plan for the so-called “recovery” of Casal de Cambra was commissioned to the beforementioned planning office GPA. In late December, the municipality decided to sign a contract with GPA for the preparation of “urbanization studies,” following a suggestion of the central state’s *Direcção-Geral de Urbanização* (i.e. Directorate-General for Urbanization, or DGU).²³⁴ As mentioned previously, GPA had been hired in 1970 to create an urbanization plan for Brandoa. The Ministry of Public Works was supposed to pay 90 percent of GPA’s honoraria, which amounted to a total of 975,000 escudos, equivalent to about 35,500 United States dollars at the time.²³⁵ The Sintra municipality planned to complete payment of the honoraria by July 31, 1974.²³⁶

Organized by the *Comissão* that had become a *de facto* partner of the municipality, residents became engaged in the construction of public infrastructure. By early 1974, the organization had been renamed *Comissão de Melhoramentos de Casal de Cambra* (i.e. Improvements Committee of Casal de Cambra). The Committee records show that on January 5, 1974, one of the residents promised to dig a well in his lot and to distribute water to his neighbors.²³⁷ This was a common solution; other households installed water storage units. Local

²³⁰ March 11, 1973, Minutes, Casal de Cambra.

²³¹ The issue had also been discussed with Batista Mota on February 17. Undated record #4 of book #2, Minutes, Casal de Cambra.

²³² October 25, 1973, and undated record #4 of book #2, Minutes, Casal de Cambra.

²³³ February 17, 1974, Minutes, Casal de Cambra. Before August 7, CRGE informed the municipality that all potential electricity consumers residing along the extant street lighting network would soon be served, and that studies would start for the establishment of complete coverage. August 7, 1974, Minutes, Sintra.

²³⁴ December 19, 1973, Minutes, Sintra. DGU had been created in 1944 as a section of the central state’s Ministry of Public Works.

²³⁵ On February 14, 1973, the exchange rate had been adjusted to 27.5 escudos per United States dollar. However, the exchange rate was allowed to float freely from March 19 onwards. Taking into account the United States’ consumer price index, GPA’s honoraria would be equivalent to about 170,000 dollars in 2011.

²³⁶ January 30, 1974, Minutes, Sintra.

²³⁷ January 5, 1974, Minutes, Casal de Cambra.

sewerage systems were sometimes built by groups of neighbors, using nearby creeks for discharge. Other households installed septic tanks. Nevertheless, in a few areas of Casal sewage was simply discharged into the dirt streets. On the same date, the organization discussed a list of all the residents interested in the creation of a bus line from Casal de Cambra to the nearby railway suburb and industrial area of Amadora. The list had been prepared for submission to the then private bus company *Viação Eduardo Jorge*.²³⁸

At the same time, the GPA architects assigned to meetings with the Sintra municipality were arguing that a slow process of planning would have to precede the introduction of an electricity network and the decision on the location of the neighborhood's primary school. In particular, in late March 1974 GPA advised the municipality to contact the Ministry of Public Works regarding the application of the "preventive measures" defined in 1973 by Decree-Law 576.²³⁹ Three months after the signature of the contract, and almost two months after the agreed date for the reception of the first tranche of the honoraria, GPA requested aerial photographs and a survey plan of the extant settlement.²⁴⁰ Only in May—after the military coup that overthrew Caetano—would GPA architects hold the first meeting with the neighbors' organization regarding the urbanization plan.²⁴¹

Initially, the military coup of April 1974 seemed to have few implications for GPA's planning activity. A new *Comissão Administrativa* (i.e. Administrative Commission, henceforth referred to as CA) had replaced the former administration in Sintra, and architects José Tavares and Margarida Vieira met with the new administration in early June to discuss proposals by several aerial photography firms.²⁴² The Estereofoto company was selected, and a budget of 28,500 Escudos was approved by the CA of Sintra later in the month.²⁴³ However, the new municipal administration clearly intended to demonstrate to lot owners in Casal de Cambra that informal building and subdivision would no longer be tolerated in the emerging democratic regime. On June 11, the CA declared that the construction of two houses by two distinct lot owners in Casal de Cambra should be halted. Both "transgressors" had one month to "request the legalization of building."²⁴⁴ One month later, a new meeting was held with GPA regarding a possible submission of the plan until the end of August; notably, the CA was particularly interested in references to the "juridical legal measures" available to the municipality. It was also agreed that the municipality would review the study for public water supply in Casal de

²³⁸ As most private bus companies in the Lisbon area, *Viação Eduardo Jorge* was nationalized in 1976 and became part of a public national bus company, *Rodoviária Nacional*.

²³⁹ The decree-law had actually been published in 1970. Decree-Law 576/70, November 24, 1970.

²⁴⁰ March 27, 1974, Minutes, Sintra.

²⁴¹ Undated record #5 of book #2, Minutes, Casal de Cambra.

²⁴² The meeting was held on June 3. June 19, 1974, Minutes, Sintra.

²⁴³ June 26, 1974, Minutes, Sintra.

²⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

Cambra;²⁴⁵ during the following month, the municipality decided to continue a general policy of not allowing the connection of unlicensed buildings to the public water network.²⁴⁶

On July 17, the municipality decided to sue in court António Batista Mota and his spouse Natalina Lopes Sequeira Mota “for the sale of a lot of 5,000 square meters, a process in which they are recidivist.”²⁴⁷ Interestingly, only one week later the CA decided not to sue Mota and his spouse, after the latter presented documents that purportedly proved that sales through *destaque* (i.e. lot splits) were not unlawful; in addition, the records state that “if any infraction had existed, criminal procedure would have prescribed.”²⁴⁸ As noted earlier, subdivision through lot splits had indeed become illegal in June 1973, after the publication of Decree-Law 289.²⁴⁹ However, Batista Mota did not register any lot sales between April 26, 1973, and May 12, 1978. Nevertheless, two of the five lots sold in 1972 and 1973 were smaller than 5,000 square meters. Their sale was thus illegal, even though lot splits had still been legal then.²⁵⁰

At the same time, the possibilities for cooperation between the Lisbon area’s suburban municipalities to develop new ways to deal with “clandestine” building and subdivision seem to have been discouraged by the central state’s institutions. Architect Fernando Cortez Pinto, one of the members of the CA of Sintra, participated in an inter-municipal meeting in Oeiras which intended to focus on “treat[ing] the problem of clandestine constructions.”²⁵¹ The July 25 meeting gathered officials of the suburban municipalities of Cascais, Loures, Oeiras, Sintra and Vila Franca de Xira. However, the new “secretary of state for Public Works” and representatives of GPA also participated in the meeting, informing the municipalities about the creation of SAAL—and of the constitution of a team at the central state’s Directorate-General for Urbanization that would “deal with the problem of clandestine constructions.”²⁵² The following inter-municipal meetings would not return to the topic of clandestinity.

Henceforth, meeting minutes show that Sintra’s administration was increasingly concerned with the need for more muscular measures of repression. On August 7, the CA member Jorge Xavier stated that Casal de Cambra was in a “true state of anarchy . . . having arrived at the extreme of physically menacing members of the administrative commission of Loures municipality.” Xavier claimed that he had obtained information that 22 buildings, “almost

²⁴⁵ The meeting was held on July 9. July 10, 1974, Minutes, Sintra.

²⁴⁶ July 24, 1974, Minutes, Sintra.

²⁴⁷ July 17, 1974, Minutes, Sintra.

²⁴⁸ July 24, 1974, Minutes, Sintra.

²⁴⁹ Decree-Law 289/73, June 6, 1973.

²⁵⁰ Even though the 1929 Fiscal Reform Law had lost its validity in 1970, *Portaria* 202 of 1970 had defined that all rural lots resulting from *destaque* could not be smaller than 5,000 square meters. *Portaria* 202, April 21, 1970.

²⁵¹ Architect Cortez Pinto had participated in the opposition to the Caetano dictatorship, having for example integrated the National Committee of the Third Congress of the Democratic Opposition, held in Aveiro in April 1973.

²⁵² July 31, 1974, Minutes, Sintra.

all of speculative character,” would be started during the following weekend. According to him, the Army should be asked to police the neighborhood, since the National Republican Guard was “passively resisting . . . the new institutions.”²⁵³ Indeed, on the following week several suburban municipalities sent a statement to Lisbon’s civil governor, denouncing how inspection of “clandestine” building areas by the police had been halted after the April 25 military coup.²⁵⁴ Later that August, Xavier claimed that up to thirty houses were being built every weekend in Casal de Cambra. The need for a military presence to stop building unlicensed by the municipality was purportedly justified because “*vivendas* [i.e. villas] . . . are not houses for the poor.”²⁵⁵

The fact that a plan was being prepared by GPA supported the idea that a state of expectancy had to be enforced in Casal de Cambra. When one of the residents contacted the central state’s Minister of Internal Administration regarding the legalization of his own house, the letter was forwarded to the district’s civil governor, who in turn contacted the Sintra municipality. Sintra’s Technical Service for Construction prepared a reply to the civil governor arguing that “because we are awaiting the presentation of the Casal de Cambra study by GPA, we consider that this is not the moment to provide any information on the possibilities for legalization.” No members of the CA of Sintra disagreed. In fact, architect Cortez Pinto reproduced the distinction of unlicensed building in “bad faith” expounded by Sintra’s mayor in 1964, articulating this distinction with Caetano’s rejection of freedom as a “license for anarchical proceedings” (Caetano [1970] 1971, 61):

“Freedom cannot be confused with anarchy, and if people are building clandestinely, after all the warnings the Commission has made, we must conclude that they are doing so in bad faith. Nobody will be able to complain if buildings are demolished or expropriated.”²⁵⁶

It is noteworthy that by mid-September Nuno Portas announced the creation of a “permanent commission” that could conduct official inspections of the management of urbanization by suburban municipalities like Oeiras, Sintra or Loures. Simultaneously, the idea of a state of expectancy, albeit temporary, was also being formed in central state institutions. As mentioned in the first chapter, Nuno Portas’ conceptualization of the SAAL program explicitly excluded intervention in informal subdivisions like Casal de Cambra. He defended that the new regime should abstain from creating any kind of public infrastructure for what he called “savage” subdivisions. Spaces like Casal de Cambra or Brandoa were

²⁵³ August 7, 1974, Minutes, Sintra.

²⁵⁴ The civil governor replied in late August, stating that he had also contacted the Army regarding a potential intervention in Casal de Cambra. September 4, 1974, Minutes, Sintra.

²⁵⁵ August 14, 1974, Minutes, Sintra.

²⁵⁶ November 20, 1974, Minutes, Sintra.

“a kind of gangrene, that we will never be able to cure, although we will stop its growth. Any kind of improvement in these areas, at the moment, would only foster the processes that created them.”²⁵⁷

Building in Casal de Cambra continued (Fig. 3.7 and 3.8). By 1978, residents had built a *Centro Social* (i.e. Social Center) in a central area (Fig. 3.9). On September 20, the *Comissão* formally donated the new building to the Belas *Junta*.²⁵⁸ One decade later, the lots surrounding it would be formally acquired by the Sintra municipality to build a school, a market and a post office, in exchange for lots ceded by the subdivider Batista Mota—seemingly in lieu of a fine.²⁵⁹

In contrast to Brandoa, public infrastructure creation in Casal was initially a joint venture between the residents and the municipality, possibly related to the much lower density of this subdivision. In addition—also in contrast to Brandoa, where most of the streets are nowadays lined by apartment buildings—Casal de Cambra remains an environment dominated by single-family houses. Such houses are often an experiment in articulating the model of an exclusively residential neighborhood with the existence of interior spaces for labour.

The problematization of the emergence of the new informal suburban neighborhoods supported the creation of a series of planning laws that would purportedly stop clandestinity. This lawmaking process would gradually fix an essential idea: property rights were separated from building rights. Building licensing by municipalities, a process which initially was restricted to certain buildings in settlements considered to be urban, became an instrument applicable to building in the whole of the national territory. Ultimately, projecting buildings through technical drawing became mandatory, and certain professional groups were defined as the only ones allowed to perform the projecting act.

As we saw earlier, this set of regulations attempted to address issues in part created by the consequences of earlier laws on building, such as the 1951 General Regulation for Urban Buildings, which replaced several laws, including the 1903 Regulation for the Salubrity of Urban Buildings. The 1951 law encompassed new concerns, such as aesthetics, solidity and fire safety. Alas, in 1962 it was decided that mere fines were not enough to ensure respect for the law; henceforth, municipalities were allowed to decide to physically destroy buildings that did not respect the law. In 1963 municipalities were allowed to refuse licensing in areas where public infrastructure was not yet available, effectively illegalizing building in subdivisions where networks were not available, implicitly condemning the idea of cheap, legal subdivisions where residents could build septic tanks, and wells or water reservoirs.

²⁵⁷ “O Problema da Habitação em Portugal, 2: As Urbanizações Clandestinas são uma Consequência dos Erros da Política Habitacional do anterior Regime.” [“The Housing Problem in Portugal, 2: The Clandestine Urbanizations are a Consequence of the Housing Policy mistakes of the previous Regime.”] *República*. August 31, 2011.

²⁵⁸ According to a statement signed on March 1, 1980, by the Belas ward president Tito Batista de Oliveira and by Bento Coelho Pica, a representative of the *Comissão*.

²⁵⁹ According to *Escritura de Doação* (i.e. donation deed) #96 of 1989, signed on July 28 by António Batista Mota and by an alderman of the Sintra municipality, Joaquim de Matos Manso. The *Alvará de Loteamento* (i.e. subdivision license) #29 of 1989 was provided on the same day by the Sintra municipality for part of the original farm.

This process established certain dichotomies that would be integral to the present planning regime, a regime facilitating a certain degree of freedom in the practices of both local bureaucrats and local residents, continually engaged in processes of negotiation, albeit with different capabilities within unequal relations of power. This major shift in the conditions for subjectivation within the authoritarian regime has been hitherto disregarded. It may be argued that economic liberalization in the late 1950s was accompanied by a *de facto* liberalization of suburbanization which made possible earlier visions for the movement of low-income wage-laborers from downtown tenements to single-family housing peripheries, visually recalling ‘traditional’ architectures.

In this context, local administrators such as those in Sintra produced themselves as entrepreneurial bureaucrats, creating *ad hoc* rules to deal with suburban building. For example, Sintra’s council weekly meeting records implicitly argue that exceptions to planning regulations were acceptable if building was gradual and slow, and particularly if new building extended extant settlements; the contrasting terms “unlicensed constructions” and “clandestine constructions” seem to have been employed accordingly.

Chapter Four
Clandestine Knowledge, 1973-2001

4.1. Social Science and Housing in Portugal

4.1.1. Before Exceptional Laws: Clandestine Knowledge until 1973

Even though suburban subdivisions such as Brandoa emerged only in the late 1950s, it is crucial to understand the ways in which scholarly reactions to such spaces can be understood in the context of an earlier concern for the supposedly less permanent buildings in the capital's "clandestine" neighborhoods of early Twentieth Century, where residents did not own formal property—even though they often paid an informal rent. In this context, it seemed adequate to review only those documents produced since 1940. As addressed in the previous chapter, this is the year when the temporary Exposition of the Portuguese World in Lisbon and the inauguration of the permanent Portugal of the Little Ones open-air museum in Coimbra gave a definite form to an imagination that was crucial during the early years of the dictatorship that had started in 1926: the imagination of a "peasant" working-class space that is both integral to national identity and exterior to a monumental urbanity that is historical. It is partially in relation to this imagination that debates on housing and on planning unfolded during the following decades. In addition, even if Portugal remained officially neutral during the Second World War, the war conditions after the beginning of hostilities in the Western Front in 1940 ultimately entailed a rupture of the consensus that had been established during the 1930s within the Portuguese elite—a consensus on the avoidance of excessive industrialization and urbanization (Rosas [1990] 1995).

One text that is representative of the ways in which the "housing problem" was imagined during the 1940s—a decade characterized by industrial strikes and rural revolts—is *Problemas da Habitação* (i.e. *Housing Problems*). This book was published in 1950 by physician Manuel Vicente Moreira, and draws from his work with the population of Lisbon's "shacks" at Vale Escuro (i.e. Dark Valley). The volume includes an extensive and eclectic bibliography on housing "problems" in the six main western European languages. Moreira's first research interest were the disorders of puerperality, the state immediately after giving birth, but from 1932 onwards he started publishing on what he considered "social issues," and after 1935 he focused on housing conditions in Lisbon. It is thus not surprising that a book on housing begins by citing a 1933 German text on *Frauenkunde*, i.e. the science of women: "the social-physician has the duty to examine the patient's housing, as well as the body" (Moreira 1950, vii). Moreira imagines the urbanist as a physician of a feminized city, and *her* ailments must be observed and registered so that they can be adequately treated.

Moreira is aware of Parker and Unwin's 1903 Letchworth Garden City, an experiment integral to the English reaction to the conditions of the Nineteenth-Century industrial cities. But he disregards Howard's ideas on self-government—what Moreira explicitly foregrounds is the central state's duty in taking care of its workers in order to avoid violent revolt: he cites Le

Corbusier's 1942 *La Maison des Hommes* (i.e. *The House of Men*), coauthored with Pierrefeu during the collaboration with the Vichy regime, and he includes a reference to a 1942 text by Heinrich Himmler on the settlement of the eastern territories briefly conquered by Germany. In addition, references to four speeches by António de Oliveira Salazar support Moreira's eulogy of Portugal's dictator and of his management of the "proletariat" through the fostering of home ownership. As mentioned in the introduction to this dissertation, Moreira stated that "Salazar has shown a generous statesman's vision, as he intends to create small owners through the constitution of urban and rural *casais de família* [i.e. homesteads]" (Ibid. ix). Moreira adds: "I think I am fulfilling my duty by documenting the miseries of Lisbon and proletarian insufficiencies, not with the negative end of revolt, but wanting the opposite: *to avoid revolt by eliminating its causes*" (Ibid. xiii; emphasis added).

During the late 1940s and the 1950s, new central state institutions instead of individuals such as Moreira would start producing quantitative surveys on housing and publishing the results. For example, in 1950 the National Statistics Institute published a *Survey on the Conditions of Housing for Families*. By 1963 the Public Works Ministry could convey through the beforementioned *Housing in Portugal* report the imagination of an imminent end of the supposedly few remaining "shacks" through planning (MOP 1963, 27). According to the report, the "agglomerations of precarious buildings (tin neighborhoods)" had emerged during the purportedly indifferent First Republic regime that lasted from 1910 to 1926, but immediately after its overthrow the new regime had swiftly demolished the more "insalubrious neighborhoods constituting grave danger for the *social evolution* of the population," as mentioned in the first chapter of the dissertation (Ibid. 11; emphasis added).

Understandably, the report—directed by an architect, Alves de Sousa—focuses on the possibilities of technical solutions implemented by the state for its population: the ministry was then led by Eduardo de Arantes e Oliveira, the founder and director of the beforementioned National Laboratory of Civil Engineering since 1947. For Oliveira, large-scale state public works were the foundation of national development; but housing itself could be managed at a distance. Indeed, the report announced that one of the ministerial campaigns fostered "self-building and the recourse to small capital applied in the building of owned housing" (Ibid. 23). The informal processes of subdivision and building that had emerged in the Lisbon area at least five years before the report's publication are not mentioned at all, even though detailed newspaper reports had already exposed these supposedly hidden spaces in 1962, as the dissertation has addressed. However, what was going on in places such as Brandoa in 1963, and especially what had started being created in the preceding year in Casal de Cambra, presented similarities to the vision espoused in the state's housing policy.

Also in 1963, the housing "problem" was addressed in Portugal for the first time in the context of the social sciences in the book *Problematics of Housing in Portugal*, written by economist and housing expert Raul da Silva Pereira (Pereira 1963). Similarly to the ministerial report, Silva Pereira's text mostly disregards the emergence of informal subdivisions, focusing instead on influencing national housing policy. The text was also published in two parts in the first two editions of *Análise Social* (i.e. *Social Analysis*), the new journal of the Social

Investigations Office, founded in the previous year by economist Adérito Nunes.²⁶⁰ Silva Pereira's text was thus part of a project for a social science explicitly imagined as fostering development and modernization within the framework of the authoritarian regime. In particular, the collaborators of Adérito Nunes—including Silva Pereira—were concerned with what they characterized as the social dimension of development. They were explicitly inspired by the contemporary discourse on development diffused by the Catholic Church, through texts like *Mater et Magistra* (i.e. Mother and Teacher), written by Pope John XXIII in 1961.

