

National Analytical Study on Housing

RAXEN Focal Point for Portugal

Númena
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1. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This reports provides an overview on the topics of housing and spatial segregation by taking a general viewpoint on the meagre literature available and on the almost non-existent data concerning housing discrimination. We start by tacking into account the data on re-housing programmes, especially the PER (Special Re-housing Programme), stressing the legal regime that supports this programme. We show some numbers that put into perspective the kind of spatial distribution characteristic of ethnic and migrant minorities. However, this is focused for the most part on the two biggest urbanised areas, that is, Lisbon and Porto, where the PER was promoted.

We then move forward to a collection of academic studies in this area. We should notice that a recent interest on this subject has prompted the production of several works. Despite this growing attention on housing allocation the majority of such works are still on the making; being so results can only be expected at a greater length of time. Discrimination in the housing sector has been viewed solely on its spatial aspects. The use of this kind of conceptual and theoretical narrowing has hindered the possibility of grasping a real depiction of ethnic minorities access to the housing market.

Ethnic minorities tend to cluster on the lower strata of social stratification. Regarding housing this implies that for a long time ethnic minorities, especially those coming from African Countries Having Portuguese as their Official Language (PALOP) were cast out from the regular housing market¹. An hiatus between the arrival of large contingents of people from abroad and the implementation in Lisbon and Porto of the first large scope re-housing programmes led to the proliferation of slums at the outskirts of Lisbon. Slums clearance was one of the objectives of PER and this not only had altered radically the urban landscape but also the relation between a big proportion of the so called Luso-Africans² and the housing market. The proliferation of slums intensified the visibility of ethnic segregation. Ethnic minorities, mainly black, had to

¹ By this we mean processes of house acquisition where all the required legal formalities are complied with.

² See for instance Machado, F.L. (2002) *Contrastes e Continuidades- Migração, Etnicidade e Integração dos Guineenses em Portugal* [Contrasts and Continuities- Migration, Ethnicity and Integration of Guineese in Portugal] Oeiras: Celta

face an expensive housing market which -by force of conjuncture-, cast them away from private housing. Some researchers, as Prof. Maria João Freitas, from the Centre for Social Ecology(NESO) of the National Laboratory of Civil Engineering(LNEC) hold the opinion that the failure of the Portuguese housing market in satisfying the demand, together with the scarcity of the supply in social housing by the state when compared to that demand, ended by affecting the most ill-favoured segments of the population. In this respect, and according to this specialist, ethnic minorities were affected on account of their poor socio-economic situation³.

Another level would be the one of direct discrimination and to this researchers have not paid much attention so far. No studies were ever conducted in Portugal on housing renting or selling refusal on account of ethnicity. However, we are led to believe that discrimination does happen in the housing sector. Judging by the information collected from associations working in the field of racism and immigration people from an ethnic minority background complaint of suffering discrimination in the housing market. More substantiated data will be need to ground these otherwise speculative assumptions.

Nevertheless, three main conclusions can be drawn from the data analysed in this report. Firstly, in general, minorities living in Portugal have worse housing conditions than the Portuguese majority (especially in the Lisbon and Porto's areas). Secondly, Roma are the ethnic group which evinces the worse housing conditions. Simultaneously, they are those that bear the biggest stigma and also the main target of outcries especially in the interior regions of the country. Thirdly, though the re-housing process started in the beginning of the nineties counteracted the housing shortage, many problems that were characteristic of the slums and shantytowns in towns' peripheries were simply transferred to the new environments. Fourthly, Africans and Roma according to associations, are those that complaint the most about being discriminated in renting and buying a house; also the complaints received by the Commission for Equality and Against Racial Discrimination point in the same direction.

³ These opinions were stated in an interview with the NFP

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2. GLOSSARY/DEFINITION OF TERMS AND CONCEPTS USED

Immigrants:

Although there is no legal definition of the concept of immigrant, it is usually associated with non-nationals residing on national territory. In Portugal, immigration is a relatively recent phenomenon and it is linked with immigrant workers. Law 34/2003 who regulates the entry, permanence and expulsion of foreigners from the Portuguese territory does not use the designation “Immigrant” but that of “Foreign Resident”, who is defined as any foreigner entitled with a valid permit for residence in Portugal. The annex to the same law-decree defines foreign in the second article as “everybody who doesn’t prove to hold Portuguese nationality”. “ Thus official statistics concern “Foreigners” and not “Immigrants”. Consequently second and third generation immigrants are also not considered in official statistics and documents. Therefore the word “foreigner” is in most cases more accurate since official statistics group together both foreign nationals who were born in Portugal and those who immigrated. Nonetheless we use the word immigrant to designate those that unequivocally immigrated to Portugal as, for example, the beneficiaries of the latest extraordinary legalization.

Minorities

The concept of ethnic minorities was used for the first time in the XII Constitutional Government Programme (1996/2000). However, this concept is not defined in the Portuguese legal code, since the need to lend it a determinate legal meaning has not so far been felt. Hence, its sociological definition was tacitly adopted. Nevertheless, this is far from being clear when it comes to apply it to Portugal.

According to Prof. Beatriz Rocha Trindade, in Portugal only the Roma community can be considered a national ethnic minority, inasmuch as “the concept of ethnic minorities is necessarily tied to a situation extending from generation to generation – i.e., it is necessarily tied to the preservation of codes regarding a specific culture. Such is the

case with the Roma community, which constitute a well-defined ethnic minority, although they are seldom viewed as such”⁴

1st, 2nd and 3rd generation immigrants:

In Portugal, the first generation of immigrants is for the most part associated with individuals originating from PALOP (African Countries Having Portuguese as their Official Language), who, in the wake of their countries’ independence, chose Portugal as their destination. However, since the end of the nineties a new wave of immigrants, coming from Eastern European countries, especially Ukraine, has been entering Portugal, and now they constitute the largest group of foreigners living in national territory.

The second and third generation immigrants are their descendants, many of which are Portuguese nationals as a result of their progenitors having benefited from the provision implemented by Decree-Law no. 308-A/75, dated June 24th, which regulated the mechanisms for the preservation and acquisition of Portuguese nationality, and of their inclusion in the disposition that grants nationality by birth to children of foreigners born on national territory, as laid down in Law no.37/81, dated August 12th.

