

**GEITONIES - Generating Interethnic Tolerance and Neighbourhood
Integration in European Urban Spaces**

Lisbon - City Report

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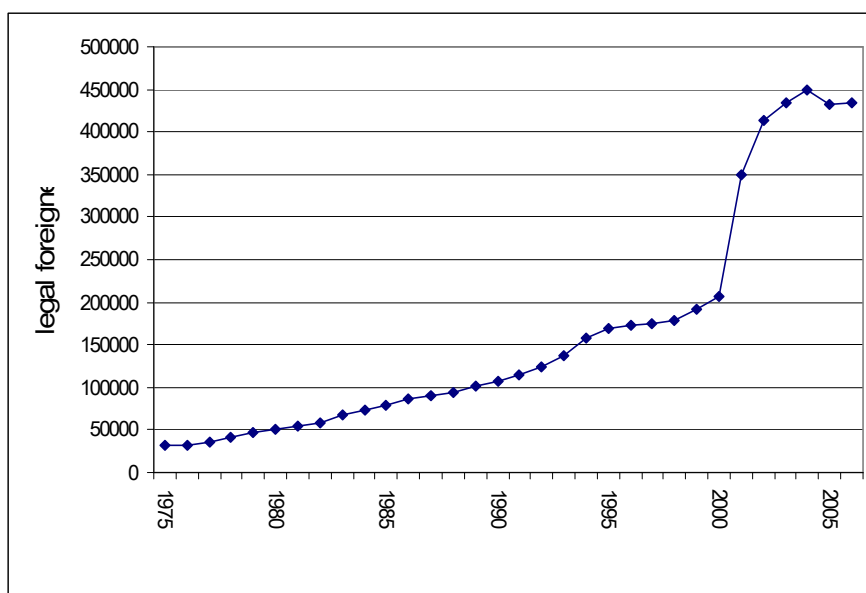
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1. The City in Context

Portugal was traditionally a country of emigration, however, in recent times, reflecting the situation in other Southern European countries, it has become a country of immigration. This change in the net migration balance is largely related with the end of the colonial empire, a closer proximation with Europe, after Portugal's entry into the EU in 1986, and the modernisation and internationalisation of the Portuguese economy (Fonseca, 2008). Before the 1960s immigration to Portugal was minimal, by 1960 the foreign resident population numbered less than 30,000 (only 0.3% of the total population). Of this, the majority were from Europe (67.3%), namely Spain, and the Americas (30.5%), principally Brazil (Fonseca, 2008). The foreign population remained more or less stable until the end of the 1960s and really only began to grow after the revolution in 1974. The subsequent process of de-colonialisation resulted in a flux of residents from the ex-colonies arriving to Portugal. Indeed, in 1975 and 1976 between 500,000 and 600,000 people arrived to Portugal. Despite this, immigration did not truly begin to gather momentum until the 1980s, when labour migrants arrived from lusophone countries, principally Cape Verde but also Guinea-Bissau, Angola and Brazil (Fonseca and Esteves, 2002, Fonseca 2008). As a result the number of immigrants originating from African countries quickly began to out number those from European countries, and in 1981 numbered 24,895 and 16572, respectively (Fonseca, 2008). Indeed, by 1996 a disaggregation of the foreign population revealed a strong connection with Portugal's colonial past as over half were from Brazil or PALOP countries (Fonseca et al 2002, Fonseca, 2008).

Since the late nineties and into the turn of the century Portugal has seen the emergence of a new migratory wave, associated with its favourable economic conjuncture at this time, from Eastern European and former USSR countries. Consequently, Portugal has undergone a migratory transition from net emigration to net immigration, whereby the foreign population increased by 152.8% in the 10 years between 1996 and 2006. Thus, over the period between 1975 and 2006 the legal foreign population residing in Portugal increased over thirteen times from 31,983 to 437, 126 (Fonseca 2008) (or 4% of the total population) (see Figure 1), not to mention the substantial number of irregular migrants.

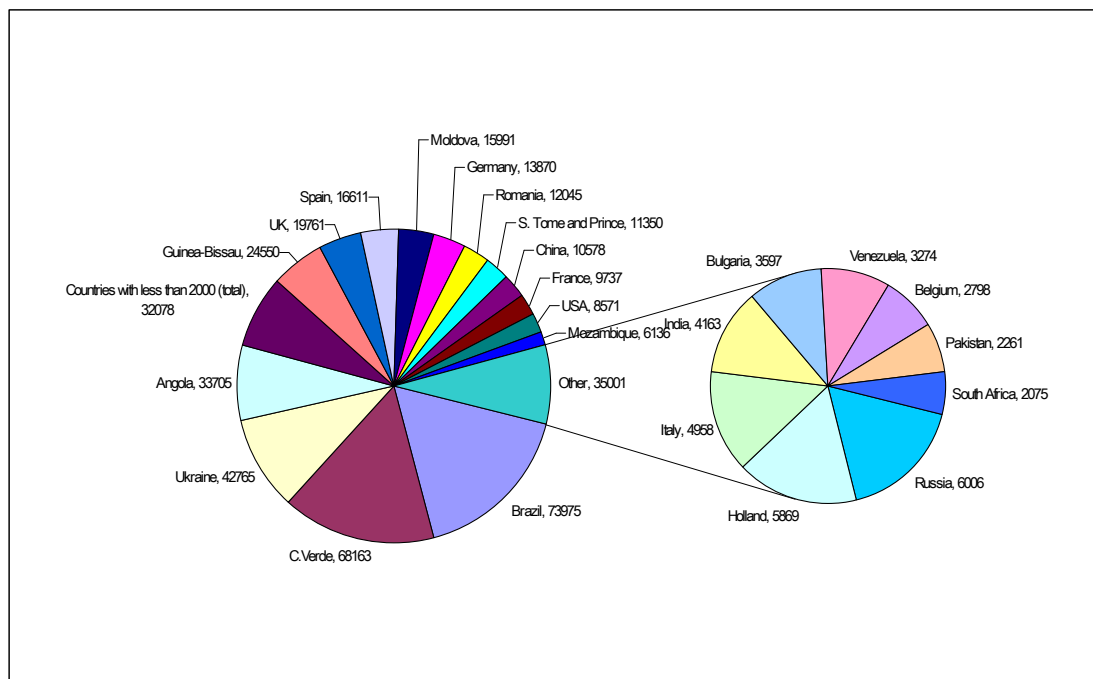
Figure 1 - Evolution of the number of foreigners resident in Portugal between 1975 and 2006



Source: Fonseca 2008; INE

In 2005, the OECD estimated that the number of undocumented foreigners residing in Portugal numbered 185,000 (SOPEMI-OECD, 2006). This reiterates results of other surveys that also point to the fact that a lack of legal documentation is most common among Brazilian immigrants (Fonseca and Goracci et al, 2007). A survey conducted by Fonseca et al (2005), with a representative sample of 1,600 third country nationals living in Portugal, sheds some light on the relative volume of irregular workers as well as inter-group differences. In total, 20% of those surveyed did not possess the necessary legal documentation to reside in Portugal (whether in possession of no documents or expired ones). Interesting inter-group differences were also found; immigrants from the older migratory waves displayed higher levels of regularity in their legal status, over 40% had residence permits in comparison to less than 10% of Eastern Europeans and Brazilians. Furthermore, over 25% of Brazilians and 16% of Eastern Europeans lacked the necessary documentation or were ‘overstayers’ (cited Fonseca, 2008).

Figure 2 Principal nationalities of foreign documented citizens living in Portugal, in December 2006



Source: Fonseca, 2008; INE / SEF

The immigrant population has therefore become more diverse in terms of place of origin, representing a total of 170 nationalities. Immigrants originating from African countries continue to be the largest group, numbering 154,766 and representing 35.4% of the total immigrant population. This is followed by nationals from non-EU European countries and South and Central America and in fourth place are those immigrants originating from EU-25 member states. Immigrants originating from Asia are significantly fewer in number, however, important to note due to the recent growth of Pakistanis, Indians and Bangladeshis (Fonseca, 2008). A finer grained analysis by nationality shows Brazilians and Cape Verdeans as the largest immigrant groups followed by Ukrainians, Angolans and those originating from Guinea-Bissau - see figure 2.

There have also been marked socio-professional changes in the composition of the flows, due to the relatively high levels of education and training among the newer Eastern European immigrants (Malheiros and Vala, 2004). Despite this immigration is still dominated by unskilled workers, hailing from the same countries in a process of chain migration, which is intensified by family reunification (Fonseca, Malheiros and Silva, 2005). Further changes are evident in the character of the second migratory wave which have posed new challenges,

namely, as mentioned previously, the volume of illegal immigrants and language, in line with the divergence of sending countries from Portuguese speaking ex-colonies, to name but a few (Fonseca et al 2007).

In general terms, there is a disparity between the situations of immigrants and the majority population in Portugal. Past studies point to the fact that citizens from third countries living in Portugal have a higher propensity to find themselves in situations of poverty or social exclusion. This is reflected by the fact immigrants suffer from a higher rate of unemployment, are represented in low qualified and poorly paid jobs, experience poor housing conditions and are more likely to live in declining and stigmatised areas (Peixoto, 2002; Fonseca et al, 2002; Baganha et al, 2002; Malheiros and Mendes, 2007). Furthermore, there are also disparities in the levels of educational achievement and school attendance of the second generation youth from older immigrant communities (Hortas, forthcoming).

From a political perspective Portugal fits into neither an assimilationist regime on one hand nor a multicultural one on the other, rather it has responded to ethnic pluralism by establishing the basic principle of equality of rights between foreigners and nationals (Fonseca et al, 2002). Immigration policy has been integrated gradually into the Portuguese legislative framework and to a large extent mirrors the migration flows and their inherent characteristics. It began to develop in the post-colonial years as before then immigration was not irrelevant in policy terms (Fonseca et al, 2002). Indeed, prior to the mid-nineteen nineties immigration and integration was politicised little in Portugal and the legislative framework was rudimentary, responding mainly to post-colonial transition. However, the increasing numbers of immigrants, as well as their relative disadvantage, has placed immigration and the integration of migrant groups firmly on the political agenda. This has been reinforced by the agenda of the European Union, growing public debate, new lobbies from the voluntary sector and the visibility of exclusion and poverty suffered by immigrants (Fonseca, 2007). In the following sub-sections we will attempt to outline the development of the policy framework in Portugal along the lines of nationality law, immigration law and integration policy.

Nationality Law

The new democratic regime established in 1974 extended civic rights to foreigners, thus, introducing the basic principal of equality. At the same time and somewhat contradictory, the existing nationality law was adapted in response to growing public fears of mass migration from the colonies (Decree-Law n° 308-A/75, 24th June) to make it more difficult for those born in ex-colonies to acquire Portuguese nationality. Following the same principles, a new Nationality Law was introduced in 1981 (Law n° 37/81, 3rd October) which transferred the

criteria of "ius soli" (right of territory) to "ius sanguinis" (right of blood)¹. This legislative change was influenced by the process of post-colonial transition as opposed to the relevance of actual immigration itself (Fonseca, Malheiros, Esteves, Caldeira, 2002). This law served to make thousands of young people of African descent foreigners in Portugal, the country in which they had been born.

Meanwhile, this law has undergone some changes, which were enforced in 1994 (Law n° 25/94, 19th August) to make it more restrictive, and again in 2003 (Decree-Law n° 194/2003, 23rd August) and 2004 (Law n° 1/2004, 15th January). Finally, in 2006, a new Nationality Law was approved (Law n° 2/2006, 17th April - regulated through Decree-law n.º 237-A/2006, 14th December) which substantially altered the rules for obtaining nationality legislated in 1981. The new law enforced once again "ius soli" (right of territory). The main reason behind this was to regularise the aforementioned descendents of immigrants who although being born and brought up in Portugal did not have Portuguese nationality.

Thus presently, access to Portuguese nationality may be obtained by way of attribution of nationality (nationality of origin), which corresponds to cases of citizens who are Portuguese by origin, or by the acquisition of nationality (derived nationality). This last case can result from three situations: by the effect of will, by adoption or by naturalisation.

The new law diminished the requirements that were necessary for naturalisation by introducing a new concept of legal residence, whereby residence is proved by any type of valid residence title (residence permit, permanence permit, working visa, student visa, temporary stay visa, and extension of permanence permit) rather than just by a residence permit. It stipulated that foreigners legally residing in Portugal for six years, independent of their nationality, could be granted nationality by naturalisation. The new law also made common-law marriage equivalent to marriage for the purpose of obtaining nationality.

Minor descendents of immigrants, were also granted the same right in the following cases: if one of their parents had resided legally in Portugal for five years (independent of the residence title they held); if they had concluded the first cycle of basic education in Portugal; and if one of their parents was born in Portugal, regardless of their legal situation but providing they had lived in Portugal during the last ten years.

¹ Right of blood or nationality acquired through filiations. A child will have his/her parents' nationality.

In all of these situations it is mandatory that individuals have a sufficient knowledge of the Portuguese language and that they have not been convicted under Portuguese Law to three years or more in prison. The acquisition of Portuguese nationality only implies the loss of nationality of origin if the law of the country of origin determines it (for example in Ukrainian Law).

Immigration Policy

Besides the aforementioned changes in nationality law since the early nineties there were other important legislative advances to regularise irregular migrants. The first process of extraordinary regularisation was in 1992/93, in which approximately 40,000 undocumented migrants were legalised. Fonseca et al (2002) maintain that, although this worked positively in terms of integration, the chief motivation underpinning this regularisation was national security. This was followed by a second extraordinary regularisation process under the socialist government, in 1996, in which slightly more than 30,000 foreigners were regularised. Both processes targeted non-EU foreigners who were able to prove they had been residing in the country for a particular number of months previous (Fonseca, Malheiros and Silva, 2005). In 1998 the socialists went on to pass Law 244/98 on the permanence, entry and expulsion of foreigners, which also strengthened the principle of equality of rights and made provision for family reunion and the regularisation of undocumented migrants (Fonseca et al, 2002; Baganha and Malheiros, 2000).

It was not until the turn of the century that immigration policy really developed, as such Fonseca et al (2002) argue that true immigration policy did not actually begin until post-2000. As the volume of migrants continued to grow in the late 1990s so did the visibility of illegal migrants, who were frequently trafficked into the country, and so it became imperative that the government act. This pressure was exacerbated by claims of labour shortages by employers due to the needs of the internal labour market (Fonseca et al, 2002). For the first time economic issues related with the Portuguese labour market became central in the immigration debate (Fonseca, Malheiros and Silva, 2005). Indeed, up until this time there had been no concrete legislative attempt to regulate flows or implement immigration policy in line with the needs of the labour market. In response, the former law (224) passed in 1998 was amended by Decree-law no 4, which was passed in 2001, again under the socialist government. The law also made provision for the regularisation of illegal workers and as a result, the equivalent of 78.3% of the total number of immigrants from non-EU 25 countries was regularised (Fonseca and Goracci, 2007) or 185,000 individuals (Fonseca, Malheiros and Silva, 2005). The nature of this process of regularisation was different as it specifically

targeted foreign workers with valid employment contracts who were offered 'stay permits' – titles specifically developed for this regularisation process. The stay permit allowed legal residence in Portugal for one year and was renewable for up to four years providing work contracts were maintained (Fonseca, Malheiros and Silva, 2005). Furthermore, one aspect of the law was related to the recruitment of foreign workers, whereby it required the government to produce a forecast every two years of the number of foreigners needed in each activity sector, thus establishing a quasi-quota system. In practise, however, this system has served to regularise existing migrants as opposed to recruiting new ones (Fonseca, Malheiros and Silva, 2005). Fonseca et al (2002) assert that this was the first step towards more flexible immigration policy in line with EC regulations.

With the coming to office of the centre right government in 2002 immigration policy was made more restrictive, primarily with regards to entries and family reunion (Fonseca et al, 2002). The 2001 Act on the regime of entry, permanence, exit and removal of foreigners underwent important changes culminating in Decree Law n.34, passed in February 2003. The 2003 law strengthened both the mechanisms of expulsion for irregular migrants and the means of penalisation of traffickers and employers exploiting undocumented workers. This law has been criticised by Fonseca and Malheiros, among other authors, as overlooking human and social rights in favour of security and the labour market. Furthermore, they argue that the law has formalised existing inequalities between different groups of non-EU residents and has adopted an overly restrictive concept of family, as concerns processes of family reunification (Fonseca, Malheiros and Silva, 2005).

Following this, there was a special process of regularisation, called the "Lula Agreement", which was signed between Portugal and Brazil², in July 2003. This agreement regularised Brazilians who entered the country before the 11th of July of the same year as well as Portuguese illegally residing in Brazil.

A further amendment was made to the 2003 law through normative 6/2004, 21 April, which included an article (n71) to regularise non-EU foreign workers who could prove they were economically active in Portugal before 12 March 2003 and that they had paid tax and made social security contributions. These processes of regularisation also had an important role to play in enabling family reunification (Fonseca, Malheiros and Silva, 2005).

² The Agreement is named after the Brazilian President José Inácio Lula da Silva, who negotiated the Agreement with the Portuguese government and came to Portugal to sign it.

The centre right government was dissolved in 2005 and the socialists returned to power. Following this, in 2007, a new law (no 23/2007, 4th July), approved in Parliament with favourable votes from both the ruling power and the opposition, was passed regulating the entrance, permanency, exit and deportation of foreigners. The main characteristics of the law include: the introduction of one title for all residing legally in Portugal; the implementation of harsher disincentives to counter illegal immigration and combat trafficking; improvements in eligibility rules for acquiring long term resident permits, enabling third country nationals to stay for a period of five years rather than just PALOP nationals; increased fines for firms hiring illegal immigrants; the criminalisation of convenience marriages; a new regime to grant residence permits to victims of human trafficking and illegal immigration; a new regime of visas for temporary immigration and residence permits for sufficiently qualified professionals and researchers. The law also enables minors born in Portugal, and their parents, who are attending pre-school, primary or secondary school to obtain residence permits. Family reunification was widened to de facto couples and children over 18, providing they are single and studying in a Portuguese institution. The possibilities for the expulsion of illegal immigrants were also limited and for detention abolished.

Integration Policy

Each of the regularisation processes, in tackling illegality, served to open access to societal institutions in general as well as welfare and social services and thus, promote integration indirectly (Baganha, Marques and Fonseca, 2000). Furthermore, there were several targeted interventions in the 1990s in response to the increase in the number and visibility of foreigners in particular regions and their over-representation in situations of poverty and clandestine housing, which subsequently had impact on their integration (Fonseca et al, 2002).

In 1991, Entreculturas was established, under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education, with the objective of promoting equal opportunities and developing multi-cultural education (Fonseca et al, 2002; Albuquerque, Ferreira and Viegas, 2000). The issue of multicultural education has become increasingly prevalent in the context of the more recent migratory wave and the subsequent increase in children of non-Portuguese speaking migrants. Following this in 1993, other initiatives were undertaken, under resolution 38, with the aim of bettering the living conditions of immigrants and tackling exclusion in the labour market, welfare system and in housing. In the same year Entreculturas launched an Intercultural Programme and the State Secretaries of Employment and Social Affairs launched a specific measure aimed at socio-professional integration (Fonseca, Malheiros and Silva, 2005). A further initiative to re-

house people living in shantytowns in Lisbon and Porto, although not designed to specifically promote integration, had a profound impact on foreigners living in these area due to their over-representation in clandestine housing. This will be discussed in more detail in the section on Lisbon.

It was only when the Socialist Party came to office in 1995 that a coherent integration policy framework was developed. As a means to enlarge and make coherent previous integration initiatives, a High Commissioner for Immigration and Ethnic Minorities (ACIME) was appointed, in 1996, with a small staff. The role of the commissioner was to support the integration of immigrants and promote equality of rights. In 1998 an inter-institutional council - the Consultative Council for Immigration Affairs (COCAI) - was established, under the directorship of ACIME, to bring together representatives from NGOs, immigrant associations, trade unions, business associations and the State Secretary for Portuguese Communities. This constituted a positive step in including stakeholders in the debate (Fonseca et al, 2002). Further to these direct actions, other non-specific policy changes had indirect impacts on the integration of immigrants throughout this period, as already mentioned the Special Re-housing Programme (PER) as well as the introduction of the Guaranteed Minimum Income.