Only after the timid political liberalization after Salazar's replacement by Marcelo Caetano as head of government in 1968 did a new generation of scholars start doing institutionalized research on informal suburban subdivisions in the Lisbon area. Such scholars—no longer exclusively male—increasingly invoked transnational debates within the social sciences. In 1972, the Center for Geographic Studies published the beforementioned report by geographer Teresa Barata Salgueiro, *Clandestine Neighborhoods in the Periphery of Lisbon* (Salgueiro 1972).²⁶¹ This report is still today the most exhaustive published study on informalized neighborhoods in the Lisbon area. Salgueiro offered a definition of “clandestine” neighborhoods as “perfectly defined ensembles, segregated from other built grids,” but part of the city. In addition, in “clandestine” neighborhoods building is done without municipal licenses. The report addresses only those neighborhoods where permanent residence is predominant. Salgueiro had been motivated by her work as an undergraduate intern for GPA, the private office led by architect Maurício Vasconcelos that surveyed neighborhoods and created plans for their “recovery.” As mentioned earlier, the office had been hired by the Oeiras and Lisbon municipalities to do an urbanization plan for Brandoa in 1970. In the report, Salgueiro cites Catalan architect Manuel Solá-Morales, who at the same time was doing research on “marginal” urbanization in the Barcelona area, and Roque Laia—a Portuguese lawyer interested in housing and in cooperative decision-making. Only after the beginning of political democratization in 1974 would transnational debates on housing briefly encompass Lisbon's “clandestine” neighborhoods.

4.1.2. The Critique of Semiperipheral Development in the 1970s

By the early 1980s, two young geographers working in English universities developed papers on illegalized settlement in the Lisbon area. These drew from the work of Salgueiro as it was published for a larger audience—in a summarized form—after the 1974 Revolution that ended the dictatorship. In 1981, Allan Williams published a short article on “Portugal's Illegal

²⁶⁰ Adérito Nunes had been president of the Catholic Universitarian Youth, and in 1972 he founded the first Sociology teaching program in Portugal. The Social Investigations Office that he founded was then part of ISCTE, the Portuguese acronym for the Higher Institute of Economic and Financial Sciences; the office would later become the present-day Social Sciences Institute of the University of Lisbon, one of Portugal's two main social science research institutes.

²⁶¹ The Center for Geographic Studies, created in 1943 by geographer Orlando Ribeiro, was then part of the High Culture Institute, founded in 1936 within the National Education Ministry.

Housing” (Williams 1981). Two years later, in 1983, Abílio Cardoso, a Portuguese doctoral student of John Short at the University of Reading, published a more extensive paper titled “The Illegal Housing Sector in Portugal” (Cardoso 1983b). In contrast to Salgueiro, Cardoso challenged “clandestine” as an analytic term; in addition, he made reference to a more diverse set of scholars interested in housing, such as John Turner, Rod Burgess, and Janice Perlman. The paper’s most important reference is to Milton Santos and to his argument on an urban economy of underdevelopment that consists of an upper and a lower circuit that are interrelated in space. The conceptualization of illegality is thus related to a critique of capitalist political economy through a critical assessment of processes of dependent development. Unfortunately, Abílio Cardoso’s research was not influential in the period of liberalization and preparation for entry in the European Economic Community that also encompassed other Southern European regions. It is pertinent to remember that Greek geographer Lila Leontidou argued in her valuable 1990 study that postwar Southern European informalities were associated with a *past* status as a semiperiphery from which countries such as Portugal had been elevated (Leontidou 1990).

4.1.3. Clandestine Culture in 1980s Housing Research

In this context, arguments on informal housing within a capitalist political economy were disregarded. By the mid-1980s, architects and sociologists focusing on issues of representation and presenting arguments on a purported “ruralization of the urban” started dominating the scholarly debate on informalized settlements in Portugal. As briefly mentioned in the first chapter, residents themselves started foregrounding the pastoral much earlier, but mainly to distinguish their own neighborhoods from early clandestinity in Brandoa and elsewhere, and to defend their practices through claiming an absence of profitable activities. In an interview to a journalist of the daily newspaper *A Capital* published on May 10, 1972, one of the owners at the Casal de Cambra neighborhood commented: “Since I moved here, I even eat better. These airs are wonderful.” The interviewee Anselmo Rodrigues supposedly described thus what the reporter characterized as “the fundamental difference between Brandoa and Casal de Cambra”: “here nobody exploits nobody. Folks made the houses to live. They are not for sale nor for renting.”²⁶²

The classification of “clandestine” suburban environments as “rural” was restated by the mid-1980s when architects such as Bruno Soares, formerly of GPA, began publishing scholarly articles. A seminal article was published by Soares with civil engineer António Ferreira and sociologist Isabel Guerra in July 1985 in *Sociedade e Território* (i.e. Society and Territory) (Soares, Ferreira and Guerra 1985). The latter is an interdisciplinary journal founded in 1984 by Bruno Soares and António Ferreira, a member of the left wing of the Socialist Party, with Arnaldo Fleming, a member of the movement for cooperative housing. The article drew on research conducted during 1983 and 1984 in the Lisbon area with funds provided by the

²⁶² “Urbanização Ameaça Mil Casas na Freguesia de Belas.” [“Urbanization Threatens a Thousand Houses in the Belas Ward.”] *A Capital*. May 10, 1972. The afternoon newspaper *A Capital* was then owned by one of Portugal’s major banks, *Banco Borges & Irmão*, and had a pro-government stance in national affairs (Carvalho and Cardoso 1972, 62).

Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG, i.e. German Research Association), the national research foundation created in 1951 in the Federal Republic of Germany—a country that in 1983 was providing Portugal a major loan through the International Monetary Fund. Research was coordinated by Portuguese architects Soares and Manuel Fernandes de Sá, by Swiss transportation planner Robert Stüssi, and by the DFG representative, Darmstadt planning professor Eugen Bruno.

This research would entail a departure from a debate on the clandestine dominated during the preceding decade by economic geographers such as Salgueiro, influenced both by the Chicago school and by the work of Hägerstrand. Clandestinity became explicitly defined as a manifestation of purported rural traditions under conditions of existence characteristic of a semiperipheral capitalist economy. The architects' shift towards the 'cultural'—albeit inspired by the work of sociologists such as Pierre Bourdieu—participated in a moment of renewed economic liberalization in Portugal. Such framing was also as an attempt to place the clandestine in the realm of unproblematized difference. Indeed, in the early 1970s, many architects of Soares' generation formulated their planning practices as opposition to the dictatorship. They had then perhaps imagined "clandestine" processes of subdivision and building as solely associated with undemocratic, right-wing populism.

For Soares and his co-authors, "cultural factors" were invoked as a way of understanding the clandestine as a form. It corresponded to the "habits and aspirations of a population in rural-urban transition giving preference to detached housing (villa)" (Ibid., 71). However, this explanation entails completely disregarding the contemporary growth of single-family housing for more privileged classes moving to the western suburbs between Lisbon and Cascais, for example. It also ignores how most of the residents of Brandoa or Casal de Cambra from the late 1950s to the late 1970s moved from more central areas of Lisbon to the suburbs. In addition, they note:

"In the conjuncture of the 1960s Portuguese society, in which peasants were transformed into factory workers brusquely, in their adaptation to the city they do not intend to 'urbanize' the rural as is frequently observed in legal zones or clandestine zones for second homes, characteristic of other social groups that organize that space in function of leisure, they intend to 'ruralize the urban' because that is their recent 'habitus'" (Ibid., 75).

Finally, Soares and his co-authors argue that there is a supposed capacity of residents to "affront legality" that is possibly due to an attitude of "institutional exteriority" that has "profound roots in traditional rural culture" (Ibid.).

One of the specters haunting this argument is an ideal-typical suburbanization of the "middle classes" in Europe and in the United States that serves as a contrast to the "savage" urbanism of the Lisbon peripheries (Ibid.). However, recent literature allows us to note how practices—especially land subdivision techniques—in neighborhoods such as Brandoa or Casal de Cambra actually shared many characteristics with North American working-class suburbs, as I have mentioned previously. By characterizing "clandestine" neighborhoods as traditional and

rural, scholars such as Soares do not acknowledge the ways in which such suburban environments disrupt reductive categorizations of the urban. In particular, they seem to avoid challenging post-revolutionary planning engaged in interning the working-class in state-built collective housing while maintaining the clandestine outside the realm of formality.

4.2. Ideas of Participation

This section addresses how the existence of increasingly illegalized practices of informal suburban subdivision and house building was problematized by professional architects in the Lisbon area, and how in the process two concepts emerged that would be relevant for architectural discourse and to the legitimation of the profession in Portuguese society: the idea of “popular participation” and the idea of the “ordinary.”

The foregrounding of the first concept, “popular participation,” was part of a larger debate, one in which John Turner played a major role. The literature on Portugal has privileged histories of the beforementioned SAAL program that existed during the revolutionary period in 1974 and 1975, after the military coup that forced Caetano to exile and enabled the beginning of political democratization and the end of the occupation of colonies in Africa and elsewhere.

This section will show how popular participation was however foregrounded as an important category in architectural discourse from the late 1960s onwards by architects concerned with clandestinity in the Lisbon suburbs, under the conditions of limited political liberalization initially created by the new dictator, Marcelo Caetano. Different practices were proposed, not only by opposition architects that have been celebrated by the professional knowledge apparatus—like Teotónio Pereira—but also by lesser known firms that also did work for central state institutions and municipalities, such as PRODAC.

After the end of the SAAL program, participation for an architecture of opposition was increasingly neglected. However, the invocation of the clandestine was rearticulated by architects envisioning a popularized architecture for the private market. From the early 1980s onwards, Lisbon architects such as Manuel Vicente or Manuel Graça Dias articulate a discourse on the possibilities of valuing “ordinary” spaces for professional design.

The section contributes to my argument that it is crucial for a history of the architectural profession to understand how the clandestine was an expert concept constructed through a myriad of texts and practices; and how “clandestine” space was an *actant*, shaping architects’ subjectivities.²⁶³ I am not arguing that the effects of illegalized informal neighborhoods on architects were central to the construction of the profession. However, it is necessary for a genealogy of professional legitimacy to understand such effects—understand how the clandestine made professional architects act—instead of “filtering out” (Latour 2005, 55) the

²⁶³ Drawing from literary theory, Bruno Latour proposes the use of the term “actant” as part of an argument on how a specific action may be figured in different ways, critiquing a sociology “of the social” that has “to filter out everything which does not look in advance like a uniformed ‘social actor’” (Latour 2005, 55).

clandestine as an illegitimate actant. A history of the profession can address how professional theories of action have defined informally created housing as an intermediary.²⁶⁴

Past research on professional discourse elsewhere has noted how architects have incorporated a figuration of urban informality in the construction of a legitimacy of architectural expertise—even though as recently as 1992 the anthropologist Lisa Peattie argued that informal housing had been very rarely “represented as worth aesthetic attention” (Peattie 1992, 24).²⁶⁵ Drawing on the work of Walter Benjamin, Ananya Roy calls this figurative operation “the aestheticization of poverty,” through which “the aesthetic imagination sees the squatter settlements as organic beauty, a museum-like space that is pure and clean” (Roy 2004b, 296). Roy compares such representations with “the practices of colonial elites who sought to recover spaces of native tradition amidst the modernization of colonial planning” (Ibid.). In contemporary housing development practices in South Asia, aestheticization practices are often associated with an “ideology of space—that what is redeveloped is space and buildings rather than people’s socioeconomic experience” (Ibid., 298). This section shows how Portuguese architects developing a domain of professional expertise under conditions of economic liberalization from the early 1980s onwards argued precisely that also the clandestine merited “aesthetic attention,” deploying formal elements of informally created housing not only for state-built housing for low-income households—but also for the spaces of normative urbanity.

This professional deployment of the taste of the working-class for distinction has been rarely described. More frequently, scholarship has addressed how workers articulate the taste of the privileged. Commenting on what she called the “aesthetics of security” in 1990s São Paulo, anthropologist Teresa Caldeira argues that “this code encapsulates elements of security in a discourse of taste and transforms it into a symbol of status” (Caldeira 2000, 292). Caldeira notes how this aesthetics, initially deployed in “middle- and upper-class areas” was increasingly articulated by low-income households for distinction: “a well-enclosed house with an aura of place definitively marks the distance between a house and a *cortiço* or a favela” (Ibid., 295).²⁶⁶ In contrast, in Lisbon from the 1980s onwards, elements of what can be called an aesthetics of informality were often deployed in the design of new spaces of consumption and sociability for the city’s intellectual elite, notably in the restaurants and movie theaters designed by the office of the architect Manuel Graça Dias—who also designed the new headquarters for the architects’ professional association, inaugurated in 1994, and the Portuguese pavilion at the 1992 Seville exposition.

²⁶⁴ Drawing on Laurent Thévenot’s research on how “different kinds of agency and capacity are attributed to human and non-human entities” (Thévenot 2002), Bruno Latour has defended that “actors are also able to propose their own *theories of action* to explain how agencies’ effects are carried over” (Latour 2005, 57; emphasis in the original).

²⁶⁵ Peattie noted how “while the architecture produced by owner improvisation in England has its partisans . . . Bernard Rudofsky’s influential *Architecture Without Architects* dwells fondly on Mediterranean cliff villages and African tribal settlements and gives the Brazilian *favela* and Venezuelan *barrio* the go-by” (Peattie 1992, 24). Peattie proposed then the notion of a politics of aesthetic perception.

²⁶⁶ Caldeira thus argues against “a long tradition in aesthetic studies which maintains that poor people’s taste is a function of necessity . . . a recent, elaborate version of this view is presented by Bourdieu . . . who claims that the working classes are confined to the ‘choice of the necessary’” (Caldeira 2000, 68).

Dias argues explicitly for a conceptualization of “clandestine” architecture as the product of liberating practices, deploying the tropes of a psychoanalysis of the social. Informally built housing was purportedly free from the “repression” imposed by a superego-like modernism and drawing from a kind of collective id. In the 1996 documentary *Architectures without Architects* produced for an arts program of the state television, Dias states that the “clandestine” was:

“popular architecture, built with the taste and the love that is given to whole things, to whole lives, to the most immediate impulses, to a will and a desire that is not repressed and not conditioned.”²⁶⁷

Furthermore, “clandestine” areas were supposedly characterized by “a current of *liberty* and joy confronting established tastes.” More than any scholarly research, Graça Dias’ 1990s texts, radio shows and television programs were crucial for the diffusion of a celebratory perspective on illegalized housing in the Lisbon area within the field of professional expertise. Such works explicitly articulated an image of the clandestine with an *aestheticized* conceptualization of autonomy, a term that had been central to the work of architects like John Turner or Teotónio Pereira in the 1960s.

4.2.1. Participation and the State in the Late Dictatorship

“Popular participation” was first adopted as an important concept by official planning expertise in the 1969 *Colóquio sobre Política da Habitação* (i.e. Conference on Housing Policy), organized by the Ministry of Public Works and held from June 30 to July 5 in Lisbon. For example, architect Reis Álvaro presented a thesis on the value of participation titled “Self-building.” The final report foregrounded the deployment of “evolutive housing . . . for the use of the populations with greater economical insufficiencies” (MOP 1969, 14) and of “evolutive urbanization” (Ibid., 18). In addition, “participation” should be employed both in the creation of plans and in their implementation (Ibid., 15).²⁶⁸ The organization of the *Colóquio* can be understood as part of Caetano’s project for a limited political liberalization. As architectural historian José António Bandeirinha argues, the meeting was part of the “reinforcement of the influence within the government of a generation of technocrats recruited from the large economic groups and the universities” (Bandeirinha 2007, 26).

²⁶⁷ *Arquitecturas Sem Arquitectos* [*Architectures Without Architects*,] directed by Edgar Feldman (1996).

²⁶⁸ The final report of the *Colóquio*, prepared by a committee including architect Nuno Portas, stated that “the public sector will notably have to provide *infrastructured places* for the installation of dwellings and foster, through technical and economical assistance, the *capacities* of cooperation, initiative and work of the *populations*, to be applied in the construction or in the recuperation of their own housing” (MOP 1969, 12; emphasis in the original). This solution was considered adequate for the 25 percent of the Portuguese population that were classified by the report as “insolvent families” (Ibid.). In particular, the report mentioned the deployment of “formulas of building *nuclear evolutive housing* in land temporarily occupied, under a regime of *direito de superfície* [i.e. surface rights]” (Ibid.; emphasis added). It is noteworthy that the committee defended that the legal possibility of demolition and eviction of households in “valid constructions” should be eliminated (Ibid., 13).

Self-help policies for European colonial cities in Africa and Asia had been discussed in Lisbon in 1952, at the Twenty-first Congress of the International Federation for Housing and Planning, which was devoted partly to the theme of “Housing in Tropical Climates.”²⁶⁹ By the early 1960s, Portuguese housing researchers certainly considered development research defenses of “aided self-help” in the preparation for the 1963 visit of UNECE housing experts. As mentioned earlier, the report prepared then by the Ministry of Public Works briefly mentioned how the Portuguese government envisioned fostering “self-building” for housing provision (MOP 1963, 23). In the same year, housing scholar Raúl da Silva Pereira published the beforementioned article “Problematics of Housing in Portugal” in *Análise Social*, addressing rural self-building through housing cooperatives as one of the possibilities for a new national housing policy (Pereira 1963). Pereira drew from two 1950s editions of the United Nations bulletin *Housing and Town and Country Planning*: “Housing in the Tropics,” published in 1952, and “Housing through Non-Profit Organizations,” published in 1956. In addition, Silva Pereira noted how self-building was being supported in France by the *Union Nationale des Castors*, notably in the Bordeaux region.²⁷⁰ For Pereira, the specter of the clandestine supported the argument for the development of a national state policy on housing, particularly to condition the rise of land prices induced by planning itself:

“one of the causes that most directly provokes a rise in the price of land is the preparation of urbanization plans . . . thus, *more modest building* becomes more distant from the new urbanized areas, and in those new areas yet to be urbanized one faces later the problems generated by the chaotic presence of those displaced buildings, that do not obey to any rules of insertion in the landscape and that constitute agglomerations that do not have services, or areas for rest and conviviality, or many other elements that define an

²⁶⁹ By the early 1950s, French colonial planners like engineer Jean-Henri Calsat had also adopted aided self-help housing policies (Harris 2008, 27). In contrast, Portuguese architect João António de Aguiar, who also presented at the 1952 conference, did not explicitly mention the concept of self-help (Aguiar 1952), even though the plan for Mozambique’s capital that he concluded in the same year entailed the building of “indigenous” peripheries under conditions of informality, as recent research evinces (Morais 2001).

²⁷⁰ The *Union Nationale des Castors* (i.e. National Union of Beavers) is an association of the regional self-building cooperatives that started emerging in France in 1948, immediately after the end of the Second World War. In 1950, the *Union* was created by Michel Anselme with the purpose of coordinating the action of the various *Castors*’ cooperatives. Brian Newsome describes how “inspired by Catholic youth and adult organizations like the *Jeunesse ouvrière chrétienne* and the *Mouvement populaire des familles*, the *Castors* were christian workers who built their own homes in their spare time. Between 1948 and 1952, the worker-priest Étienne Damoran led an association of *Castors* to build their first garden city of 150 houses in Pessac, a suburb of Bordeaux. Other groups quickly organized and built garden cities near Nantes, Angers, Le Mans, Saumur, Nancy and Montreuil” (Newsome 2009, 101). Damoran’s association was in fact registered as a “*coopérative d’Habitation à Bon Marché*” (i.e. Affordable Housing Cooperative) called *Comité Ouvrier du Logement* (i.e. Workers’ Committee for Housing), organized with two leaders of the French Confederation of Christian Workers (CFTC), Daniel Bancon and Pierre Merle (Attar, Lourier and Vercollier 1998, 19). In August 1952, the French Ministry for Reconstruction and Urbanism officially recognized the *Union Nationale des Castors*. Between 1948 and 1952, the movement organized the building of 12,108 housing units (Ibid., 21). Henceforth, the *Castors* fostered the self-building of single-family housing in most French regions through the provision of licensing support, technical advice and specific insurance policies.

urban structure. *Around Lisbon agglomerates of this kind are growing*” (Pereira 1963, 250; emphasis added).

Silva Pereira’s evaluation of Lisbon’s unserved residential suburbs as chaotic and unruly was associated with a normative idea of urbanity, and arguably supported his rejection of self-building without “the cooperative movement,” particularly in urban extensions (Ibid., 237). Thus, even though the idea of popular participation was not employed by Silva Pereira in 1963, it is central to his conception of self-building that such a practice must be framed by state “social action plans” (Ibid.), demanding a “wide participation of public services and institutions” (Ibid., 240).