Exiles/Asylum seekers:

The Portuguese legal framework does not define the concept of exile or asylum seeker. However, this concept can be discerned through the interpretation of article 1, based on art. 1 no.2 of the Geneva Convention. Law no. 15/98, dated March 26th – Asylum Law [available at <http://www.gddc.pt/legislacao-lingua-estrangeira/english/lei-asilo.html>] – stipulates three distinct situations whereby individuals are entitled to protection: the refugee status (art. 1 to 6), residence permit for humanitarian reasons (art.8) and temporary protection (art. 9).

⁴ Maria Beatriz Rocha Trindade, “Minorias, Polissémia do Conceito e Diversidade de Manifestação”, in *Emigração-Imigração em Portugal. Actas do Colóquio Internacional sobre Emigração e Imigração em Portugal nos Séculos XIX e XX* [Emigration- Immigration in Portugal. Minutes of the International Meeting on Emigration and Immigration in Portugal in the 19th and 20th centuries], Lisbon, Ed. Fragmentos, 1993, p.428.

Refugees:

In Portugal, there is no legal distinction between the concepts of exile (asylum seeker) and refugee.

Definitions of discrimination and anti-discrimination in housing/accommodation in use in this report

We understand racial discrimination in the housing sector by any form of inequality of treatment among individuals based on race, colour, nationality or ethnic origin (Council directive 2000/43/CE) in buying or renting a lodgement.

In the same vein, the Portuguese law against racial discrimination, Law 134/99, in its art. 4, defines discriminatory practice in the following way: “All actions or omissions which violate the principle of equality of any person, be they based on race, colour, nationality or ethnic origin, shall be considered discriminatory practice, specifically:

- c) the refusal or constraint on the selling, letting or sub-letting of property;
- e) the refusal to allow right of entry to places which are either public or open to the public;
- j) the adoption of any practice or measure on part of any body, civil servant or agent directly or indirectly associated with the State, Autonomous Regions or local government that hinders or restricts the practice or exercise of any right.

3. INTRODUCTION

Never as before has Portuguese society given such an attention to immigrants and ethnic minorities as in the last two years. News about immigrants fill the news in the press and on the TV, the real consequences of immigration to the Portuguese economy are discussed at the political level, public forums are promoted to discuss the subject. One of the reasons for this interest is the promotion of a new immigration law, law-decree 34/2003, approved in the beginning of 2003. This, together with a number of public initiatives regarding immigrants, such as the creation of an Immigration Monitoring Centre⁵ and of a national network of support to immigrants, has prompted the public debate. It could be said also that the country is finally gaining consciousness of the fact that it has become a destiny of immigration, having until now viewed himself as a country of emigration. The public interest has been accompanied by an increase in academic research on a variety of topics such as work, media, demography and perceptions and attitudes of the Portuguese and immigrants towards each other.

At the same time the composition of the migratory fluxes into Portugal has gone through significant changes in the last years. If immigrants in the eighties and throughout the nineties were mainly from the African Countries Having Portuguese as their Official Language (currently designated as PALOP), since the end of the nineties immigrants entering the country have come mainly from Eastern European countries. One can say that they constitute , in both cultural and legal terms, a new immigration. One of the main differences in relation to previous migratory fluxes is that Eastern Europeans show a much greater degree of territorial dispersion throughout the Portuguese territory, contrary to the previous pattern in the settlement of immigrants, mainly Africans, that concentrated mostly in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area.

In this context the subject of housing has been associated to immigrants mainly in two ways: Africans are associated to the great shantytowns in the outskirts of Lisbon and with derelict neighbourhoods; Eastern European immigrants are reported also to live in difficult conditions, albeit from a different kind. Reports are usual of Eastern European citizens living in garages or even at their workplace. Sometimes the conditions are even more precarious and both media and associations of defence of human rights have denounced situations where several immigrants live in containers with no conditions,

⁵ <http://www.oi.acime.gov.pt>

namely with no amenities or hygiene. Unfortunately no thorough research was yet made on the subject and thus we still lack an adequate picture of the phenomenon. Its contours may be even more preoccupying. In an interview conducted by the NFP with one Portuguese Human Rights association, *Olho Vivo*, it was stressed the fact that ever more complaints of Eastern Europeans living in the streets have been received.

As to shanty dwellers, throughout the nineties many of them benefited from state promoted Re-housing programmes. These programmes allowed many immigrants and ethnic minorities an improvement in their conditions of living. Furthermore, the obligation to survey the populations to be re-housed led to the set up of databases that allow us to identify the nationalities of the beneficiaries. But the re-housing processes prompted also other studies made before the re-housed populations. These studies were mainly undertaken by research teams, focused many times on the subject of immigrants and ethnic minorities. They point generally to an improvement in the lodging conditions of these populations, but not to significant advances in socio-economic integration, due to the difficulty to break with cycles of exclusion that preceded their re-housing⁶. One of those factors of exclusion was the negative image associated with shantytowns, which was many times carried with to the new re-housing neighbourhoods. The answer from the surrounding population was often the public rejection of the re-housing processes. These public manifestations took sometimes a racist tone, since they were targeted directly to the ethnic background of the former shanty dwellers. At the same time they could claim that they were protesting not on account of racism but from fear of insecurity, since the shanties were publicly associated with violence and drug trafficking. This bad image was acknowledged by the inhabitants in re-housing neighbourhoods themselves when inquired about the subject.

If the data and studies that resulted from the re-housing programmes provide us with important information on the housing standards of immigrants and ethnic minorities the same cannot be said as to another important topic of this report, racial discrimination in housing. Law 134/99, which creates a committee for receiving complaints of racial discrimination- the Commission for Equality and Against Racial Discrimination- and direct those complaints to the governmental bodies responsible for the instruction of the

⁶ Living in shanties was the joint result of various processes of segregation, chiefly among them the difficult economic situations faced by these immigrants together with a housing market incapable of coping with the raise in the demand for low price habitation on the part of the immigrants.

cases forbids discrimination on account of race in a number of areas, including housing.. So far, three complaints were received by the Commission, concerning housing or related matters, a not very significant number. Can we then affirm that there is no discrimination in the housing market in Portugal? Are the phenomena of rejection of re-housed ethnic minority populations exceptions that occur only when entire neighbourhoods are moved to new sites? It is difficult to give a definite answer to this question since racial discrimination in housing has been a fairly neglected research subject in Portugal. Additionally, news on these phenomena in the media are not often found. It would be, however, too hasty to just dismiss racial discrimination in housing in Portugal as simply non-existent. Complaints have reached immigrant associations and human rights associations, but these have poor recording systems, and their aim is often helping immigrants and not keeping databases, as we are frequently told. Most of the complaints concern real estate brokers who refuse to sell houses to individuals with minority ethnic belonging, especially Africans and Roma. The same happens with landlords who refuse Black or Roma tenants. Associations also refer the difficulty immigrants have in getting loans from Banks. For a more thorough knowledge of the subject, research made according to scientific criteria is needed.