In the years post 2000 the debate has become increasingly focussed on the integration and inclusion of the second generation, particularly those of PALOP descent. In 2001, Programa Escolhas was established by resolution of the Council of Ministers n°4/2001, 9th January and a preliminary phase of implementation defined until the end of 2003. The programme was managed by the Português da Juventude (IPJ). The objective of this programme was to combat criminality and promote the integration of youths in problematic neighbourhoods in the districts of Lisbon, Porto and Setúbal. In total 50 projects were implemented in this initial phase, whose aims included, as well as those stated previously, the training of parents of youths, the stimulation of partnerships between communities and public services, the actualisation of entities that work with youth and the protection of minors.

When the new centre- right coalition government came into office in 2002 the high commissioner for Immigration and Ethnic Minorities (ACIME) was enlarged to establish a full commissariat, with enlarged human and financial resources. Subsequently, they developed the National Immigration Plan. In the year of 2002/2003 three main initiatives were executed under this plan. The first was the development of the National Information Network for Immigrants (Rede Nacional de Informação ao Imigrante), through various mediums, including a call centre attended in three languages, information leaflets and a monthly bulletin. The second was the national system to support immigrants, which included

National Immigrant Support Centres (CNIA) in Lisbon and Porto, which then developed a national network of local centres (CLAI) throughout the country. The centres, coined as a 'one stop shop', house the key state departments and an array of services providing information and practical help on legislative rights in Portugal, regularisation, access to the domains of education, employment, health and social security etc. The concentration of public services has proved not only to be beneficial for users but also for service providers as they can share knowledge. The third was the creation of an Immigration Observatory, which in conjunction with research centres in various universities conducts research and promotes public debate.

In the meantime Programa Escolhas was extended in 2004, known as Escolhas – 2ª Geração (E2G), by resolution of the Council of Ministers (nº 60/2004). It was extended again in a third phase in 2006 and it is now in its fourth phase, which will run until 2009. The overarching objective is to promote the social inclusion of children and young people who are in vulnerable positions and at risk of social exclusion, principally descendents of immigrants and minority ethnic groups and to promote equality of opportunity. Specifically there are four main measures: 1) school inclusion and informal education; 2) professional training and employability; 3) civic and community participation; and 4) digital inclusion.

In 2007, ACIME was made a public institution, now known as the Institute for Integration and Intercultural Dialogue (ACIDI), and attributed with a slightly revised mission to “collaborate in the conception, execution and evaluation of public policies, transversal and sectorial, relevant for the integration of immigrants and minority ethnic groups as well as promoting dialogue between diverse cultures, ethnicities and religions” (Decree-Law no 167/2007, 3rd May, cited in Fonseca and Goracci, 2007). This model and its associated initiatives have been referred to consistently as examples of best practise in various European publications. In the same year a Plan for the Integration of Immigrants was passed by the Council of the Ministers, including 122 measures to improve the settlement of recent migrants, access to employment, access to education and professional training, housing, healthcare, financial support for associations, anti-discrimination mechanisms and equality policy (Fonseca and Goracci, 2007).

It is important to note that besides integration policy, immigrants themselves have established associations to aid the process of integration, there are close to one hundred associations that are recognised by ACIDI.

Anti-discrimination legislation

The first piece of legislation specifically addressing antidiscrimination was passed in 1999 (Law no.134/99), which prohibited discriminatory practises based on ethnicity, colour or nationality. To oversee the implementation of the law the Advisory Committee for Equality Against Racial Discrimination, constituted by similar key actors to those in COCAI, was set up (Fonseca et al, 2002).

Local Policy: The Metropolitan Area of Lisbon

After the revolution in 1974, and the subsequent establishment of the democratic regime, Portuguese municipalities were given more autonomy and became key actors in the implementation of national policy (Fonseca et al, 2002). Despite the lack of formal policy obligations placed on the municipal authorities as regards immigrant populations, they have been central in developing responses to the needs of this population group (Silva, 1999; Fonseca et al, 2002).

The most active authorities are perhaps those in the municipalities who comprise the Metropolitan Area of Lisbon. This is largely due to the concentration of immigrants in the metropolitan area of Lisbon and the social disadvantage they face. Fonseca et al (2005) note, that there is a degree of variation within the integration philosophies and initiatives implemented by the different municipalities in the LMA. This is explained largely by the role of immigrant associations in each municipality and the visibility of immigrant groups, as well as the personal responses of political leaders and a lack of institutionalisation of the agenda. The same authors highlight two dominant approaches adopted by some of the local authorities in the LMA: the first is a targeted approach, with the creation of consultative bodies to deal with the needs of the immigrant population and the second is the mainstreaming of responses to immigrant needs, through the normal mechanisms in place for the population in general.

In general, the most prevalent concerns of Lisbon's municipalities have been related with public housing. This is due to the over-representation of immigrants in shanty towns, clandestine housing and in deprived areas of the city, particularly on the periphery of the city. It is also related to the fact that until 1993 access to public housing was restricted to the Portuguese (Franca, 1992, Malheiros, 2000, Fonseca, Malheiros and Silva, 2005). Indeed, in a survey conducted, in 2001, with 13 municipalities in the LMA on the actions or policies implemented relating to minority ethnic and immigrant communities, housing was revealed to be the main concern (Fonseca, Caldeira and Esteves, 2002). The most notable response to this has been the Special Re-housing Programme (PER) which finished in 2001. PER has

effectively acted as a slum clearance programme in which the shanty towns have been demolished and former residents relocated to new formal housing. This programme was not targeted specifically at immigrant groups, however, they benefited due to their over-representation in these areas.

In the aforementioned survey, following housing, the municipalities targeted the areas of social support and education, in response to social and economic exclusion (Fonseca, Caldeira and Esteves, 2002). In terms of social support, perhaps the most important policy initiative was that of the guaranteed minimum income. Although a central policy, the role that municipalities have had in its implementation, dissemination and administration, which is done locally, cannot be underestimated (Fonseca et al, 2002). Local Follow-up Commissions (LFC) operate within each municipality to process applications, determine eligibility and provide advice on social integration programmes. In general, educational projects at the municipal level are targeted specifically to those schools that have high percentages of students of immigrant background in their student body. These programmes, although local authority initiatives, are often supported by the Entreculturas Secretariat, which is under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education or by ACIDI. Examples of such programmes include digital inclusion programmes, anti-racism campaigns, the promotion of multicultural education, school support and personal development, to name but a few. The final priority areas in order of importance, according to the aforementioned survey, were culture, promoting citizenship, supporting immigrant associations and lastly, surprisingly a low priority given the economic exclusion among immigrants, labour market and training initiatives.

Further to PER, the European Community initiatives URBAN I and URBAN II should also be highlighted here due to their impact at the local level in Lisbon. The main objective of these initiatives was to finance projects to reduce the exclusion of populations who were marginalised in social and territorial terms (Geddes e Benington, 2001 cited in Esteves, 2004). The target areas were characterised by high levels of unemployment, poor housing conditions, a lack of services and social problems, such as drug use and high criminality. In Portugal six councils benefited, 4 in the LMA (Amadora, Lisbon, Loures and Oeiras) and 2 in Porto (Esteves, 2004). Diverse projects were implemented based on the principal of working with the residents. These initiatives often complemented other programmes, such as the re-housing programme (PER) mentioned previously - for example, in some re-housing neighbourhoods URBAN provided equipment for social support and in another specific resources for a library (Esteves, 2004). To ensure the continuity of these projects, and as a result of their success, URBAN II was implemented between 2000 and 2006. Both programmes were implemented

in partnership with the municipalities, the public sector and voluntary sector organisations and in direct link with other programmes, including the EC initiative EQUAL, whose aim was to promote insertion in the labour market of victims of discrimination on the basis of ethnicity, sexual orientations, religion etc. In Lisbon, URBAN II was implemented in the neighbourhoods of Damaia-Buraca (Amadora) and in the Vale de Alcântara (Lisboa), mainly due to the results of URBAN I in these areas (Esteves 2004). The goals were similar to those of its predecessor and included tackling stigmatisation and creating a better area image, encouraging dynamism in local associations, improvement of the built environment and investment in the formal education of the population.

Another programme implemented in the LMA at this time, and with similar objectives, was PROQUAL (The Integrated Programme for the Qualification of Suburban Areas in the Metropolitan Area of Lisbon). This programme consolidated the ongoing work being conducted by various levels of the administration (Esteves, 2004). It aimed to improve not only the physical environment (both natural and built), through the integration of these areas into the urban network and the rehabilitation of public spaces, but also social aspects, including employment, professional training, and support for micro-companies. An interesting aspect of the programme was the creation of a Local Partnership Commission, to promote civil participation and to mobilise local organisations to participate in the projects (Esteves, 2004).

Little can be found in the literature that offers a critique of Lisbon's municipalities' policies and initiatives. Fonseca et al (2005) maintain, however, that greater success is hindered by a lack of both institutionalisation and long term strategies to sustain initiatives.

Media discourse and public opinion

Although improved, in general, media coverage of immigration and immigrants has tended to be quite negative in Portugal. Since 2000 it has been dominated by economic issues and the regulation of flows according to the labour market, which is largely a consequence of the economic downturn that the country has faced since this time (Fonseca, Malheiros and Silva, 2005). The more recent flows of immigrants coming from Brazil and Eastern European countries have attracted considerable media attention. Public opinion in general on immigrants and the labour markets is somewhat contradictory and opinion polls reveal two divergent viewpoints (Fonseca, Malheiros and Silva, 2005). On one hand some continue to

consider immigrants as competitors in the labour market, exacerbated by increasing unemployment, whereas on the other hand others deem immigrants as vital in their role as a replacement workforce for lower skilled jobs no longer favoured by the Portuguese (Lages and Policarpo, 2003; Malheiros et al 2005). In saying this, however, the former opinion would appear to carry more weight, as there appears to be a general sense of unease about the number of foreigners living in Portugal. A report, based on two polls (the Eurobarometer and the European Social Survey), by the European Observatory of Racism and Xenophobic Phenomena, in 2005, found that 62.5% of those surveyed felt that there was an excessive number of foreigners living in Portugal, compared to a European average of 50%. These results should be interpreted within the context of the economic climate in Portugal (Fonseca, Malheiros and Silva, 2005). Indeed, to the contrary, more recent results from MIPEX reveal a positive attitude toward immigration among the Portuguese: 69.3% support the idea that immigrants should have equal social rights; 72.2% defend the right to family reunification; and 45.2% think that foreigners should be able to acquire Portuguese nationality easily (Nissen et al, 2007, cited in Fonseca and Goracci, 2007).

Besides the new migrants, longer established immigrant groups from PALOP countries have received considerable media attention. In particular, the media has concentrated on problems related to the integration of the second generation youth of these communities. The debate has focussed on security and crime, primarily in response to the increase in youth crime in the housing estates on the urban periphery. One example of which is the media representation of an incident that occurred at Carcavelos beach close to Lisbon. A collective robbery involving 30 to 40 people, according to police reports, was presented as some sort of uprising involving 500 people. Such sensationalist reporting has served to criminalise African youth in Lisbon (Fonseca, Malheiros and Silva, 2005).

In response to negative media representation, NGOS and most notably ACIDI have been working to create a positive image of immigrants in society. In particular, ACIDI have developed initiatives specifically targeting this issue. They have supported the production of documentaries and programmes that are aired on public television on specific aspects of immigrants' lives and challenges they face and have created the Immigration and Ethnic Minority Journalism for Tolerance award, which distinguishes journalism that has served to combat racism (Fonseca, Malheiros and Silva, 2005). As a result, several authors contend that positive change is occurring in the representation of immigrants in the media related with an increase in more objective reporting (Cádima, 2003; Ferin Cunha and Santos, 2004).

2. Socio-territorial portrait of Lisbon Metropolitan Area

The Lisbon Metropolitan Area in the national context: basic features

Besides being the headquarters of the national political power, Lisbon is also the centre of a metropolitan area, which is the largest demographic concentration and the main focus of economic activity in Portugal. The Lisbon Metropolitan Area (LMA) is comprised of 18 municipalities spread along both banks of the Tejo River³. There are 9 municipalities on the Northern bank and 9 on the Southern bank (Annex 1, Figure 1). In 2001, there were 2,661,850 inhabitants (26.97% of the population residing in mainland Portugal), living in 2,934.8 Km² (3.3% of the national territory), the equivalent to an average population density of 906.99 inhabitants per Km².

Between 1991 and 2001, the resident population of the Lisbon Metropolitan Area grew at a slightly higher rate than that of the country as a whole (5.6 % and 5.3%, respectively) - a fact which is partly a consequence of the growing immigration of foreign citizens.

The Metropolitan Area of Lisbon is the main national focus of economic activity. In 2005 it held 38.9% of the GDP generated in mainland Portugal. By 2001, trade and services constituted the main economic activity sectors, accounting for 74.8% of the working population living in the region, whereas in the national territory as a whole the tertiary sector accounted for just 59.9% of the resident population. Roughly a quarter of the labour force living in the LMA was employed in the secondary sector – 13.4% in manufacturing, 9.7% in construction and 0.9 % in electricity and water supply.

Despite the fact that the pattern of productive specialization in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area is increasingly based in the service sector, the manufacturing industries of this region still account for a significant part of the Portuguese manufacturing industry. By 2001, 17.2% of the workers of this sector were concentrated in the region.

Between 1991 and 2001, alongside the growth in service activities and the process of industrial restructuring that took place, there were some very important changes in the structure of the business fabric and in the location of economic activity. Furthermore, employment has become increasingly precarious, particularly in the personal/domestic

³ Lisbon Metropolitan Area (LMA) was instituted in 1991, in the form of a special type of two-tier municipal association – the Metropolitan Assembly and the Metropolitan Board, both made up of indirectly elected councillors. However, the effective power of the two organs is very limited. The main administrative unit is the municipality and the main policy decisions regarding the chief sectors of LMA – transport, education, health, housing, environment protection, energy, culture, etc. - are made by the central government.

services and construction sectors, in which immigrants and ethnic minorities are largely over-represented (Fonseca et al, 2002).

The economic restructuring and the social and demographic transformations through which the Lisbon Metropolitan Area has undergone over the last twenty years have brought about major changes in the urban structure and in land use, both in the city itself and in the suburbs, thus altering dramatically the urban landscape. In the ensuing section, we seek to characterise the social and spatial organization of the metropolitan territory.

The components of the socio-territorial structure

On the basis of a multivariate factor analysis of twenty one indicators, of the demographic, socio-professional, family and ethnic structures of the resident population, as well as education and training and housing conditions, at the *freguesia* (parish) level, four factors have been selected, with an eigenvalue equal or superior to one, which together represent 52.6% of the total variance (table 1).

These factors are as follows:

- **Factor 1 – a socio-economic factor** – This factor explains 20.10 percent of the total variance. It is defined by indicators of levels of education (illiteracy rate for the population of 10 years and older and the percentage of the resident population over 25 years who hold a university degree), the socio-professional structure of the population (percentage of managers, intellectual and scientific workers and the percentage of those employed in unskilled worker categories) and housing conditions (percentage of dwellings with electricity, water supply, sewage and bathrooms). This factor measures social stratification and divides the urban space into parishes with high and low socio-economic status.
- **Factor 2 – a demographic factor** – This factor describes the age structure of the population and explains 15.54 percent of total variance. The young population and young families present a residential pattern distinct from the elderly population. These differences are closely related to the urban expansion of Lisbon and the period of construction of building for residential use. It is important to underline here that this factor presents a strong relationship with the juridical regime of property ownership and with the percentage of EU-15 nationals. The reasons for this are related with the predominance of owner occupancy in more recently built urbanisations and with the fact that EU-15 nationals are on average much older than labour migrants originating from PALOP countries and Brazil.

- **Factor 3 - an ethnic factor** - The third factor, explaining 10.28 percent of the variance of the 21 indicators included in the analysis, highlights a strong relationship between the residential patterns of African communities and the distribution of poor housing with precarious conditions. The disadvantaged situation in the labour market of PALOP citizens, in comparison to the Portuguese average, especially in the case of those in irregular situations, is reflected in very low average household incomes and in poor housing conditions. For this reason, in 2001 the PALOP nationals were over-represented in shacks often lacking basic amenities like toilets, showers or electricity and in overcrowded dwellings.
- **Factor 4 – Unemployment and dependence on welfare** - The fourth factor relates the unemployment rate with the percentage of the population living on welfare benefits, presenting high negative loadings for both variables. This factor is also defined by the percentage of immigrants from Eastern Europe, although with a positive loading. This result indicates a negative correlation between the residential distribution of immigrants who arrived in the more recent migration waves and the percentage of unemployed people.

Table 1 – Factor analysis – varimax rotated factor loadings

| Variable | Factor 1 | Factor 2 | Factor 3 | Factor 4 |
|---|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| 0 to 14 years | -0,242 | -0,875 | 0,207 | 0,074 |
| 0 to 65 years | 0,159 | 0,922 | -0,192 | 0,035 |
| Family with one adult over 15 and one child less than 15 years (single parent families) | 0,218 | -0,164 | 0,570 | -0,343 |
| Illiteracy (10+ years) | -0,713 | 0,155 | -0,208 | 0,080 |
| Population of 25 years or more with Higher Education | 0,987 | 0,081 | -0,006 | 0,058 |
| Activity rate | -0,037 | -0,311 | 0,025 | 0,058 |
| Unemployment rate | -0,099 | 0,100 | 0,213 | -0,725 |
| CNP ⁴ 1 and 2 | 0,936 | 0,244 | -0,116 | 0,134 |
| Population receiving welfare benefits | -0,373 | 0,001 | 0,291 | -0,538 |
| CNP ⁵ 7 8 9 | -0,904 | -0,255 | 0,069 | 0,112 |
| EU15 nationals | 0,364 | 0,531 | -0,047 | 0,135 |
| Other European nationals | -0,247 | 0,053 | -0,105 | 0,488 |
| PALOP nationals | -0,042 | -0,300 | 0,787 | -0,195 |
| Brazilian nationals | 0,135 | 0,044 | 0,069 | 0,192 |
| Indian and Pakistani nationals | 0,081 | 0,313 | 0,195 | -0,006 |
| Chinese | 0,092 | 0,386 | 0,006 | -0,124 |
| Population of Owner occupiers | -0,060 | -0,754 | -0,225 | 0,035 |
| Population resident in social housing – belonging to council, state, Institutions or public companies | 0,017 | 0,122 | 0,196 | -0,219 |
| Population resident in non-classic housing | -0,081 | -0,063 | 0,458 | -0,111 |
| Population living in dwellings w /elect, water, heating and bath | 0,488 | -0,377 | -0,429 | 0,095 |
| Over occupied housing | -0,536 | -0,076 | 0,636 | -0,008 |
| Explained variance | 4,222 | 3,263 | 2,159 | 1,401 |
| Percentage of total variance | 20.103 | 15.540 | 10.281 | 6.669 |

Source : Census, 2001

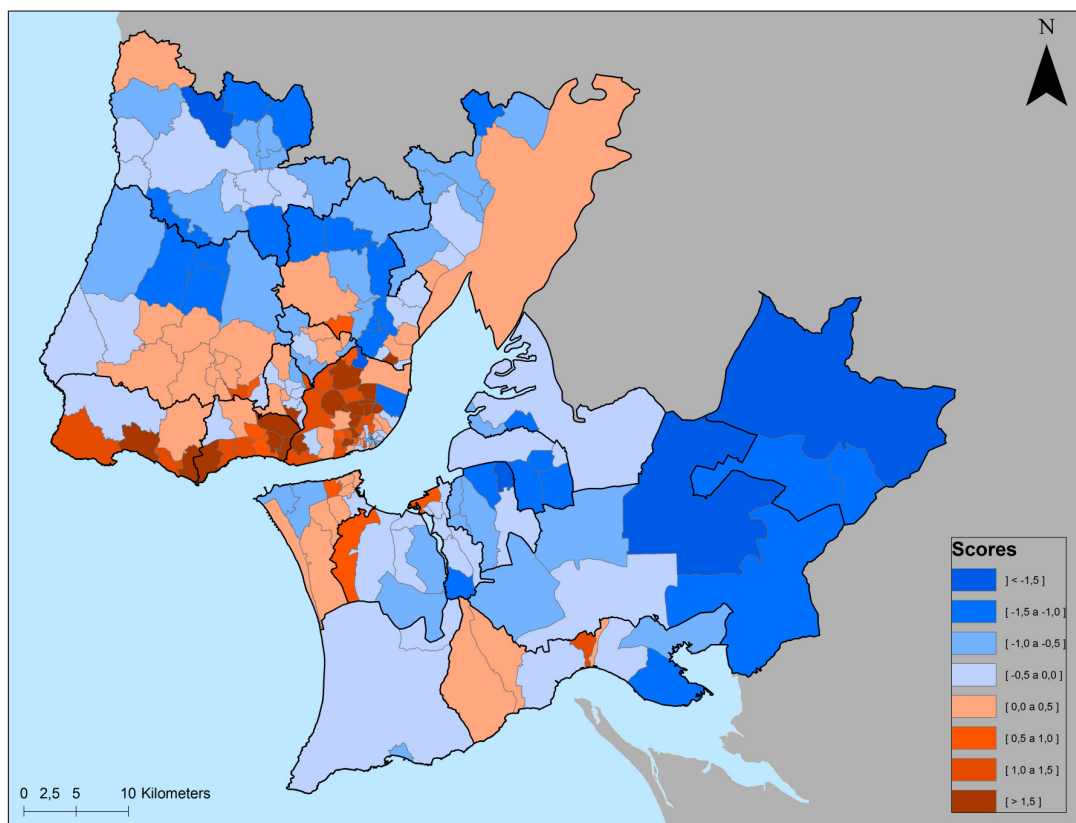
The mapping of the scores of these factors shows the relevance of each in the socio-spatial differentiation of the urban agglomeration of Lisbon. The score values in factor one (socio-economic structure) permits the identification of two main groups of parishes. The first group, with high positive values can be found in the majority in the city of Lisbon, the Cascais - Estoril coast and also in the parishes of Alfragide (council of Amadora), Portela (council of Loures) and S. Julião in the city of Setúbal. They are typically residential areas of better quality, inhabited by middle class families, more privileged social groups and high qualified professionals originating from EU-15 countries. The second group is distinct due to having high negative scores. It corresponds largely, to peri-urban areas, further away from Lisbon.