Within the specific field of housing development research, aided self-help housing theory had been developed in the United States from the 1939 onwards, notably through the work of Jacob Crane at the Housing and Home Finance Agency. Crane notably brought the seminal self-help programs of Puerto Rico, then a United States colonial territory, to the attention of English-speaking housing experts such as Otto Koenigsberger, Director of Housing at the Ministry of Health for the government of recently independent India.²⁷¹ In the early 1950s, when self-help was being fostered among Partition refugees, the latter wrote an important article on “New Towns in India” (Harris 1998, 180).²⁷² At the same time, the United Nations also started promoting self-help housing for postcolonial development elsewhere in Asia and in Africa, for example through documents such as a 1957 report by Charles Abrams on the British colony of the Gold Coast, published in the year the territory became politically independent as Ghana (Ibid., 177).²⁷³ However, as Richard Harris has shown (Ibid.), such early work was neglected in the influential accounts produced from the mid-1960s onwards by Abrams (1964) and by John Turner (1967 and 1976).

As mentioned in the second chapter, during the 1960s John Turner reconceptualized development self-help through his studies in the suburbs of Lima, Peru, valuably challenging dominant but reductive understandings of Oscar Lewis’ “culture of poverty” idea.²⁷⁴ As Colin Ward (1924-2010) recalls, Turner had initially been influenced by a 1948 article of the Italian architect Giancarlo de Carlo (1919-2005), titled “*Il problema della casa*” (i.e. “The problem of the house”), whose translation by Ward was published in British anarchist journal *Freedom* in the following year (Ward 2000, 45).²⁷⁵ Turner foregrounded the possibilities of autonomy in spatial production, and his ideas were also diffused within the disciplinary field of design through

²⁷¹ Puerto Rico was granted additional political autonomy when it became a Commonwealth in 1950.

²⁷² As mentioned earlier, Geddes himself developed his ideas on self-help in colonial India in the 1910s (Hall [1988] 2002, 263).

²⁷³ The Gold Coast became independent as Ghana in 1957.

²⁷⁴ As Peter Hall notes, for Oscar Lewis the “culture of poverty” corresponded to a reasonable “design for living” (Hall [1988] 2002, 272).

²⁷⁵ Carlo later became one the main members of the Team X architects’ group.

publication in journals such as *Architectural Design*, read by modernist architects in Portugal and elsewhere.^{276 277}

Self-help or self-building also became relevant in 1960s theories on future urbanities and policies for the management of extant cities in the United States and in Britain, often proposed by professional architects. Before the Second World War, Frank Lloyd Wright's proposal for "Broadacre City" relied on the idea that many residents would build their own housing, or at least manage the process (Wright [1935] 1996). During the 1960s, Christopher Alexander developed work on this idea at Berkeley (Hall [1988] 2002, 280). In 1967, sociologist Herbert Gans published *The Levittowners*, a seminal study of suburban life which was read in the United Kingdom as showing "how a spirit of community flourished within a despised form of American suburban speculative housing" (Barker 1999, 95). By the end of the decade, urban scholars in Western Europe were articulating the idea of self-help with critiques of modernist planning, in countries such as Portugal or Britain. For example, in March 1969 architectural critic Reyner Banham, journalist and editor Paul Barker, geographer Peter Hall and architect Cedric Price published a special issue of the weekly *New Society* magazine titled "Non-Plan: an Experiment in Freedom."²⁷⁸

Nevertheless, in late 1960s Portugal the concept of popular participation was more often foregrounded in debates on state housing policies than the terms self-help or self-building. Popular participation had emerged as part of a different field within the postwar development project; if aided self-building was envisioned as an adequate mode of housing provision for both rural and urban areas in colonies or postcolonies, popular participation was initially conceptualized as an expert technique necessary for rural development. The concept was thus initially developed through rural "community development" programs by United Nations institutions from the early 1950s onwards (UN 1971). By the mid-1950s, Western European government were creating community development policies, for example for "problem areas" in Holland (Ibid. 169). In the 1958 Palermo Seminar sponsored by the United Nations, similar policies for rural areas in northeastern Greece and Sardinia were discussed (Ibid. 170). In the case of Italy, such policies also involved the European Productivity Agency created by the OEEC in 1953; Portugal had been one of the founding members of the agency. Urban community development was debated in the following United Nations Seminars, in Bristol in 1959 and

²⁷⁶ Turner published in *Architectural Design* in 1963 and 1968, after he met the journal's editor, architect Monica Pidgeon, in Peru in 1962. According to Turner himself, "Monica swept me into writing my first essays on housing after a tour of the *barriadas* of Lima which we contemplated together while standing on the ruined Incaic citadel of Pachacamac . . . thanks to her own and Pat Crooke's heroic editorship, *Dwelling Resources in Latin America* appeared as a special issue of *Architectural Design* in August, 1963" (Turner 1976, 1).

²⁷⁷ In the decade following the end of the Second World War, challenges to the dominant discourse of state-led development were also being proposed by neoliberal economists like Milton Friedman. Friedman argued that the United States' aid program "has tended to strengthen the role of the government sector in general economic activity relative to the private sector. Yet democracy and freedom have never been either attained or maintained except in communities in which the bulk of economic activity is organized through private enterprise" ([1958] 1995, 4).

²⁷⁸ In 1970, Sennett published the influential *Uses of Disorder* (Hall [1988] 2002, 282). Later in the decade, British architect Rod Hackney started proposing the idea of the "community architect" (Ibid., 291).

Athens in 1961. In these meetings, “the question of the relationship of local and regional planning to community development arose . . . the rapid expansion of urban agglomerations created the need in several municipalities to strengthen the communication with and participation of the population in making and implementing plans.” Even though during the 1960s “the application of the basic ideas of community development [was] by no means generally accepted in western Europe, ideas and information about it have certainly contributed to facilitating and extending popular participation” (Ibid. 171). For example, the London branch of Lisbon’s Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation sponsored in 1965 the creation of a study group on the training of community development experts, later publishing a report titled *Community Work and Social Change* in London (Lochhead 1974, 11).²⁷⁹ However, the most important deployment of the discourse of participation for urban development was undertaken in United States’ “slums.” In the Model Cities program of the Johnson administration, created in 1966, “participation” was part of a vision for “upgrading a whole neighborhood at a time” (Hall [1988] 2002, 284).²⁸⁰

In the Portuguese field of expertise, and particularly in the 1969 *Colóquio sobre a Política da Habitação*, participation was also seen as an important element for the urban housing development. Yet, in contrast to other Western European countries and to the United States, the eulogy of participation was not associated with an implicit or explicit challenge to past state intervention in housing. Instead, participation was articulated in a moment of limited expansion of the state apparatus of housing production. As the final report of the 1969 *Colóquio* argues, “the State has to assume the rightful role as *coordinator and general organizer* of all the activities in the housing sector” (MOP 1969, 12), notably impeding the sale of land for its “potential value” (Ibid., 21).²⁸¹

Opposition architects like Nuno Teotónio Pereira were highly critical of the housing development project delineated in the 1969 *Colóquio*. In an article distributed in secrecy in September 1969,²⁸² Pereira argued that the *Colóquio* had been an “initiative characteristic of a

²⁷⁹ The study group was chaired by social work researcher Eileen Youngusband. The Gulbenkian Foundation had been founded in 1956 in Lisbon after the death of Calouste Gulbenkian, an Istanbul Armenian oil industrialist and art collector who settled in then neutral Portugal during the Second World War. Gulbenkian had been the organizer of the creation of the Iraq Petroleum Company in 1912, then called Turkish Petroleum Company.

²⁸⁰ Frieden and Kaplan noted how the idea of “participation” was foregrounded in the Model Cities program in *The Politics of Neglect*, published in 1975 (Hall [1988] 2002, 283). Charles Haar described the program as “the high point of technicians’ dominance” (Haar 1975, 204). Peter Hall has argued that the program was characterized by “extreme centralization wrapped in the trappings of local community participation” (Hall [1988] 2002, 284).

²⁸¹ “*Potential value*: corresponds to an essentially lucrative use that would not have to submit to the limitations imposed by extant infrastructures and by the regulations of the urbanization plans” (MOP 1969, 21; emphasis in the original). “Potential value” was opposed to “social value.” In consequence, the final report of the *Colóquio* defended the creation by the state of land price controls in “urban expansion areas” and even the “acquisition of vast *areas for urban expansion*” by the central state (Ibid., 22).

²⁸² Pereira’s article was included in the September 1969 edition of the informally published *Cadernos Necessários* (i.e. Necessary Notebooks), organized by lawyer Mário Brochado Coelho in Porto. Both Pereira and Coelho had been involved in 1966 in the creation of the opposition’s “cultural cooperative” *Confronto* in Porto. The cooperative was closed by the regime in 1972.

new phase of the regime” that was described as corresponding to a project of “neo-capitalism.”²⁸³ Events such as the *Colóquio* corresponded to a

“new way, less brutal and more insidious, of keeping public opinion passive, delegating the solution to their problems, not anymore to a clique of hermetic politicians, but instead to an elite of knowing and graceful technicians” (Pereira [1969b] 1996, 101).

For Teotónio Pereira, the fostering of the management of spatial production by housing expertise was associated with the regime’s limited political liberalization. In addition, liberalization entailed the expansion of problematization as a governmental technique and the framing of spatial inequalities as a technical problem. During the Salazar dictatorship, only “tin neighborhoods, where a minority of those deserted by luck lived” were a “social problem” (Ibid.). In the new Caetano dictatorship, citizens were exposed to a purportedly free technical debate: “it is necessary to create the sensation that the existence of social problems is recognized, that those problems are debated with freedom at the level of competencies and that the necessary solutions are being actively prepared” (Ibid.).

However, the architects who opposed the regime like Teotónio Pereira had also become extremely interested in the concept of participation by the late 1960s. For example, in the *Encontro Nacional de Arquitectos* (i.e. National Meeting of Architects) held in December 1969 in Lisbon, one of the five main themes was “*Participação popular e trabalho do arquitecto no desenvolvimento urbano*” (i.e. “Popular participation and the architect’s work in urban development”). At the meeting, Teotónio Pereira formed a working group called the *Grupo de Intervenção no Meio Urbano* (i.e. Urban Environment Intervention Group), interested in fostering “common intervention” and “a process of mutual enlightenment” between the “populations” and the “technicians” (Pereira [1969c] 1996, 109). Even though the term “clandestine” was not employed, the working group obviously intended to intervene in informally created areas: Pereira noted that the group’s priority should be to work in Lisbon’s “belt,” supposedly characterized by “lack of control” and “speculation” (Ibid., 110).²⁸⁴

Before the Lisbon *Colóquio*, Pereira had addressed informally suburban subdivisions explicitly, eulogizing popular “initiative” while arguing that architects were necessary to manage

²⁸³ The term “neo-capitalism” had been popularized by Belgian Marxist theorist Ernest Mandel. In “The Economics of Neo-Capitalism,” published in 1964 in the first edition of the British *Socialist Register*, Mandel proposed that in the uneven development of “neo-capitalist growth” the economy of Western and Central Europe “has expanded, so to speak, as a system of concentric circles, with Western Germany’s growth at the centre . . . even peripheral countries like Spain, Greece and Ireland (and in the future possibly even Portugal and Turkey, if the expansion lasts long enough . . .) have been drawn into the same whirlpool of capitalist expansion” (Mandel 1964, 59). Mandel suggested that this mode of production requires an intensification of economic programming by the state (Ibid., 61), which includes the construction industry. In this context, technocratic “programming” is opposed to “socialist democratic planning,” *not* to autonomous practices: “as long as the economy is capitalistic, workers should refuse all co-responsibility in management” in the “battle against the *technocrats* and their employers” (Ibid., 67; emphasis added).

²⁸⁴ He would later state that the group was “one of the roots of SAAL” (Pereira [1979] 1996, 159).

the purportedly inevitable and undesirable lack of order. However, the introduction of aided self-help policies required a transformation of the subjectivity of expertise:

“the experience that has been accumulated in other countries . . . cannot be followed among us . . . without a mentality able to trade the finished work, but for the few, for the always imperfect, but progressive work, of a collectivity launched in a common enterprise; and capable above all of rejecting an image of the city divided into fronts and rears, accepting another one where all have a place, *within ordered development schemes*” (Pereira [1969a] 1996, 96).

This defense of the productive effects of aided self-help for expert subjectivity was made at a professional meeting in January 1969, held in the city of Funchal, the capital of the island of Madeira. In his presentation “Habitações para o maior número” (i.e. “Housing for the greatest number”) for the *Colóquio de Urbanismo* (i.e. Urbanism Colloquium), Teotónio Pereira foregrounded the idea of “unused resources,” criticizing rehousing neighborhoods completely built by state entities. In contrast, “the populations left with their own resources, have been very often able . . . to achieve precarious housing that they improve gradually. This phenomenon, usually verified in rural regions, is particularly visible in Lisbon’s suburban region, through the agglomerations of shack-like houses or the so-called clandestine neighborhoods” (Ibid., 93). Teotónio Pereira’s presentation cited the 1966 book *Housing and Urbanism in Portugal* by housing scholar Raul da Silva Pereira, who as we saw articulated 1950s work on aided self-help by United Nations institutions with an evocation of the practices of French self-building associations for his defense of cooperative housing. In addition, Teotónio Pereira implicitly drew from the perspectives of John Turner and Charles Abrams on *autoconstrução* (i.e. self-building). Echoing early dictatorship calls for housing for “social promotion,”²⁸⁵ Pereira claimed that “it is this capital, a product of initiative . . . that one must use to the full, channeling in an ordered form and orienting towards a gradual urban expansion” (Ibid. 94).²⁸⁶

In the early 1970s, several organizations were engaged in self-building projects in Portugal. One example was the Vale Fundão project in the Chelas area of Lisbon, whose initial budget was approved in March 1972. Vale Fundão was the pilot project of a public-private partnership between the Ministry of Corporations, Social Providence, Health and Assistance and the private organization PRODAC, the Association for Productivity in Self-Building. PRODAC was led by engineer Mário Pinto Coelho and by architect Reis Álvaro, who had been one of the

²⁸⁵ The concept of *promoção social* (i.e. social promotion) was also employed in the final report of the ministerial *Colóquio*: “another question for *political decision* is defining how . . . social *promotion* and common *access* to *collective goods* should be fostered” (MOP 1969, 6; emphasis in the original).

²⁸⁶ Teotónio Pereira evoked how professional practices of ordering “unused resources” had been deployed in “countries of underdeveloped economy, or with very large housing deficits, [that] have practiced precisely a housing policy envisioning the support to this kind of self-building, achieving through the latter, not only the massive building of new housing, but also the social promotion of the interested populations, through the framing and rationalization of their efforts. The most conclusive examples are found in countries in northern Africa, the Middle East and Latin America” (Pereira [1969c] 1996, 94).

contributors to the debate on participation in the July 1969 *Colóquio sobre a Política da Habitação*.²⁸⁷ The Minister—who backed the project personally—was physician Baltasar Rebelo de Sousa, a reformist politician who not only supported Caetano’s limited liberalization project, but also the idea of a transition towards political democracy.²⁸⁸

The Vale Fundão project was devised to rehouse from October 1972 onwards 2,058 households who were forcibly evicted from several “shack” neighborhoods in the Chelas area, notably the *Bairro Chinês* (i.e. Chinese Neighborhood). Self-building was done with construction materials whose acquisition was made possible by a loan of 60 million Escudos provided to PRODAC by the state’s *Fundo Nacional de Abono de Família* (i.e. National Fund for Family Allowances). The part of the loan for which each household was responsible was ascertained according to the number of rooms of the self-built house, and was supposed to be repaid through PRODAC to the National Fund monthly over twelve years, until 1983.²⁸⁹ After the repayment of the loan, the families—who had received no compensation for construction labor—would own the building itself, but continue paying a monthly rent for the municipal lot. Public infrastructure, including pedagogic facilities, was provided by the Lisbon municipality, who expropriated some private land for the project. The management of the project was shared by PRODAC and by a “Neighborhood Commission” including 18 residents.

In February 1972, one month before the initial budget was approved, an article titled “Self-Building: ‘Prodac’ Does,” appeared on the Lisbon weekly magazine *Observador* (i.e. *Observer*).²⁹⁰ According to the reporter, PRODAC defended “organized self-building, and with well-defined goals.” Engineer Mário Pinto Coelho framed “Prodac” as part of a set of “self-building movements” in Portugal; for him, “self-building” meant “participation, especially in the

²⁸⁷ At the time, self-building projects were also being prepared in the inland town of Aguiar da Beira, by a group led by Catholic priest José Augusto Fonseca, and in Coimbra, by MONAC (i.e. *Movimento Nacional de Auto-Construção*). The latter group had been active at least since the early 1960s, as the housing scholar Raúl da Silva Pereira had noted (Pereira 1963, 237).

²⁸⁸ Rebelo de Sousa had been a Sub-secretary of State at the Ministry of National Education from 1955 to 1961. After Caetano’s nomination as government head in 1968, Rebelo de Sousa became the Governor of Mozambique. In 1970, he returned to Portugal as Caetano’s Minister of Corporations, Social Providence, Health and Assistance. While in this position, as Tiago Fernandes has noted, he defended a transition towards political democracy following the possible election of Caetano as President of the Republic (Fernandes 2006, 24). Furthermore, he accepted a member of the so-called Liberal Wing of the dictatorship, Maria Raquel Ribeiro, as the head of the Ministry’s Directorate-general for Social Assistance (Ibid., 43).

²⁸⁹ The National Fund had been created in 1942 to manage the *abono de família* funds, a “just wage complement” devised to guarantee a minimum “family salary.” The *abono* was created initially only for male wage-laborers who were “family chiefs,” and was financed both by companies and by workers (Pereirinha, Arcanjo and Carolo 2009, 9). The National Fund functioned until 1977.

²⁹⁰ “Autoconstrução: A ‘Prodac’ Faz.” [“Self-Building: ‘Prodac’ Does.”] *Observador*. February 18, 1972. *Observador* was a weekly news magazine published from February 1971 to February 1974. The magazine was printed by the Portuguese publishing house Editorial Verbo, founded in 1958. Funding for Editorial Verbo and for magazines like *Observador* was assured by the cofounder Sebastião Alves, born in a peasant household in an inland hamlet and creator from 1948 onwards of one of Portugal’s foremost pharmaceutical companies, present-day Atral-Cipan. *Observador* was directed by Artur Anselmo, then a student of Romance languages and literatures at Lisbon University.

management of building.” Sometimes, participation could perhaps include “execution,” i.e. construction work by future residents. Nevertheless, he acknowledged that this was “not easy,” because the future residents were employed. Another member of PRODAC, architect Reis Álvaro, noted how the organization was inspired by the debate on “participation” during the *Colóquio sobre Política da Habitação* held in Lisbon in July 1969, defending the idea of “evolutive housing.” Indeed, he stated that “often it is not adequate to transfer people that have always lived in shacks . . . to so-called housing of economic character.” Furthermore, even though the organization foregrounded the rehousing of “shack” residents, Reis Álvaro argued that the conditions of sub-letters were “a bigger problem” for urban housing policies. It is noteworthy how the article does not make explicit references to informal housing in suburban subdivisions, even though such spaces could be considered obvious examples of both “self-building” practices and “evolutive” uses.

In June 1973, the newspaper *Diário de Notícias* reported on a visit by the Minister Rebelo de Sousa and by Lisbon’s vice-mayor to the neighborhood, in an article titled “Two Thousand Families build their own Houses and participate in the Management of the New Neighborhood” (Fig. 4.1). For two hours, the visitors observed some of the houses, and the public buildings constructed by the municipality, such as the Center of Social Action for Community Living, the headquarters for a sports club (the *Oriental Recreativo Clube*), and two kindergartens. The reporter described Vale Fundão as “one of the modes to solve the housing problem, through a program of self-building . . . in which priority is given to the social aspects of housing, more important than the technical and economic aspects, envisioning an integral social promotion founded on individual responsibility and community collaboration.”²⁹¹

By 1983, PRODAC had not been able to repay the National Fund loan, and the debt had been transferred to the Lisbon municipality. The organization itself was integrated in Lisbon’s *Santa Casa da Misericórdia* (i.e. Holy House of Mercy), a state charity institution with its origins in a religious brotherhood established in 1498 by Queen Leonor, and subjected to direct state oversight by the Nineteenth Century liberal regime. Even though the rehousing and self-building process was conducted through a public-private partnership involving the central government, ultimately the Lisbon municipality subjected the residents of Vale Fundão to a state of expectancy not only for ownership, but also for legality. Indeed, by 2007 Lisbon’s mayor claimed in a campaign visit to Vale Fundão that legalization was imminent but complex, explicitly stating that spatial laws were being deployed retroactively: “we still have to approve the urbanistic project and to transfer property to the residents. The idea seems simple, but the juridical part is complex. The law was published after the construction of the neighborhood.”²⁹²

Ultimately, Vale Fundão was one of the few urban neighborhoods created in association with the discourse on popular participation during the Caetano dictatorship. As suggested

²⁹¹ “Duas Mil Famílias Constroem as Suas Próprias Habitações e Participam na Gestão de Novo Bairro.” [“Two Thousand Families build their own Houses and participate in the Management of a New Neighborhood.”] *Diário de Notícias*. June 2, 1973.