In Portugal the category of ethnic minority does not exist in official statistics, and ethnic minorities are not recognised as such by law. Portugal's main official statistics producer, the National Statistics Institute, doesn't take into account ethnic belonging in the census.. Immigrant is a category that is also absent from official statistics, who divide residents by their nationality. We can say that the Portuguese political culture is imbued in the universalist tradition, less prone thus to the recognizance of cultural difference. Therefore positive action directed to ethnic minorities are rare in the Portuguese political universe. We can see this in the absence of measures directed specifically to ethnic minorities housing conditions. In the same vein, measures aimed at the promotion of the ethnicization of certain urban spaces are not a common practice, though they may be emerging in Lisbon associated with some economic activities. In sum, immigrants and ethnic minorities benefited from the re-housing programmes promoted by the Portuguese state, but these programmes were directed to shanty dwellers in general, not specifically to ethnic minorities or to immigrants.

4. LEGISLATION AND POLICIES CONCERNING THE HOUSING SECTOR OF RELEVANCE FOR MIGRANTS AND MINORITIES

4.1 Anti-discrimination legislation concerning housing

In Portugal, discriminatory acts based on racist convictions and attitudes are punishable through a fairly wide set of legal norms expressed in penal, civil and administrative laws. These discriminatory acts may manifest themselves in a number of ways, they may be undertaken either directly or indirectly and result from a range of diverse factors. Furthermore, the existent legal norms stipulate sanctions applicable to the different forms and degrees of discrimination.

It is worth noting that the fight against discrimination is already manifest in the Constitution of the Portuguese Republic (CPR), which, grounded on the principle of human dignity, establishes a range of fundamental rights, liberties and guarantees that must be applied in conformity with the Principle of Equality, according to which all citizens are equal before the law (art. 13 C.P.R.7).

According to the constitutional principle of equal rights to national and foreign citizens (art. 15 CPR), the rights, liberties and guarantees laid down in the Constitution should be granted to all foreign citizens legally residing on national territory. In some cases, this principle is valid even for foreign citizens in irregular situation, given the universal scope of Human Rights.

Art. 15 of the CPR establishes as a general principle the equitability of rights and duties between, on the one hand, Portuguese citizens, and, on the other, foreigners and stateless persons, whether they are settled or merely are in Portugal at the moment.

Furthermore, art. 26, no.1 of the CPR dictates that “Everyone is recognised as having the right to his or her personal identity, personality development, civil capacity, citizenship, good name and reputation, image, the right to speak out and the right to the

⁷ Art. 13 of the Constitution of the Portuguese Republic: “1. All citizens have the same social rank and are equal before the law.

2. No one shall be privileged or favoured, or discriminated against, or deprived of any right or exempted from any duty, by reason of his or her ancestry, sex, race, language, territory of origin, religion, political or ideological convictions, education, economic situation or social circumstances.

protection of the privacy of his or her personal and family life and to legal protection against any form of discrimination”.

As it was referred above the legal framework provides for sanctions in cases of housing discrimination. Law no. 134/99, dated August 28th, based on the Constitutional Principle of Equality, forbids discrimination in the exercise of rights on grounds of race, colour, nationality or ethnic origin. According to art. 4 of this law a list of discriminatory practices are regarded as misdemeanours and punishable with fines and other adequate sanctions⁸.

In the same way, the Commission for Equality and Against Racial Discrimination, created by Law 134/99, has the task of receiving complaints of racial discrimination in all areas, including housing. The received complaints are directed by the commission to the competent government bodies which, in the case of housing discrimination are the Minister of Public Works, Transports and Housing and the Minister of Cities and Territory Planning.

4.2 Re-housing programmes

The main areas where immigrants have been settling in were almost exclusively, and until recently, the Portuguese seacoast, namely the metropolitan areas of Lisbon and Porto. One of the effects of this urban growth was the development of an illegal housing market for populations of low income, many of them immigrants and ethnic minorities. One of the most visible expressions in the Lisbon area of that inordinate growth and of that parallel market was the emergence of the so-called shantytowns, large conglomerates of precarious habitations. In Porto the process was somewhat different. Land speculation led to an overpopulation of some urban quarters which came to be known as “islands”.

The structure of the housing market played an important role on the process of integration of immigrants in the urban landscape. In fact, the exiguous rent market that immigrants had to face at the moment of arrival narrowed their chances of having a lodging. Thus, the existent housing market was not able to cope with the new demand. On the other hand, the lack of regulation of urban areas until late (the first Municipal Plans were enforced in the eighties) allowed for clandestine housing building,

⁸ A list of these practices related to the housing sector is presented in page 11.

particularly shanties, that grew in unplanned urban zones and that subsequently were the main targets of the Special Re-Housing Programme (PER).

During twenty years the housing supply was reduced to the market offer because of the congelment of rents and of the adopted strategy by central powers of transferring the ownership of its property. Backing these strategies was the almost insignificant building effort by local and cooperative sectors. Meanwhile, the pressure exerted by the demand was growing on account of people that were looking to improve their living standards and of internal or external migrant influxes.

Therefore, the supply profile was not adjusted to a growing demand both in quantity and in quality, reduced as it was to the selling market, thus casting aside all those that didn't have purchase power. It was in such an unbalanced market structure that the mismatch between demand and supply began to be unsustainable. State intervention was thus thought to be the appropriate strategy to meet the demand and to make viable the housing market⁹.

State intervention in housing was not an entirely new procedure. In the period of *Estado Novo* – the right-wing dictatorship under the heading of Salazar and then Caetano – the state assumed an interventionist role in the housing sector through Integrated Housing Plans that were latter abandoned in the eighties with the cutting off of “Fundo de Fomento Habitacional” (Housing Fostering Funds) and with the implementation of IGAPHE (Institute for the Management and Transferring of State Housing Property).