⁴ CNP=National Classification of Professions. Groups 1 and 2 pertain to high skilled professionals namely: 1. Civil service managers, executives and managers of corporations; and 2. Intellectual and scientific experts.

⁵ Groups 7, 8 and 9 pertain to low skilled or unskilled professions, namely: 7. Labourers, craftsmen and similar workers of extractive industries and civil construction; 8. Operators of installations and machines and assembly line workers; and 9. Non-skilled workers

These parishes have populations with low levels of schooling and traditional structures of production, characterised by civil construction, commerce and personal services, small industry and some agricultural activity. They are located mainly in the councils of Montijo, Moita, Palmela and Setúbal, on southern bank of the Tagus river and Mafra, Loures and Northern Sintra, on the northern bank of the river. Some parishes in the first suburban crown in Northern Lisbon are included in this group, such as Camarate, Apelação and Unhos (Council of Loures). In the city of Lisbon, besides Charneca, in the north of the city close to the airport, and Marvila, in the east of the city, included in this group are two parishes situated in the historic neighbourhoods in the traditional centre of the city: Socorro and S. Miguel. All of these areas are inhabited in the majority by populations with low levels of education and training and high percentages of the economically active in low skilled professions and low family incomes. The remaining parishes have scores closer to the average (Figure 3).

Figure 3 - Scores in Factor 1 - Socio-economic structure



Source : Census, 2001

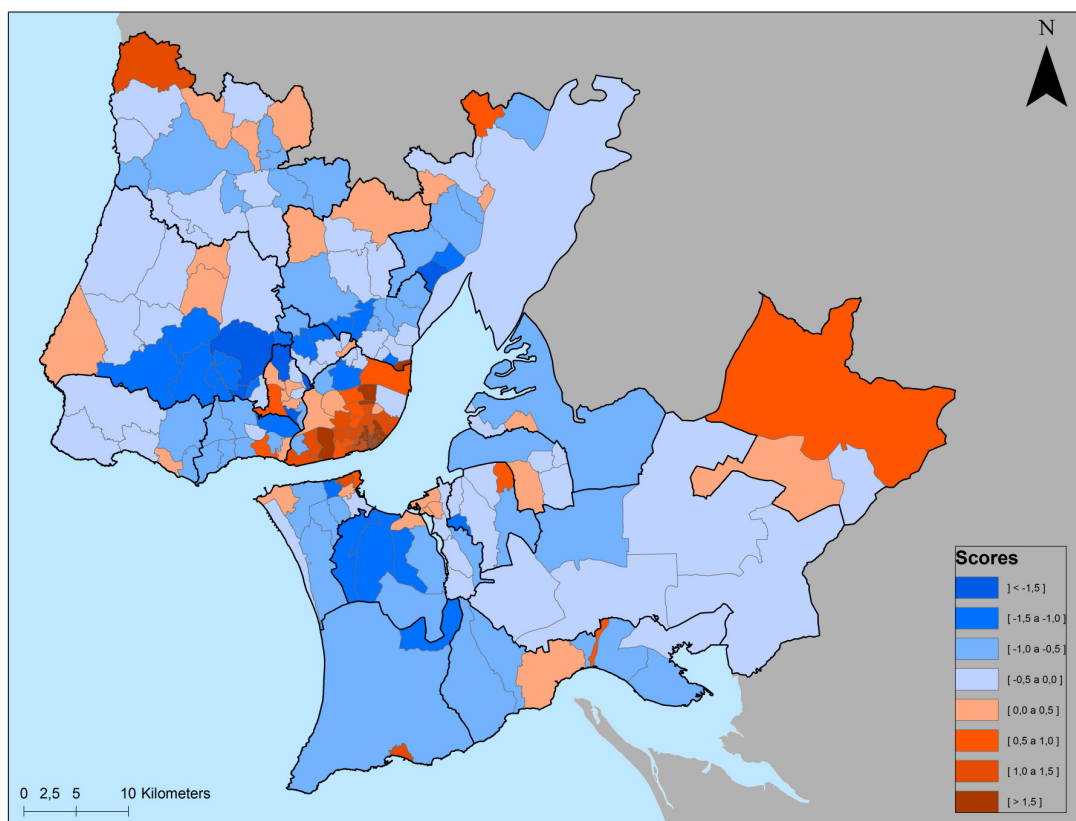
As we referred to previously, factor two describes the age structure of the population. The age of the population resident in each parish is associated with the time of construction of buildings for residential use. Hence, the youngest families tend to be concentrated in the most

recent urbanisations, while the older population is over-represented in the older neighbourhoods.

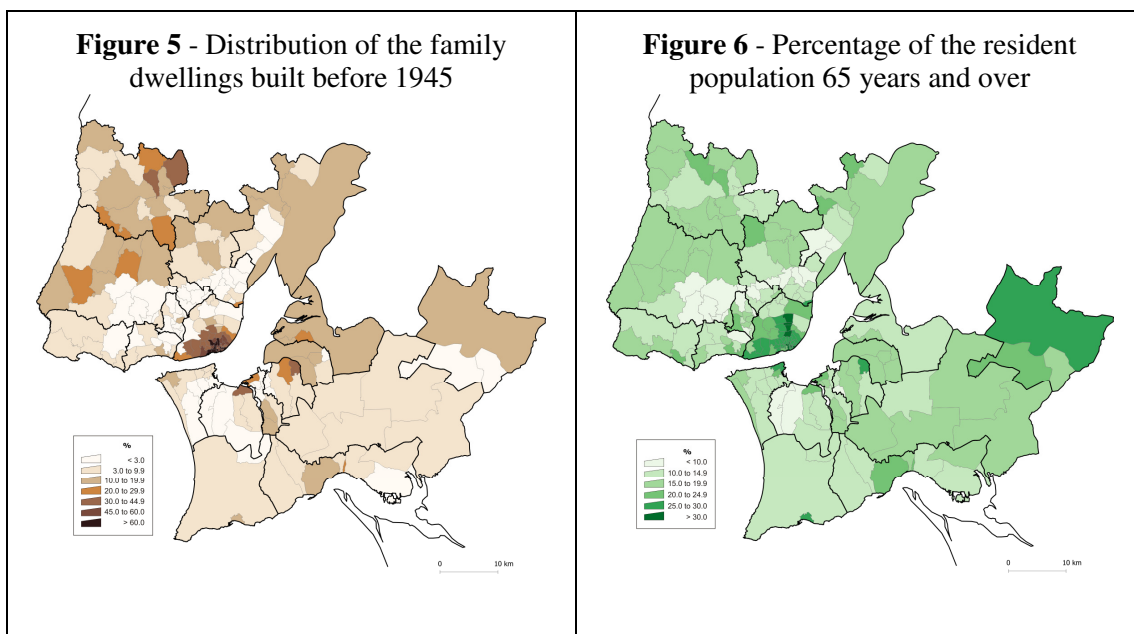
The percentage of the elderly population and of dwellings constructed before 1945 have a very similar spatial pattern as the scores from factor 2 (Fig. 4, 5 and 6). The mapping of these scores permit the identification of: i) the historic centre of Lisbon, with a larger percentage of old buildings and elderly inhabitants; ii) the suburban crown with younger demographic structures and fewer old buildings; iii) the metropolitan fringe, which still has markedly rural characteristics and more elderly populations. In the suburban councils it is also possible to distinguish the parishes correspondent with the old urban nuclei of the suburban and peri-urban areas, as presenting negative scores in this factor.

In demographic terms, the city of Lisbon differs from the other municipalities of the metropolitan area in what regards the high proportion of elderly inhabitants (almost one quarter of the total population) and its low proportion of young people (11.6%), which indicates a higher degree of ageing than at the national level.

Figure 4 - Scores in Factor 2 – Demographic structure



Source : Census, 2001



Source : Census, INE.

The evolution of the demographic structure of the various parishes of the Lisbon Metropolitan Area is closely associated with their rates of demographic growth and, therefore, with the intra-metropolitan patterns of residential mobility. Thus, the areas that have undergone the largest demographic increases, because of young couples looking for housing in the suburbs, are also those in which there is relative over-representation of the working age population, particularly between 25 and 45 years of age. To the contrary, in the city of Lisbon and in the older urban nuclei of the suburban areas, there is a higher percentage of elderly inhabitants than in the whole of the Lisbon Metropolitan Area (Fig. 6 and 7).

The Lisbon municipality underwent a significant demographic decline, losing 98,737 inhabitants (14.9%), between 1991 and 2001, while the other municipalities of the Metropolitan Area experienced a 12.9% growth. The decrease in the number of inhabitants of the city, which has mostly been due to economically active young people moving to the suburbs, has been reinforced by the tertiarization of the central areas and by the exponential increase in the prices of land in the more central and prestigious areas.

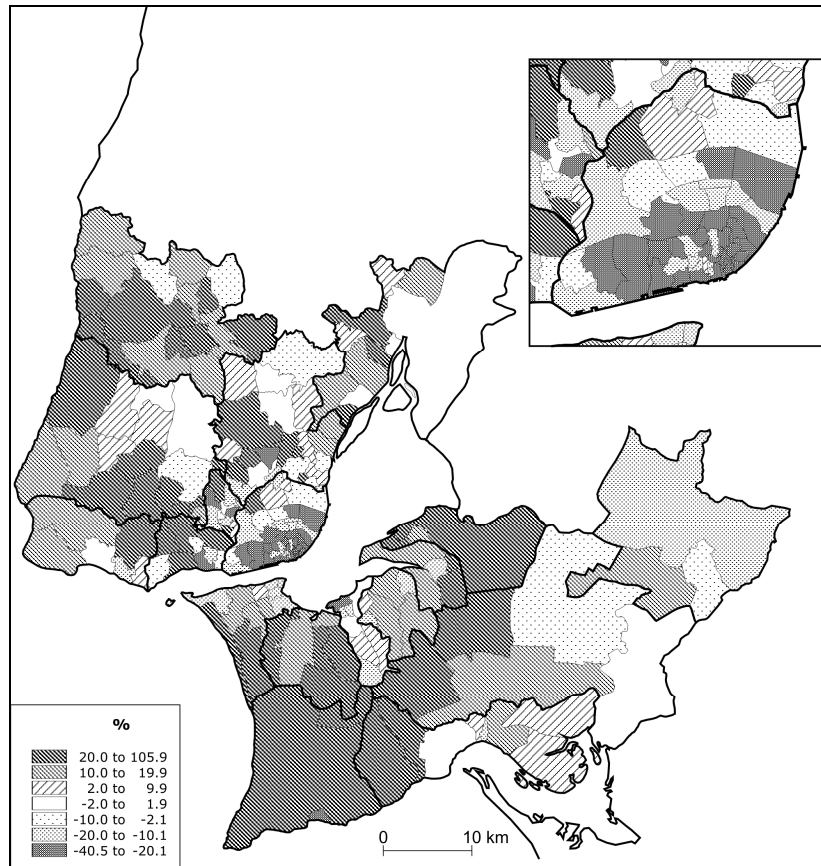
Only four parishes in the city of Lisbon experienced a population increase during the 1990's: Carnide, Lumiar and Charneca in the northern periphery of Lisbon, and Encarnação in a historic neighbourhood (Bairro Alto) located on the edge of the city's traditional centre. The growth of the former three was due to intense processes of urbanization, promoted by both private and public capital, in vacant areas that were once old rural estates. The latter – Bairro

Alto – is an altogether different case, showing early signs of a process of urban revitalization and gentrification (Fonseca et al, 2002).

Factor 3 groups together the ethnic and family structure of the population with housing conditions. It identifies marginalised territories from an economic and social point of view, and is characterised by a large African population, female headed single parent families and poor housing conditions.

Ever since the 1950's, the Lisbon region has undergone a process of steady demographic growth, fostered by a series of successive migration flows: the domestic migration from other parts of the country; the return to the homeland, in 1975-76, of the people that had previously lived in the former Portuguese colonies in Africa; and the steady increase, from the mid-1980's onwards, in the number of foreign immigrants. This demographic growth has brought forth an increase in the demand for housing, which has not been adequately met by the formal private market or by the social housing provided by the local and central authorities. Consequently, there has been an accumulated shortage of housing, resulting in the emergence of a parallel market for the subletting of rooms or parts of flats (especially in Lisbon's older neighbourhoods), along with a number of shantytowns and illegal residential areas, inhabited by those who cannot afford to buy a house in the formal market (Fonseca, 1999). As a consequence, when African immigration began, new migrants settled in the centre of the city normally for a very short period of time in guest houses or rented rooms, before moving quickly to shanty-towns or clandestine neighbourhoods within the city (to the north and the east) or to areas close to the neighbouring councils. The way in which these migratory chains consolidated, as well as natural increases and strong social networks from the country of origin produced concentrations of immigrants with the same geographic origins (Fonseca, 2008).

Figure 7 – Lisbon Metropolitan Area: population growth (1991-2001)



Source : Census, 1991 and 2001

In the 1990's, both the central government and the city councils undertook substantial efforts in order to eradicate the remaining shanties from the Lisbon and Porto metropolitan areas, through the implementation of the aforementioned Special Rehousing Programme (PER) aimed at providing new houses to families dwelling in shanties.

The 2001 Population Census shows that the number of people living in shanties in the LMA has indeed decreased - particularly in the municipality of Oeiras and in the city of Lisbon. Shantytowns were systematically destroyed as their residents were given new houses, so as to prevent other people from moving in. However, some 6,810 shanties, inhabited by 23,314 people, still remained in the LMA by 2001, accounting for 0.88% of all the people living in this region.

The segmentation of the housing market in the LMA is associated with a social and spatial dimension that reflects the disparate way in which various social groups have access to the various types of housing available and to the areas in which they are located.

Immigrants from PALOP countries, resident in Portugal for more time and with larger families than the more recently arrived migrants, are over-represented among the percentage of families resident in shanties or clandestine housing. However, between 1991 and 2001, the number of immigrants from more recent waves living in shanties increased more than immigrants originating from PALOP countries (Malheiros and Vala, 2004). On the other hand, there are also Africans, with more stable legal statuses that managed to improve their economic situation, who are now represented amongst home owners. Brazilians and Eastern Europeans, recourse more to the rental market to sublet apartments, often shared with other members of the same ethnic group (Fonseca, et al., 2005). Hence, the ethnic structure and the precariousness of housing conditions constitute a structural factor of the spatial organisation of the city and the LMA. This will be discussed in more detail in the section on the “Characterisation of Migrant Groups in the City”.

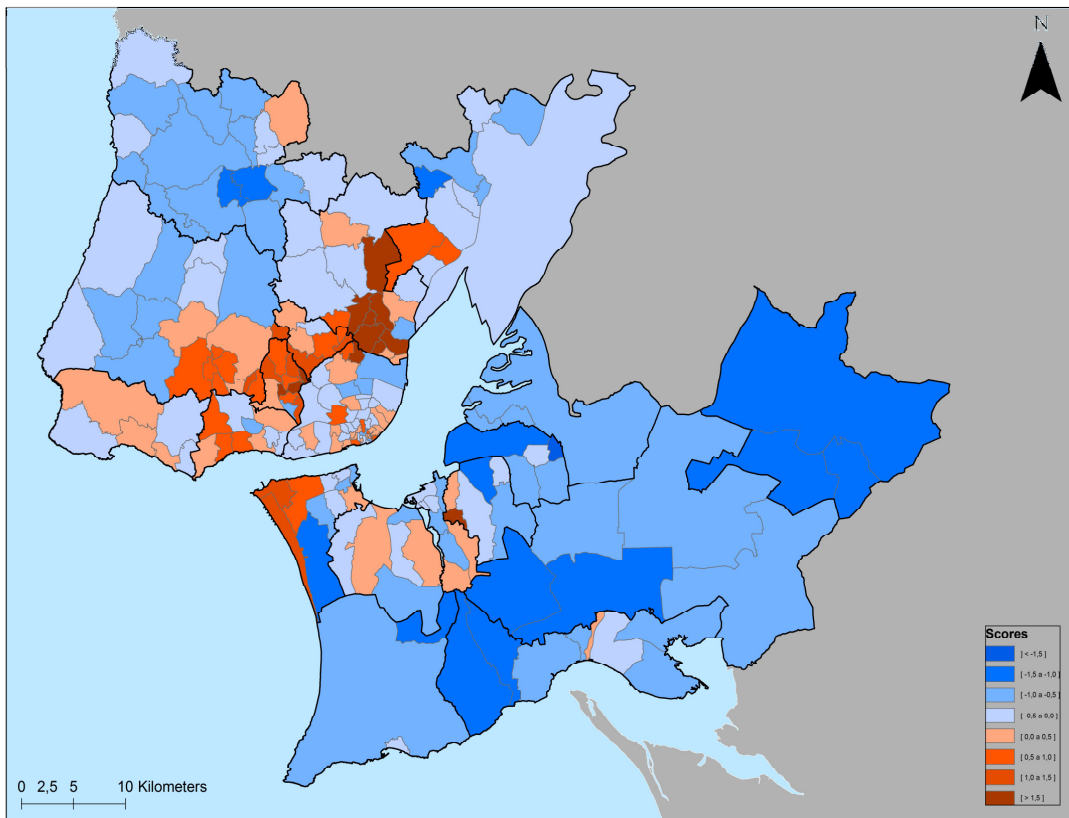
The persistence of immigration to Lisbon throughout the 1990s and the natural increase in immigrant families led to a 22% increase, between 1991 and 2001, in the number of foreigners resident in untraditional accommodation (i.e. clandestine). It is understandable therefore, that factor three, referred to previously, is defined by a strong correlation between the percentage of residents originating from PALOP countries, the proportion of families living in untraditional housing and in overcrowded dwellings. Besides this, it is also associated positively with the percentage of female headed single parent families, many of African origin.

The scores of this factor provide evidence of two axes of parishes in the northern periphery of Lisbon: the first begins in Charneca, beside the airport and runs to the run down and re-housing neighbourhoods in the councils of Odivelas, Loures and Vila Franca de Xira (parishes of Pontinha, Olival de Basto, Camarate, Prior Velho, Sacavém, Forte da Casa, Frielas, Apelação and Unhos); the second begins in Carnide and runs to the council of Amadora, comprised of the parishes of Venda Nova, Buraca, Falagueira, Reboleira, Mina, Brandoa and Alfovelos. The cluster of parishes in the centre and the historic neighbourhoods of Lisbon as well as Vale da Amoreira, Caparica and Trafaria, in the Setúbal Península, also have positive scores for factor 3 (Figure 8).