²⁹² “Carmona Rodrigues acolhido com mimos no Bairro da Prodac.” [“Carmona Rodrigues welcomed with pampering at the Prodac Neighborhood.”] *Jornal de Notícias*. June 17, 2007.

previously, the post-democratization SAAL program rearticulated this discourse, but historical accounts of SAAL have neglected how the idea of participation was also deployed by architects in private “social action” organizations such as PRODAC, working in close cooperation with the dictatorial government. Influenced by the perspectives created within development scholarship on participation and self-help as means to produce housing in “developing” territories, Portuguese architects articulated a possible role for the profession as an autonomous component of a state housing bureaucracy, possessing a “social” expertise that could order the supposed development of the subjectivities of hitherto working-class urbanites. It can be argued that the purportedly unordered clandestine haunted such professional proposals. Architects like Teotónio Pereira and Reis Álvaro shared a valuation of certain aspects of extant informal subdivision and building, such as self-building practices or the possibility of gradual spatial change. However, for both this valuation was inextricable from a definition of the clandestine as uncontrolled—implicitly or explicitly. Supposedly, architects had the expert knowledge that was most adequate to manage the possibilities of self-building for the state.

4.2.2. The Ordinary and Architectural Design after Political Democratization

After the end of the SAAL program, the performance of participation for an architecture of opposition or reform was increasingly neglected. However, the invocation of the clandestine was rearticulated within a profession envisioning the possibilities of a popular architecture for the private market. As the country entered the present-day period of economic reliberalization from the early 1980s onwards, influential Lisbon architects such as Manuel Vicente or his student Manuel Graça Dias articulated a professional discourse on the idea of spaces characterized as “*vulgar*” (i.e. ordinary) (Vicente, Dias, and Rezende 1991), and as “banal” (Dias [1986] 2005) or “improvised” (Ibid. 2000). Vicente and Dias celebrate the aesthetics of informally created urban buildings, partly inspired by the work undertaken in 1968 in Las Vegas by Denise Scott-Brown and Robert Venturi, for a design studio at Yale University; this work was the basis for *Learning from Las Vegas*, first published in 1972, which foregrounded “ugly and ordinary” architectural forms.²⁹³

Among architects in Porto, Scott-Brown’s foregrounding of the “ordinary” had been articulated during the Caetano dictatorship, as Porto’s architectural school implemented an “experimental regime” of education in 1969 (Costa [1987] 2005, 77), entailing a “virtual

²⁹³ Nevertheless, as Paul Groth notes, “the organized twentieth-century project of taking the ordinary American cultural environment seriously can reasonably be said to have begun in 1951. In that year, an unknown writer and publisher, John Brinckerhoff Jackson, produced the first issue of *Landscape magazine*” (Groth 1997, 2). Jackson had partly modeled his intellectual proposal on French human geography, and was particularly inspired by the late 1940s journal *Revue de géographie humaine et d’ethnologie* (Ibid., 211).

suspension of studio (and of design)” (Gomes 1995, 550).²⁹⁴ As the architectural historian and critic Paulo Varela Gomes describes, the influential Porto architect Siza Vieira was exposed during a visit to the Barcelona architecture school to the work of Scott-Brown and Venturi, experimenting in the following year with a different professional stance towards informally created housing at Caxinas, a working-class seaside area north of Porto. Here, Siza Vieira designed a housing project where “the new building integrated some clandestine constructions [and thus] integrated the ‘ugly’ and the popular” (Ibid.).

Later that decade, Siza’s 1977 plan for the Malagueira suburb of the southern city of Évora, following an invitation by the Communist municipal administration, also integrated the extant informally created neighborhoods.²⁹⁵ Indeed, this was one of the main objectives defined by the 1975 urban expansion plan prepared at Lisbon’s Directorate-General for Urbanization Services, by a team led by architect Campos Matos (Siza [1979] 1997a, 101). As Italian architect Enrico Molteni has recently noted, Siza’s detailed plan articulated the idea of integration by extending the grids established by the informal subdividers, and the building scale defined by the extant informally built houses (Molteni 1997, 25).²⁹⁶ Siza himself defended at the time of the plan’s presentation that one of “the essential principles of the proposal . . . [was the] definition of the urban fabric and of the volumes according to the characteristics of the neighborhoods of Santa Maria and Nossa Senhora da Glória,” rejecting the idea that the form of the latter settlements was “spontaneous” (Siza [1979] 1997b, 98).

Furthermore, Molteni’s evaluation of Malagueira includes claims that also the building types included in the plan were partly inspired by both the region’s vernacular and the adjacent “clandestine” houses, and that open spaces were designed in such a way that “the division in compact nuclei separated by the landscape is similar to the spontaneous occupation of the first clandestine neighborhoods” (Molteni 1997, 35).²⁹⁷ Purportedly, Siza’s design “transforms and rationalizes” the principles of “popular architecture,” devising an “evolutive type” which notably includes the possibility for the construction of up to three additional rooms in the upper floor (Ibid., 29). According to Molteni, Siza himself stated retrospectively: “‘in Malagueira, my

²⁹⁴ “It was asked whether one needed to design, if the problems felt by the ‘people’ in the field of housing and the city could only be solved by the Revolution; what was design good for, if all design initiatives could be absorbed by the ‘system,’ the capitalist technocracy? In the fight against the academic formalism of the 1957 [architectural education] reform, the formalism of analysis was progressively installed” (Gomes 1995, 551). For Gomes, the emergence of a new program of study where studio work was subordinated “to a class analysis” can be understood as a consequence of student protest at a time of purported “weakness of a dictatorship in crisis” (Ibid.).

²⁹⁵ Siza was personally invited in early 1977 by Évora’s Communist mayor Abílio Fernandes, through the architect Jorge Silva, then an elected member of Évora’s municipal council. The mayor—an economist originally from colonial Mozambique—had been elected on December 12, 1976, when the first municipal elections after the beginning of political democratization were held. It is noteworthy that Siza is a supporter of the Portuguese Communist Party.

²⁹⁶ “The extant clandestine neighborhood serves as a reference for the definition of the volumetry of the new neighborhood, in clear opposition to the settlement models of the [nearby] neo-bourgeois villas and the towers of economic housing” (Molteni 1997, 25).

²⁹⁷ Italian architect Enrico Molteni has argued that Malagueira’s housing types “are founded in an observation of the vernacular architecture of Alentejo and of Évora’s *clandestine neighborhoods*” (Molteni 1997, 29; emphasis added).

purpose in depurating forms was due precisely to the intention of doing the minimum so that changes could be assimilated and diverse contributions could be received” (Ibid., 32).

When construction started in 1979, the initial idea of construction through self-building had been abandoned. By the late 1990s, nearly 1,200 houses had been built, housing about 10 percent of Évora’s population. Over the years, the residents of Malagueira have made numerous changes to the neighborhoods’ houses, adding new rooms, replacing the original doors and windows, or partially repainting the originally white façades with lively colors. Among Lisbon professionals, architect Silva Dias had experimented with a similarly “evolutive” perspective on housing in his 1975 design for the Alto do Moinho area near the western suburb of Algés (Gomes 1995, 562).

One of Silva Dias’ Lisbon colleagues, the beforementioned architect Manuel Vicente, developed a very influential articulation of the concept of the ordinary, partly through his work as an architect in two of Portugal’s remaining colonial cities in South and East Asia, Goa and Macao. Before his graduation from Lisbon’s Architecture school in 1962, Vicente had worked in the then Portuguese colony of Goa with architect Luís Vassalo Rosa, before the conquest of the territory by the Indian army in late 1961.²⁹⁸ Afterwards, Vicente travelled to the eastern United States to work with Louis Kahn and to pursue a Master’s degree at the University of Pennsylvania, which he attained in 1969. While in Philadelphia, Vicente was also exposed to the early work of Denise Scott-Brown, well known at the university where she had taught until 1965.²⁹⁹ From the late 1970s onwards, Vicente designed mostly collective housing in the then Portuguese colony of Macao, teaching both at Hong Kong and Lisbon. At the latter Architecture school, where he started teaching in 1976, Vicente exposed his students to designs by Louis Kahn, Robert Venturi and Aldo Rossi, but also to “the clandestine constructions, the ‘emigrant houses,’ the ‘ugly’ and the popular” (Gomes 1995, 556). Later, in 1991, he co-authored a little-known book on the ordinary in colonial Macao’s urbanity and architecture titled *A Glória do Vulgar* (i.e. *The Glory of the Ordinary*) (Vicente, Dias, and Rezende 1991).

In Portugal and elsewhere, architectural writers saw Vicente’s designs in Macao as “easily coexisting” with “the natural language of the user’s occupation” (Wojtowicz 1990, 57), often foregrounding the designs’ purported ordinariness and formal “promiscuity.”³⁰⁰ Portuguese authors in particular were concerned with Vicente’s role in a new history of the recent past, cognizant of the need to articulate a specifically Portuguese postmodernity for both a European and a general audience. In the catalogue for the 1986 exhibition *Tendências of Portuguese*

²⁹⁸ Vassalo Rosa returned to Lisbon after Goa’s fall, working for the municipality’s Housing Technical Office founded in 1959. The office was responsible for the modernist plans of the state-built neighborhoods of Olivais Norte, Olivais Sul and Chelas in eastern Lisbon. In the 1970s, Vassalo Rosa was part of the urbanism team at the central state’s Housing Development Fund created in 1969, having led the preparation of the master plan for the southern suburban area of Almada and Monte da Caparica between 1972 and 1979.

²⁹⁹ Scott-Brown had concluded a Master in City Planning degree at the University of Pennsylvania in 1960.

³⁰⁰ In particular, the public housing he designed for the Fai Chi Kei area of Macao has been eulogized as a rare example of public housing “facilitating an evident appropriation by its residents” (Gomes 1995, 560). The buildings designed by Vicente for Fai Chi Kei were built in 1981 and demolished in 2010.

Architecture, Vicente's former student and employee Graça Dias wrote under the heading "Impure" that

"[Vicente's] effort of designing passes through the employment of the *ugly*, through the interrogation of cultures, through the promiscuity of the common . . . the series of his buildings . . . are envisaged one by one with the same final obsession: to overcome the strictly legal limits of the operations, surreptitiously adding poetic charges that a coarse execution cannot ignore" (Dias 1990, 29).³⁰¹

For another architectural writer—the beforementioned Varela Gomes, dedicated to forming an initial perspective on the recent period initiated in the limited liberalization of the Caetano dictatorship—Vicente's post-revolutionary teaching and writings are "attentive to the contemporary city as she is: dirty, contradictory, popular and erudite at the same time, changing and ephemeral" (Gomes 1994).³⁰²

In Lisbon, such statements were part of a concern with the relation between the idea of ordinariness and architectural design for a private market that became widespread one decade after the beginning of political democratization. As the revolutionary project for a comprehensive public ownership of the means of production began being dismantled by government, under conditions of "structural adjustment" agreed with the International Monetary Fund, both in 1977 and in 1983, architectural discourse increasingly neglected the idea of architects as social experts that would participate in the state production of housing. Instead, many architects became concerned with ways to establish legitimacy for a private construction industry in relation to which architects were arguably marginal.

Vicente's articulation of Scott-Brown's celebration of the ordinary for a late colonial architecture were thus an important contribution to the construction of the profession for a polity under conditions of political democratization; as were the writings of Graça Dias and Varela Gomes reflecting on the value of the new nonprofessional architecture. Writers like Vicente, Dias

³⁰¹ The traveling exhibition was directed by architect Carlos Duarte, the former editor of the *Arquitectura* journal during the 1960s. Funding was provided by Portugal's State Secretariat for Culture, created after the beginning of political democratization in 1976. The exhibition was first shown in Barcelona in 1986, and after a passage through three South American cities was shown in Lisbon in 1989 and in Strasbourg in the following year, at the Maillon cultural center as part of the *Journées Portugaises* (i.e. Portuguese Days). It was shown afterwards in five cities in South and East Asia (Ramos 2010, 37). Publication of the 1990 French catalogue was funded through the National Commission for the Commemorations of the Portuguese Discoveries, a state organization that was created in 1986.

³⁰² Vicente is one of the main actors of Gomes' "Architecture, the Last Twenty-five Years," a section of the 1995 *History of Portuguese Art* directed by art historian Paulo Pereira. This three-volume history was published by *Círculo de Leitores* (i.e. Readers' Circle), a Portuguese book sales club founded in 1971 by the West German publishing group Bertelsmann. This publication was the second canonic history of Portuguese art produced after the beginning of the political democratization, following the seminal *History of Art in Portugal* published in 1986 and 1987. The latter was however a very extensive work encompassing a total of fourteen volumes. The history directed by Pereira was thus the first general art history produced after the end of dictatorship that could be purchased by a wider audience, interested in the articulation of an Europeanized Portuguese identity. Pereira rejected the idea of a "Portuguese essence or . . . a purported Portuguese aesthetics," proposing instead that art was created under "conditions and . . . impulses . . . that are Portuguese" (Pereira 1995, 14).

and Gomes neglect the previously dominant idea of a hermetic professional ethics of political opposition, proposing instead an architecture purportedly suited to the taste of the people as a whole—a popular architecture explicitly inspired by “popular” (i.e. folk) architecture.

As early as 1986, an article by Varela Gomes in the professional association’s journal *Jornal Arquitectos* foregrounds the recent “decorative explosion,” notably in “suburban houses.”³⁰³ He framed the latter through the idea of a trans-epochal opposition between simplicity and complexity in the history of Portuguese architecture (Gomes [1986] 2005). Varela Gomes’ objective is to suggest that such new suburban forms could foster a professional taste for “complexity and contradiction,” pointing to the “‘vernacular’ experiments of some architects” (Ibid., 54).³⁰⁴ In the following number of the journal, architect Manuel Graça Dias describes in an article titled “For a Popular Vanguard” that the generation of architects educated at Lisbon in the mid-1970s “felt the need to communicate meaning and we got the strength and the arguments from *new popular* examples” (Dias [1986] 2005, 65; emphasis added). Graça Dias argues for the need for formal invention to replace high modernism with an “easier, banal” architecture (Ibid., 66). Indeed, “architecture should attempt to . . . ‘popularize itself’” (Ibid.).

In 1991, a new exhibition of Portuguese architecture in Brussels, *Points of Reference*, was organized by Varela Gomes for the biennial arts festival *Europalia*.³⁰⁵ Belgian journalist Jean Rebuffat summarized at the time Gomes’ central concern with the role of built heritage in development, reproducing the conflation between housing construction and national construction that became common in the post-revolutionary period, and that the following section of this chapter will address: “Portugal is double-quickening to build and to build itself. This poses certain problems: how to reconcile nostalgia and future” (Rebuffat 1991). The 24 contemporary designs exhibited at the Architecture Foundation were divided according to six “types of situations,” one of which was “Impurities”—recovering the term that Graça Dias had chosen to describe Vicente’s design work for the 1986 exhibition. According to Varela Gomes,

³⁰³ The journal had been created in 1981, initially as the official publication of the Southern Regional Section of the Architects’ Association. The valuing of the new ‘popular’ architecture had already been addressed in the *Jornal Arquitectos* in 1984 by young Lisbon architect Pedro Brandão, for example. However, Brandão’s article focused almost exclusively on the “house of the emigrant,” i.e. on remittance houses in rural villages, mostly in northern Portugal. However, he conceded that the “same models and equivalent formal aspects” were employed in emergent suburban areas, notably in “clandestine . . . urbanizations” (Brandão [1984] 2005, 47). Brandão stated that the “popular/erudite dichotomy . . . is today superficial and reductive,” arguing that the nonprofessional architecture for a “new-rich” population was a visual manifestation of the new segregation of living between production, transportation and consumption (Ibid., 48). He also criticized the “logic of police intervention” by architects, comparing nonprofessional taste and building practices to a “rooted guerrilla” (Ibid.).

³⁰⁴ Varela Gomes draws both from George Kubler’s influential 1972 publication, *Portuguese Plain Architecture*, and from Venturi’s *Complexity and Contradiction*, for his argument on an opposition between simplicity and complexity in Portuguese architecture (Kubler 1972; Venturi 1966).

³⁰⁵ The *Europalia* festival is organized every two years since 1969, with support from the Belgian state and the theme country. In 1991, the festival’s 20 exhibitions and numerous concerts, plays, films and conferences were attended by more than 1 million visitors. Held five years after Portugal became a member of the then European Economic Community, the 1991 *Europalia* notably financed seminal exercises of knowledge production by each of Portugal’s professional fields of artistic expertise, including architecture.

“the term does not reflect any moral connotation or unfavorable judgment but only a situation of compromise and ‘contamination’ between *diverse cultures*, foregrounding some of the most serious problems in present-day architectural practice in Portugal” (Gomes [1991] 2005, 133).

Rebuffat’s review for *Le Soir*, Belgium’s Francophone newspaper of record, conveys another aspect of Gomes’ conception of architectural impurity, and how this idea could be understood in northwestern Europe: “Linked to the democratic Europe after the Carnation Revolution swept the rests of Salazar’s regime, Portugal has, in fifteen years, known a real development that has not passed without urbanistic consequences. Down there urbanization has produced also ‘impurities’ . . . the old combat of immediate interest against beauty is universally distributed” (Rebuffat 1991). At the exhibition, examples of aesthetic “contamination” were three recent apartment building designs for private developers, in the northern border town of Chaves and in the capital city of Madeira island, Funchal. In an article for *Jornal Arquitectos* describing the exhibition, Gomes argues that Dias’ design for the Soreano apartment building in Chaves was “pragmatic and committed with the cultural and social change that occurs in our country . . . integrating, in a process of design and building characterized by the compromises that it forces, the true situation of architecture in certain regions of Portugal” (Gomes [1991] 2005, 136).

Professional architectural discourse in the late 1980s did not separate “clandestine” building from the category of the “popular” or of the “suburban.” It was contemporary social science research and architects then engaged with social science that focused on defining a separate domain of the clandestine, and on constituting its specificity and marginality. For architectural writers like Brandão, Varela Gomes and Graça Dias, “popular” nonprofessionally designed building includes the clandestine. Nevertheless, for such writers engaged in the production of a professional discourse for political democracy at a time of economic liberalization, the rarely explicitly mentioned products of informal spatial creation seem to have forced an awareness of the mutability of the “popular” and a eulogy of its experimental traits, conceptualized as “ugly” or “vulgar.”

As mentioned in the introduction to this section, during the early 1990s the discursive defense of aesthetic “contamination” briefly became central to how those architects that led the Portuguese professional field wished to present the latter in Portugal—and architecturally represent Portugal abroad. Elements of an aesthetics of informality pervaded the design of the new headquarters for the architects’ professional association, inaugurated in 1994, and of the Portuguese pavilion at the 1992 Seville exposition. Both were designed by the office of Graça Dias, following public competitions.³⁰⁶

It is only in the latter half of the decade that Graça Dias starts distinguishing the specificity of informally built housing in professional writings and in documentary film work for a wide audience, maintaining however the idea of the “clandestine” as a “popular” architecture. The beforementioned 1996 documentary “Architectures without Architects,” directed by José

³⁰⁶ The competition for the Seville pavilion was held in 1989, and the competition for the association headquarters in 1991.