Yet, in the aftermath of the de-colonization process more than 500.000 people arrived at Portugal. A strong strain was exerted on the housing market, especially in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area (LMA) where 50% of them ended by staying. This kind of housing demand dynamited public promotion and, inversely, pushed clandestine building¹⁰.

The option that was chosen by the state authorities was therefore to assume a regulatory function, withdrawing from direct intervention in the market, and purposively acting through legislation. The enacting of PER in 1993 through Decree-law 163/93 was a first step towards this direction that would be strengthened by PER-families in 1996. Though we can find, by the end of the seventies, attempts to finance the social housing sector in such initiatives as promoting the cooperative movement, throughout the eighties we can

⁹ Freiras, M.J. (2003) Citizenship and Housing – Searching the complexity of relational generative processes; Phd available only in Portuguese at http://www-ext.lnec.pt/LNEC/DED/NESO/pdf/MJFreitas_Tese_Doutoramento.pdf

¹⁰ Fonseca, L. (1990) Territory and Population: from the country to its Metropolitan Area. Memories of the Geographic Studies Scentre, nº14, Lisbon.

verify an inverse trend. State policies were directed to endorse general supply and demand within the market fostering bank credit to housing purchase and making available govern-subsidized loans. Nevertheless, this kind of policies still left aside large fringes of the population, especially those that in any case couldn't reach the high prices practiced in a housing market that had the higher relative costs in Europe¹¹.

The solution for those who couldn't afford a house in the formal market was many times clandestine housing. It must be added that living in *shanties* or *islands* is only the most visible aspect of situations of social exclusion in which these populations, many of them of minority ethnic background, live. The public programmes of housing promotion developed by the Portuguese state, like by many others, in order to eliminate such clusters of exclusion, aimed at giving an opportunity to groups with poor capacities of residential choice to improve their housing conditions, promoting in this way a greater equality of inter-group conditions. Such initiatives have been growing in the last decade, namely under the Special Re-housing programme (PER). It must be said that these programmes were not specifically directed to ethnic minorities but to the dwellers of the aforementioned shantytowns, but many of those who lived in shanties were either immigrants from Africa, or Portuguese citizens of African origin, or Roma communities as will be shown in the following chapters. Though there are several initiatives in place, specially carried out by Municipalities (see chapter on countervailing discrimination) there is no specific programme targeting ethnic and immigrant minorities in what concerns housing.

Portugal signed the Human Rights Declaration in 1955 recognizing housing rights as a fundamental component for a higher standard of living and individual well being. The right to housing for "everyone" is stated on the 1976 Constitution. According to art. 65 of the Constitution – *Housing and Urbanism*, "*Everyone has the right either for himself or for his family to have a lodging with an adequate size and respecting the conditions of public health, comfort and family privacy.*"

Though this article, apart some modifications, has been kept unchanged since its enactment, the access to public lodging was, notwithstanding, restricted to Portuguese citizens, for legal reasons, until late. Decree 797/76 (from 1976) explicitly established that the access to social lodging was exclusive for Portuguese. Albeit reasons directly

¹¹ Fonseca, L. (1990) Territory and Population: from the country to its Metropolitan Area. Memories of the Geographic Studies Centre, nº14, Lisbon.

connected to the conjuncture could be invoked, this was extended beyond its causes. In fact, natives from the former colonies were considered part of the Imperial Portugal, and not immigrants. As a consequence, the public re-housing of populations coming from Africa was targeted to national citizens. However, by the time the re-housing programmes were put forward by the Municipalities, this provision was rendered non-effective. For instance, in the Oeiras Municipality, in 1993, 29% of those covered by the re-housing programme and 34% of those that were expecting to be on that programme were foreigners; in Lisbon, foreigners covered by the re-housing were 5% of the total in 1987. In fact this was a pattern followed by most Municipalities where foreigners inhabited in the Metropolitan areas (see below an in-depth exposition of these numbers). Additionally, since 1996 immigrants in a legal situation are entitled to benefit from the re-housing programmes in the same way as Portuguese citizens.

The two main programmes in the ambit of re-housing were, as we pointed out, *PER* (Special Re-housing Programme)¹² and *PER-Famílias* (Special Re-housing Programme – Families)¹³. These were focused in the Lisbon and Porto Metropolitan Areas in order to eradicate vast shantytowns that had been progressively growing in the eighties¹⁴. Since these were the most needful areas in housing terms they were elected as priority intervention areas. The surveys conducted by both municipalities allows us to see that immigrants from the PALOP countries were over-represented in the population that needed re-housing. The relative weight of Africans in the population that needed to be Re-housed was much higher than the proportion of Africans in the total population living in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area. Additionally, we must stress that we have a considerable number of Portuguese citizens who have African background. According to some authors this re-housing programme contributed to the reduction of residential segregation levels of ethnic minorities – specially the poor – due to the assemblage of ethnic minorities and autochthonous population¹⁵.

One of the positive effects of the implementation of these programmes from the point of view of data collection for the present report was, on a first phase of the application of the re-housing programmes, the obligation to make an exhaustive survey of the shanties

¹² http://www.oim.pt/body_dl163_.html

¹³ http://www.oim.pt/body_dl79_96.html

¹⁴ Decree-law 163/93, that created the Special Re-housing Programme at the Lisbon and Oporto Metropolitan Areas, foresaw the endowment of financial resources either for the acquisition of housing or for the construction of social housing. The funding was obtained through IGHAPE, which participated in 50% of the expected expenditure, either for acquisition or for construction.

¹⁵ Fonseca, M.L. et al (2002) Immigrants in Lisbon – Routes of integration. CEG, Lisbon University, Studies for Urban and Regional Planning, n°56 pp. 91-92.

that existed in the municipalities where the programme was to be implemented. This survey comprised the characterization of the families to be re-lodged, contemplated on article 4 of the same decree-law¹⁶.

After this first Programme another one, the *PER – Familias* (decree-law ° 76/96 of the 20th July) was launched in order to regulate the participation and financing in the support to the acquisition or rehabilitation of houses by the families covered by PER¹⁷. However, findings show that not all intended results were attained through the process of relocation. Social problems that were pervasive in slums were transferred to the new neighbourhoods.

¹⁶ see chapter on Data analysis.