In addition to this, there are other neighbourhoods located in the urban peripheries, mostly on the northern bank of the river and the northern crown of the city, near the airport, in Chelas and the older industrial areas in the east part of Lisbon. They are comprised of shanty towns and clandestine neighbourhoods and some social housing, with poor accessibility and urban

quality, where many immigrants and minority ethnic groups originating from Africa live, as well as internal migrants who came from rural areas in the interior of the country, in the fifties and the sixties. Some of these areas appear to be “incomplete”, whereby their function as residential areas coexist with evidence of their previous uses as rural areas, abandoned factories, old iron mines, rubbish dumps and small clandestine allotments cultivated by residents in their free time. As is evident in figure 8, the spatial pattern of the scores of factor 3 presents some similarity with the geographical distribution of the population resident in non-classic dwellings.

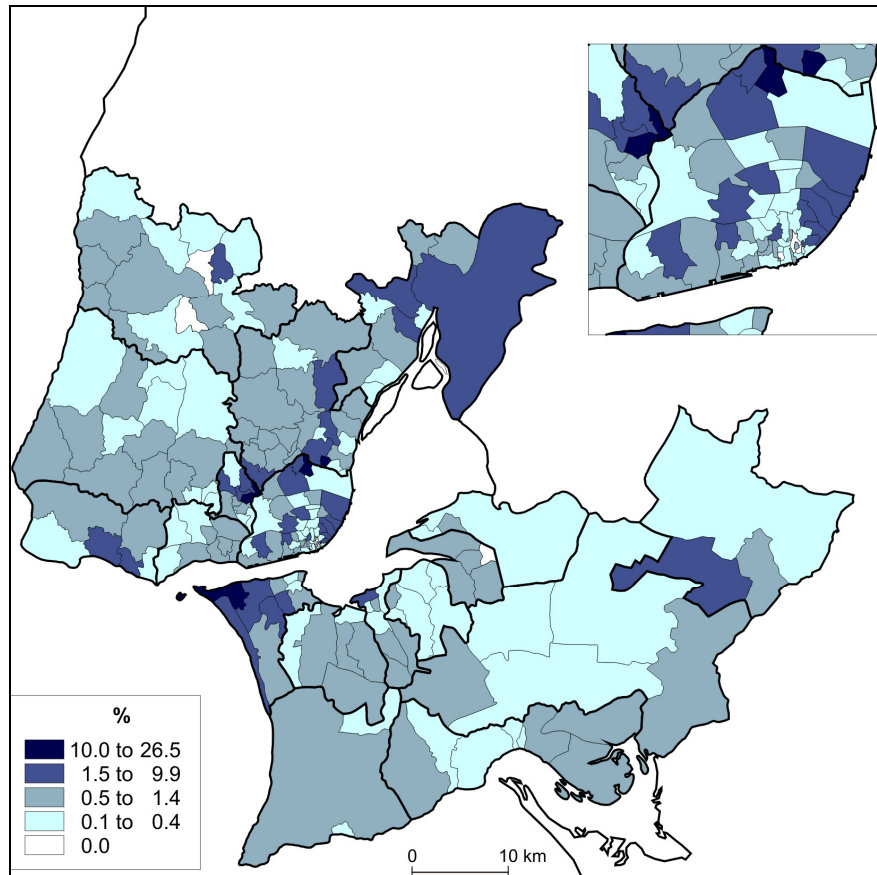
Figure 8 - Scores in Factor 3 - Ethnic structure and social marginality



Source : Census, 2001

The old neighbourhoods in the historical centre of the city, with high numbers of run-down buildings with very poor living conditions (buildings without baths or showers and elevators), are inhabited by an elderly population with little economic resources. They often cohabit with lodgers, many times immigrants recently arrived to Portugal, who sublet rooms. Due to this, there is a high incidence of shared overcrowded accommodation with poor sanitary conditions.

Figure 9 – People living in shanties and other “non-conventional” housing units. 2001 (%)



Source : Census, 2001

A lack of co-ordination between housing policy, namely re-housing programmes, and social development policies, has complicated the access of the residents of these areas to the labour market, child care and facilities for the youth, commerce and other public and private services. As a consequence, this stimulated the growth of the informal economy and the development of spiralling social and urban problems, which served to reproduce poverty, exclusion and negative stereotypes. Besides this, the re-housing of immigrants and minority ethnic groups, as well as disadvantaged populations in general, in social housing, tends to reduce the residential and professional mobility of residents, because they never leave due to previous difficulties in gaining access to the private rental market. This immobility creates disparities between the dimension of housing and the dimension of households, as the initial number of occupants always alters over time in line with household changes.

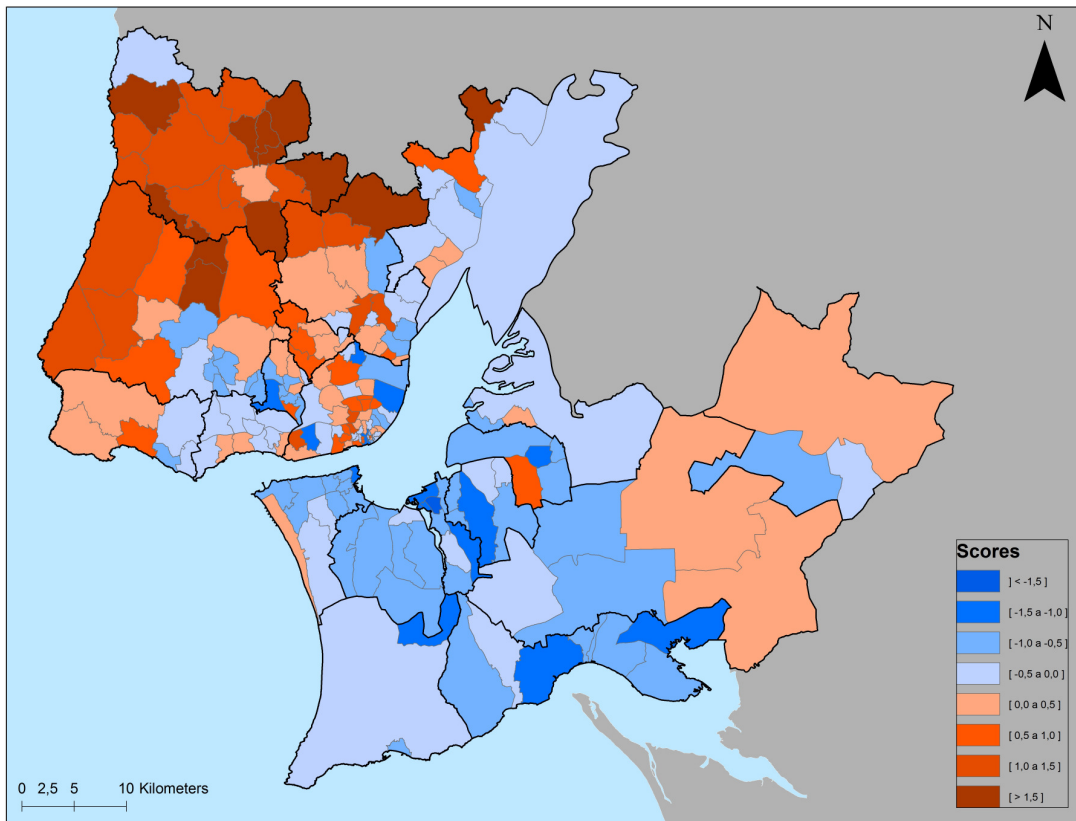
The population of African ethnic origin is over-represented in decaying neighbourhoods or in large clusters of social housing, which are located on under-valued land on the urban

periphery. They are isolated from the access routes to the main commercial and service centres and from the network of urban railways and highways, they are also near undesirable areas such as cemeteries, industrial areas and old rubbish dumps. These areas are in the majority stigmatised and socially excluded, which serves to increase the marginality of their populations. Even in those areas which are less isolated in geographical terms, the specificities of the urban and architectural characteristics are related with negative social representations, which make the development of social relations and the access to services and facilities in neighbouring areas difficult. This encourages the retraction of these communities, amplifying the effects of social and spatial segregation as well as creating difficulties in access to jobs. It also provokes discriminatory attitudes in school and many other public institutions and limits social relations. Furthermore, belonging to a neighbourhood distinct due to its negative social representation can lead to a personal internalisation of stigma, which may serve to strengthen a culture of violence and rivalry against people and institutions outside of the neighbourhood (Fonseca, 2007).

As referred to previously, the fourth factor is mainly based upon high negative loadings with the unemployment rate and the percentage of the population living on welfare benefits and a positive correlation with the proportion of nationals from Eastern European countries and from Brazil. It was also verified that this factor presents negative loadings with the percentage of female headed single parent families, the proportion of rented dwellings owned by public institutions and the percentage of nationals from PALOP countries.

Freguesias with high negative scores in this factor registered unemployment rates and percentages of people dependent on welfare benefits above the regional average. As we can see in figure 10, there are vast areas in the Setúbal peninsula that are affected by unemployment, as a result of processes of industrial restructuring. On the northern bank of the river Tejo, mainly in the eastern and northern zones, there are parishes intercalated between suburbs consolidated along the Estoril coast and the highway – IC19 as well as old industrial units in Amadora and between Sacavém-Vila Franca de Xira.

Figure 10 - Factor 4 – Unemployment and dependence on welfare



Source : Census, 2001

The positive scores occur fundamentally in two types of areas. The first group covers the peri-urban area of Lisbon, including numerous parishes in the councils of Mafra, Loures, Northern Sintra, Montijo and Palmela. These areas still maintain rural characteristics, despite undergoing recent urban growth, which was due to an increase in the number of second homes of residents from Lisbon and the suburbs in the first suburban crown. Besides this, they are areas where immigrants from the more recent migratory waves have settled, namely, Eastern Europeans and Brazilians. The second group includes parishes in Lisbon and the suburban areas on the northern bank of the Tejo, typically residential areas inhabited by middle class families, or more privileged social groups. The remaining parishes have scores closer to the average.

In order to identify groups of freguesias sharing the same kind of socio-economic features, cluster analysis was applied to the freguesia-level scores from the four significant factors described above⁶. This led to the identification of nine clusters mapped in figure 11.

The clusters are as follows:

- **Group I:** This group individualises the consolidated historic centre of Lisbon. Characterised by accentuated population decline, a high percentage of elderly persons, the predominance of rented housing, frequent accommodation in poor condition without basic infrastructures and amenities. Over the past few years, the tendency of population out migration has served to attract increasing numbers of immigrants from diverse geographical origins: Africans, Asians, Brazilians, and Eastern Europeans.

The growth in demand of low cost rented accommodation, due to the growth of immigration, is reflected in the precariousness of housing conditions (a frequency of overcrowded dwellings, shared between more than one family). Furthermore, it is reflected in the exploitation of immigrants, primarily, recent arrivals and undocumented migrants, on the part of landlords, or even tenants, who sublet rooms at overpriced rates.

Besides Lisbon, there are three parishes in the suburbs, with aging populations, which comprise part of this group: Moscavide, Sesimbra (S. Tiago) and Sarilhos Pequenos. The first is a suburb which developed on the immediate periphery of Lisbon, in the 1940s; the second and third are located in the Setúbal peninsula: the former is an old agglomeration of fishermen, which in the last forty years has been converted into a tourist and residential place; the latter is an old rural agglomeration in proximity to the Tejo and between the areas of growth from Lisbon to the periphery, it is a place of transition between the rural areas and the metropolitan fringe south of the Tejo.

- **Group II:** Corresponds to the areas where the highly qualified with greater economic power and professional occupations, in the service sector, live. This includes, in great part, the city of Lisbon, the Estoril –Cascais coast and some parishes in the urban centres of Amadora (parish of Venteira), Almada

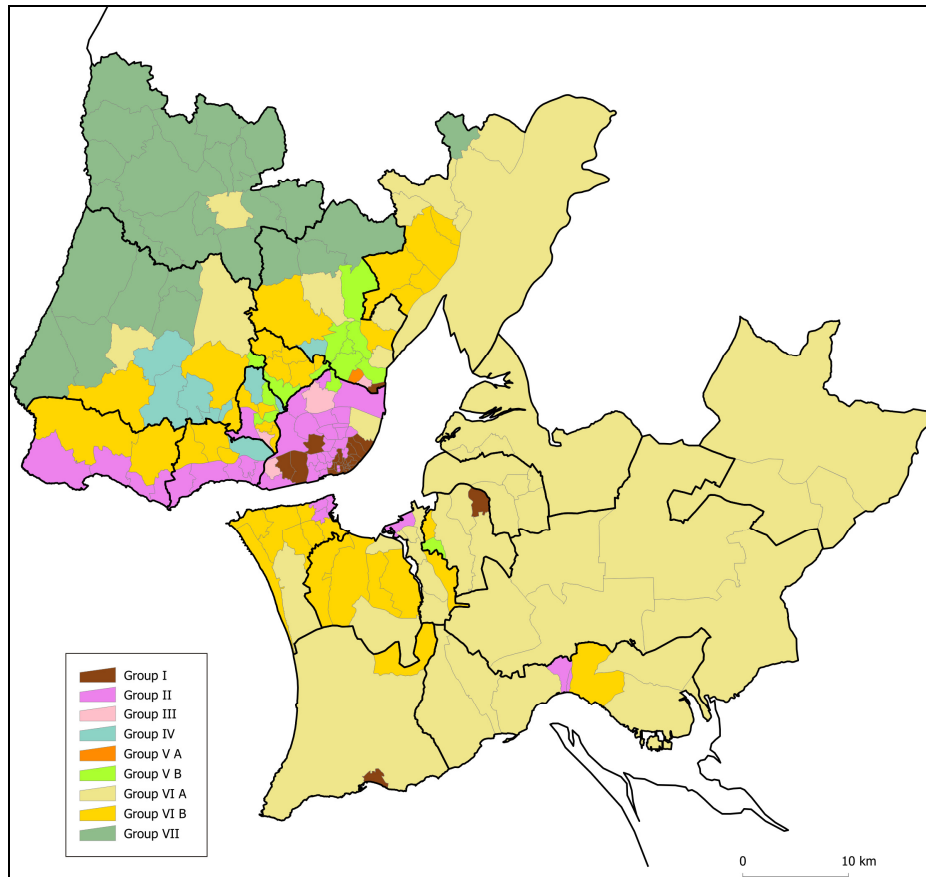
⁶ A hierarchical and agglomerative classification based on the squared Euclidean distance and on “Ward’s grouping method” was used. This method, popular throughout the social sciences, uses the data centroid, around which the units of analysis are scattered, as the reference for the calculation of inter-group distances.

(Almada and Cacilhas), Barreiro and Setúbal (Santa Maria da Graça and S. Julião).

- **Group III:** Includes two parishes in the northern and eastern crown of Lisbon (Lumiar and S. Francisco Xavier, respectively) and another two on the immediate periphery of the city: Portela, in the council of Loures and Alfragide in the council of Amadora. These are neighbourhoods that have expanded recently, with good living conditions, well qualified middle class residents, who are, in the majority, superiors and directors in the tertiary sector.
- **Group IV:** Corresponds to consolidated suburban areas, of recent expansion, located in the councils of Sintra, Amadora and Loures. They are characterised by dense urban fabrics, structured around historic nuclei and some agglomerations (Aqualva-Cacém, Algueirão-Mem-Martins, Rio de Mouro) or new urbanisations that developed after the 1970s. High rise construction is predominant as is owner occupancy. The population is relatively young and belongs, in the majority, to the middle classes. However, within these areas, there are pockets of illegal housing, shanty-towns and social housing, where socially deprived people, namely immigrants and minority ethnic groups of African origin, are concentrated.
- **Group V (A and B):** This group includes two axes of parishes, initiating in the northern periphery of Lisbon; one in the zone by the airport running along the suburban area which is intercalated between the councils of Odivelas and Loures, between the consolidated suburban axes of Odivelas-Loures and Mocavide-Sacavém-Vila Franca de Xira and another area on the border of the councils of Odivelas and Amadora. In the Setúbal peninsula, only the parish of Vale da Amoreira is part of this group.
- These are, on average, areas with fragmented uses, where old agglomerated rural areas (Charneca, Camarate, Apelação, Unhos, S. Julião do Tojal) exist alongside industrial areas (Venda Nova, Sacavém, Barreiro), around which residential areas developed to house workers, comprised largely of single family dwellings, illegal or poor quality low rise buildings, shantytowns, clandestine housing and social housing, abandoned houses, small industry, warehouses and vestiges that were formerly used for agricultural purposes. They are territories of exclusion, inhabited by young populations, of low socio-economic class, with high levels of unemployment, and an elevated percentage of poor immigrant and minority ethnic groups, namely of African

origin. The parish of Prior Velho is distinct from the others, being the only parish in group V A. This distinction is related with the elevated population still resident in shanties (20.47%) and an over-representation of immigrants originating from PALOP countries (18.15 %).

Figure 11 - Outcomes of the cluster analysis: parish groupings



- **Group VI A and VI B** – This group covers a vast area of the Setúbal peninsula and the second suburban crown on the north margin of the Tejo. It is subdivided into a group, which is more urbanised (Group VI B), that includes parishes in the councils of Amadora, Sintra, Loures, Odivelas, Vila Franca de Xira and the interior zones of the councils of Oeiras and Cascais, as well as the crown on the banks of the southern margin of the Tejo. These are areas with relatively young inhabitants, of medium to low socio-economic classes, with a predominance of professional activity in civil construction, industry and services, low levels of qualifications and high levels of long-term youth unemployment. The social and urban fragmentation of these areas

is associated with an ethnic dimension, given that the population of African ethnic origin is over-represented in the most deprived neighbourhoods.

Group VI A defines a vast area of the Setúbal peninsula and some areas in the northern margin of the Tejo between the suburbs and the agricultural and forested fringes of the metropolitan area. They are relatively heterogeneous spaces; it is possible to distinguish areas of considerable urban growth, on the periphery around the Lisbon- Setúbal highway and the Alcochete/Montijo- Setúbal axis. It is a multi-functional and very fragmented territory where the following co-exist: luxury condominiums and numerous second homes; illegal neighbourhoods, close to the beaches; more recent dispersed construction, in the country, in the councils of Alcochete and Montijo; high rise buildings for permanent residents, beside the main access route and the periphery of the city of Setúbal; and other older urban areas. The population is a little older than that of group VI B, unemployment and welfare dependency are also, on average, lower, and the foreign population is not significant.

- **Group VII:** Distinguishes the peri-urban rural fringe in the councils on the northern margin of the river Tejo. These are areas of low density that still maintain a rural image, despite having undergone substantial urban expansion, due to second homes, which have been constructed, in the majority, near the coast. Besides this, the improvement of accessibility to Lisbon is also reflected through suburbanisation to areas close to the principal access routes to the city. The expansion of civil construction and residential tourism and the increasing difficulty in finding agricultural workers, has also created good opportunities for immigrants from the more recent waves from Brazil and Eastern Europe.

In summary, the principal factors obtained from the factor analysis enable us to conclude that the socio-spatial structure of the Metropolitan Area of Lisbon is characterised by five fundamental components: i) the socio-economic level of the inhabitants; ii) the age structure of the inhabitants; iii) the ethnic composition of the population and the physical structure of the urban space; and iv) the process of adjustment to structural economic and social changes and its effects on unemployment and dependency on welfare benefits.

Lisbon's suburban growth took place alongside the development of the transport infrastructure, which is reflected in the difference in the shape of its urbanised areas. In the northern bank, these areas have a “bird claw”-like shape, in which the fingers correspond to

the railway lines and to the main road axes (Cascais, Sintra, Loures and Vila Franca de Xira); in the Setúbal Peninsula, the reliance upon fluvial transport to get to Lisbon, before the 25th April bridge was built in 1966, led to a ring-like urbanisation process, parallel to the river (Fonseca, 1990; Fonseca, 1999). However, from the mid 1980's onwards, along with the consolidation and expansion of the river-side ring (Almada-Alcochete), there has clearly been a significant growth along the Setúbal-Montijo/Alcochete axis. This central corridor runs parallel to the old EN 252 road and was reinforced after the Vasco da Gama Bridge, linking Alcochete to Lisbon, was built in 1998.