Edgar Feldman and produced for the state television program *Ver Artes* (i.e. *Seeing Arts*), was exclusively dedicated to constructing an aesthetic appreciation of informally created housing.³⁰⁷ The first part of the documentary, titled “Urban Clandestines,” drew from images and interviews recorded in the area of the Amadora suburban municipality along Lisbon’s military ring road, where self-builders had occupied state land and awaited for the neighborhood’s demolition.³⁰⁸

Drawing from this very specific situation, Graça Dias initially proposes a definition of the clandestine that cannot be applied to most informally created housing areas in the Lisbon area. He thus mentions the name of nearby Brandoa, for example, but he disregards how most neighborhoods characterized as clandestine since the early 1960s were informal subdivisions where lots were legally sold to Lisbon households. Instead, Dias argues that the “clandestine” neighborhoods grew from the “consolidation of old tents and shacks,” supposedly in strips of land along military roads, railroads or freeways, and thus “in the edges left free by the city, that gradually has been growing . . . expelling farther and farther away from the center the various urban proletarians,” purportedly households coming directly from inland villages. However, Dias’ narrative assumes that such rural families were not responsible for the initial act of unauthorized land occupation. This original illegality is assigned to the quintessential racialized other in Portugal, the Portuguese Roma: according to Dias, and reconstructing the histories told by some of the interviewed residents, rural households merely moved into already extant “nuclei of shacks abandoned by gypsies in perpetual nomadism.” Supposedly, the “space of liberty” that was created after the beginning of political democratization in 1974 “allowed for the consolidation” of such precarious settlements.

Characterized by “a current of liberty and joy confronting established tastes,” for Dias the “clandestines” are a “popular culture of today,” analogous to the rural nonprofessional architecture that inspired Portuguese articulations of modernism from the 1950s onwards. He added that

“what enchants me most in the architecture of the non-architects is that lack of commitment with current culture, that illiteracy in relation to established culture, that makes them have brilliant discoveries in certain points . . . building the city for the others, and now building our city, but better, because having what the city of the others has, it has more, it has more signs, more color, more forms, more joy, more ceramic tiles. I propose that we let ourselves become fascinated with the popular architecture of today, that in it we may find inspiration . . . these are contemporary art works.”

Foregrounding Dias’ invocation of Robert Venturi’s writings on the value of the vulgar and of Adorno’s treatment of the ugly in *Aesthetic Theory*, the second part of the documentary is devoted to “suburban clandestines,” distinguished by Dias from urban informal housing because these are *moradias* (i.e. detached houses) in a lot. This part was filmed in the Fraternidade

³⁰⁷ *Arquitecturas Sem Arquitectos* [*Architectures Without Architects*,] directed by Edgar Feldman (1996).

³⁰⁸ Most of the residents in these areas have since been forcibly evicted and their houses demolished.

neighborhood, a subdivision in the plateau located between the Trancão River valley and the A1 *auto-estrada* (i.e. express highway), in the eastern section of the Loures municipality. According to Dias, such houses are “clandestine” because of “unlegalized building.” The fact that subdivision itself was usually unlicensed in areas where owners created housing without building permits is absent from the narrative. Furthermore, the “suburban clandestines” are fully conflated with the beginning of political democratization. Dias disregards both the ways in which a lucrative industry of informal spatial production emerged and was tolerated by the Salazar dictatorship in the late 1950s, and how the full illegalization of informal subdivision and building implemented in the Caetano dictatorship remained unchallenged in the post-revolutionary period: “here too April 25 [i.e. the military coup that ended the Caetano dictatorship] potentiated a space of liberty and of non-repression, making the growth of whole neighborhoods possible.”

More than scholarly research, Graça Dias’ work as a public commentator was crucial for legitimizing a celebratory perspective on illegalized housing. Works like his 1996 television documentary explicitly articulated an image of the clandestine with an aesthetic conception of freedom, cognizant of the political importance of challenging the idea of a professional monopoly on defining normative taste. However, at the turn of the century Dias lamented in an article in *Jornal Arquitectos* that the “modern vernacular” was indeed condemned to disappear by “architects and lawyers . . . [who were] enemies of differences” (Dias 2000, 18), reproducing the lasting scholarly assumption that such futureless architecture was “savage, improvised . . . the opposite of planning” (Ibid.). Furthermore, Dias had by then developed a dichotomy between the few remaining informally created houses in occupied land and the single-family houses in informal suburban subdivisions. In the 1996 documentary both “urban” and “suburban” informalities generated a space of freedom, distinguished merely by location, density and scale. By 2001, houses in neighborhoods such as Fraternidade were described as corresponding to the “petty-bourgeois myth of the ‘villa with garden,’ [constituting] examples of a reproduction of the system, more than a hypothesis of subversion or rupture” (Ibid. 2001, 88). In contrast, the houses in the small seaside neighborhood of Cova do Vapor were the “*truly clandestine* shacks,” forming a “heterotopia” on the cusp of sand where the Tagus River meets the ocean (Ibid.; emphasis added).

The effects of “clandestine” space as an actant on professional discourse in post-dictatorship Portugal invoked earlier assemblages of housing, freedom and order. For architects like Manuel Vicente and Graça Dias dealing with the possibilities for a role of the profession in relation to the state and to the private construction industry, the decorative expressiveness of housing produced under conditions of informality, or at least by nonprofessionals, was equated with a disordered freedom.

For the architects that had been involved in designing state-built housing in the 1970s such as Siza, the focus had been on the purifying role of the architect as a social technician. The purification of certain spatial aspects of informal suburban subdivisions—notably grid, scale, and the possibility of gradual change—was conceived as a central aspect of the design process. The purportedly cleansed space was seen as enabling a free “appropriation” of residential space through self-building practices—however, the potential results of such practices were ordered and limited by the original design. In addition, the celebration of this participation corresponded

to a focus on process, associated with a critique of the political economy and the envisioning of a progressive role for architects as social experts on housing.

By the 1980s, one of the elements of economic liberalization was an abandonment of experiments in modes of housing production. Professionals turned to concerns about a domain of architecture as a liberal profession, foregrounding visual order and formal aesthetics. For professionals involved in work for private developers like Graça Dias, the purifying act resided in the selection of decorative surfaces and spatial arrangements explicitly inspired by an aesthetics of the clandestine. Such decorations were to be deployed as a “contaminant” within a professional design.

Both strands of the professional discourse on the ordinary cannot be understood without understanding the action of “clandestine” space, produced informally by small building companies and by self-builders, on Portuguese architects in the last quarter of the Twentieth Century. While the discourse on the ordinary eulogizes the formal creativity of informally created housing, this procedure ultimately foregrounds one of the crucial aspects of the manufacturing of architectural legitimacy: the centrality of the creative aesthetic act. Furthermore, both the idea of the purification of a clandestine vernacular and the concept of contamination of architects’ designs strengthened the construction of a bounded professional domain. Firstly, both ideas relied on a conceptual abyss between common nonprofessional building and professional architecture. While a purportedly grotesque clandestine had redeeming characteristics, ultimately only the architect had the expertise to identify and isolate, deploying for example decorative surfaces in a sublime ensemble. Secondly, the architectural discourse on the ordinary ultimately argued for a symbolic and legal limitation of those practices of spatial creation that could be performed by non-architects. Only through the ordering capacities of architects could the expressiveness of the “clandestine” peripheries be harnessed for a future normative urbanity of a democratic and European Portugal. Nevertheless, this articulation of the opposition between architectural design and laypersons’ building can be seen as a politically productive discourse, as it entailed the rejection of a need for destruction to create a timeless future city.

4.3. Building a Free Nation through Owned Houses, 1974-77

The first part of this chapter addressed the ways in which Portuguese social scientists—or architects employing the methods of social science—created a knowledge of the clandestine from the early 1970s onwards through the production of scholarly articles, published in specialized journals read by academics interested in space, and by spatial professionals. However, it is noteworthy that the scholarly articles on Lisbon’s informal suburbs published by researchers such as Barata Salgueiro, Abilio Cardoso or Bruno Soares were not cited in the professional debates on participation or ordinariness, debates that implicitly or explicitly were supported by an idea of the clandestine. This lack of reference to available research is particularly notable because the creation of this social science knowledge was often subsequent to the authors’ participation in the planning of areas discursively marginalized as clandestine, in

teams composed mostly by architects: both Salgueiro and Soares worked at the private planning office GPA led by architect Maurício de Vasconcelos, and were involved for example in the preparation of an urbanization plan for Brandoa in 1970s.

Clandestine knowledge was thus characterized by emerging through individual trajectories after the practice of planning, and independently from the preparation of specific plans for informally created areas. Furthermore, it was associated with a new, sporadic availability of private or foreign funding sources for housing research in Portugal. Clandestine knowledge developed in the absence of state funding for scholarly housing research on informally created neighborhoods. Barata Salgueiro's 1972 study was funded by the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, a beforementioned private foundation founded in Lisbon in 1956 which drew from assets accumulated due to a five percent share in the British-dominated Iraq Petroleum Company.³⁰⁹ Bruno Soares' 1985 article drew from research funded by Western Germany's state Research Foundation, at a time when that country was providing a major loan to Portugal through the International Monetary Fund.

The second part of this chapter focused on how informally created spaces made professional architects act, through the mediation of an expert imagination of the clandestine partially drawing from influential discourses on nonprofessional housing in the English-speaking world. While the field of social science as a whole remained relatively unconcerned with the clandestine during the Caetano dictatorship and the first two decades of political democratization, the specter of the clandestine participated in the legitimation of the profession in Portuguese society. The efforts of those concerned with popular participation, drawing mostly from the work of Turner, produced writings but were mostly focused on housing design and planning practices that articulated the idea of participation. Those interested in ordinariness, inspired by the writings of Scott-Brown and Venturi, experimented with the inclusion of "vulgar" formal elements in architectural designs, often of leisure spaces for the privileged, and produced professional journal articles reflecting on aesthetics of clandestinity, without recourse to research practices in Lisbon's suburbs. In addition, by the mid-1990s one of the very few extant documents on informal housing aimed at a general audience was produced: the television documentary created by Graça Dias and funded by state television in 1996.

The first two sections of this chapter thus deal with the role of the clandestine as an actant on the scholars and architects participating in an emerging knowledge industry that mostly created writings on urban informality intended to be read only by peers. The third section focuses on a clandestine knowledge diffused instead through daily or weekly newspapers. In the revolutionary period of late 1974 and 1975, and in the immediate post-revolutionary period, the idea emerged of building a free nation through owned houses, including through the

³⁰⁹ As mentioned previously, Calouste Gulbenkian was an Istanbul Armenian oil industrialist who settled in then neutral and dictatorial Portugal in 1942, during the Second World War. Gulbenkian had been the organizer of the creation of the Iraq Petroleum Company in 1912, then called Turkish Petroleum Company, and had a five percent share in the company. The foundation was created one year after his death in 1955, and his art collection was transported to Lisbon in 1960. The headquarters of the foundation were inaugurated in 1969. The Iraq Petroleum Company was a crucial element of Twentieth-Century European imperialism in the Middle East, and was nationalized by the Iraqi government in 1972.

“clandestine” mode of spatial production, often represented as efficient or as a resource. This idea was articulated both in newspaper articles and through advertisements by the state, banks, insurance companies, and construction industry companies.

The mid-1970s idea of the right to housing as integral to a truly free nation was not a discourse that was necessarily articulated with a critique of the capitalist political economy. Even a cursory look through the newspapers of that period shows that both private and nationalized businesses presented through their advertisements the concept of nation-building through the building of housing, often expressed through the figure of the detached, single-family house. Even though these advertisements do not make direct references to “clandestine” housing, they are very suffused with an ethos of quick self-building and an aesthetics of construction, while often directed at a high-income audience mostly uneducated in the material realities of spatial production. An October 1976 advertisement in the weekly newspaper of reference *Expresso* by the nationalized credit insurance company COSEC showed the image of a common industrially produced brick, held by two bare hands, above the slogan “one brick is not enough to build a country” (Fig. 4.2).³¹⁰ A July 1976 advertisement in the same newspaper by the state bank *Caixa Geral de Depósitos* employs a language directly addressed at the reader, ordering him to “BUILD! We all should live ‘under a roofing tile.’” The image under the slogan shows a pile of 4 industrial bricks covered by a roofing tile, suggesting the figure of a detached house. On the side of the image, a clean bricklayer’s trowel rests on top of another brick. The text in small print under the slogan urges the reader to benefit from the availability of loans for building, and to “build now, build for all” (Fig. 4.3).³¹¹

Private construction materials companies also adopted this language of the urgency of building in their advertisements, aiming at introducing proprietary technologies that would purportedly enable faster building. For example, the Portuguese branch of the originally Swedish company Ytong asked in February 1975, also in *Expresso*, in advertisement for cellular concrete blocks: “Can one build in one year what was not built in 50? One can! Ytong blocks build fast” (Fig. 4.4).³¹² In May 1975, an advertisement of the Portuguese fiber cement company Lusalite explicitly associated self-building and nation-building through the following slogan: “From Self-Building to the Building of the Country.” At the center of the advertisement, the reader could see the representation of twelve identical, one-story single-family houses, surrounded by trees (Fig. 4.5).³¹³

As I mentioned in the introduction, in 1976 the central state created a “subsidised credit scheme for the acquisition or building of owner-occupied housing” (Neves 1996b, 1). However, many households avoided resorting to bank credit, continuing to opt for self-building (Ibid. 1998, 35). Indeed, sporadic newspaper articles show how a belief in the efficiency of a “clandestine” mode of production verged on the commonsensical by the late 1970s. In July 1977, *Expresso*

³¹⁰ *Expresso*. October 1, 1976.

³¹¹ *Expresso*. July 9, 1976.

³¹² *Expresso*. February 15, 1975.

³¹³ *Expresso*. May 10, 1975.

published a small article titled “Clandestinity compensates?” The article was described as an “exemplary” story, showing the superiority of informal self-building in relation to state-facilitated prefabrication. The image that illustrated the article had been taken in the Alcoitão area of suburban Cascais, and purportedly depicted both “prefabrication integrated in international aid programs” and adjacent “clandestine” housing. According to the journalist, the prefabricated housing area had started being built in early 1976, and by July of the following year only the foundations were ready. Meanwhile, the “clandestine” housing had started being built in May 1977, through “traditional and antiquated processes,” and was almost ready.³¹⁴

³¹⁴ “Clandestinidade Compensa?” [“Clandestinity Compensates?”] *Expresso*. July 30, 1977.

Chapter Five
The State of Expectancy

5.1. Living in a State of Expectancy in Casal de Cambra

Casal de Cambra is today a suburban neighborhood dominated by houses, sometimes detached, stuccoed and painted with a variety of pastel-colored industrial paints, and with red industrial tile roofs. The streets are often narrow, but the houses are relatively low, rarely having more than two floors. The roads are paved with well maintained black asphalt, and the sidewalks are covered with the small blocks of white limestone common in Portugal. There are few street trees, but in front of most houses the owners have carefully created and maintained ornamental gardens, protected by low walls, and elaborate fences and gates. These fenced entrance gardens lining the streets generally combine lawn, shrubs and stone pavements. Some of the houses, and particularly those closer to the central Avenida de Lisboa where suburban buses pass, have small businesses in the ground floor, including restaurants, cafés, bakeries, clothing stores, or car repair shops (Fig. 5.1). Many streets in Casal de Cambra are today undistinguishable from streets in any other low-income suburb in the Lisbon area, or elsewhere in Portugal. However, the neighborhood's residents are subjected to a state of expectancy:

“They [the politicians] think that just because they create a law and they put a sign on the street, that they solve the problems of this world. They forget that those are for the people, and that if a person is not motivated, you can make every law that you like, the person will not respect it. And the result is, the correction is worse than the sonnet. The great *urbanizador* [i.e. large private developers] does his studies and he knows what the cost will be, how much he will get, and he has his [financial] commitments. So, the municipality is, sometimes, it is *oleada* [i.e., it may receive a bribe] for things to be ‘in rhythm.’ These [clandestine] neighborhoods that do not have that strength or that economic capacity, they wait until one day, one day they will be solved.”³¹⁵

Contrarily to what Caldeira and Holston describe in relation to Brazil (Caldeira and Holston 2005, 393), political democratization in Portugal does not seem to have corresponded to an epochal shift in expert planning practices at the national level. As in North America in the early Twentieth Century, building and urbanization regulations slowly emerged, expanding governmental control over the territory and reworking an economy of spatial illegalisms. As I mentioned earlier, until 1973, no law prevented land formally classified as agricultural from being *de facto* subdivided and sold as such. Matos has claimed that both in officially recognized sales contracts and in state property records these sales of subdivided farmland were often

³¹⁵ Interview with Manuel de Carvalho Matos, lawyer, August 7, 2006. I do not use a pseudonym in this case as I interviewed Matos as the author of a book on the 1995 law concerning illegalized subdivisions (Matos 2001). Pseudonyms are used for the personal names of the residents whose accounts appear in this dissertation, unless otherwise noted.

defined as sales for construction, even though the law required a municipal permit for subdivision for urbanization (Matos 2001, 9). Evidently, land was cheaper in unserved subdivisions, and thus by the late 1950s low-income households were choosing to acquire lots in informal suburban neighborhoods. In practice, both the creation of unserved subdivisions and the unapproved construction of new houses were tolerated by the municipalities surrounding Lisbon.

After the 1974 Carnation Revolution, housing was included as a right in the 1976 Constitution, and local financial and political autonomy increased during the late 1970s. In this context, municipalities continued tolerating “clandestine” settlement, and some even explicitly fostered such practices, such as those municipalities administered by the Partido Comunista Português (PCP, i.e. Portuguese Communist Party). The Loures municipality is an example. From 1979 to 2001, the municipality was administered by the PCP, in coalition with smaller communist parties. In this context, the fostering of self-help practices was articulated with discourses of “participatory democracy.” In Casal da Silveira, the municipality sometimes cooperated with the neighborhood association, the *Comissão de Melhoramentos de Casal da Silveira* (CMCS, i.e. Improvements Commission of Casal da Silveira), consulting the association on the introduction of municipal infrastructures or on the official naming of streets, and, on occasion, providing materials and equipment for collective self-help efforts such as the paving of streets and the construction of sidewalks.³¹⁶ Nevertheless, in the context of political democratization most municipalities failed to introduce infrastructure until the late 1980s, and many have not yet fully formalized “clandestine” settlements.

By 1995, a new law created a new set of regulations that purportedly would enable municipalities to formalize “clandestine” neighborhoods.³¹⁷ However, some municipalities had actually formalized subdivisions in the context of the previous regulatory framework, as was the case in Casal da Silveira in 1989, a neighborhood then still administered by the Loures municipality. In practice, the new regulations were rarely employed, partially because many residents of informal “clandestine” neighborhoods already paid municipal taxes and had access to infrastructure. In addition, formalization itself often implies additional costs. Bruno, an official of the Casal de Cambra *Junta de Freguesia* (i.e. ward administration) and a resident in the neighborhood since 1979, claims that the Sintra municipality demands between 10,000 to 20,000 Euros to formalize a house and its lot.³¹⁸

The continuing status of spatial informality implied until recently a lack of what could be defined as the “social” elements of citizenship in a Portuguese context, such as access to infrastructure commonly available in formal urban settlements—water, sewerage, paved streets, and street lighting. However, the present legal situation of “clandestine” settlements still entails the partial denial of a “civil” element of citizenship, such as the right to convert housing into

³¹⁶ Ibid.

³¹⁷ Law 91/95, September 2, 1995. Law 91/95 conceptualized the so-called *Áreas Urbanas de Génese Ilegal* (i.e. Urban Areas of Illegal Genesis).

³¹⁸ Interview with Bruno, August 9, 2006.

capital.³¹⁹ Another official of the Casal de Cambra ward administration describes that residents can sell their informal houses, but claims that they “receive half the money they should get.”³²⁰

Employing law as an administration of spatial illegalisms, planning experts at the municipal level thus seem to have participated in a process of gradual concession of rights to residents that are formal national citizens. In a continuation of techniques of government during the Salazar and Caetano dictatorships, in the context of political democracy access to *de facto* urban citizenship implies a state of expectancy as an unequal citizen. For example, Bruno describes how he participated in the submission of a subdivision project for his area of the neighborhood in 1990—and how no response has been received from the Sintra municipality since.

In this context, expert arguments do not rely anymore in an imagination of a stable, bounded urbanity, but instead seem to explicitly evoke the law itself. Bruno both reproduces this argument and dismisses the 1995 law by describing how

“[at the Sintra municipality] there has been no one taking this situation seriously, that wants to solve this once and for all. Here it is difficult, and why is it difficult? Because of the law that exists, it is difficult to legalize the lots here in Casal de Cambra. Because this is built! And the demands that the law makes, very few streets or houses are in such a condition that they can be legalized. Consequently, this could only be legalized if there was a specific law for this type of clandestine neighborhoods. Because without such a situation maybe we won’t have this solved in thirty or forty years. Because designs are made [of extant buildings], and they get to the *Câmara* [municipality] and by this or that reason they do not respect the law.”³²¹

Other interviewed residents presented similar accounts. For dwellers in “clandestine” neighborhoods, law often becomes an opaque process of negotiation, necessary for a possible attainment of legality for which “they wait until one day.” Laws purportedly created to defend society by imposing minimum building standards on future housing are employed by experts at municipalities such as Sintra to prevent the legalization of spaces long inhabited by the households that built them, in many cases for four decades. Thus, the unequal citizens purportedly responsible for disorderly growth continue waiting in a time of “an emergent discourse of cosmopolitan citizenship” in Europe (Ong 2006, 17).