5. DESCRIPTION AND ANALYSIS OF EXISTING DATA AND SOURCES IN THE HOUSING SECTOR

5.1 A brief overview of the foreigners spatial distribution in Portugal.

Since cities are the places where social and economic resources are concentrated, and where several social and interest groups are found in interaction¹⁸, it is not surprising that immigrants, not only in Portugal but also in other host societies, concentrate mainly in urban centres¹⁹.

And, in fact, when we analyse the distribution of resident foreigners in Portugal by district we notice their concentration in seaboard towns, mainly Lisbon (54.1%), Faro (13%), Setúbal (10.3%) and Oporto (5.8%) (See table below).

Table 1 - Foreign residents with legal status by district (2001)

Districts	N(1999)	%	N (2001)	%
Lisbon	105362	55,2	121039	54,1
Faro	24947	13,1	29275	13
Setúbal	17963	9,4	23191	10,3
Oporto	11408	6,0	13125	5,8
Aveiro	7209	3,8	8207	3,7
Coimbra	4708	2,5	6008	2,7
Braga	3088	1,6	3618	1,6
Leiria	2499	1,3	2998	1,3
Madeira	2385	1,2	2836	1,3
Azores	2528	1,3	2605	1,2
Santarém	1453	0,8	1805	0,8
Viseu	1315	0,7	1606	0,7
Viana do Castelo	1341	0,7	1602	0,7
Beja	933	0,5	1159	0,5
Évora	888	0,5	1061	0,5
Guarda	693	0,4	847	0,4
Portalegre	590	0,3	768	0,3
Castelo Branco	575	0,3	719	0,3
Vila Real	682	0,4	713	0,3
Bragança	329	0,2	420	0,2
Total	190 896	100	223602	100

Source: National statistical Institute, Demographic Statistics, 1999

Reference: Border and Alien service, Ministry of Internal Affairs

¹⁸ Arnaud, L. e Pinson, G. (2002), *Shaping the identity and mobilising the «ethnic capital» in three European cities*, paper prepared for the Second EuroConference Urbanism and Globalization, “The European City in Transition”, Weimar, 8th e 9th November.

¹⁹ OECD (1998), *Immigrants, Integration and cities. Exploring the links*, Paris: Organisation for economic co-operation e development.

This has been a virtually constant pattern of the settlement of immigrant communities in Portugal. Three types of factors explain this stable pattern in the geographical distribution of immigrants: on the one side, the existence of informal migratory networks, structured since the middle of the 70's²⁰; on the other side, the concentration of job opportunities for immigrants in the great metropolitan areas of the country; and, finally the increase in population due to natural growth.

On the other hand, spatial concentration of immigrants and ethnic minorities has been giving visibility to the migratory phenomenon. The concentration of foreigners in certain zones of Portugal, taking into consideration its relative weight in the total of the resident population makes this even more apparent. As we can see by the table bellow foreign population weights 2,2% in the total of the resident population; yet it is in the Algarve region (7,4%) and Lisbon and Tagus Valley (5,4%) that we can find the highest rates of residence.

Table 2 - Foreigners with residence permit comparing with the total of the population, by country regions in 2001

Regions	Total of the resident population	Foreigners with residence permit	% of foreigners in relation with the total population
North	3687293	18595	0,5
Centre	2348397	20385	0,9
Lisbon and Tagus Valley	2661850	144230	5,4
Alentejo	776585	4793	0,6
Algarve	395218	29275	7,4
Azores	241763	2605	1,1
Madeira	245011	2836	1,2
Portugal	10356117	223602	2,2

Source: Census 2001 - National statistical Institute, Demographic Statistics, and Border and Alien service' statistical Report - Ministry of Internal Affairs

In fact, in 2001 the pattern of settlement of the communities of resident immigrants was the same, namely concerning the districts of Lisbon, Faro, Setúbal and Porto, which still have a larger number of resident foreigners. Lisbon continues to be the destination of the majority of the 223,602 of the resident foreigners, with 54.1% of the total number and if we consider the Lisbon region (Lisbon and Setúbal districts) the number of immigrants amounts to almost 65% of the total immigrant population with a residence

²⁰ As we will see bellow, the settlement of Cape-Verdians was earlier, having occurred since the sixties (Saint-Maurice, 1997).

permit, and over 80% of Africans are concentrated in this region. The fact that it is the district with the highest concentration of service industries and jobs, apart from being the “door” into the country, explain this hypertrophy. In fact, the attractive force of this zone has been so emphasised that Rocha Trindade²¹ supports that, regarding ethnicity, the Lisbon Metropolitan Area is the most heterogeneous area in the country.

On the other hand, taking into account that the first migratory fluxes to Portugal settled, in their great majority, in municipalities of the Lisbon Metropolitan Area, they developed networks of solidarity and welcoming who led, by its turn, to the arrival of new immigrant fluxes to those areas²². Thus, the residential concentration seems more like a result of the options taken by the immigrants at the moment of their arrival (since they opt to stay close to the population of origin) than of strategies of spatial segregation of the Portuguese society.²³

Nevertheless, this pattern of concentration, relatively stable, suffered quick changes from the end of the nineties onward, with the arrival of a new migratory flux, composed mainly of Eastern Europeans²⁴.

Table 3 - Distribution of foreign population with residence permit and permanence permit by NUT II

Regions	Residence Permit (2000)*		Permanence Permit (2001)**	
	N	%	N	%
North	21966	10,6	21017	17,6
Centre	14081	6,8	14139	11,9
Lisbon and Tagus Valley	137202	65,9	56873	47,7
Alentejo	2718	1,3	6225	5,2
Algarve	27109	13,0	16982	14,2
Madeira	2538	1,2	2498	2,1
Azores	2584	1,2	1447	1,2
Total	208198	100	119181	100

21 Rocha Trindade, M. B. (1995), *Sociologia das Migrações* [Sociology of Migrations], Lisboa: Universidade Aberta.

22 Malheiros(1996) op. cit. and Saint-Maurice, A. (1997) *Identidades Reconstruídas: Cabo-Verdianos em Portugal* [Reconstructed Identities: Cape-Verdians in Portugal], Oeiras: Celta Additionally, 17,8% of the “retornados” (people that returned from Africa after the decolonisation) from the ex-colonies, from the seventies onward, have settled down in Lisbon Metropolitan Area (Rocha Trindade, 1995:203).