The late development of international migration to Lisbon is reflected in the suburban development of residential areas. Successive migratory waves accompanied the expansion of the Metropolitan Area and consequently, Brazilians and Eastern Europeans present more dispersed settlement patterns than those of the African immigrants from PALOP, and tend to reside in areas further from the city centre.

With regard to the social structure, the major changes are related with increased income inequality between the social groups at the top and those at the bottom as well as with the emergence of new types of poverty and social exclusion associated with unemployment, old age and ethnicity.

The restructuring of production, over the last decades, along with the changes in the social, professional and ethnic composition of the Lisbon Metropolitan Area (due to economic changes and to the increase in immigration) and the major urban interventions that have taken place both in the city of Lisbon and in the suburban areas, have increased the social and economic differentiation of the metropolitan territory.

The construction of several important transportation and communication infrastructures, particularly from the mid-1980's onwards (due to the structural funds from the EU), such as the Vasco da Gama Bridge, the railway in the 25 de Abril Bridge, the CRIL and CREL ring roads, the North-South axis and the expansion of the subway network, have contributed to an increase in the differentiation between the areas that have been favoured by the aforementioned infrastructures and those that, being farther from them, have assumed an even more marginal position in the metropolitan context.

On the other hand, urban renewal and interventions undertaken in some areas of central Lisbon and in the Expo'98 world exhibition site, along with several other major real estate investments – often by foreign investors – in the city of Lisbon and in some of the most

accessible and prestigious suburban areas, have in fact increased the spatial fragmentation of the urban space. This transition process has led to certain areas, which were formerly occupied by lower-income groups, being taken over by higher-status professionals and business people who can afford higher property prices. In addition to these renewed areas, traditional upper-class zones in the western part of Lisbon and along the coast have maintained their capacity to reproduce high-quality images and socio-economic standards.

As a consequence of all these trends, the Lisbon metropolitan area is much more fragmented nowadays than the modern city used to be, characterized by the existence of rigid spatial divisions (Barata-Salgueiro, 2001).

3. Ethnic geography of the city

The recent history of population settlement and migration to the city

The process of population concentration in the Metropolitan Area of Lisbon has been particularly notable since the 1950s and 1960s. Despite experiencing population losses at the national level in the 1960s, due to emigration to European countries, the population of the LMA increased by 20.2% (Fonseca, 1990). This is largely explained by the fact that Lisbon was, practically exclusively, the most attractive region in the country for rural to urban migrants, followed by Porto on a much smaller scale. In the following decade, or more precisely after the revolution in 1974 and the ensuing economic crisis and return migration from the ex-colonies and other European countries, the demographic patterns of the 1960s were inverted. In 1965 return migrants from the colonies only represented 1.34% of the total population of the LMA, however, by 1981 they had grown to constitute 9.38%. In fact the largest population increase, at the national level, last century was recorded during this time. In line with this, the population of the LMA increased by 36% between 1970 and 1981 and by 1981 almost 27% of the total population of Portugal were living in the LMA (Fonseca, 1990). The growth in the population was more dramatic on the south margin of the river than the north margin, whereby between 1971 and 1981 the population in the south had grown by 45.3% compared to 33.4% on the north margin.

As a result of this population increase the LMA underwent a process of concentrated spatial development based fundamentally on industrialisation and attempts to modernise the Portuguese economy (Fonseca, 1990). Geographical mobility, whether it was international or internal, corresponded with the needs of the labour market in the industry, civil construction, commercial and service sectors. The larger number of agricultural workers that migrated to the region of Lisbon transferred their skills to the aforementioned employment sectors and acted as a replacement population for the higher qualified socially mobile population.

The rural to urban exodus, although comprising migrants from all regions of population, was most notable from the districts of Viseu, Beja and Castelo Branco, from which by 1981 30.79% of the LMA originated. The smallest number of migrants arrived to Lisbon from Bragança, Aveiro, Braga and Porto, and by 1981 only 12.10% of the population of the LMA was comprised of migrants from these areas (Fonseca, 1990). Interestingly, the River Tejo acted as a barrier for those coming from the north and south of the country, those migrants coming from Algarve and Alentejo concentrated to the south of the river, whilst those

originating from the North and centre of the country concentrated more to the north of the river, especially in the city of Lisbon. Those coming from Alentejo concentrated in Moita, Barreiro and Seixal. Those coming from Algarve were slightly more concentrated than the other groups and followed a similar spatial pattern to those from Alentejo. Migrants from the north and centre of the country, besides the city of Lisbon, as we already mentioned, settled in the suburbs on the right margin of the river. The majority of return migrants from the colonies settled along the Estoril coast and in Seixal.

Fonseca (1990), using the neighbourhoods of Alfama and Bairro Chinês as examples, shows the importance of personal contacts in the migratory processes. Migrants from the same villages or councils followed the same migration trajectory and ended up living in the same neighbourhoods in Lisbon. Interestingly, they also ended up working in similar industries, for example the migrant population living in Alfama originated in the majority from Pampilhosa da Serra and Góis and in the majority worked in the port of Lisbon (Costa 1985). Of course, over time this population became more diverse in terms of residential and social trajectories as did the strong ties between migrants weaken with the onset of the second generation (Fonseca 1990).

The distribution patterns can be explained due to the following factors: first, employment opportunities, mainly in the tertiary sector, in the most urbanised areas; second, settlement in Seixal was largely due to its good accessibility to Lisbon and lower house prices in comparison to the suburbs north of the river; third, settlement along the Estoril coast, mainly by return migrants was largely due to the fact that this area was well known as a holiday destination where some had previously made real estate investments in rental properties, others were provisionally staying in hotels.

Until the mid -1960s the presence of immigrants in Lisbon, as in other large Southern European cities, was extremely limited because the rural exodus was sufficient to supply the needs of the urban labour market. At the end of the 1960s, the cumulative effects of European emigration and the urban and industrial expansion of the city created employment opportunities in construction and basic services for immigrants coming from Cape Verde. However, the growth of immigration to Lisbon only began to gain visibility after the mid-1980s (Fonseca et al, 2002). Besides the employment opportunities in Portugal, the entrance of the country into the EU, in 1986, along with Spain, at a time when northern and central European countries tightened their borders to the entry of non-EU workers, led to the increase of third country nationals, namely from North Africa and the Eastern Mediterranean and Sub-Saharan Africa, immigrating to Southern European countries (Italy, Greece, Spain and

Portugal). These countries also began to function as revolving platforms for workers for labour markets in richer Northern European countries.

In only ten years, between the 1991 and 2001 censuses, the number of foreign citizens resident in the LMA almost tripled, increasing from 45608 to 125,927 or from 1.85 of the total population to 4.7%. In relation to the national total of immigrants, 55.5% lived in the LMA in 2001, the equivalent value for the total population was 25.9% (Fonseca et al, 2002). This has continued to be the case, and more recent data shows that 56% of documented foreigners live in the districts of Setubal and Lisbon, which broadly correspond to the LMA (SOPEMI, 2007). In absolute terms, in 2006, according to SEF (the foreigners and borders service), 251,144 documented foreigners from a total of 460,292 registered in Portugal lived in the LMA.

The relative concentration of immigrant groups in the LMA is undeniably related to the same factors that attracted the rural migrants to the city a few decades before and the early labour migrants, namely, the labour market. Malheiros and Vala (2004), more specifically, point to the fact that the diversification and segmentation of the labour market have led to the increase in unskilled jobs, filled by migrants, who acted as a replacement population due to the increase in the service sector.

Characterisation of Migrant groups in the City

The groups that we have adopted for our analysis of the ethnic geography of the city here are PALOP nationals, Eastern Europeans, Brazilians, Asians and EU-15 nationals. Each of these groups has distinguishing characteristics with regards to their migration, settlement and insertion processes. The first group is comprised of individuals from the former Portuguese colonies, who began to arrive in Lisbon between two and three decades ago, this group already has a second generation. The second two groups, Eastern Europeans and Brazilians (in the second wave and distinct from their former patriots who settled earlier) can be referred to as 'new' immigrants who arrived in the majority between 1999 and 2003. Although their initial migration strategy was a short term one, they are now displaying more long term strategies and have gone through the process of family reunification. It should be noted though that some Eastern European groups are decreasing in number, mainly Ukrainians, due to return migration. In general this group of immigrants is less concentrated than the African migrants, showing patterns of dispersal across the metropolitan area, however, pockets of small clusters are evident. The labour market activity sectors in which they are represented

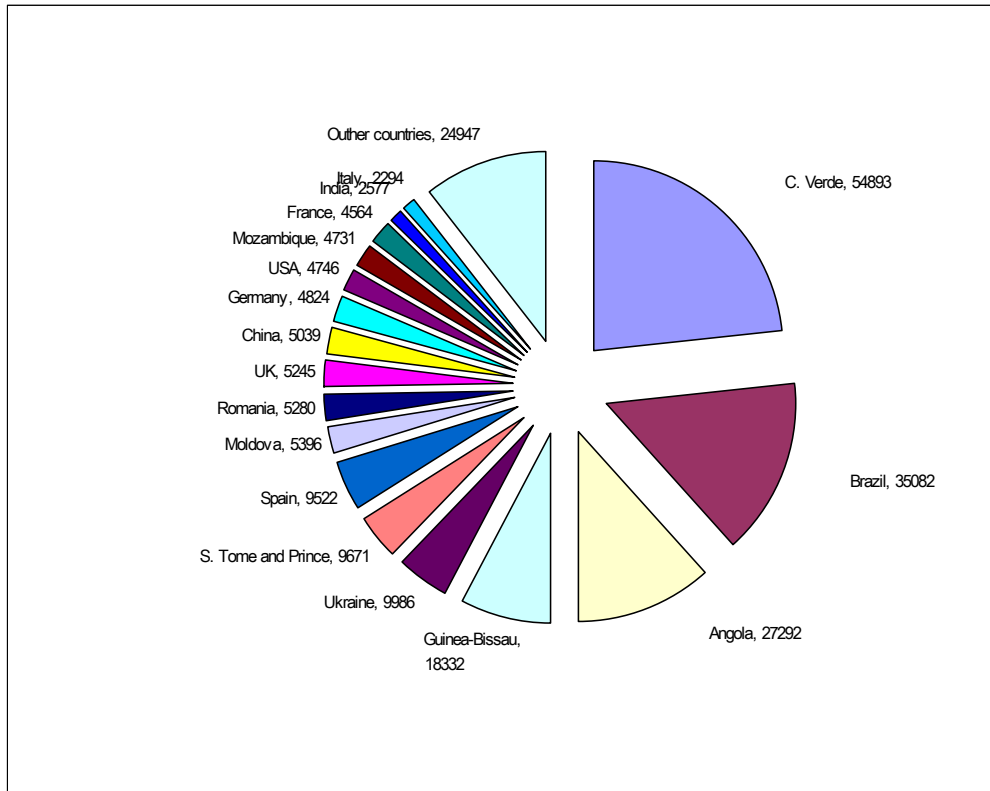
are considerably more diverse than older migrant groups. Furthermore, the Eastern Europeans have higher levels of education. The Asian groups, including in the majority, Chinese, Indians, Pakistanis and Bangladeshis in small numbers, can be linked both to post-colonial migration, from East Africa as well as the new wave of migrants arriving in the 1990 and 2000s. The socio-economic status of this group is quite polarised internally, which is reflected in their settlement patterns. This group has displayed entrepreneurial drive through establishing ethnic businesses in both commerce and the catering sector. The last group of EU-15 nationals is highly skilled and is represented in professional activity sectors, it also includes retired migrants. Their settlement patterns are generally quite concentrated in the more expensive and prestigious areas of the city. These aspects shall be discussed further in the ensuing sections.

Nationality

Although many immigrants from Portuguese Speaking African Countries (PALOP) and their descents have already been granted nationality, according to data from the end of 2006 (SEF), the citizens from these countries represented 49% of documented foreigners living in the districts of Lisbon and Setubal. Brazilians were the second largest group, comprising 15% of the total (fig 12). Among the remaining groups it is important to mention EU-15 nationals followed by the Eastern Europeans (Fonseca, 2008).

The most representative nationalities can be found in figure 12 below. Four main groups of nationalities can be identified: the first group is composed of the Portuguese speaking countries of Cape Verde, Brazil, Angola and Guinea-Bissau, representing 57.8% of the foreign stock living in LMA. The second group includes nationals from the Ukraine, São Tomé and Príncipe and Spain, with an approximate total of 10,000 nationals from each. The third group is comprised of people from EU-15 countries (mainly the UK, Germany and France), Eastern Europe (mainly Moldova and Romania), the USA, China and Mozambique. The fifth group includes those from India and Italy, with 2577 and 2294 citizens, respectively. The remaining countries sum to approximately 25,000 people in total (Fonseca, 2008).

Figure 12 - Foreign documented population resident in the districts of Lisbon and Setubal, December, 2006



Source: Fonseca, 2008 / S.E.F.

Employment

The integration of foreign workers resident in the LMA, into the labour market has followed a clearly polarised structure, with one group of highly skilled professionals working in administration, management and liberal professions and another semi and low skilled group, generally represented in civil construction and industrial and domestic cleaning services. Further to this, there are distinct patterns of differential labour market incorporation according to immigrant group, observed from 2001 census data. In general, foreigners from EU15 countries are represented in the former group of highly skilled professionals, with over half of the employed population represented in either group one or group two professions – see table 2.

On the other hand workers from PALOP and Eastern Europe have very similar professional profiles, despite the higher levels of education among the latter. Both groups are exceptionally highly represented in group 7, 8 and 9 professions, 77.2% and 80%, respectively. In the majority, they work in the construction sector both in low paid unskilled and semi-skilled jobs. When group 7 is disaggregated, over one third of the employed PALOP population can

be seen to work in semi-skilled construction related jobs (group 7.1) and 10% work in unskilled construction (group 9.3). When one considers only the male population, these figures increase to 56.9% and 12.9% - this is over six times as many Portuguese workers in the former and almost four in the latter. Eastern European workers are slightly more over-represented in the aforementioned sectors combined, 32% and 22.9%, than PALOP workers.

There is a gendered dimension to the distribution of workers, as although female workers from both groups (PALOP and Eastern Europe) are highly represented in group 7, 8 and 9 professions, their weight in this sector is less than that of their male counterparts (65.8% and 55.6% respectively). When group 9 is disaggregated further we see that they are represented in highest number in group 9.1, which includes unskilled jobs in the service and commerce sector (such as doorkeepers, cleaners, domestic employees etc), with 55.6% of employed PALOP females and 40.2% of female workers from Eastern Europe working in this sector. A further 22.8% of PALOP females and 22.3% of females from Eastern Europe work in group 5 professionals namely, personal services, which includes jobs in restaurants, hairdressers, the transport industry and the hotel industry.

Asian immigrants have a slightly different professional profile and are less represented in group 7, 8 and 9 professions (49.8%). In general they are over-represented in commerce and services, including the restaurant industry, with almost one third working in group 5 professions (personal services). This is followed by group 7 professions, mainly, in semi-skilled construction, in which over 20% work. When group nine is disaggregated the majority of workers are revealed as being men working in unskilled construction (19.1%), 12.5% of employed Asian women also work in group 9.1, in unskilled jobs in the service and commerce sector. Slightly over 10% of the employed Asian population works in group one professions. When this group is disaggregated further it is possible to verify that this is largely due to the high percentage of directors of small businesses (9.3%), a figure much higher than the LMA average of 4%. Interestingly, when group 1.3 is disaggregated by sex a higher proportion of females (almost one fifth of all employed females) are found to be directors of small businesses than males (7.1%). These professional patterns illustrate clearly the importance of ethnic businesses, and indeed self-employment, in the labour market incorporation of this group of immigrants.

Although the Brazilian group is slightly more dispersed across professional groups, almost one third of Brazilian males are found to work as labourers or craftsmen in the semi-skilled construction sector (group 7.1). Similarly when group 9 is disaggregated, a further 11% are found to be unskilled workers in the construction sector, marginally higher than the

proportion of PALOPS in the sector. The Brazilian group are also represented in the same proportion as Asian groups in groups 1 and 2 (slightly over 12%), which reflects those highly qualified professionals and entrepreneurs who migrated to Portugal in the earlier wave. Besides these sectors, they also work in commerce, most specifically women, over half of whom work in unskilled commerce, service sector or personal service jobs.

Table 2 - Foreign employed population by professional group⁷, in the LMA, 2001 (%)

| Group | SEX | Absoute Total | National Classification of Professions – Groups | | | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------|-----------|----------------|---|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|------------|-------------|------------|------------|
| | | | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| | | | Percentage of employed population | | | | | | | | | |
| Total | HM | 1293902 | 1.1 | 7.5 | 12.0 | 12.9 | 14.9 | 15.7 | 0.9 | 14.5 | 5.5 | 15 |
| Total | H | 683553 | 2.0 | 9.5 | 10.1 | 12.8 | 10.2 | 12.0 | 1.2 | 24.6 | 9.1 | 8.5 |
| Total | M | 610349 | 0.1 | 5.3 | 14.1 | 13.1 | 20.1 | 19.9 | 0.6 | 3.2 | 1.4 | 22 |
| Portugal | HM | 1202742 | 1.2 | 7.7 | 12.2 | 13.4 | 15.6 | 15.9 | 0.9 | 13.4 | 5.6 | 14 |
| Portugal | H | 629312 | 2.1 | 9.8 | 10.3 | 13.4 | 10.8 | 12.4 | 1.2 | 22.6 | 9.4 | 7.8 |
| Portugal | M | 573430 | 0.1 | 5.4 | 14.3 | 13.4 | 20.9 | 19.7 | 0.6 | 3.3 | 1.4 | 21 |
| PALOP | HM | 44261 | 0.1 | 1.4 | 2.6 | 3.1 | 3.1 | 11.8 | 0.5 | 38.7 | 3.5 | 35 |
| PALOP | H | 25787 | 0.2 | 1.8 | 2.5 | 3.2 | 2.1 | 3.9 | 0.5 | 64.7 | 4.9 | 16 |
| PALOP | M | 18474 | 0.0 | 0.8 | 2.7 | 2.9 | 4.5 | 22.8 | 0.6 | 2.3 | 1.5 | 62 |
| EU15 | HM | 6361 | 0.5 | 19.9 | 33.2 | 16.0 | 6.7 | 10.5 | 0.7 | 5.5 | 2.1 | 4.9 |
| EU15 | H | 3832 | 0.8 | 25.6 | 30.1 | 14.5 | 5.1 | 8.9 | 0.8 | 8.2 | 3.0 | 3.1 |
| EU15 | M | 2529 | 0.0 | 11.2 | 38.1 | 18.3 | 9.2 | 12.9 | 0.6 | 1.5 | 0.7 | 7.6 |
| Asia | HM | 2322 | 0.2 | 10.7 | 1.8 | 2.4 | 1.9 | 32.7 | 0.6 | 22.7 | 2.1 | 25 |
| Asia | H | 1842 | 0.2 | 8.2 | 1.5 | 2.0 | 1.7 | 27.4 | 0.8 | 28.2 | 2.6 | 27 |
| Asia | M | 480 | 0.0 | 20.2 | 2.9 | 3.8 | 2.5 | 53.3 | 0.2 | 1.7 | 0.2 | 15 |
| Brazil | HM | 12075 | 0.1 | 4.1 | 8.2 | 9.1 | 4.3 | 19.9 | 0.9 | 26.8 | 4.6 | 22 |
| Brazil | H | 7472 | 0.1 | 4.5 | 7.4 | 8.1 | 2.6 | 10.9 | 1.0 | 41.1 | 6.5 | 18 |
| Brazil | M | 4603 | 0.0 | 3.5 | 9.5 | 10.6 | 7.1 | 34.4 | 0.6 | 3.6 | 1.7 | 29 |
| Eastern Europe | HM | 6282 | 0.2 | 1.1 | 5.1 | 3.2 | 1.4 | 6.6 | 2.4 | 42.5 | 3.5 | 34 |
| Eastern Europe | H | 4841 | 0.3 | 0.9 | 3.9 | 2.8 | 0.9 | 1.9 | 2.2 | 53.1 | 4.2 | 30 |
| Eastern Europe | M | 1441 | 0.0 | 1.7 | 9.2 | 4.6 | 3.3 | 22.3 | 3.3 | 7.1 | 1.5 | 47 |

Source : Census, 2001

As a consequence of the slow down in the Portuguese economy and the increase in unemployment since 2002, immigrants have increasing difficulties in finding employment.