Often such unequal citizens, inhabiting spaces maintained in illegality, defend the legitimacy of their “community” by commenting on the formal space of nearby public housing,

³¹⁹ I draw here on recent scholarship on citizenship (Caldeira 2000; Caldeira and Holston 2005; Ong 2006; Holston 2008), which evokes the work of British sociologist Thomas Marshall and notably his seminal definition of three elements of citizenship—civil, political, and social rights—without reproducing Marshall’s evolutionary narrative (Marshall [1950] 1964).

³²⁰ Interview with Diogo, August 9, 2006.

³²¹ Interview with Bruno, August 9, 2006.

where former “squatters” were forcibly rehoused by the Sintra municipality, through a conflation of “race” and criminality:

“Other stuff about the neighborhood, for example that school next to those [public housing] buildings, that school over there, by chance my wife’s son is there, he is ten years old, studies, and we are always worried, we have to take him and to pick him up, to make sure that he never leaves the school by himself, it’s that zone, of those buildings that were made over there. What do people [from other neighborhoods] think about when they talk about Casal de Cambra, that at the school knives are used, that the school is used by many people of . . . gypsies and people of black ethnicity, so the neighborhood, it’s those groups and those gangs.”³²²

“Now it’s quieter, but we had [problems] in this area of municipal urbanization [i.e. of public housing] . . . [the former squatters that were rehoused] came from other areas of the municipality, *they* were installed were, and their integration has not been easy with the local community . . . there is, well it is an environment *they* use, of drug consumption and sales, terrible . . . organized groups, theft, so we have here, it has been difficult to control that situation, but now it is better.”³²³

Other kinds of excluded and exceptional spaces of housing were built in late Twentieth Century Portugal, such as the *bairros de lata* (i.e. “tin” neighborhoods).³²⁴ In such “squatter” settlements, households built their own dwellings in land that they did not own. *Bairros de lata* were most often built on public land and were also tolerated by municipalities, but in 1993 the government approved an extensive demolition and rehousing program. The *Programa Especial de Realojamento* (PER, i.e. Special Rehousing Program) aimed at demolishing all shantytowns in the Lisbon area by 2000.³²⁵ In the context of PER, the Sintra municipality rehoused former “squatters” in apartment buildings adjacent to the extant landscape of Casal de Cambra, dominated by single-family houses.

Discourses by residents in “clandestine” housing commenting on the formal space of public housing, organized and produced by the Sintra municipality, include shifting conflations of “race” and criminality. According to the accounts presented by interviewed residents, the “quietness” of Casal de Cambra was disrupted due to the construction of public housing and to the presence of a new population that is characterized as violent and criminal. Residents of Casal de Cambra owning informal housing face the formalization of “squatters” by the municipality

³²² Interview with Francisco, a former resident of Casal de Cambra, August 4, 2006.

³²³ Interview with Bruno, August 9, 2006.

³²⁴ By 1993, there were 833 “shantytowns” in the Lisbon area, inhabited by 27,850 households and by a total of 92,450 inhabitants (Gaspar, Henriques and Vale 1998, 74).

³²⁵ Elsa Sertório addresses the ways in which the implementation of PER was often violent and articulated with informal racism (Sertório 2001).

through rehousing. Discourses on crime and “race” thus partially disallow the *de facto* urban citizenship status attained by the former “squatters,” who are overwhelmingly also Portuguese citizens, focusing on their purported otherness and on the increase of criminal practices in the neighborhood. As Teresa Caldeira comments on the talk of crime in the MÓoca neighborhood of São Paulo, “to distinguish themselves from the newer migrants, the older ones treat them symbolically as polluting and associate them with crime and danger” (Caldeira 2000, 31). In the case of Casal de Cambra, even though the residents of public housing are new to the neighborhood, they are not necessarily more recent migrants to the Lisbon area. However, the presence of marked “black” and “gypsy” bodies facilitates distinction. Even if residents in “clandestine” housing do not directly challenge the formal citizenship status of these bodies (by characterizing the public housing residents as “foreigners,” for example), they declare their difference as a danger to society—thus debunking their own status as producers of disorder.

Nevertheless, for the neighborhood’s elected administration the state of expectancy also entails an articulation of the neighborhood’s history that proposes an original legality partially disordered by mostly choiceless households, evicted from the city by rising real estate prices and facing barriers to formality. The ward president in 2007, José Manuel Silva Elias, defends the legal nature of the initial informal subdivision: “[the developer] sold those [the 5,000 square meter lots] in their totality, *the people divided them afterwards*.” This history also includes the idea of an original regularity of design that purportedly distinguishes Casal de Cambra, but that was subsequently partially destroyed by the residents themselves. Silva Elias compares the neighborhood to the “paradigmatic cases” of Lisbon’s “Pombaline Downtown” and of Vila Real de Santo António—two notable late Eighteenth Century grid plans—stating that “the urban grid that exists in Casal de Cambra, it’s identical.” He adds the following commentary regarding the original plan’s imagined disregard of topography for a maximum efficiency:

“Casal de Cambra, fortunately, has a particular specificity . . . we have an almost perfect grid . . . that grid did not appear by chance, what appeared by chance was, or were, the deviations from that grid . . . by the second or the third buyers of lots . . . [the developer] ordered a topographic survey . . . he also . . . took into account . . . the maximum possible use of the land, because what he did is that he used the principle that . . . alright, there were no slopes . . . it was like a single plane, and what happens is, if you see . . . we are looking from above and we in fact have a perfect grid that ignores all the slopes.”³²⁶

Nevertheless, Elias’ narrative entails that further subdivision was not in itself a disordered practice. Residents had to consider a balance between the creation of public thoroughfares and the right to build in one’s property, planning for a lasting solution that would avoid future public encroachments. Dividing 5,000 square meter lots for single-family housing forced the initial owner of a lot, or the group of owners, to create additional streets, and thus to decide what part of the lot they had acquired would *de facto* belong to the public realm. It is notable how the residents foregrounded the need for the future neighborhood to correspond to the ideal of a

³²⁶ Interview with José Manuel Silva Elias, July 24, 2007. I do not use a pseudonym in this case.

single-family housing suburb where all streets would allow for automobile circulation. The ward president's description, while apologetic, shows that the question was how wide the new streets should be after further subdivision, not if there should be public streets within the original lots or not. Furthermore, it articulates two important discourses of naturalization of social forms: the idea of the foundational nature of the right to land ownership and the necessity of the suburbanization of low-income urbanites, due to urban land commodification. The new streets were

“in general . . . parallel or perpendicular to those that already existed, excluding some rare exceptions, but they had dimensions that did not allow . . . a promising future for those streets and for a capable circulation . . . today most of those streets are one-way streets . . . and parking is difficult because everything was done according to individual will, and people as you know . . . cling a lot to land, the Portuguese clings a lot to land, I think that everyone is very close to land, that is part of our roots, part of our territory . . . but it is true that Casal de Cambra was born like that, and was born of the necessity of . . . the pressure that the great centers have in relation to peripheries and semi-peripheries . . . the great center gradually pushes the classes with less buying power to the semi-periphery and to the periphery . . . because that is where housing is cheaper.”³²⁷

The history of Elias' family shows in detail one example of how households participated in the second stage of subdivision of Casal de Cambra, entailing the formation of entrepreneurial subjectivities through performances as small informal developers. In addition, this history compares the present-day state of the law as an opaque process of negotiation with past state practices and the de facto facilitation of informal subdivision by state officials at least until the late 1970s:

“The house was built in 74, yes . . . I came afterwards in 76 . . . I was there [in France] six months, I came back, that was in 70, 71, and then I came, I did my military service, I came back from the military service, . . . we had a villa with garage and everything, in Pontinha, our case was different, my father did not like living in Pontinha, and neither did my mother, they bought that here, five thousand [square meters] and then they sold, and then they made a street, we made a street through the middle. We made a street with 8 meters here through the middle . . . and then we made lots here . . . we made twelve lots, we kept two, and the rest was sold. We managed to register a title deed for all but not for this one, unfortunately, this one had to be licensed [later] . . . it was my mistake, because I had done a division of joint property and I did not do a licensed subdivision . . . Nowadays it's not possible anymore, [we just did a] title deed, lot splits from the five thousand [square] meters . . . this zone of the neighborhood is all consolidated . . . without any problems, it is reasonable, all villas, except for these [apartment] buildings, this one here did a *mamarracho* [i.e. a monstrous building] . . . but

³²⁷ Ibid.

these already are new legal [i.e. licensed] constructions . . . and if one goes down it's all villas. This is a very pleasant zone.”³²⁸

Creating the title deed was however not easy. When Elias' father tried to create these, a liability was detected that was associated with the whole original territory of Casal de Cambra: two women that had their official residence in Cascais, a seaside suburb for the privileged, had a right of usufruct. As Elias states: “the truth is that [this] stopped the notary public from drawing up the deed until we proved, fortunately, for us all, unfortunately for the ladies, that they were already deceased.”

The state of expectancy is also characterized by the reference to the expectations created by the municipality in 1973 and 1974, as addressed in the third chapter of this dissertation, including the preparation of an urbanization plan by the private office GPA. It can be assumed that the municipal and central state practices in the final years of the Caetano dictatorship created the conditions for people like Elias' parents to decide to build a house and to do engage in a land subdivision operation. Such references are noteworthy because later scholarship has disregarded the actual municipal practices in the early history of “clandestine” neighborhoods like Casal de Cambra, and in particular the expectations that municipalities created then—both before and after the overthrow of the dictatorship and the beginning of political democratization:

“The Mayor [of Sintra] usually gives as an example the sports pavilion that is being built, that's three and a half million Euros, and also the remainder of the *nona empreitada* [i.e. the ninth stage of infrastructure creation,] that was more than two millions . . . supposedly the per capita investment that the Sintra municipality is doing in Casal de Cambra is extremely high, one of the highest in the municipality, and so on . . . I always answer, it is evident that it is [high], and nothing else should be expected, because Casal de Cambra had no infrastructure whatsoever, one thing is for example Massamá, or Cacém, or Agualva, or whatever, that have their infrastructure, these are urban agglomerates that are consolidated, even though obviously all this is evolutive, not static, and thus there is a need for things to gradually be recovered and requalified, *et cetera* . . . but we here are not [in that situation], we here were still, are still, in a phase of initial investment.”³²⁹

It is noteworthy that this interview was done in 2007, 45 years after the first lot sale in Casal de Cambra, and about 33 years after the beginnings of an electricity network. The ward president adds:

“This here was done in reverse, because normally the urbanization [i.e. infrastructure creation] is done . . . everything is planned, and one builds afterwards, not here, here it was the reverse, here the constructions appeared . . . and now let's try to *pôr isto com*

³²⁸ Ibid.

³²⁹ Ibid.

cara de gente [literally ‘give this a people’s face,’ i.e. make this fit for human habitation], looking like a locality, let’s call it like that, so what I tell the mayor is, I’m sorry, when we are consolidated in terms of infrastructures like the other localities, then you can draw comparisons, now it is logic that in this phase there must be a supplementary investment by the municipality because there was nothing . . . and the municipality assumed its responsibilities, and furthermore, it should have been ready more than 20 years ago [in the early 1980s] . . . because the deadline was ten years . . . and it wasn’t, and it wasn’t concluded, and if the costs are this high now that’s the municipality’s fault, that’s no one else’s fault.”³³⁰

The state of expectancy is also characterized by the difficulty of small interventions by the ward administration in public space due to the lack of licensing of actual subdivision and to the existence of municipal plans that guide decision-making, but that do not correspond to the legally registered property division. As ward president Elias notes, the employment of law as an administration of spatial illegalisms is practiced not only the municipality, but also by lot owners and by a burgeoning private legalization industry. Elias argues that the continued administration of illegalisms in a neighborhood like Casal de Cambra is very profitable for some lot owners and for local legalization companies (Fig. 5.2):

“from a legal point of view it is somewhat difficult, because the subdivision problems are still not solved . . . the ward wants do interventions [in] public space? Sometimes it is not [public] at all. In the general plan for urbanization it is indicated as suppressed, as a lot for green space . . . it has happened that a lawyer shows up [and lets me know] you can’t be there, because that belongs to my client . . . the municipality had not solved it . . . there is this whole problem that a clandestine area has . . . it is very difficult to do things, and then around this, there is an enormous quantity of deals, of people buying and selling land, in *avos* [i.e. shares], with a *CPCV* [i.e. Contract for Sale and Purchase], without *escrituras* [deeds], but with irrevocable *procurações* [letters of attorney] . . . and then there are these agencies around here . . . that do legalizations and so on . . . and then they drag the issues, they go on, they do, they send to the [Sintra] municipality, then the municipality asks for additional documents, they only send the documents close to the deadline, and then they are always asking for more money from their clients . . . there is an abuse of the situation, and of the ignorance of people, and of the fear they have of bureaucracy . . . and then the official services are inoperative, instead of making it easier, they make it more difficult . . . I’m not saying it is voluntarily, but because they want to respect the law . . . and then, there are so many laws, because in Portugal a lot of laws are made, of course the more laws that are made, the more difficult it is to apply them, and often laws are created and the associated regulations are never done, and a law with no regulations, that does not go very far, because it is not known how [the law] is going to be applied . . . and there must be *fiscalização* [inspections] . . . if there aren’t, it’s not

³³⁰ Ibid.

worth it . . . one still sees, individuals doing clandestine garages, or building annexes, and so on, and they couldn't care less because *they think they're still in the Sixties*, and they just do it . . . this affair of the clandestines . . . it has been a mine, a gold mine for many people, and there are a lot of people making a living from their activities around the issue of legalizations and this and that, of the [licensing] projects [that must be submitted for legalization].³³¹

³³¹ Ibid.

Epilogue
Ruining Spaces in Contemporary Lisbon

“Now, all my problem, of lodging, I am that all my problem . . . because I am already old, my retirement is the bread of each day, blessed by the hand of Jesus, I ask God peace, life and health, and to know how to govern the little I have, but I want my rehousing inside Prior Velho, it is here that I want it, do you know why? . . . If I go elsewhere, I do not know, evil or good, but here at least I know all the neighbors here, others have left but those that are still here I know, all of them, the Africans, all, I know . . . my problem is only the question of leaving here to go to *Apelação* . . . I did not want that, but in the street I cannot be left . . . my shack is registered in the municipality with the number [omitted] . . . against force there is no resistance . . . I cannot be here because the land is not mine? . . . I will go! But it is against force.”³³²

6.1. Ruining Quinta da Serra

In the late 1990s, numerous “squatter” settlements located along the northern limits of the Lisbon municipality were demolished and their dwellers hastily rehoused in distant municipal-owned “social” housing, so that Lisbon’s new Regional Inner Ring Road could be ready in time for the 1998 Lisbon World Exposition. Today, expert invocations of the public interest have been rearticulated to support the elimination of the squatter spaces spared during its construction. As the area surrounding the Exposition grounds becomes a privileged residential space, the remains of working-class neighborhoods produced under conditions of informality such as Quinta da Serra emerge as a site for expert planning practices entailing both the ruination of the extant space and the sorting of the racialized bodies for which the neighborhood is a space of the everyday.

Quinta da Serra is inhabited today mostly by low-income wage laborers originally from Cape Verde and from present-day Guinea-Bissau (Fig. E.1). The lack of land titles has impeded the partial formalization of the settlement. In addition, discourses conflating “race,” criminality and social housing support the idea that it is no longer in the public interest to intern the population of a “squatter” settlement as a whole. Instead, the suburban Loures municipality has implemented a program to support the acquisition of housing elsewhere by Quinta da Serra’s households, and once a family moves their house is immediately demolished.

³³² Interview with Mr. António, June 24, 2008.

6.2. Vagabond Spaces in an Economy of Spatial Illegalisms

Deleuze comments on how Foucault argues that “law administers illegalisms: some it allows, makes possible or invents as the privilege of the dominating class; others it tolerates as a compensation for the dominated classes” (Deleuze [1986] 2004, 37). As I mentioned in the first chapter, law can thus be understood as a historical apparatus, an economy of illegalisms that may be articulated with urban planning knowledge in specific situations, conditioning the production of spaces such as “squatter” settlements. What may be characterized as an economy of spatial illegalisms emerged as Lisbon was transformed into a bourgeois city in the late Nineteenth Century. The production of residential grids such as the Avenidas Novas, away from tenements, was associated with the creation of so-called “shack” neighborhoods for low-income wage-laborers—built on occupied state land, or sometimes on informally rented private land. During the whole Twentieth Century, “shack” neighborhoods were integral to an ongoing process of urban expansion characterized by periodic evictions. For example, as mentioned in the second chapter, the Minhocas neighborhood was partly demolished in 1940 in the context of a discourse imagining the rehousing of all “shack” dwellers, as the dictatorial regime that had started in 1926 attempted to fulfill its plans to transform Lisbon into the modern capital of an insulated African empire.

As the authoritarian regime’s policies shifted towards economic liberalization during the 1950s, cinematic performances of class heralded a change from elevations of deserving working-class subjects to a discourse of exclusion conflating poverty and marginality. In film, this seemed to enable a less implausible depiction of working-class spaces—because they were not characterized as such. Instead, what was foregrounded was the idea of a vagabond space estranged from society.

By the late 1950s, a new form emerged: so-called “clandestine” subdivisions started being built in suburban municipalities, including in the Prior Velho area where Quinta da Serra is located (Fig. E.2). After the 1974 Carnation Revolution and the beginning of political democratization, between twenty and thirty percent of the population of the Lisbon Metropolitan Area was housed in such informal suburban subdivisions or in “shack” neighborhoods (Leeds 1994, 90).

6.3. Building Wounds in the Body of Society

Towards the late 1960s, the regime started fostering the migration of Cape Verdean men to the Lisbon area to work for the burgeoning construction industry. Mr. António, a resident of Quinta since 1988, was one of them. He arrived in Portugal in 1973, after working in the then Portuguese colonies of Angola and of São Tomé, to work in the construction of the facilities for a large fishing company in Lisbon. During this period, similarly to the cinematic vagabonds, he lived by the docks, in a “dock shack.” After the revolutionary period, he moved to the suburban Moscavide neighborhood, where he worked for two contractors. A friend advised him to try to

build a shack in nearby Quinta da Serra, supposedly owned then by a tannery industrialist. Gradually, Mr. António brought his family from Cape Verde.³³³

In 1993, a new program for the demolition of “shack” neighborhoods was created by law.³³⁴ The beforementioned Special Rehousing Program, with the Portuguese acronym PER, was devised by a government of the Social Democratic Party, a party founded by members of the so-called “liberal wing” of the late dictatorship that by the late 1980s had found conditions for the introduction of policies that may be characterized as neoliberal. PER emerged in the context of a 1991 National Program for the Fight against Poverty in order foster the final elimination of “shacks, a wound still open in our social tissue.” Note that in the original Portuguese the term that is used is “chaga,” a wound in the body of Christ. The law imagined “the creation of conditions for a full integration of these populations in the community and a fight against the problems of criminality, prostitution and drug addiction, among others, that the social exclusion motivated by the lack of dignified housing conditions left them prey to.”

Nowhere in the law’s text is there a definition of what “shacks” are, and it is noted that demolitions should proceed even if the “shacks” are located in municipal land. For “shacks” are a “social problem,” a seemingly insoluble quandary that in this case affects society as a whole—but curiously, the inhabitants of shacks are imagined as being outside society, or outside “community,” as abnormal by virtue of occupying a kind of vagabond space where “clandestine” practices thrive. This abnormal population is imagined in the context of a national fight against “poverty” itself. Any reference to the position of residents in the division of labor is absent, and they are discursively articulated with crime. In this context, it seems that local municipalities were to decide what built spaces were worthless, vagabond spaces to be subject to practices of surveillance and destruction; and what subjects were vagabond subjects in need of internment in “social” housing.