23 Notwithstanding, as we will see bellow, the existence of media reports and complaints about situations of segregation and discrimination in the access to housing in certain areas of Portugal (felt mainly by Roma).

24 Pires, R. P. (2002), *Mudanças da imigração. Uma análise das estatísticas sobre a população estrangeira em Portugal, 1998-2001* [Changes in immigration: an analysis of the statistics on the foreign population in Portugal, 1998-2001], in *Sociologia, Problemas e Práticas*, nº39, pp. 151-166.

Source: Malheiros, 2002:78

* Stock accumulated until 31/12/200

** Permits issued between January and December 2001

As can be seen in table 3, there is a clear difference in the spatial distribution between the population who held a residence permit in 2000, and the ones who were granted a permanence permit in the 2001 extraordinary legalization, most of them from the former soviet bloc. A greater spatial distribution is verified for the latter, with the decrease in the levels of concentration of foreigners in the region of Lisbon and Tagus Valley, and its respective increase in the other regions (with the exception of Azores).

On the other hand it becomes clear that the geographic concentration changes according to the different immigrant origins (see below).

Table 4 - Foreign Residents by district (2001) **

Districts of residency	Total of foreign population*(a)		Africa		Europe		America		Asia	
	N.	%	N.	%	N.	%	N.	%	N.	%
Lisbon	121039	54,1	71755	67,1	26384	39,4	16372	41,8	6145	63,9
Faro	29275	13,1	7650	7,2	17787	26,6	2655	6,8	971	10,1
Setúbal	23191	10,4	17846	16,7	3020	4,5	1659	4,2	609	6,3
Oporto	13125	5,9	2726	2,5	5358	8,0	4251	10,8	764	7,9
Aveiro	8207	3,7	1353	1,3	1709	2,6	4913	12,5	215	2,2
Coimbra	6008	2,7	1514	1,4	2690	4,0	1574	4,0	197	2,0
Braga	3618	1,6	742	0,7	1361	2,0	1350	3,4	157	1,6
Leiria	2998	1,3	737	0,7	1249	1,9	898	2,3	101	1,0
Madeira	2836	1,3	273	0,3	1578	2,4	910	2,3	50	0,5
Azores	2605	1,2	335	0,3	673	1,0	1553	4,0	36	0,4
Santarém	1805	0,8	581	0,5	733	1,1	392	1,0	89	0,9
Viseu	1606	0,7	242	0,2	474	0,7	830	2,1	54	0,6
Viana do Castelo	1602	0,7	154	0,1	925	1,4	472	1,2	51	0,5
Beja	1159	0,5	111	0,1	927	1,4	103	0,3	15	0,2
Évora	1061	0,5	241	0,2	617	0,9	158	0,4	40	0,4
Guarda	847	0,4	143	0,1	288	0,4	388	1,0	27	0,3
Portalegre	768	0,3	157	0,1	494	0,7	90	0,2	25	0,3
Castelo Branco	719	0,3	146	0,1	321	0,5	213	0,5	36	0,4
Vila Real	713	0,3	159	0,1	208	0,3	325	0,8	21	0,2
Bragança	420	0,2	113	0,1	177	0,3	108	0,3	20	0,2
Total	223602	100	106978	100	66973	100,0	39214	100,0	9623	100,0

Source: Demographic Statistics 2001, INE, 2002.

www.idict.gov.pt/docum_igt/acime

(a) *The total foreign population only refers to the following continents: Africa, Europe, America and Asia. The reason for this choice derives from the fact that these are the categories shown in demographic statistics.*

****** Marked bolt are the most significant occurrences, i.e., the districts where the majority of foreigners are concentrated.

The African population is mainly concentrated around Lisbon and Setúbal (over 80% are concentrated in this region), being the population who is less dispersed in the country. This tendency results from the history of the presence of Africans in Portugal (one of the most long-standing) and of their situation in the labour market. These immigrants have been coming to Portugal since the end of the sixties, especially the Cape-Verdeans, to satisfy the regional non-qualified workforce needs in industry and construction works. These workforce needs arose from the high numbers of Portuguese emigration as well as from the mobilization of large amounts of young people to the colonial war.²⁵

Taking into account that since early this population consists mainly of labour migrants, it has concentrated in the regions where the workforce demand for construction and public works is located, that is, they have settled since the beginning in the Lisbon Metropolitan Areas, and in lesser proportion in Algarve and Porto.

The Asian population, by its turn, can be seen mainly in Lisbon, Faro and Porto. People from the Americas are more widely scattered throughout the country, as can be seen in the table n° 4, and that can be partly explained by the large dissemination of Brazilians all over the country.

The majority of the foreigners from Europe live in Lisbon, but a significant number live in Faro. A slight difference can also be found in the demand for Alentejo districts (e.g. Évora and Beja), in comparison with other foreign populations, resulting from the interest of a number of foreigners, mainly from Northern Europe, in Agricultural investment.

²⁵ It is impossible to calculate with precision the number of immigrants that came to Portugal until the middle of the seventies, because in that period the workers from the Portuguese colonies (e.g. Cape-verdeans, Angolans, Mozambicans, Guineas) were not considered foreigners, but Portuguese circulating in the portuguese territory (França, 1992:76).

Table 5 - Foreigners living in Portugal holding a permanence permit by district (2001)