⁷ 0. Members of the armed forces; 1. Civil service managers, executives and managers of corporations; 2. Intellectual and scientific experts; 3. Technicians and intermediate level professionals; 4. Administration and similar workers; 5. Service workers and sales people; 6. Farmers and skilled workers of agriculture and fisheries; 7. Labourers, craftsmen and similar workers; 8. Operators of installations and machines and assembly line workers; 9. Non-skilled workers

Subsequently, between 2001 and 2006, unemployment among immigrants increased from 8012 to 21673, especially among Brazilians and Ukrainians (Authors own calculations based on data from the Instituto de Emprego e Formação Profissional). In 2006, the unemployment rate for the male population born in Portugal reached 6.9%, the equivalent value for foreign born males was 8.2%. The unemployment rate among women was higher: 9.3% for Portuguese born females and 11.4% for foreign born females (SOPEMI-OECD, 2008).

Housing

General social policy and housing market trends throughout the past decade in Lisbon have led to a support for home ownership, slum clearance through re-housing programmes as well as an expansion in real estate options including more mixed housing types in the peripheral municipalities (Malheiros and Vala, 2004). The impacts of these trends amongst the immigrant groups represented in the city are not convergent.

The tenure structure of the LMA is heavily dominated by owner occupied housing, with almost 70% of the population living in this tenure, see table 3. Subsequently, the rental market is small and is comprised of slightly over 30% of the population. Another distinct characteristic of the housing system in the LMA, and indeed nationally, is the very small weight of social housing (4.4%). There are commonalities across immigrant groups in terms of their housing patterns, namely over-representation in rented housing and an under-representation in owner occupied housing. This is more than likely related to difficulties in accessing credit and affordability, as well as the migration strategies among the last wave of labour migrants. Despite this there are distinct inter-group differences.

The PALOP group show polarised housing patterns, with the highest proportion of the population living in shanty housing (9.3%) and the highest percentage of the population, besides EU15 nationals, living in owner-occupied housing (53.9%). Although lower than the portion of the Portuguese living in this sector, it is reflective of an improvement in living conditions, over the last decennial census period, related with long term settlement in Portugal. It is interesting to note however that only 19% of PALOP groups have mortgages compared to 33.8% of Portuguese. Due to their over-representation in shanties, in general terms, this community has benefited most from the re-housing programme, reflected in their higher representation in the social rented sector (11%). However, even with the undeniable improvement in housing conditions associated with the re-housing programme many social problems rather than being improved have been displaced to the new neighbourhoods (Malheiros and Vala, 2004).

Furthermore, the fact that in proportionate terms over 8 times as many PALOP nationals live in shanty housing than Portuguese points to their relative disadvantage, this is exacerbated further when housing conditions and overcrowding are taken into consideration.

In saying this, however, the PALOP group presents a more favourable situation in terms of weight in the owner occupied sector, excepting of course EU15 nationals, and access to the social rented sector, when compared to other immigrant groups. The newer waves of migrants are particularly vulnerable in the housing market. The Eastern European group, for instance, shows particularly precarious patterns, with 4.2% represented in shanties, just slightly over a third in the owner occupied sector, almost 80% in the private rented sector and over 65% living in overcrowded conditions. This is principally due to their recent arrival, in relation to the data presented below, and the sharing of properties between co-workers to save money, often in sublets, reflected clearly in the fact that over 40% live in shared housing with more than one family.

The Asian group is only slightly over-represented in shanty or non-classic housing. In general they live in the private rented sector (65.3%) in over-crowded and multiple family households. This is especially the case for Pakistani residents, whilst Indian and Chinese households fare slightly better as almost twice as many live owner-occupied housing compared to Pakistanis. Despite this, over 70% of Indian households are over-crowded compared with 50% of Chinese. Over-crowding and multiple family living is likely, at least in part, to have different explanations to that of Eastern European households, and may represent the well documented tendency of Pakistanis and Indians to live in extended family households.

Brazilian migrants show similar patterns to the Eastern European and Asian migrants, who arrived in the same migratory wave, and although they are slightly under-represented in shanty housing, they are disproportionately present in the private rented sector and in over-crowded dwellings (51.6%), although less so in the latter than all other immigrant groups considered here, excepting EU15.

A clear aspect of the housing experience of immigrants is their difficulty in accessing the formal market, social housing and affordable housing of adequate size to meet their needs. Further to this are the lack of suitable solutions relating to their personal migratory projects (for instance hostels to house temporary labour migrants). Social housing is almost exclusively limited to the re-housing of households as part of a process of slum clearance, in the ambit of the Special Re-housing Programme. The barriers they face in accessing the formal rented market lead to many

renting accommodation in the informal market, and in some cases through what maybe referred to as an immigrant submarket, from co-nationals (Fonseca, 2008).

Table 3 – Housing characteristics of the main immigrant groups resident in the LMA (% of the resident population)

| Nationality | Non-classic dwellings | Rented housing | Social rented housing | Housing rented for less than 99.76 € | Owner occupied housing | Owner occupied housing with mortgages | Over crowded dwellings | Below tolerable standard housing | Shared housing (+ 1 family) |
|--------------------------|-----------------------|----------------|-----------------------|--------------------------------------|------------------------|---------------------------------------|------------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Total | 1,4 | 30,4 | 4,4 | 17,6 | 69,6 | 33,1 | 24,7 | 1,3 | 2,3 |
| Portugal | 1,1 | 29,4 | 4,2 | 18,1 | 70,6 | 33,8 | 23,2 | 1,2 | 1,8 |
| UE – 15 | 0,7 | 45,3 | 1,1 | 7,9 | 54,7 | 31,8 | 14,6 | 0,9 | 5,8 |
| Europa Leste | 4,7 | 79,6 | 1,8 | 5,0 | 20,4 | 11,6 | 64,9 | 2,5 | 41,4 |
| PALOP | 9,3 | 46,1 | 11,0 | 12,5 | 53,9 | 19,0 | 64,2 | 2,6 | 8,9 |
| Cabo Verde | 14,1 | 48,1 | 18,2 | 21,0 | 51,9 | 22,5 | 60,5 | 2,4 | 5,8 |
| Guiné-Bissau | 8,7 | 48,1 | 10,5 | 9,6 | 51,9 | 11,9 | 68,2 | 2,7 | 15,6 |
| Angola | 4,3 | 44,8 | 5,0 | 6,4 | 55,2 | 16,9 | 65,8 | 2,0 | 9,2 |
| S.Tomé e P. | 13,0 | 42,3 | 9,4 | 11,1 | 57,7 | 26,3 | 70,7 | 6,8 | 8,5 |
| Moçambique | 2,6 | 41,5 | 9,6 | 11,3 | 58,5 | 21,1 | 47,1 | 0,9 | 5,4 |
| Brasil | 1,3 | 71,7 | 1,7 | 3,1 | 28,3 | 11,0 | 51,6 | 1,3 | 23,0 |
| China, Índia e Paquistão | 1,3 | 65,3 | 3,3 | 5,4 | 34,7 | 18,3 | 65,7 | 2,3 | 31,7 |
| Paquistão | 2,0 | 78,0 | 1,8 | 3,3 | 22,0 | 11,7 | 79,2 | 3,7 | 51,9 |
| Índia | 1,7 | 61,0 | 6,2 | 9,2 | 39,0 | 22,8 | 70,8 | 2,8 | 28,2 |
| China | 0,2 | 62,0 | 0,9 | 2,4 | 38,0 | 17,6 | 50,7 | 0,9 | 22,3 |

Source: Malheiros e Vala, 2004 (Data includes the Municipality of Azambuja).

Education

There are significant disparities in the level of qualifications between immigrant groups in the Metropolitan Area of Lisbon. The PALOP group is substantially below average in all levels of education, except in compulsory education, however, they fare worst in terms of the proportion of the population over 25 holding either a degree or another higher qualification or having completed secondary education. Indeed, in relative terms, over three times as many Portuguese (13.3%) have higher education than this group (4.3%) and almost twice as few have no qualifications – see table 4.

On the other hand, the Asian group fares worst with regards the percentage of over 25 year olds who have no qualifications whatsoever (15.7%), with over double the proportion of the total population. Interestingly, however a higher percentage of Asians both completed compulsory education (18.9%) and have secondary education (22.4%) than the average for the total population (15.5% and 18.1%, respectively) or the Portuguese (15.4% and 16.1%), yet fewer continued to higher education (8%) than the latter two groups (14.6% and 13.3%, respectively).

At all levels of education Brazilian immigrants are above average and well qualified in comparison with the Portuguese population. They have the smallest proportion of those with no qualifications (1.7%) and a higher proportion with higher qualifications (19%).

The two highest qualified groups, significantly surpassing the Portuguese, are EU15 nationals followed by Eastern Europeans. Over 45% of EU15 nationals have higher education and only 2.3% have no qualifications. Almost one third of Eastern Europeans have higher education and slightly less than one third completed secondary education. This is unsurprising when we consider the professional profile of EU15 nationals; however, educational achievement and professional profile are inversely correlated for Eastern Europeans, highlighting the well documented skills mismatch within this group.

Table 4 - Qualifications of the population with 25 years or more, of the LMA, by highest level of education and main immigrant groups, 2001

| Nationality | Level of Education | | | |
|----------------|---|--------------------------------------|---------------------|------------------|
| | No qualifications | Compulsory Education (1st-3rd cycle) | Secondary education | Higher Education |
| | <i>percentage of population over 25</i> | | | |
| Total | 7.2 | 15.5 | 18.1 | 14.6 |
| Portuguese | 7.2 | 15.4 | 16.1 | 13.3 |
| EU15 | 2.3 | 9 | 20.8 | 45.9 |
| Eastern Europe | 2.5 | 15.5 | 30.7 | 31.2 |
| PALOP | 12.7 | 19 | 11.1 | 4.3 |
| Brazil | 1.7 | 18.1 | 29.6 | 19 |
| Asia | 15.7 | 18.9 | 22.4 | 8 |

Source: Census 2001

Turning to the school age population, according to 2001 census data, roughly the same percentage of Portuguese and PALOP 5 to 9 year olds are attending school- see table 5. This would suggest that there is equality of access to education at the beginning of a child's life. It appears to be as the educational career progresses that disparities begin to emerge. It must be noted here that data is only presented for PALOP nationals and Portuguese as 2001 data for other national groups cannot be considered representative.

These disparities are particularly obvious when school drop out and failure is considered. Using school incompleteness and the completion of the first two cycles of education as the highest level of education (meaning the pupil failed to progress to the last cycle of compulsory education) as

a proxy for school drop, PALOP pupils (15.4%) fare much worse than Portuguese pupils (9.3%).

Using attendance of educational cycles below that which corresponds to the pupils' age as a proxy for repeating school years, one can see a higher rate of failure among PALOP nationals, for instance, 31.9% of PALOP 10 to 14 year olds are still attending the 1st cycle of education (6-10 years), whereas the same is true for less than half as many Portuguese students (15.1%). There are also three times as many PALOP (9.3%) pupils than Portuguese between the age of 15 and 19 who are attending the second cycle of education, which should be completed between 10 and 12 years of age. This is likely due to school failure and subsequent repetition of school years.

The percentage of PALOP pupils attending secondary school is significantly lower than the Portuguese, furthermore only 0.9% of PALOP pupils have actually graduated.

Table 5 - School attendance, failure and highest level completed among the school aged population (5-19 years old) in the LMA, for Portuguese and PALOP nationals, 2001

| Nationality | Compulsory | | | | | | | | | % school drop out ⁸ | Secondary education | | |
|-----------------|-------------|------------|------------|-------------|-------------|------------|-------------|------------|------------|--------------------------------|---------------------|------------|------------|
| | 1st cycle | | | 2nd Cycle | | | 3rd cycle | | | | attending | completed | incomplete |
| | attending | completed | incomplete | attending | Completed | Incomplete | attending | completed | Incomplete | | | | |
| Total | 27.8 | 0.5 | 0.4 | 15.0 | 0.81 | 0.9 | 16.7 | 1.4 | 1.3 | | 19.8 | 1.0 | 2.0 |
| 5 to 9 | 73.0 | - | - | 1.1 | - | - | - | - | - | | - | - | - |
| 10 to 14 | 16.0 | 0.2 | 0.2 | 42.9 | 0.1 | 0.4 | 37.1 | - | 0.3 | | - | - | - |
| 15 to 19 | 1.3 | 1.3 | 0.9 | 3.0 | 2.1 | 2.0 | 13.2 | 3.5 | 3.2 | 9.6 | 50.1 | 2.7 | 5.1 |
| Portugal | 27.7 | 0.5 | 0.4 | 14.8 | 0.8 | 0.8 | 16.7 | 1.3 | 1.3 | | 20.1 | 1.0 | 2.0 |
| 5 to 9 | 73.0 | - | - | 0.97 | - | - | - | - | - | | - | - | - |
| 10 to 14 | 15.1 | 0.2 | 0.2 | 43.0 | 0.1 | 0.3 | 38.0 | 0.0 | 0.3 | | 2.5 | - | - |
| 15 to 19 | 1.2 | 1.2 | 0.9 | 2.7 | 2.0 | 1.9 | 12.6 | 3.5 | 3.1 | 9.3 | 51.2 | 2.6 | 5.1 |
| PALOP | 30.3 | 1.0 | 0.7 | 18.8 | 1.5 | 1.6 | 18.0 | 1.4 | 2.3 | | 14.4 | 0.9 | 2.0 |
| 5 to 9 | 74.5 | - | - | 2.3 | - | - | - | - | - | | - | - | - |
| 10 to 14 | 31.9 | 0.3 | 0.5 | 40.3 | 0.3 | 0.8 | 22.6 | - | 0.7 | | - | - | - |
| 15 to 19 | 2.0 | 2.2 | 1.3 | 9.3 | 3.4 | 3.1 | 24.6 | 3.5 | 5.1 | 15.4 | 33.9 | 0.9 | 2.0 |

Source: Census 2001

⁸ The school drop out rate was calculated by summing school incompletion, the completion of the first two cycles of education as the highest level of education (meaning the pupil failed to progress to the last cycle of compulsory education) and 15 to 19 year olds without any education.

Geographical distribution of the ethnic population

In terms of the geographical distribution of the foreign population, in 2001, they were slightly over represented on the Northern bank (79.2%) of the river than on the southern bank (20.8%), when compared to the total population, 73.2% of which live on the northern bank and 26.8% on the southern bank. This was, however, more notable in 1991 than in 2001, when 82.2% of the foreign population lived on the northern bank compared with 74.6% of the total population, suggesting that patterns are converging to some extent. These general figures, however, hide the specificities of each group as Brazilians are represented almost in the same proportions as the total population on the northern (73.3%) and the southern (26.7%) banks, whereas the Asian and EU15 population are much more significantly over-represented in the northern bank (86.9% and 85.9%, respectively) than the southern (13.1% and 14.1%, respectively). PALOP groups are in-between the aforementioned, with 78.4% of the group living in the northern bank and 21.6% on the southern bank.

The first distinct characteristic of Lisbon's foreign population is its peripheral pattern of settlement. This is seen clearly in table 6 adopted from Malheiros and Vala (2004), which describes the dynamics of the foreign population, between the census in 1991 and 2001, across three zones in the LMA, namely the core, the inner suburban areas and the outer suburban or peri-urban areas. This table as well as displaying some mobility in the foreign population tells the story of overall urban growth in the metropolitan area. This is seen clearly in the population loss in the city of Lisbon and the subsequent growth in the peri-urban area followed by the inner suburbs. The foreign population follow this overall trend, in general, suggesting that their settlement patterns are influenced by urban development at their time of arrival, i.e., the higher density of PALOP groups and their higher growth in the inner suburbs and higher growth in the peri-urban area of Eastern European groups. Despite this, it is also important to highlight the continued importance of the core as an area of reception for immigrants in general compared to the Portuguese population, as all immigrant groups registered an increase, albeit slight, in their core presence over the period in question, in particular, Eastern Europeans and Asians.

This is illustrated further when we look at population growth at the municipal level (Table 7). Indeed, in 2001, Sintra, a suburban municipality, on the northern bank of the river Tagus became the area with the largest concentration of foreigners in the LMA, surpassing Lisbon, which had the largest concentration in 1991. Despite this, it must be noted that, although in absolute terms, Lisbon has the second largest number of foreigners, the proportion of the foreign population as a percentage of the total population (3.3%) is significantly lower than that of the LMA (4.7%), this is in the context of a significant population decrease overall. This is

primarily related with housing market dynamics, namely the high prices of rehabilitated housing and a low supply of rented housing (Malheiros and Vala, 2004) in the city centre, that have forced suburban settlement.

Table 6 - Foreigner group dynamics in three intra-metropolitan spaces (%): LMA, evolution from 1991 to 2001

| Nationality | Lisbon municipality | Suburban areas | Peri-urban areas | Total change |
|---------------------------|---------------------|----------------|------------------|--------------|
| Total | -14.9 | 12.4 | 14.5 | 5.6 |
| Portugal | -17.1 | 7.0 | 11.6 | 1.4 |
| EU – 15 | 16.8 | 21.6 | 41.7 | 22.2 |
| Eastern Europe | 1563.0 | 3275.7 | 6735.5 | 3137.0 |
| PALOP | 67.5 | 249.2 | 196.4 | 214.2 |
| <i>Cape Verde</i> | 21.2 | 122.2 | 137.8 | 105.9 |
| <i>Guinea-Bissau</i> | 153.5 | 430.1 | 532.0 | 389.0 |
| <i>Angola</i> | 146.0 | 560.4 | 321.6 | 451.4 |
| <i>S. Tomé e Príncipe</i> | 76.3 | 413.4 | 130.3 | 336.4 |
| <i>Mozambique</i> | 20.2 | 31.8 | 55.2 | 31.8 |
| Brazil | 107.4 | 275.7 | 1057.6 | 282.2 |
| China, India, Pakistan | 67.5 | 249.2 | 196.4 | 214.2 |
| <i>Pakistan</i> | 303.7 | 640.3 | 2700.0 | 490.5 |
| <i>India</i> | 430.4 | 208.6 | 15.8 | 259.0 |
| <i>China</i> | 590.7 | 79.3 | 500.0 | 155.3 |
| Asia - Others | 199.2 | 87.7 | 95.7 | 118.9 |

Source: 2001 Census (unpublished data) in Malheiros and Vala (2004).

Sintra is also the area that experienced the largest growth in its foreign population between the 1991 and 2001 censuses, which increased from 1.2% of the total population to 6.5%. In the neighbouring municipalities of Amadora (7.1%) and Loures (6.7%), although the foreign population is smaller in absolute terms, in relative terms it is more visible and comprises a larger proportion of the overall population, 7.1% and 6.7%, respectively. The foreign population of both municipalities also grew substantially between the 1991 and 2001 censuses. The increase in the foreign population in these areas is related principally with the availability of low cost housing and easy access, as the neighbourhoods in which immigrants live are primarily situated along the highway (IC19) and the railway line from Lisbon to Sintra.