Ultimately, the law itself fosters not only demolition and rehousing, but also the very production of abnormality that it purports to eliminate. Residents are to be forcibly moved to public housing, housing produced by the people as a whole for a population defined by residing in a type of housing whose existence is supposedly a “wound” in the sacred body of society. Yet, those that are to be forcibly moved are precisely those deemed unfit to belong to the public, to be the present-day equivalent to the *pubes* (the “adult men” in the Latin language), those that constituted the public—until very recently in Portugal.

Right after the law’s publication in 1993, there was a census of the residents of Quinta da Serra; the population was then informed by the municipality that by 1994 “all would be over.”³³⁵ They were to be rehoused in state-built neighborhoods where they would rent apartments. In 1997, only the northern part of the neighborhood was demolished for the construction of the beforementioned new Regional Inner Ring Road—and the evicted households were forcibly rehoused in distant social housing that soon became conflated with race and criminality.

³³³ Ibid.

³³⁴ Decree-Law 163/93, May 7, 1993.

³³⁵ Interview with Sister Mónica, June 24, 2008. I do not use a pseudonym in this case.

6.4. Sorting and Dispersing Deserving Racialized Subjects

PER Familias (i.e. PER Families) is another program that was created by law two years earlier, in 1995.³³⁶ This program envisaged the possibility of municipalities building housing for sale, but the program also allows for the subsidized acquisition by households of housing in the private housing market. However, the market price must respect a table published yearly by the central state's Housing Institute. For example, a two bedroom apartment in 2006 acquired through PER Families could cost a maximum of 57,000 Euros—about 72,000 US dollars at the time.³³⁷

The Loures municipality, where the Prior Velho ward and the Quinta da Serra neighborhood are located, started its own PER Families program in 2002. Yet, respecting the Housing Institute's table means that Quinta da Serra households that are able to benefit from the program cannot buy a house in their own Prior Velho ward, or even in the Loures municipality. They may find small apartments that respect the table in the Azambuja municipality, for example, 27 miles to the north of Quinta.

In the July 2005 edition of the Loures municipal magazine, PER Families is framed as “social management,” purportedly entailing “deep knowledge” that makes “local intervention” possible (CML 2005, 31). The Loures municipality provides 20 percent of an apartment's price and the Housing Institute provides 40 percent. The household has to pay the remaining 40 percent, and they are allowed to obtain a mortgage through the banking system. In the specific case of Quinta da Serra, the present-day owner of the land is paying an additional 20 percent, to accelerate the gentle destruction of the neighborhood.

Still, 20 percent of about 57,000 Euros is still a large amount for migrant households often working under conditions of informality in the worst paid jobs, or for retired people. For example, many Quinta da Serra men tell that they get jobs in construction without a formal contract. The small contractor, often a compatriot, pays for a transit pass so that they can get to the construction site—in 2009, 28 Euros for one month. However, at the end of the month they do not get paid.³³⁸

In addition, access to mortgages is very difficult for households with no regular source of earnings or with no official ones. Banks demand a guarantor. Furthermore, as one of the nuns that lives in Quinta claims, the guarantor must be someone considered “white.”³³⁹ Those households that have been able to use the PER Families program had to leave the municipality and are dispersed in the outer limits of the metropolitan area. “Local” intervention is a seemingly gentle erasure of the local. As Sister Mónica says: “Prior Velho is full of empty buildings, new

³³⁶ Decree-Law 197/95, July 29, 1995.

³³⁷ *Portaria* 430/2006, May 3, 2006.

³³⁸ Interview with Sister Mónica, June 24, 2008.

³³⁹ *Ibid.*

ones. But they are not for us. And renting a house is very complicated [for people considered “black.”]³⁴⁰

João was born in 1983 in Cape Verde and he came to Portugal when he was 7 years old. His father had come to Portugal in 1972, and he moved to Quinta in 1987. João does not know when the neighborhood was created, but he thinks that this happened during the 1980s. João says: “before it was thought that the land belonged to the municipality; but now a sir has shown up that says that he is the owner . . . he helps, because he wants the land now . . . so the people have to leave.” Indeed, the large real estate company Obriverca bought the land in 2005 and has plans to build a closed condominium in the site. In 2009, Obriverca was selling two bedroom apartments in a built closed condominium in the nearby ward of Sacavém for about 170,000 Euros (i.e. about 230,000 US dollars).

João adds: “when people take care of their papers and that, when they get the house, they leave, and the municipality comes and demolishes the house, or if a person is building and the municipality knows that no house existed before, it has to come down, because then there are more problems.”³⁴¹ Sister Mónica says: “Now with the demolitions this is terrible, and there are places where really the municipality has not removed the rubble, or they took part and left parts of walls” (Fig. E.3 and E.4).³⁴²

The deserving subjects that move are allowed to enter into a partnership with society that implies their dispersion in the Lisbon area. This increasingly produces a ruined space inhabited by bodies estranged from society and placed in a state of expectancy: the young as João, the retired as Mr. António, and the poorest of laborers. This unable population is to be rehoused in state-owned housing.

6.5. “Against Force there is no Resistance”

As I noted at the very beginning of this dissertation, in the late 1960s the professionals that participated in the planning field seem to have surveyed illegalized informal subdivisions like Brandoa with a sense of resistance or opposition to the state administrative apparatus. By the early 2000s an aesthetics of the clandestine persisted among professional architects, now largely excluded from the field of planning. However, the idea of an oppositional clandestinity had been replaced by disappointment. In 2001, the influential architect Manuel Graça Dias commented the following on an informal suburban subdivision in the official journal of the architects’ association:

“In their ‘urbanized’ misguidedness, in their constant obligation and appeal of automobile mobility, these peripheral ‘neighborhoods’ of impermeable *moradias* (i.e. villas), exposed

³⁴⁰ Ibid.

³⁴¹ Interview with João, June 24, 2008.

³⁴² Interview with Sister Mónica, June 24, 2008.

in a raw fashion to the inclemency of an almost Mediterranean sun, appear, however, as the triumph of conformity and of ‘matriarchal’ power, as examples—albeit timid—of a reproduction of the system, more than a hypothesis of subversion or rupture (or ‘threat,’ as the truly clandestine *bairros de barracas* in the bordering corona of Lisbon)” (Dias 2001, 88).

In the case of Prior Velho, the modernized future mentioned in the ward administration’s outdoor signs does not include the racialized subjects of the “truly clandestine” Quinta da Serra. As mentioned in the beginning of this epilogue, they also do not appear in the yearly public gathering of the Prior Velho parish; in contrast, the municipality has fostered the creation of numerous web blogs where residents do appear, entailing the production of a non-threatening subjectivity that is amenable to framing in the context of unproblematic difference. Purportedly less violent techniques for the management of “squatter” spaces enable the continued reproduction of an economy of spatial illegalisms, integral to the maintenance of unequal citizenship in the context of political democratization.

As for purportedly “conformist” illegalized subdivisions such as Brandoa or Casal de Cambra, even though full public infrastructure was provided during the 1990s, most informal land subdivision has yet to be licensed—as the existence of a thriving legalization industry shows. In Portugal and elsewhere, it is crucial to understand how state planning knowledge endangers lives today through situated definitions of urban informality. In the Portuguese case, planning invokes a knowledge of the clandestine enmeshed in authoritarian concepts of excessive freedom, criminalizing unequal citizens subject to variegated modes of spatial violence. This is a moment to seize hold of the memory of the dangers of liberal spaces.

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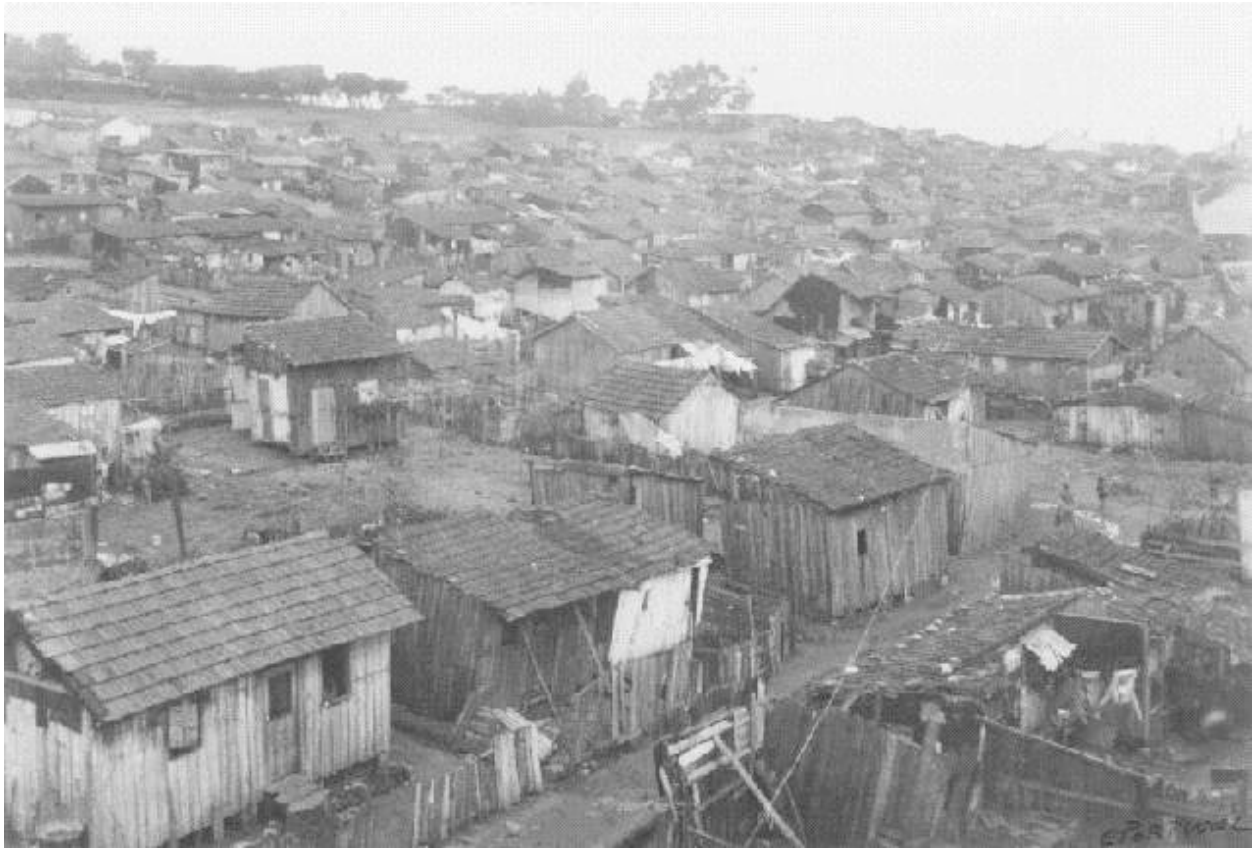


Figure I.1. Lisbon in 1938: the Minhocas (i.e. Worms) neighborhood, built along Lisbon's ring railway across from the Avenidas Novas grid. Photograph by Eduardo Portugal. Photograph courtesy of the *Arquivo Fotográfico de Lisboa* (i.e. the municipal Lisbon Photographic Archive).

³⁴³ Photographs by the author, unless otherwise noted. The other illustrations were obtained from government publications or from Portuguese public archives: the *Arquivo Fotográfico de Lisboa* (i.e. the municipal Lisbon Photographic Archive), the *Arquivo Municipal de Lisboa* (i.e. the Lisbon Municipal Archive), the *Instituto Geográfico Português* (i.e. the state Portuguese Geographic Institute), the archive of the *Junta de Freguesia de Casal de Cambra* (i.e. the Ward Administration of Casal de Cambra), the *Hemeroteca Municipal de Lisboa* (i.e. the municipal Lisbon Periodicals Archive), and the *Colecção Cinemateca Portuguesa - Museu do Cinema* (i.e. the public Portuguese Film Library Collection - Museum of Cinema).

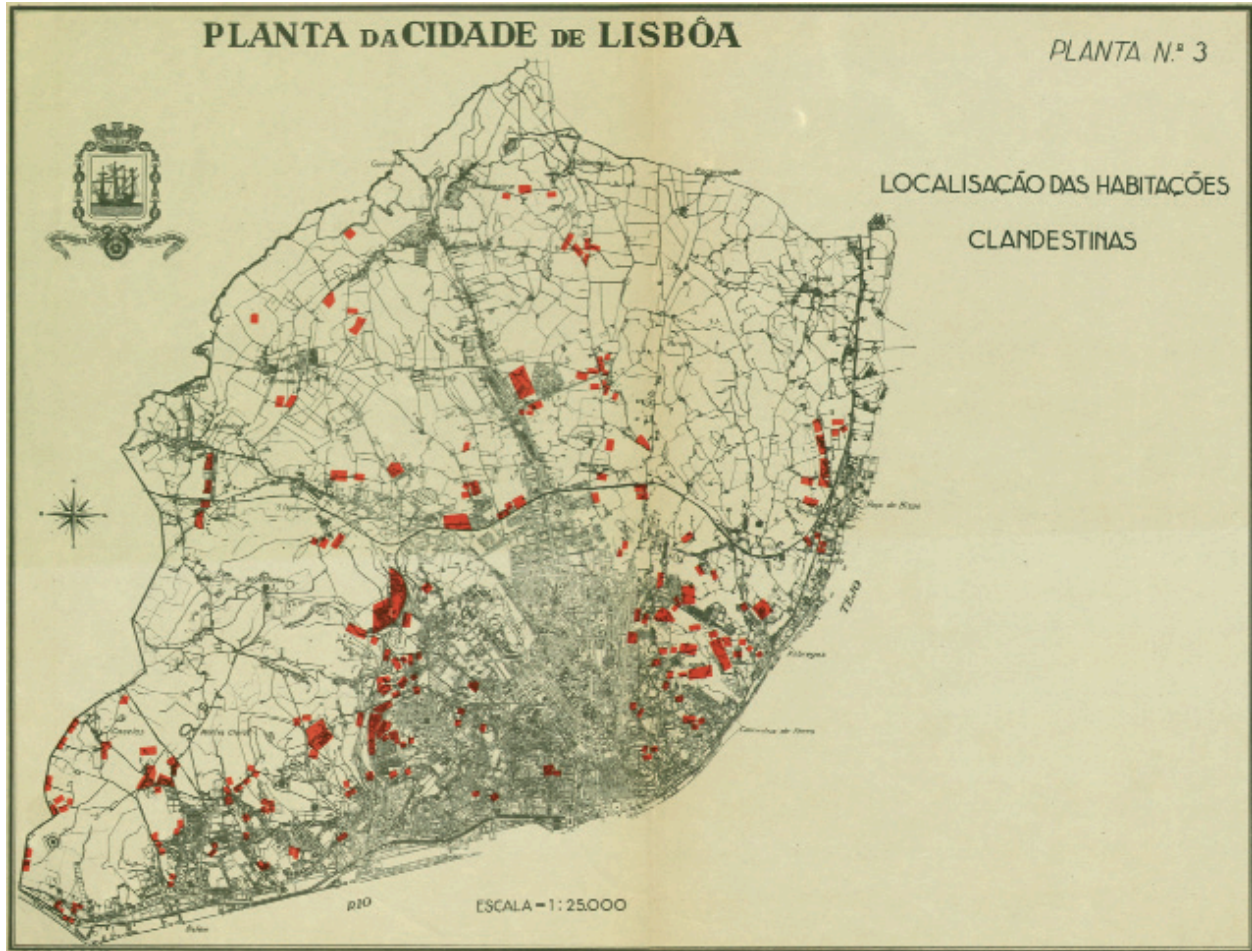


Figure I.2. Lisbon in 1938: “Location of Clandestine Housing” within the limits of Lisbon municipality, included in the municipal survey *Elementos Para o Estudo do Plano de Urbanização da Cidade de Lisboa* (i.e. *Elements for the Study of the Urbanization Plan of the City of Lisbon.*) Courtesy of the *Arquivo Municipal de Lisboa* (i.e. the Lisbon Municipal Archive).



Figure I.3. The Casal de Cambra area in 2006: view from the limits of Lisbon municipality towards Casal de Cambra, beyond the Odivelas Valley. The Casal de Cambra ward is part of the suburban Sintra municipality.



Figure I.4. Casal de Cambra in 2006: view from the Parish Church of Santa Marta towards Lisbon municipality.



Figure I.5. Casal de Cambra in 2007: Miranda do Douro Street. Most of the streets in the northwestern quadrant of the ward have been renamed after Portuguese cities by the ward administration. The original name of this street, which was not built by the initial developer, was Rua das Camélias (i.e. Camellias Street). In the initial street plan of the western part of Casal de Cambra, streets were numbered from 1 to 15; in the eastern part, most original street names evoked Portuguese colonization in southern Africa.



Figure I.6. Brandoa in 2009: Pre-1965 buildings on João de Barros Street, in the Brandoa ward of the suburban Amadora municipality.



Figure I.7. Brandoa in 2009: Pre-1965 house on Almeida Garrett Street, in the Brandoa ward of the suburban Amadora municipality.



Figure I.8. Prior Velho in 2008: the house of the three Catholic nuns in Quinta da Serra, a neighborhood in the Prior Velho ward of the suburban Loures municipality.

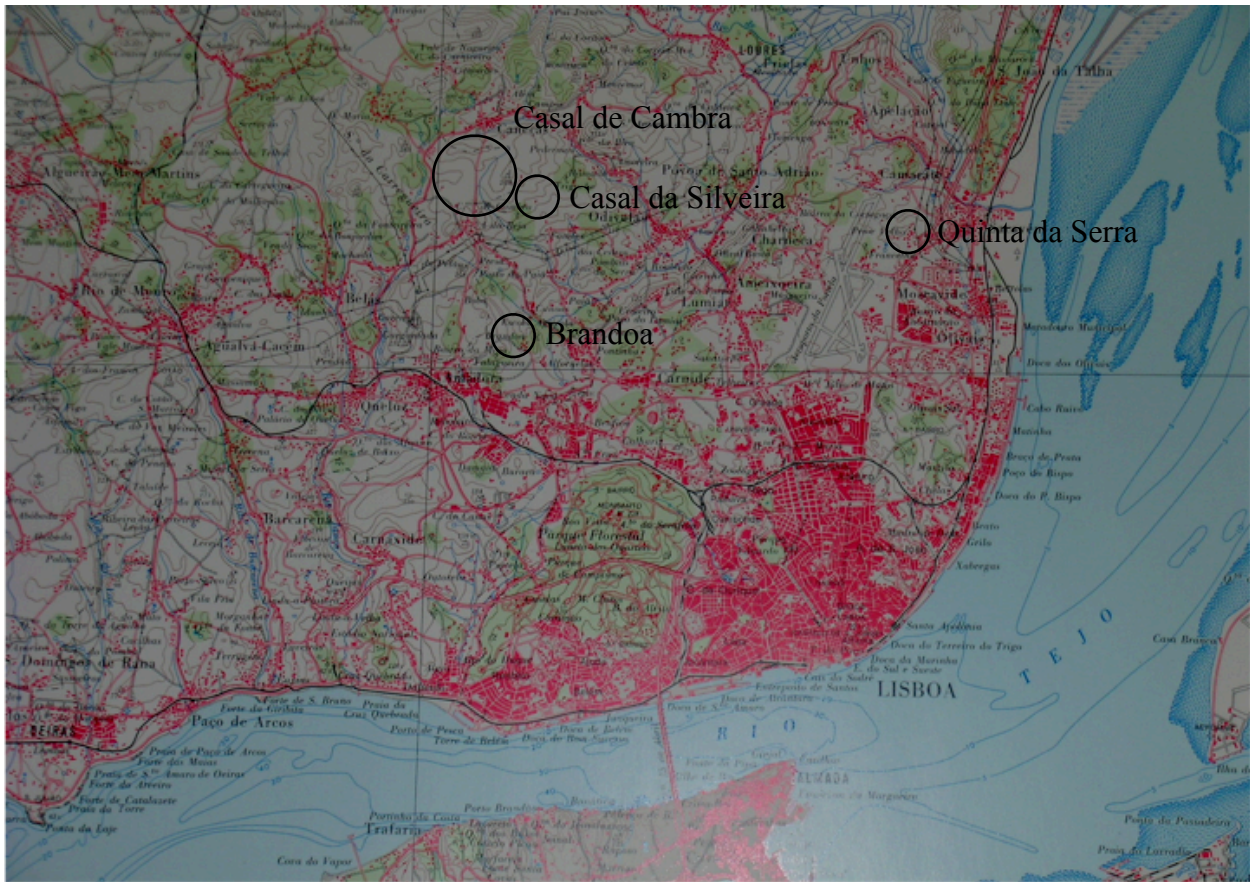


Figure I.9. Location of studied spaces in the northern periphery of the city: Casal de Cambra, Casal da Silveira, Brandoa, and Quinta da Serra. The plan was published in 1970 and partially reviewed in 1975. Both Brandoa and Prior Velho are represented; Casal de Cambra and Casal da Silveira are not depicted, even though building had already started in Casal de Cambra. Original plan courtesy of *Instituto Geográfico Português* (i.e. the central state's Portuguese Geographic Institute, hereafter referred to as IGP).