Districts of residency	TOTAL		Eastern Europe								PALOP						Others							
			Ukraine		Moldava		Romania		Russia		C. Verde		Angola		G. Bissau		Brazil		China		Pakistan		India	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%		
Aveiro	6.319	4,5	3.635	7,1	235	2,4	115	1,4	784	14,3	43	0,6	54	0,8	43	1,0	506	2,0	86	2,6	6	0,2	23	0,8
Beja	1.800	1,3	756	1,5	120	1,2	179	2,1	54	1,0	30	0,5	23	0,4	54	1,3	295	1,1	28	0,8	76	2,7	33	1,2
Braga	6.032	4,3	3.455	6,8	160	1,7	305	3,6	397	7,3	14	0,2	99	1,5	48	1,2	664	2,6	99	3,0	88	3,1	33	1,2
Bragança	360	0,3	177	0,3	7	0,1	8	0,1	22	0,4		0,0	7	0,1	5	0,1	53	0,2	18	0,5	3	0,1	8	0,3
Castelo Branco	1.537	1,1	915	1,8	54	0,6	91	1,1	61	1,1	16	0,2	13	0,2	7	0,2	159	0,6	42	1,3	10	0,3	10	0,3
Coimbra	4.851	3,4	2.242	4,4	178	1,9	277	3,3	223	4,1	34	0,5	109	1,7	288	7,0	412	1,6	49	1,5	87	3,0	87	3,0
Évora	4.509	3,2	1.570	3,1	342	3,6	421	5,0	117	2,1	110	1,7	110	1,7	167	4,0	723	2,8	50	1,5	195	6,8	195	6,8
Faro	18.853	13,3	7.435	14,6	2.510	26,1	2.019	23,9	860	15,7	456	6,9	266	4,1	467	11,3	2.451	9,4	320	9,7	116	4,1	116	4,1
Guarda	1.000	0,7	530	1,0	27	0,3	25	0,3	33	0,6		0,0	7	0,1	4	0,1	135	0,5	16	0,5	33	1,2	33	1,2
Leiria	8.667	6,1	5.734	11,3	653	6,8	98	1,2	389	7,1	153	2,3	113	1,8	49	1,2	827	3,2	103	3,1	41	1,4	41	1,4
Lisboa	48.421	34,2	9.563	18,8	2.683	27,9	2.913	34,5	989	18,1	4.523	68,2	4.284	66,4	2.199	53,3	12.715	49,0	1.138	34,3	1.188	41,5	1.188	41,5
Portalegre	1.747	1,2	400	0,8	130	1,4	225	2,7	18	0,3	42	0,6	52	0,8	40	1,0	346	1,3	42	1,3	75	2,6	75	2,6
Porto	12.980	9,2	5.510	10,8	440	4,6	318	3,8	726	13,3	119	1,8	357	5,5	128	3,1	1.933	7,5	851	25,7	194	6,8	194	6,8
Santarém	5.808	4,1	3.465	6,8	496	5,2	358	4,2	197	3,6	44	0,7	111	1,7	111	2,7	502	1,9	87	2,6	113	3,9	113	3,9
Setúbal	13.714	9,7	2.563	5,0	1.301	13,5	951	11,3	329	6,0	1.028	15,5	767	11,9	455	11,0	3.639	14,0	316	9,5	600	21,0	600	21,0
Viana do Castelo	984	0,7	557	1,1	42	0,4	30	0,4	84	1,5	4	0,1	9	0,1	4	0,1	89	0,3	25	0,8	16	0,6	16	0,6
Vila Real	717	0,5	482	0,9	22	0,2	3	0,0	54	1,0	2	0,0	10	0,2	2	0,0	50	0,2	24	0,7	7	0,2	7	0,2
Viseu	3.337	2,4	1.909	3,8	203	2,1	96	1,1	136	2,5	17	0,3	63	1,0	54	1,3	441	1,7	21	0,6	14	0,5	14	0,5
Total	141.636	100	50.898	100	9.603	100	8.432	100	5.473	100	6.635	100	6.454	100	4.125	100	25.940	100	3.315	100	2.862	100	2.786	97,3

Source: Report on the Evolution of the Migratory Phenomenon, March 2002, IGT, ACIME, SEF;

But it is the immigrants from Eastern Europe that show the widest territorial dispersion, apart from the fact that they have settled in districts where a tradition of immigration did not exist (note the figures for Santarém, Braga and Aveiro) and they have also been responsible for the dramatic increase in immigration in certain areas of the country. (see table n. 4). In fact, the new immigration goes against the tendency shown by earlier migratory flows to settle on the seaboard. According to General Labour Inspectorate [IGT] data, the highest increase in immigrant population has happened in districts of the interior and the community with the widest geographic dispersal is the Ukrainian, immediately followed by the Moldavians. For the former, the population distribution is: Lisbon (9,563), Faro (7,435), Leiria (5,734) and Aveiro (3,635), which immediately shows an absolutely unique distribution pattern when compared to other migratory flows, who used to be concentrated mainly in the greater Lisbon. The fact that the increase in the percentage of immigrants is bigger in interior districts, as opposed to a tradition of immigrants settling by the west seacoast and in large cities, is an important fact in counteracting desertification. That is the case of Portalegre (+ 346.9%), Évora (+ 416%), Beja (+ 277.7%), Castelo Branco (+ 284.3%), Viseu (+ 247.3%), Guarda (+ 243.8%), Vila Real (+ 209.2%), Bragança (+ 232.5%). The district with the highest increase was Santarém (+ 606.9%).²⁶ (see in annex)

Several factors have contributed to this change in the territorial pattern. On the one hand, the types of immigration themselves, which, contrary to previous flows, are the result of direct contracts and, therefore, do not depend on the previous creation of a community network that would support immigrants; on the other hand, the professional profiles themselves which, as a result of higher qualifications, give these immigrants greater flexibility in their job integration, that is, a greater capacity to respond to labour demands. Notwithstanding, data on these communities (regarding housing) is even scarcer than for the rest. Their national dispersion and newness makes difficult the collection of data. The only existing sources are news from the media that often account for the living conditions of these communities.

By its turn, the difficulty in collecting non-aggregated statistical information is a limit to the analysis of both the spatial distribution of immigrants in Portugal, and of their

²⁶ *Relatório sobre a Evolução do Fenómeno Migratório* [Report on the Migratory Phenomenon], March, 2002, IGT, ACIME, SEF; www.idict.gov.pt/docum_igt/acime

housing conditions. Official data give us the presence of foreigners in the different districts but their degree of spatial concentration is not specified, that is, the district may have different levels of population density inside it , depending of the municipality or even the neighbourhood²⁷.

Regarding the numbers of total immigrant and ethnic minority population inhabiting shantytowns we should be careful. The fact that official Portuguese statistics are usually not up-to-date is one of its chronic features. The shortcomings are bigger in regard to immigrants' statistics; thus numbers differ between the National Statistics Institute (INE) and those conveyed by Municipalities. Therefore, we should look, at a more concrete level, to some of the Municipalities that comprise the biggest number of rundown neighbourhoods in which ethnic and immigrant presence is more relevant.

The utilization of case studies becomes indispensable to give a more approximate image of the concentration of foreign population in certain places or neighbourhoods, and in this way of the occurrence of cases of spatial segregation.