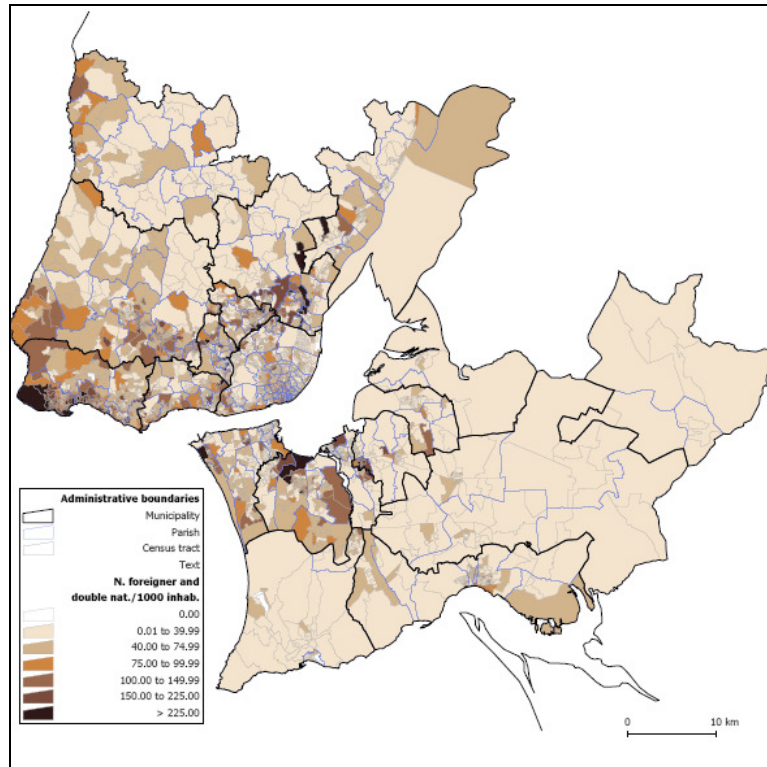
Table 7 – The foreign population by municipality, 1991-2001, LMA (absolute and percentage)

| | 1991 | | | 2001 | | |
|---------------------|------------------|--------------------|-------------------------------------|------------------|--------------------|-------------------------------------|
| | Total Population | Foreign population | % of Foreigners in total population | Total Population | Foreign population | % of Foreigners in total population |
| LMA | 2520708 | 45567 | 1.8 | 2661850 | 125446 | 4.7 |
| North Bank | 1880215 | 37441 | 2.0 | 1947261 | 99304 | 5.1 |
| Cascais | 153294 | 6264 | 4.1 | 170683 | 10276 | 6.0 |
| Lisboa | 663394 | 10802 | 1.6 | 564657 | 18736 | 3.3 |
| Loures | 192143 | 3712 | 1.9 | 199059 | 13430 | 6.7 |
| Mafra | 43731 | 256 | 0.6 | 54358 | 1808 | 3.3 |
| Oeiras | 151342 | 4795 | 3.2 | 162128 | 7334 | 4.5 |
| Sintra | 260951 | 3144 | 1.2 | 363749 | 23470 | 6.5 |
| Vila Franca de Xira | 103571 | 1586 | 1.5 | 122908 | 4321 | 3.5 |
| Amadora | 181774 | 5088 | 2.8 | 175872 | 12511 | 7.1 |
| Odivelas | 130015 | 1794 | 1.4 | 133847 | 7418 | 5.5 |
| South Bank | 640493 | 8126 | 1.3 | 714589 | 26142 | 3.7 |
| Alcochete | 10169 | 51 | 0.5 | 13010 | 185 | 1.4 |
| Almada | 151783 | 2406 | 1.6 | 160825 | 6798 | 4.2 |
| Barreiro | 85768 | 774 | 0.9 | 79012 | 1939 | 2.5 |
| Moita | 65086 | 1221 | 1.9 | 67449 | 3123 | 4.6 |
| Montijo | 36038 | 177 | 0.5 | 39168 | 691 | 1.8 |
| Palmela | 43857 | 289 | 0.7 | 53353 | 844 | 1.6 |
| Seixal | 116912 | 1952 | 1.7 | 150271 | 7973 | 5.3 |
| Sesimbra | 27246 | 171 | 0.6 | 37567 | 739 | 2.0 |
| Setúbal | 103634 | 1085 | 1.0 | 113934 | 3850 | 3.4 |

Source: Census 1991 and 2001.

The other main areas of residence in the LMA, also on the northern bank, are the municipalities of Cascais, which was the second largest area of concentration in 1991, and Odivelas, whose foreign populations are 6% and 5.5% of the total population, respectively. On the southern bank of the River Tagus there are no municipalities where the foreign population is over-represented, however, Seixal and Almada have the highest number of foreigners. At the neighbourhood level, however, there are areas of concentration, namely clusters of Brazilians and PALOP nationals.

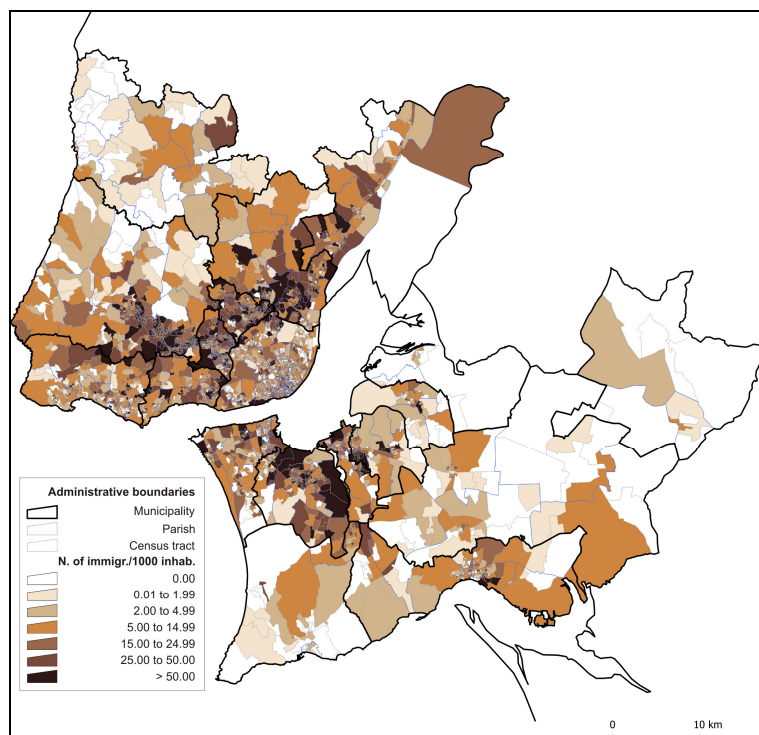
Figure 13 - Number of foreigners and double nationals per 1,000 inhabitants, 2001



Source: Census 2001

These patterns can be seen clearly in figure 13, where the foreign population can be seen, at a smaller scale, to be clustered within the municipalities, most notably is the western cape of Cascais and Sintra and the Estoril Coast, the railway line that runs between Sintra, Lisbon and Vila Franca de Xira, and the north-eastern re-housing neighbourhoods of Odivelas and Loures. Despite its lower representation on the southern banks of the river, the foreign population is concentrated in distinct clusters, again in those areas with easiest access to Lisbon, by way of the A2 and the 25th April Bridge, and on the coast.

Figure 14 - Number of PALOP nationals per 1,000 inhabitants, 2001

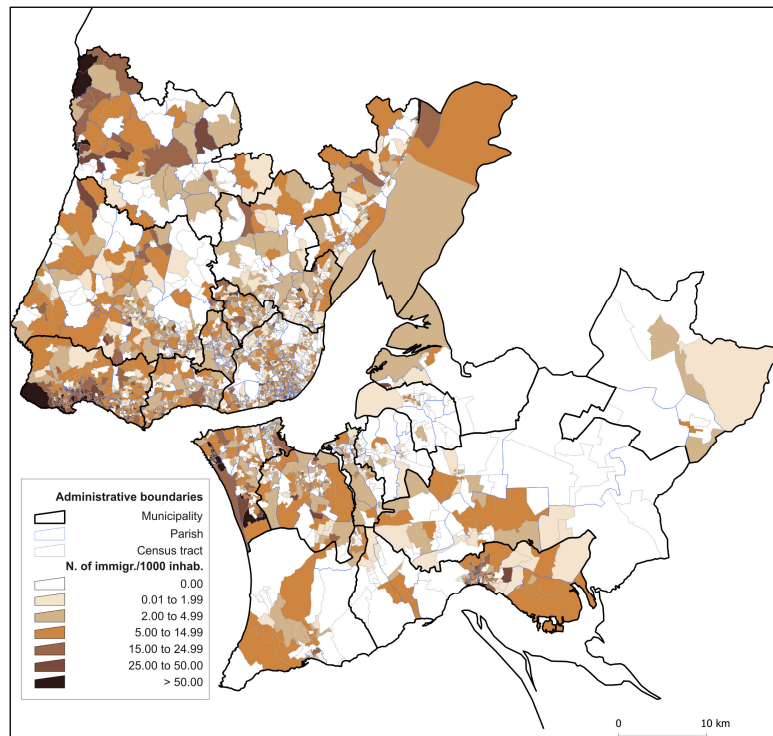


Source: Census 2001

Within this general pattern of settlement there are distinct inter-group differences. Patterns of settlement among the PALOP group have remained largely stable throughout the decennial census period (1991-2001). This is despite many benefiting from the re-housing process⁹, which served to reproduce areas of concentration. PALOP nationals display a clearly peripheral pattern and considerable levels of clustering, which can be seen in figure 14. They form an arc around the city of Lisbon, with two extensions, one running to the east to the deprived and re-housing neighbourhoods in Odivelas and Loures, and the other to Amadora, Oeiras and Sintra along the railway line. The highest concentrations within these areas are in Loures, where the populations of some parishes are comprised of over 10% of PALOP nationals, namely, Apelação (15.1%), Frielas (10.2%) Sacavém (14.1%) and Prior Velho (18.2%), which is significant compared to their weight in the total LMA population (3%). Levels of concentration are even more stark at a smaller spatial scale, as in the parish of Sacavém there are three census tracts in which PALOP nationals represent 81.7%, 65.9% and 65.7% of the total population. In Amadora, the PALOP population is over-represented in all parishes, except two of the eleven. On the southern bank of the river the largest concentrations of PALOP nationals are in the parish of Vale de Amoreira in the municipality of Moita, (13.5% of the total population) and Caparica in Almada and Amora in the municipality of Seixal.

⁹ In 1991 24% of the PALOP population lived in non-classic housing, this had reduced to 9% by 2001.

Figure 15 - Number of Brazilian nationals per 1,000 inhabitants, 2001



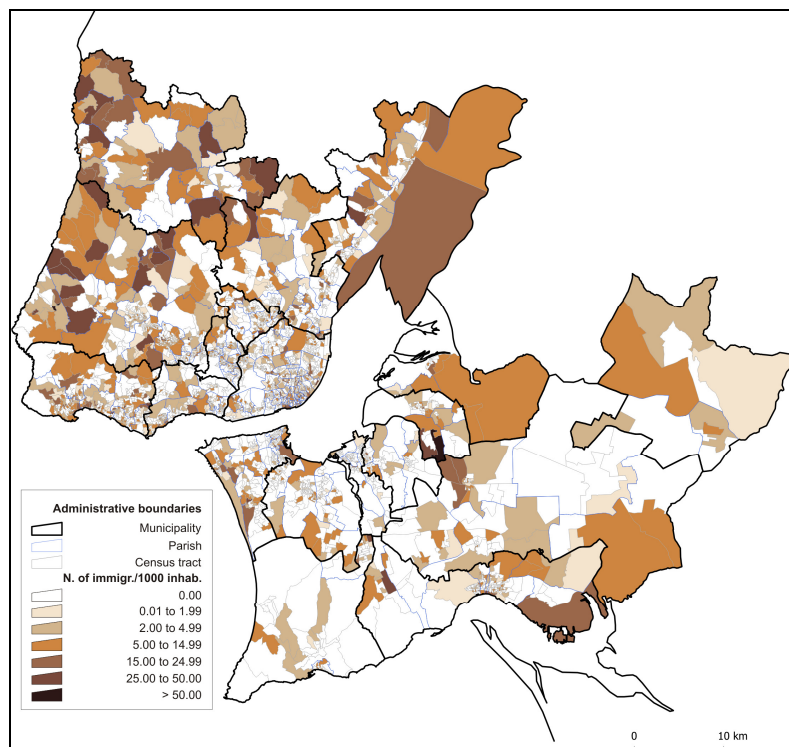
Source: Census 2001

In contrast to the PALOP group, the Brazilian group is much more dispersed and less consolidated. This is also a consequence of their more heterogeneous socio-economic composition and arguably easier access to the housing market (Malheiros and Vala, 2004). The areas where Brazilians are most clustered correspond to coastal areas, however, it should be noted that they are few. This can largely be explained by employment in hotel and catering. In absolute terms, in 2001 the largest concentration was in Cascais (comprising 2.5% of the total population). However, in relative terms the northern coastal fishing town of Ericeira has the largest proportion of Brazilians (7%, compared to 0.6% of the LMA population), followed by Costa de Caparica (5.5%), which is a beach resort on the south bank of the Tagus, and Estoril (2.5%) which neighbours Cascais on the Lisbon coast.

Eastern Europeans, who were largely absent from the LMA in 1991, have very dispersed settlement patterns (they represent less than 1% of the population of all municipalities in the LMA and 0.27% of the LMA) and are represented, quite significantly, in rural parishes situated at substantial distances from the city - see figure 16. Although small in absolute terms, they represent the largest share of the population in the municipality of Mafra – mainly in the rural parishes of Santo Estêvão das Galés, Vila Franca do Rosário and Encarnação. Mafra is followed

by the municipality of Montijo (particularly in the parishes of Sarilhos Grandes and Canha), Alcochete, Cascais and then Sintra – mainly in the semi-rural parishes of Montelavar, Pêro Pinheiro, São João das Lampas and Colares. In absolute terms they are represented in greatest numbers (approximately 1,300) in Lisbon and Sintra. Despite their under-representation at the municipal level in Lisbon, they are over-represented in historic neighbourhoods in the city centre, namely in the parishes of São Paulo, São Miguel and Graça, where they live in guest houses, sublet rooms and shared apartments.

Figure 16 - Number of Eastern European nationals per 1,000 inhabitants, 2001



Source: Census 2001

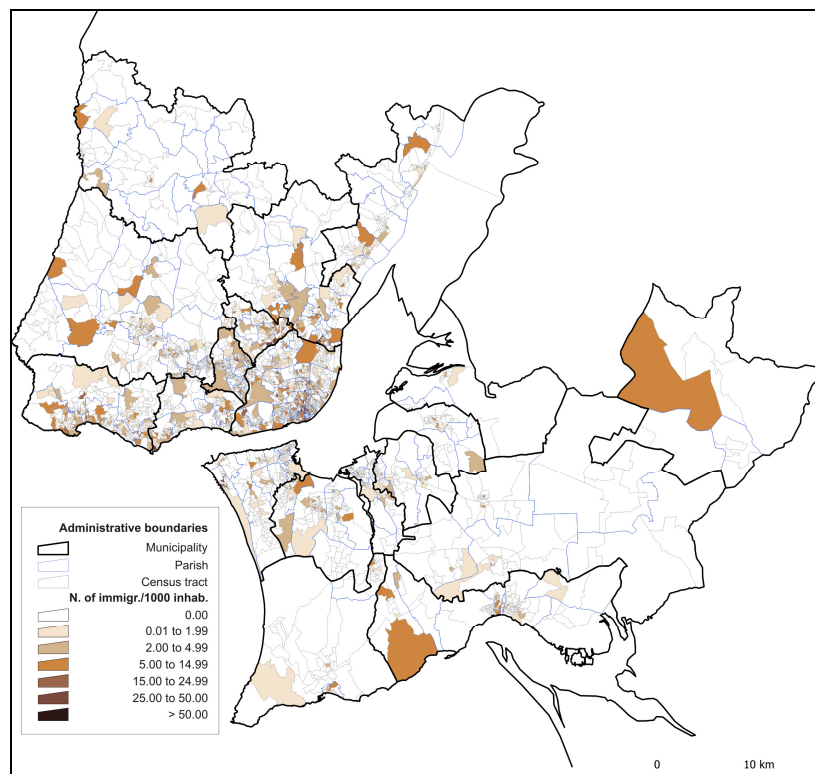
The Asian group, which is very small (comprising only 0.12% of the total population of the LMA) displays the highest levels of concentration among all immigrant groups. They are largely represented in the city of Lisbon, although there are also important nuclei in the municipalities that compose the first suburban ring, namely, Loures, Oeiras and Amadora. Although these groups are very small in number and never represent more than 2.2% of any one parish, residential segregation is clear at the micro-territorial level, immigrants tend to gather in few census tracts.

The Chinese are small in number but are well represented in the centre of Lisbon and in the historical neighbourhoods, in areas of high commercial density. This geographical pattern is

closely related with the development of the ethnic businesses set up by these communities. They are particularly visible in the Martim Moniz/Almirante Reis Avenue axis and areas adjacent to the city centre and other places of high concentration of commerce and services, namely, Alvalade and the river side area, from downtown to Alcântara.

In the case of Indians and Pakistanis, together with some Mozambicans of Indian ethnic origin established in Portugal since the decolonization process, their over-representation in comparison to the LMA average is evident in the parishes of the first suburban ring on the Northern bank of the river Tagus, namely in the municipalities of Loures and Odivelas, with particular relevance in two places in the municipality of Loures: Cidade Nova - Santo António dos Cavaleiros and Quinta da Vitória in Portela, where some Indian families reside. In the Setúbal Peninsula, the most important Asian nuclei are in the municipality of Almada (in Costa da Caparica and in Laranjeiro parishes) (Figure 17).

Figure 17 - Number of Asian nationals per 1,000 inhabitants, 2001

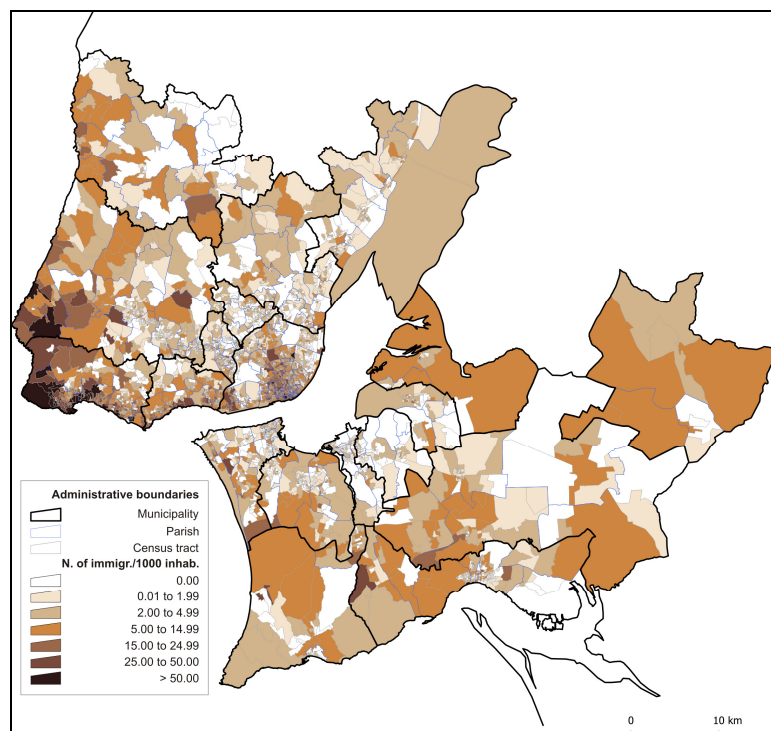


Source: Census 2001

Citizens from EU-15 are in the majority from Spain, France, the UK or Germany and display different settlement patterns than the labour migrants. They are over-represented, when compared to their share of the total population of the LMA (0.46%), in the coastal areas of Cascais, namely in the parish of Cascais (3.6%) and Estoril (2.6%) and some parishes in the municipality of Sintra, in particular, Colares and São Martinho and the most expensive, better quality and most prestigious areas of the city of Lisbon, such as the neighbourhoods of Lapa, S.Mamede and Belém/Restelo.

Despite the ample range of choice as a result of their high economic capacity and ability to negotiate the housing market, these immigrants tend to privilege residential areas where fellow nationals have previously settled. Thus besides the morphologic features of the urban fabric, the quality of housing on offer, the natural beauty and other positive factors offered by the Estoril coast and other areas of social prestige in the city of Lisbon, where immigrants from developed countries tend to settle, there are also historic and cultural factors related with past settlement of fellow country people in the same areas. In the case of Estoril and Cascais, the settlement of the first groups British and Germans dates back to the last quarter of the 19th century (Cavaco, 1983).

Figure 18 - Number of EU15 nationals per 1,000 inhabitants, 2001



Source: Census 2001

The evolution of segregation patterns

At the parish level, it is important first to highlight that, in 2001, no group displays particularly high levels of segregation, according to the index of segregation – see table 8. The Asian group displays the highest levels of concentration when compared with other groups, with a score of 0.42, denoting only moderately high levels of segregation. Following this group are foreigners from EU15 countries, who, according to the index present what could be considered low levels of concentration at the parish level (0.39). The PALOP group as a whole is more spread out than that of EU15 nationals (0.35), however when this group is disaggregated we find the highest levels of segregation among any population in the city. In particular, nationals from São Tomé and Príncipe (0.49) and Guinea-Bissau (0.45) display moderately high levels of concentration. The other groups, namely Eastern Europeans and Brazilians are more evenly dispersed, with very low levels of concentration, which are only slightly higher than that of the Portuguese population.