Figure 2.1. *Os Vizinhos do Rés-do-Chão* [*The Ground Floor Neighbors*,] directed by Alejandro Perla (1947). The Viscount's son Fernando and "lower bourgeois" Beatriz almost kiss. Courtesy of *Colecção Cinemateca Portuguesa - Museu do Cinema* (i.e. the public Portuguese Film Library Collection - Museum of Cinema).



Figure 2.2. *O Milionário* [*The Millionaire*,] directed by Perdigão Queiroga (1962). The “Millionaire,” a vagabond, wakes up in his mobile toothpick factory, parked in a Lisbon street. Courtesy of *Colecção Cinemateca Portuguesa - Museu do Cinema* (i.e. the public Portuguese Film Library Collection: Museum of Cinema).

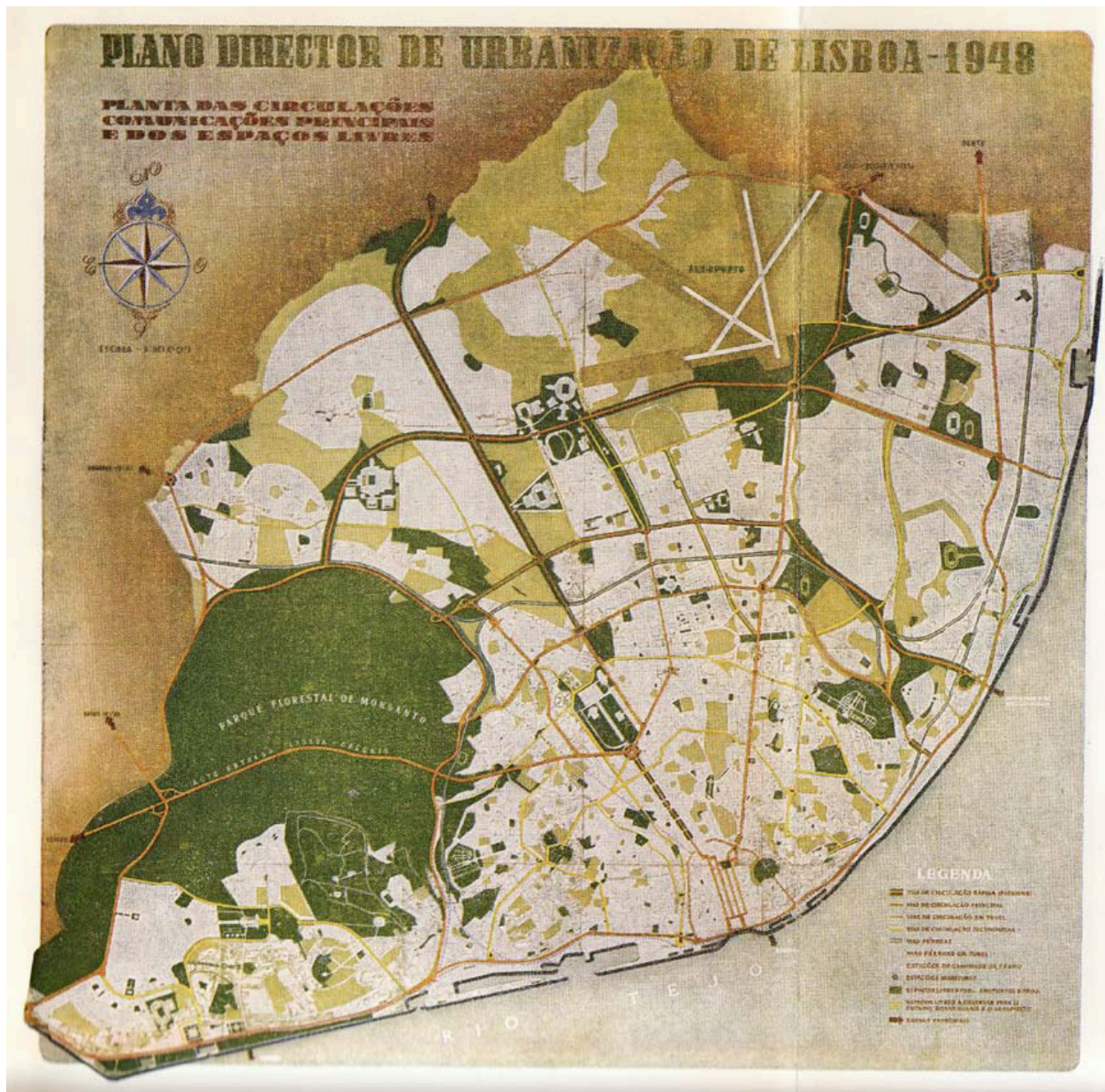


Figure 2.3. 1948 *Plano Director de Urbanização de Lisboa* (i.e. Master Plan of the Urbanization of Lisbon): the “plan of circulations, main communications, and free spaces.” Source: Câmara Municipal de Lisboa 1952.



Figure 3.1. Brandoa farm and environs in 1944. The circle shows the location of the manor house. Original aerial photograph courtesy of IGP.



Figure 3.2. Brandoa and environs in 1965. The circles show the location of the pre-1965 buildings depicted in figures I.6 and I.7. Original aerial photograph courtesy of IGP.

PÁGINA 14 • DIÁRIO ILUSTRADO, 31 de Janeiro de 1962

PÁGINA da **UMA PÁGINA, TODAS AS QUARTAS-FEIRAS PARA 60 MIL HABITANTES** **Diário ILUSTRADO**

AMADORA

Com muito custo, chegue-se de automóvel à entrada da Quinta da Brandoa

Pelo 1.º andar (quatro casas assanhadas, pequenas, azuleja e casa de banho interior, sem arrefecimento) pedem 600\$00 mensais

MAIS DE 600 CONSTRUÇÕES CLANDESTINAS NA QUINTA DA BRANDOIA

Em Outubro de 1960, chamou a imprensa a atenção das autoridades para o que classificou de «burla» que se perpetrava na Quinta da Brandoa, na freguesia de Amadora. Em face da evolução do caso, a que foi impoente para ele sobre, publicou a Câmara de Oeiras, em Abril de 1961, uma exposição, de que extraiamos as seguintes passagens: «Qualquer aglomerado populacional existente em grandes áreas e as distâncias ao podem ser encorajadas quando se prevêm conjuntamente centros de instrução, de cultura e de recreio, centros comerciais e de abastecimento, escolas e transportes, etc., todos estabelecidos em condições de proporcionalidade; isto sem já falarmos nas redes de água, esgotos e electricidade, que há muito deixaram de ser elementos de valorização ou luxo, para passarem a ser condições primárias indispensáveis...»

Estas considerações vêm a propósito de uma «urbanização» que, com fins pretensamente sociais, tem crescido nos terrenos designados por Quinta da Brandoa, na freguesia de Amadora, apesar dos embargos sistematicamente levantados pelo Ministério das Obras Públicas e pela Câmara Municipal de Oeiras.

O terreno em questão não podia ser urbanizado nos anos mais próximos, pois que o seu isolamento em relação a outros centros urbanos criava problemas economicamente intranqueáveis. Esta a razão da sua urbanização não estar ainda prevista.

● Centenas de incautos e o desejo de possuir casa própria

Foi conhecendo estas dificuldades que os proprietários, não pretendendo escorregar pela altura própria e não procuran-

do regularizar a pretensa «urbanização», lotaram o seu terreno ad um limite e sem traçado incoerente, e o vendiam a preços apertadamente baratos a centenas de incautos desejosos de resolver o problema social, sem sequer tiveram o cuidado de, embora clandestinamente, tirar algo que se pudesse transformar, num futuro mais ou menos breve, numa urbanização, mesmo que se distinguisse a classes economicamente deprimidas. O traçado dos arruamentos, o espaço que lhes foi reservado e o despois completa pelo perfil do terreno, são permitidos qualquer local de adaptação, e que eliminará por completo o esforço sobre-humano dos seus proprietários e os fins sociais que dizem pretender atingir, nos quais, porém, por certo nunca produziram.

● Cerca de 200 processos de embargo judicial

Neste momento, aquilo a que os proprietários querem chamar «Plano de Urbanização», encontra-se embargado pelo Ministério das Obras Públicas, e já há instaurados, pela C. M. O., cerca de 200 processos de embargo judicial. Parece que ao vender um terreno não urbanizado e incapaz para cultura a umas centenas de famílias, os proprietários não procuraram antes resolver o seu próprio problema social, a que nem sequer as reservas salafinadas, expressas nos pseudocontratos, retira qualquer responsabilidade.

● Lesados quando pretendem legalizar os seus casos

Os proprietários nunca pretendem legalizar o seu negócio, porque sabiam perfeitamente o caminho que tinham. Foram depois os compradores dos lotes que deram o alarme, procurando honestamente legalizar os seus casos. Porém a impossibilidade de o fazer e perante um caso consumado, lançaram-se num esforço de sobrevivência, através de um movimento massivo de clandestinidade e desrespeito à autoridade local e ao próprio Ministério das Obras Públicas.

Após seguir todo o processo deste lamentável caso de abuso de confiança, de clandestinidade e de desrespeito às autoridades, pode concluir-se que os proprietários da Quinta da Brandoa nunca tiveram a mais pequena ideia de resolver um problema social. Tiveram antes, e com absoluta consciência, a intenção de se libertarem do terreno em mais curto espaço de tempo e transferir para outros proprietários o encargo e responsabilidade de resolver um problema cuja gravidade de solução é difícil de calcular em toda a sua grandeza.

De tudo o exposto se conclui que, embora rotundas de «clandestinidade», estas construções se têm feito não a despeito do direito, o poder e a função de impedir. Mas, enquanto nos tribunais se processavam os embargos, prosseguia-se no local o desenvolvimento das ilegais construções. E essa situação apenas judicialmente, procurando requeria rápida medidas de polícia que não foram tomadas, teve como resultado a situação de facto de que as construções gravuras são uma realidade constante. De desajo de resolver os problemas, o mantimento da habitação, passamos à ambiciosa tentativa de construir pro-

ICONTINUA NA PAG SEQUINTE

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REPORTAGEM FOTOGRAFICA DE PINHEIRO FOTOGRAFO Av. da República, 38-1.º Telef. 93 08 35 — AMADORA

VISTA PARCIAL DA QUINTA DA BRANDOIA

Figure 3.3. Brandoa in 1962. “Mais de 600 Construções Clandestinas na Quinta da Brandoia.” [“More than 600 Clandestine Constructions at Brandoa Farm.”] *Diário Ilustrado*. January 31, 1962. Courtesy of *Hemeroteca Municipal de Lisboa* (i.e. the municipal Lisbon Periodicals Archive, hereafter referred to as HML).



Figure 3.4. Brandoa in 1969. Copy of a survey of Brandoa prepared on March 6 and 7 for a Committee of the Oeiras municipality. This plan shows the grid created in 1958, and was included in a local government report published in 1988. Source: JFB 1988, 16.



Figure 3.5. Brandoa and environs in 1989. Note that two of the original blocks have been partially occupied by a new street, linking the original entrance of the farm to the central east-west street, present-day Rua da Liberdade (i.e. Freedom Street). The remaining 1958 grid remains mostly unchanged. Aerial photograph courtesy of IGP.



Figure 3.6. Casal de Cambra in 1965. Note the two quarries. Aerial photograph courtesy of IGP.



Figure 3.7. Casal de Cambra in 1977. The main road is now paved, but all other roads are dirt or gravel paths. Note also the first building of Lisprene, one block west of the main road. The company manufactures concrete mixers and deals in construction equipment. Aerial photograph courtesy of IGP.



Figure 3.8. Casal de Cambra before the paving of the streets in the early 1990s. Note the concrete structure and brick infill of the unfinished buildings to the left, and the variation in setbacks of the open-lot structures. Note also the lack of parked automobiles at this moment in the history of the subdivision. Unknown author. Photograph courtesy of the archive of the *Junta de Freguesia de Casal de Cambra* (i.e. Ward Administration of Casal de Cambra, hereafter referred to as JFCC).



Figure 3.9. Casal de Cambra in the late 1970s: the building of the *Centro Social*. Unknown author. Photograph courtesy of the archive of the JFCC.

... nos
depo-
e no
o in-
os se
saram
e dias

... dos.
É o mínimo que se pode pedir,
para reparar tantas injustiças pro-
fessadas na era ainda recente do
Gonçalvismo.

Mansel José da Costa
Amadora

... rinsky, para justificar o direito
de trindade. Em as suas palavras:
«o direito de fazer (isto é, direito
de trindade) pertence já na altura
de revolução e desenvolve-se por Trotsky,
consiste em evitar o pluralismo sin-
dical e assegurar a todos os traba-
lhadores o direito de exprimir-se
livremente as suas opiniões».

... penado Serviço de Urgência.
—O atraso na aplicação do
Decreto de Integração de 26 de
Novembro de 1975.

Passados 6 meses (o que revela
bem a inoperância burocrática da
Secretaria de Estado do Trabalho)
ainda não foram publicados no
«Diário da República» os quadros

... Secretaria de Estado do Trabalho
a fim de se obter o desenvolvi-
mento destes estatísticos para o
que é de toda a conveniência (o
apoio da opinião pública em
geral e dos meios de informação
em particular)

José Mendonça
Lobos

CONSTRUA!

todos devemos viver "debaixo de telha..."

É altura de aproveitar as facilidades de crédito à construção
civil concedidas pela Caixa, quer através dos contratos de
desenvolvimento, quer do crédito habitual para habitações de
preços moderados.

Dinamizando a construção, desenvolve a economia nacional,
cria novos postos de trabalho e responde à imensa
procura de habitação.

Construa agora, casas para todos. Em todo o país. A facilidade
de mais crédito é uma oportunidade a não perder! Consulte-nos
sem demora!



CAIXA GERAL
DE DEPÓSITOS




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Figure 4.3. Newspaper advertisement for state bank loans for building: "BUILD! We all should live 'under a roofing tile.'" *Expresso*, July 9, 1976. Courtesy of HML.

No texto do acordo Portugal-CEE prevê-se a constituição de uma comissão mista entre as duas partes, que se reuniu em Bruxelas no início de 1973 para definir as

No decorrer das várias reuniões deste comitê, a delegação portuguesa aludiu várias vezes à insuficiência do contingente tarifário relativo ao vinho do Porto, impedindo o escoamento óptimo da

de concentrados de tomate. Com efeito, Portugal constitui o único país obrigado a respeitar um preço mínimo e a aplicar um regime de auto-limitação das suas exportações dirigidas à Comunidade.

**pode construir-se num ano
o que não se
construiu em 50?**



pode!
Os blocos Ytong constroem rápido.

Rapidez de construção. Economia de materiais.
Utilização extremamente fácil: os blocos Ytong trabalham-se como a madeira.
Grande resistência. Leveza. Alto coeficiente de isolamento térmico.
O betão celular autoclavado Ytong - blocos, plaquetas, grânulos, divisórias interiores, placas de fachada - é o material de construção do futuro. Utilizado no presente. Na construção de grandes bairros residenciais, fábricas, teatros e complexos turísticos.
A Ytong assegura entrega imediata. A Ytong garante assistência técnica à construção civil. Com demonstração prática das utilizações.



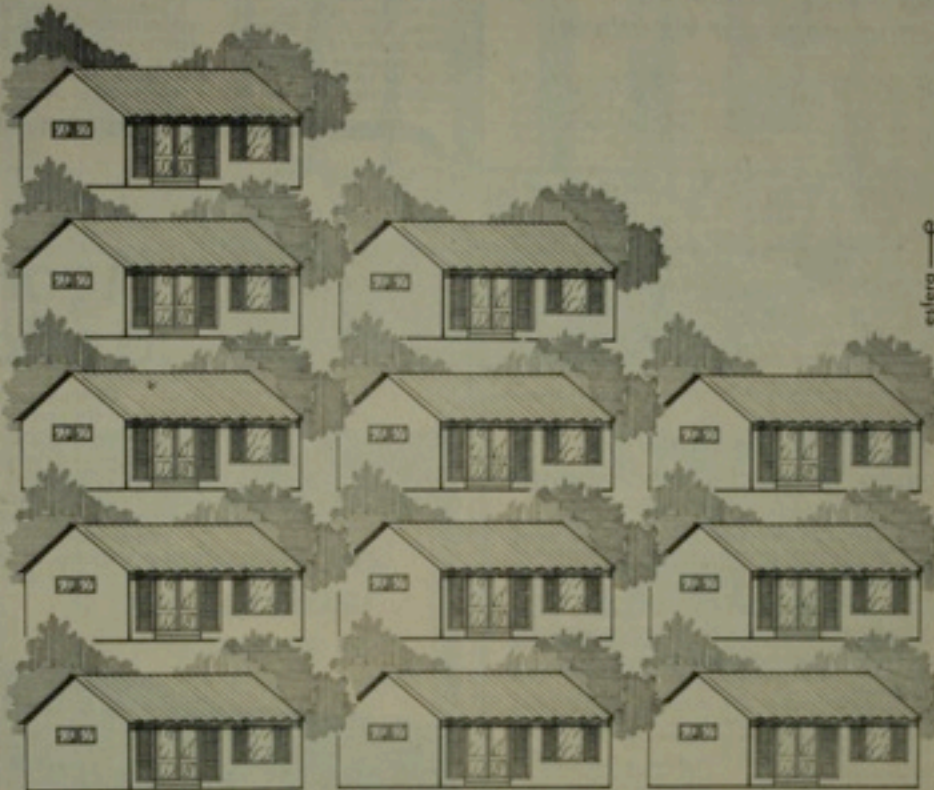
YTONG

BETÃO CELULAR AUTOCLAVADO

ESTRADA NACIONAL N.º 10 KM.17 • TELEFONES 2019906-7-8-9 • CORUA

Figure 4.4. Newspaper advertisement for Swedish building blocks: "Can one build in one year what was not built in 50? One can! Ytong blocks build fast." *Expresso*. February 15, 1975. Courtesy of HML.

da auto-construção



à construção do país

Uma casa. Duas casas. Cinco casas.
Um bairro. Nós estamos ao lado
das autarquias locais,
das câmaras que, em ligação directa
com o povo, pretendem
solucionar o problema
da habitação. Os nossos materiais
(coberturas, revestimentos, paredes,
tectos, saneamento,
reservatórios, ventilação)
que os técnicos competentes conhecem,
estão na linha
da auto-construção para
a construção do país. Consulte-nos.

LUSALITE

Sociedade Portuguesa de Fibro-Cimento, S.A.R.L. R. 5. Nicolau, 123 - Telef. 322091 - LISBOA

AGENTES EM TODO O PAÍS

Figure 4.5. Advertisement for Portuguese building materials: "From Self-Building to the Building of the Country." *Expresso*. May 10, 1975. Courtesy of HML.



Figure 5.1. Casal de Cambra in 2007: *Vivenda O Nosso Sonho* (i.e. Villa Our Dream) on Gonçalves Zarco Street, formerly Rua do Alecrim (i.e. Rosemary Street). Many of the streets in the southeastern quadrant of the ward have been renamed after Fifteenth Century Portuguese sailors by the ward administration. The ground floor of this house is a car repair shop.



Figure 5.2. Casal de Cambra in 2007: Legalization company on Milan Street, formerly Rua 1 (i.e. 1 Street). Many of the streets in the southwestern quadrant of the ward have been renamed after cities in other Western European countries by the ward administration.



Figure E.1. Prior Velho in 2008. This image shows a moment of the annual party of the parish of Prior Velho on June 29, held in the church square two blocks away from the street that surrounds the Quinta da Serra neighborhood. Two nuns that live in the neighborhood had invited me to the parish party. None of the other residents that I had met appeared in this public celebration so close to their homes.



Figure E.2. Prior Velho in 1962. This photograph was included in the cover of a February 1962 edition of the *Diário Ilustrado* newspaper. The image purports to represent “clandestine” building in Prior Velho, where the present-day Quinta da Serra neighborhood is located. *Diário Ilustrado*. February 11, 1962. Courtesy of HML.



Figure E.3. Quinta da Serra in 2008.



Figure E.4. Quinta da Serra in 2007.