Over time levels of segregation, as measured by the IS, have fallen for all groups, but most especially for Eastern Europeans (from 0.59 in 1991 to 0.29 in 2001), Asians and Mozambicans (by 0.1 in both cases). It should be noted that for the Eastern European group this result has no significance as the former figure pertains to diplomats and the latter the wave of labour migrants. The only exception to this is the Angolan group whose levels of segregation, although remaining low, increased slightly.

The index of dissimilarity paints a similar picture (see table 9), with the Asian group showing the highest levels of dissimilarity from the Portuguese (0.42). They are followed by EU-15 nationals and PALOP nationals, although with low scores (0.39 and 0.36 respectively). The highest level of segregation between any two groups is between EU15 nationals and PALOP nationals (0.61). This is, for the most part, due to socio-economic disparities seen spatially in the city, with PALOP groups over-represented in deprived areas, whereas the opposite is true of EU15 nationals, who are clustered in prestigious locales in the city. When the PALOP group is disaggregated, levels of segregation between EU15 and particular groups are even more stark, namely San Tomese (0.71) and Guineans (0.66). Generally, the Asian and PALOP groups display the highest level of segregation from all other groups, including with each other. The lowest levels of unevenness between groups are between the Portuguese, Eastern Europeans and Brazilians.

Table 8 - Indices of Segregation for the Lisbon Metropolitan Area, by parish, 1991 and 2001

| Nationality | 1991 | 2001 | Difference |
|------------------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------------|
| Portuguese | 0.25 | 0.21 | - 0.04 |
| PALOP | 0.36 | 0.35 | - 0.01 |
| <i>Mozambique</i> | 0.37 | 0.27 | - 0.1 |
| <i>Angola</i> | 0.30 | 0.35 | + 0.05 |
| <i>Cape Verde</i> | 0.45 | 0.37 | - 0.08 |
| <i>São Tomé and Príncipe</i> | 0.50 | 0.49 | - 0.01 |
| <i>Guinea-Bissau</i> | 0.51 | 0.45 | - 0.06 |
| Brazilians | 0.33 | 0.27 | - 0.06 |
| Eastern Europeans | 0.59 | 0.29 | - 0.3 |
| EU-15 | 0.39 | 0.39 | 0 |
| Asians | 0.52 | 0.42 | - 0.1 |

Source: Census 1991 and 2001

Levels of dissimilarity, like the IS, have, in general, fallen over time, however with some exceptions. In particular, levels of unevenness between EU15 nationals and all other groups increased between 1991 and 2001, throwing into light social polarisation and segregation along the lines of socio-economic characteristics that are often overlooked, or certainly less problematised than segregation along the lines of ethnicity or nationality (see Table 9). Despite this increase it is important to highlight that levels of dissimilarity are low between EU15 nationals and other groups, excepting PALOP nationals. Levels of unevenness also increased between Angolans and all other groups apart from Eastern Europeans and Asians.

Table 9 - Indices of Dissimilarity for the Lisbon Metropolitan Area, by parish, 1991 and 2001

| Nationality | 1991 | 2001 | Difference |
|---|-------------|-------------|-------------------|
| Portuguese - PALOP | 0.36 | 0.36 | 0 |
| Portuguese – Brazilians | 0.33 | 0.28 | - 0.05 |
| Portuguese - Eastern Europeans | 0.59 | 0.29 | - 0.3 |
| Portuguese – EU-15 | 0.39 | 0.39 | 0 |
| Portuguese- Asians (Chinese, Pakistanis, Indians) | 0.52 | 0.42 | - 0.1 |
| PALOP – Brazilians | 0.46 | 0.44 | - 0.02 |
| PALOP - Eastern Europeans | 0.68 | 0.46 | - 0.22 |
| PALOP – EU-15 | 0.53 | 0.61 | + 0.08 |
| PALOP – Asians | 0.58 | 0.49 | - 0.09 |
| Brazilians – Eastern Europeans | 0.46 | 0.33 | - 0.13 |
| Brazilians – EU-15 | 0.23 | 0.35 | + 0.12 |
| Brazilians – Asians | 0.54 | 0.49 | - 0.05 |
| Eastern Europeans – EU-15 | 0.48 | 0.40 | - 0.08 |
| Eastern Europeans – Asians | 0.65 | 0.48 | - 0.17 |
| EU-15 – Asians | 0.59 | 0.51 | - 0.08 |
| Angola –Brazil | 0.41 | 0.50 | + 0.09 |
| Angola – Eastern Europe | 0.65 | 0.46 | - 0.19 |
| Angola – EU-15 | 0.49 | 0.60 | + 0.11 |
| Angola – Asia | 0.52 | 0.47 | - 0.05 |
| Angola – Portugal | 0.3 | 0.36 | + 0.06 |
| Cape Verde – Brazil | 0.54 | 0.46 | - 0.08 |
| Cape Verde – Eastern Europe | 0.72 | 0.50 | - 0.22 |
| Cape Verde – EU-15 | 0.57 | 0.60 | + 0.03 |
| Cape Verde – Asia | 0.65 | 0.55 | - 0.1 |
| Cape Verde – Portugal | 0.45 | 0.38 | - 0.07 |
| Guinea-Bissau – Brazil | 0.54 | 0.53 | - 0.01 |
| Guinea-Bissau – Eastern Europe | 0.70 | 0.54 | - 0.16 |
| Guinea-Bissau – EU-15 | 0.59 | 0.66 | + 0.07 |
| Guinea-Bissau – Asia | 0.61 | 0.54 | - 0.07 |
| Guinea-Bissau – Portugal | 0.51 | 0.46 | - 0.05 |
| Mozambique – Brazil | 0.47 | 0.39 | - 0.08 |
| Mozambique – Eastern Europe | 0.66 | 0.40 | - 0.26 |
| Mozambique – EU15 | 0.53 | 0.50 | - 0.03 |
| Mozambique – Asia | 0.45 | 0.40 | - 0.05 |
| Mozambique – Portugal | 0.38 | 0.28 | - 0.1 |
| Sao Tome and Principe – Brazil | 0.60 | 0.55 | - 0.05 |
| Sao Tome and Principe – Eastern Europe | 0.73 | 0.59 | - 0.14 |
| Sao Tome and Principe – EU15 | 0.65 | 0.71 | + 0.06 |
| Sao Tome and Principe – Asia | 0.62 | 0.56 | - 0.06 |
| Sao Tome and Principe – Portugal | 0.50 | 0.50 | 0 |

Source: Census 1991 and 2001

Zooming in at a finer spatial scale we see that indices of segregation at the parish level overshadow patterns of segregation on a local level, as where a population may be relatively dispersed across parishes, they may be tightly clustered in neighbourhoods or even streets within those respective parishes. When considering the results of the index of dissimilarity, this is particularly evident between the Portuguese and Asians (0.42 at parish level and 0.8 at census tract) and, although segregated to a lesser extent, Eastern Europeans (0.29 and 0.65) – see table 10.

When considering levels of segregation between the Portuguese and immigrant groups, according to the index of dissimilarity very high levels can be verified with Asians (0.8), followed by high levels with Eastern Europeans (0.65) and moderately high levels with PALOP (0.51) and EU15 (0.5) nationals. There are even moderately high levels of segregation between the Portuguese and Brazilians. At this finer scale Asians continue to show very high levels of segregation from all groups (with scores of over 0.8). However, in saying this, all immigrant groups appear to be either moderately or highly segregated from one another, with the lowest score between Brazilians and EU15 nationals (0.56). The index of segregation reveals very similar patterns, in terms of each group's distribution among the total population, and increases in levels of segregation when compared to the results at the parish level see table 11.

This is interesting in the light of patterns of peripheralization described earlier on in this section, as although at a first glance there appear to be signs of dispersal among immigrant groups, at a smaller spatial scale it becomes obvious that they are re-clustering, or on the part of the Eastern Europeans, clustering in peripheral areas and in the suburbs at a micro or very local scale.

Table 10 - Indices of Dissimilarity for the Lisbon Metropolitan Area, by census tract (secção estatística), 2001

| Nationality | Census Tract |
|---|---------------------|
| Portuguese - PALOP | 0.51 |
| Portuguese – Brazilians | 0.48 |
| Portuguese - Eastern Europeans | 0.65 |
| Portuguese - EU-15 | 0.50 |
| Portuguese- Asians (Chinese, Pakistanis, Indians) | 0.80 |
| PALOP – Brazilians | 0.65 |
| PALOP - Eastern Europeans | 0.74 |
| PALOP – EU-15 | 0.74 |
| PALOP – Asians | 0.81 |
| Brazilians - Eastern Europeans | 0.67 |
| Brazilians – EU-15 | 0.56 |
| Brazilians – Asians | 0.82 |
| Eastern Europeans - EU-15 | 0.71 |
| Eastern Europeans – Asians | 0.84 |
| EU-15 – Asians | 0.83 |

Source: Census 2001

Table 11 - Indices of Segregation for the Lisbon Metropolitan Area, by census tract (secção estatística), 2001

| Nationality | Census Tract |
|------------------------------|---------------------|
| Portuguese | 0.32 |
| PALOP | 0.50 |
| <i>Mozambique</i> | - |
| <i>Angola</i> | - |
| <i>Cape Verde</i> | - |
| <i>Sao Tome and Principe</i> | - |
| <i>Guinea-Bissau</i> | - |
| Brazilians | 0.48 |
| Eastern Europeans | 0.65 |
| EU-15 | 0.50 |
| Asians | 0.80 |

Source: Census 2001

Conclusion

In conclusion, Lisbon has undergone significant, social, structural and demographic changes from the 1960s onwards. The city has responded to population influxes first from the rural areas in Portugal and subsequently the increase in foreigners, coming first as labour migrants and returnees from the ex-colonies and then later from more diverse world regions, including Eastern Europe and Asia. The successive migratory waves, the first after the revolution in 1974 and the second at the turn of the last century, followed the sprawl of the urban area. Thus we see the correlation between the settlement patterns of the immigrants according to their time of arrival and the urban development of Lisbon. The Eastern European and Brazilian migrants who arrived in the second wave are more dispersed throughout the urban area and are more represented in peripheral areas, whereas the PALOP community is more densely compacted in the first suburban ring, whose development corresponds to their time of arrival. Despite the more dispersed patterns of more recently arrived immigrants to Lisbon, a more detailed analysis at a smaller spatial scale reveals them to be clustered at the micro level.

There are other factors that are distinct in the urban landscape and in the organisation of space in the LMA, namely the socio-spatial structure of the city. In line with structural changes in the economy, production and the professional structure of the population as well as urban developments, Lisbon has become more differentiated spatially in social and economic terms. Urban interventions have in some cases served to marginalise specific areas and favour others which have, in some instances, been gentrified. As a result of the increasing socio-economic polarisation of society specific types of poverty and exclusion related with ethnicity, unemployment and old age have surfaced. These patterns were demonstrated in the factor analysis presented in the city report and the settlement patterns of immigrants, in line with these trends in the description of the ethnic geography of the city.

The increased exposure of immigrants to poverty and social exclusion is clearly demonstrated through their socio-economic characteristics. All immigrants groups, except EU-15 nationals, are represented in lower skilled or unskilled professions, which are consequently remunerated poorly. In general, although immigrant groups are less well qualified than the Portuguese population, there is one exception to this rule, as Eastern European migrants are highly qualified yet employed in unskilled jobs. This skill mismatch constitutes a clear barrier to their inclusion and success in Portuguese society as well as inhibiting the gain that the labour market could reap. Immigrant groups are also more vulnerable to economic downturn, as is seen through their higher unemployment rates since the beginning of the economic slowdown in 2002.

The situation of immigrants in the labour market is reflected in their situation in the housing market. 2001 census data shows that the housing situation of PALOP nationals has improved, and although lower than the share of Portuguese, they have become well represented among owner occupants. Despite this and the fact they benefited most from the re-housing process, they are still the group with the largest percentage in non-classic housing. Other groups have a particularly precarious housing situation, specifically Eastern Europeans, Brazilians and Asians and are over-represented in shared and over-crowded housing in the private rented sector. Over and above legal migrants, it is important not to overlook the situation of the relatively large situation of illegal migrants, about who we know less.

In light of the above, which is also consequent to some policy interventions, there have been recent and necessary policy responses. The first wave of immigration to Portugal was characterised by a lack of immigration policy, which really did not begin to develop until after the mid-1990s. Since then immigration and integration have been subject to various legislative and policy advances, culminating in Portugal being considered second in terms of the quality of their legislation in this area by the Migrant Integration Policy Index (Niessen et al, 2007).

The trends and patterns highlighted in this report with regards to settlement patterns and the socio-economic position of immigrants, in the light of structural and social changes in the metropolitan area of Lisbon, create a very interesting backdrop and laboratory for the study of inter-ethnic relations. In particular, the different physical environments and levels of segregation at a micro level and the effects of urban fragmentation on the use of space in the city, as well as the diversified patterns of settlement among inter-immigrant groups, related to different stages in the cities urban development, provide interesting possibilities for the selection of case study areas.

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Appendix One

Lisbon Metropolitan Area – administrative units, political structures and geographical organization of the information

The Lisbon Metropolitan Area (LMA) is a formal territorial unit of an administrative nature composed of 18 municipalities and 216 parishes, a sub-municipal administrative level with a directly elected local assembly and some minor competences in domains such as public space management, cultural activities support and daily bureaucratic procedures (issuing of poverty and death certificates, etc.). It has an area of 3129 (km²) (approx. 3,4% of Portuguese territory), but concentrates approximately 25% of the population resident in Portugal (around 2,7 million). In addition, 1/3 of the employment registered in Portugal and around 36% of the national GDP are created here.

The present LMA was created in 2004 under the dispositions of the Law n.10/2003 of the 13th of May, as a body that tries to articulate and to coordinate the policies developed by its 18 municipalities in domains such as metropolitan transport, security, environment, health, tourism, culture, sport and sewage systems. With relatively weak political legitimacy – the LMA bodies are elected by the members of the executive councils of the 18 municipalities and the president is the mayor of one of the municipalities, chosen on the basis of 1 municipality – 1 vote, without taking into consideration the demographic dimension -, a very low budget and basically no executive competences, the LMA acts as an agreement and consultative forum where municipalities exchange policy experiences from various domains of intervention and try to articulate policies that require regional adjustment in order to ensure higher levels of functionality.

The key policy units of the LMA are the municipalities. Following the very old Portuguese municipal tradition that goes back to the middle ages, the contemporary “concelhos” base their competences, internal political bodies and budget structures on the principles and legal devices that have been created in the aftermath of the Portuguese Revolution in the second half of the 1970s. These legal devices suffered several changes in the following 30 years and the competences of municipalities have been strengthened, but the intervention spirit remains anchored in the foundations of the 1970s “democratic local administration”.

The municipal bodies – the assembly, which is the deliberative body and the “Câmara Municipal”, the executive body, which has as President the head of the party or citizens list that won the local election – are directly elected by the resident population¹⁰ every 4 years.

Economic resources of municipalities comprehend transfers from central administration and resources collected locally through municipal taxes and services as well as through the management of municipal patrimony. Larger municipalities with stronger demographic and economic bases, such as Lisbon, Sintra, Cascais, Almada and other metropolitan ones, have a higher capacity to directly collect resources. However, because their expenditures tend also to be higher, the debt levels are also frequently higher, sometimes limiting investment capacities. Public-private partnerships in the domains of housing or commercial and service spaces are nowadays common in the LMA municipalities. The competences of the municipalities are relatively large and comprehend basic education, health, social housing, infrastructure and public facilities, transport, local policing, environment and management of public spaces, youth support, cultural and leisure activities as well as economic development support initiatives (infrastructure and allocation of spaces appropriated to services, wholesale, logistics or manufacturing; organization of fairs that promote local businesses and locally produced goods). Each municipality has a “social network” that corresponds to a concertative structure where the main local organizations operating in the social sector (bodies from central administration in the areas of education, health and social intervention; municipal services and NGOs) exchange information, prepare common work and define strategies for the local social policy.

The 18 municipalities of the LMA are divided in 216 parishes (Figure 1). The parishes (*freguesias*) are also formal administrative units of a territorial nature elected every 4 years by the resident population. With very limited resources and competences, the parishes play an important role in terms of subsidiarity because they are the administrative units closer to the citizens. Their main tasks involve public space maintenance, information spreading among the residents, cultural support activities and basic administrative acts. In some cases, by decision of the municipal bodies, some competences may be decentralised to the *freguesias*.

¹⁰ EU foreigners and foreigners coming from third countries that have signed a “reciprocity voting agreement” with Portugal are allowed to vote in local elections, after 2 years of residence. *Reciprocity Voting Agreements* basically state that foreigners from country x living in Portugal and Portuguese living in country x are allowed to vote in the local elections of their permanent residence places.

Figure 1 - Political and administrative structure of the metropolis (18 municipalities and 216 parishes)



Although the competences of the municipalities and the parishes are the same, they show a large variety in terms of economic, demographic and spatial dimensions. Lisbon, the most populated municipality of the LMA and the country according to the 2001 census, had almost 565 000 inhabitants whereas Alcochete, the smallest unit, was just about 13 000. This feature may also be found among the *freguesias*, whose population ranged approximately between 341 and 82,000 residents. Despite the large demographic dimension of some parishes whose populations are higher than the ones of the certain municipalities (Alcochete, Sesimbra or even Mafra), their competences are kept at the “*freguesia* level”, which means they are very limited.

In addition to the territorial sizes of municipalities and parishes, a wide range of dimensions may also be found, especially at the *freguesia* level (Table 1). As one would expect, the historically consolidated parishes of the Lisbon centre – and also of other cities that are heads of municipality – tend to have smaller areas than the less populated peri-urban *freguesias*, which frequently are relatively vast, particularly in the South Bank of Tagus.

Table 1 – Political-administrative units (municipalities and parishes): some basic features

| Administrative units | Population | | Area (Sq. Km) | | Dwellings | |
|----------------------|----------------|----------|----------------|----------|----------------|----------|
| | Municipalities | Parishes | Municipalities | Parishes | Municipalities | Parishes |
| | Maximum | 564657 | 81845 | 465,9 | 217,4 | 292065 |
| Minimum | 13010 | 341 | 23,8 | 0,05 | 6203 | 124 |
| Average | 141194 | 12420 | 169,4 | 14,9 | 47,1 | 4583 |
| Standard - Deviat | 131853 | 12307 | 128,8 | 29,8 | | 4443 |
| Variation Coef. | 93,4 | 99,1 | 76,0 | 200,0 | | 96,9 |

Source: INE, Census.

Concerning the organization of the statistical information present in secondary sources, the municipalities are main geographical units of analysis. Census information – the most complete available database on demographic and social structures that enable some comparisons over time – as well as data on employment, the entrepreneurial fabric or demographic movement are also published, or at least available, at the municipal level.

Because this project needs data at sub-municipal level – *freguesias* and as much as possible units that can approach the idea of neighbourhood -, we intend to make an extensive use of the information gathered in the 1991 and especially 2001 census for the micro-units corresponding to sections and sub-sections (table 2). Because the concept of neighbourhood, that is complex and results from a combination of factors that may involve some level of physical uniformity and especially an identity that is recognised by the internal residents and the external local population, in most of the cases does not match specific sections or subsections, combinations of these will certainly be used in a process of statistically reconstructing the neighbourhoods.

Table 2 – Statistical units (sub-sections and sections): some basic features

| Statistical Units | Population | | Area (Sq. Km) | | Dwellings | |
|-------------------|------------|-------------|---------------|--------------|-----------|--------------|
| | Sections | Sub-section | Sections | Sub-sections | Sections | Sub-sections |
| | Maximum | 2176 | 1699 | 125,6 | 125,3 | 758 |
| Minimum | 0 | 0 | 0,005 | <0,0009 | 0 | 0 |
| Average | 676 | 82 | 0,811 | 0,098 | 250,0 | 30 |
| Standard - Deviat | 225 | 135 | 4,206 | 1,169 | 72 | 50 |
| Variation Coef. | 33,3 | 164,0 | 518,6 | 1192,9 | 28,8 | 166,7 |

Source: INE, Census.