5.2 Data on Housing Standards

It is in the municipalities of the Lisbon Metropolitan Area (e.g. Amadora, Almada, Loures, Oeiras, Cascais) where a greater concentration of populations of foreign origin exists, a trend verified since 1960²⁸.

It is also in this metropolitan region that we find the majority of the resident population living in illegal shantytowns²⁹. Looking at the table below it becomes apparent that it is precisely in zones where the foreign population is concentrated that a bigger incidence of shanties is verified.

Table 6 - Distribution of classic and non-classic (shanties) dwellings and foreign population by country's region, 2001

Geographic zone	Foreign population		Shanties		Classic dwellings	
	2001	%	2001	%	2001	%
North	18595	8,3	1747	15,1	1182065	33,3
Centre	20385	9,1	1320	11,4	827768	23,3
Lisbon and Tagus Valley	144230	64,5	6810	59,0	970762	27,3

²⁷ For instance, for the Lisbon Metropolitan Area, despite of being the zone displaying the biggest concentration of foreigners in Portugal, its spatial distribution is not homogeneous. Population lives mostly along the public transport lines (Fonseca et al 2002:16).

²⁸ Malheiros, 1996:93

²⁹ Fonseca et al 2002:36

Alentejo	4793	2,1	757	6,6	285913	8,1
Algarve	29275	13,1	551	4,8	144040	4,1
Azores	2605	1,2	159	1,4	69142	1,9
Madeira	2836	1,3	196	1,7	71539	2,0
Portugal	223602	100	11540	100	3551229	100

Source: Censos 2001 - National statistical Institute, Demographic Statistics, and Border and Alien service' statistical Report - Ministry of Internal Affairs

The demographic pressure that existed in Lisbon since 1950, with the arrival of national migratory fluxes and, particularly, from 1975 onwards, of influxes of foreigners, engendered an increase in housing demand that, as we already referred, was not met by the private market nor by the central and local re-housing programmes³⁰. Furthermore, as Rocha Trindade argued,³¹ the difficulties that foreign citizens endured in order to have access to subsidised loans to acquire their own dwelling led to an increase of clandestine and derelict neighbourhoods at the outskirts of the main urban centres in the country, which are devoid of hygiene, security and healthfulness.

A study carried out by Bruto da Costa and Manuel Pimenta³² for the Lisbon Municipality, surveyed 130 derelict neighbourhoods in the Great Lisbon counting approximately 50.000 persons, where poverty and social exclusion mixed with spatial concentration and ethnic segregation. It was in order to fight this state of affairs that the Portuguese Government, in conjunction with local municipalities, carried through the abovementioned special programme in social housing (the Special Re-housing Programme – PER) for the eradication of shanties in the Lisbon and Oporto Metropolitan Areas.

And in fact data from 2001 (see table bellow) show a decrease in the number of people living in shanties, specially in Oeiras and Lisbon.

³⁰ Fonseca et al. 2002:34

³¹ Rocha Trindade, M. B. (1995) op. cit. p. 204

³² Bruto da Costa, A. e Pimenta, M. (1991), *Minorias Étnicas Pobres em Lisboa: Resultados preliminares de um inquérito aplicado a famílias residentes em bairros degradados*, [Poor Ethnic Minorities in Lisbon: Preliminary results of an inquiry applied to families living in derelict neighbourhoods] Lisboa: Centro de Reflexão Cristã / Câmara Municipal de Lisboa.

Table 7 - Shanties' distribution by region (1991 e 2001)

	Shanties				Rate of Change
	1991	%	2001	%	
North	1957	12,2	1747	15,1	-10,7
Centre	1086	6,7	1320	11,4	21,5
Lisbon and Tagus Valley	11948	74,2	6810	59,0	-43,0
Alentejo	264	1,6	757	6,6	186,7
Algarve	352	2,2	551	4,8	56,5
Azores	270	1,7	159	1,4	-41,1
Madeira	228	1,4	196	1,7	-14,0
Portugal	16105	100	11540	100	-28,3

Source: 2001 Census - National statistical Institute, Demographic Statistics, and Border and Alien service' statistical Report - Ministry of Internal Affairs

Being as it may, *mass media* warn to the fact that several persons, especially foreigners, stood at the margin of these processes. Furthermore, only the individuals that were registered in the 1993 survey, made in the ambit of the re-housing program, were entitled to benefit from PER, leaving thus many immigrants today living in Portugal outside the measure.

On the other hand, as Fonseca³³ argues re-housing policies don't seem to have dwindled the social and economic segregation level. Actually, re-housing in the same zones where the population lived in shanties doesn't preclude the negative image of those spaces.

We should stress, however, that when we are referring to immigrants' residential segregation or concentration either in derelict urban areas or in social housing, we are mainly referring to non-European immigrants³⁴. Rather, it seems that a racial hierarchy is in place resulting from the economic and social structural position in the Portuguese society.

³³ Fonseca (2002) p. 39

³⁴ The Chinese case is perhaps an exception. There is no knowledge of their presence in shanties, derelict areas or in social housing.

5.3 Shantytowns and Re-housing

If based on 1997 data, when a characterization of the Re-Housing Special Program was elaborated for the Lisbon Metropolitan Area, we find out that, although the majority of the persons that lived in shanties at that time, mainly at Lisbon suburbs, had Portuguese background, we can find a significant concentration of people with origin in the PALOP– (African Countries having Portuguese as their Official Language) - Angola, Mozambique, Cape Verde, Guinea, Sao Tome.

In fact, shantytown's residents in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area were in its majority Portuguese (79%), followed by people born in the PALOP (20,1%). Foreign residents from other nationalities, namely from the EU (European Community) and Brazil are not in a very significant number. However, it's necessary to take into consideration that many immigrants from the PALOP have now Portuguese nationality, which may, in this particular case, make it impossible to untangle the real ethnic origin of these populations.

According to data collected from a 1999 Report elaborated by the CET [Territorial Studies Centre] in cooperation with the GES³⁵ [Social Ecology Group]³⁶ there was a total population of 115641 residents living in precarious conditions of lodging, integrating 34498 families, in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area; Oporto Metropolitan Area registered a total of 39776 residents living also in precarious conditions, which composed about 14269 families³⁷.

As to the nationality of the population surveyed by Municipality, some differences can be noticed. Regarding the Lisbon Metropolitan Area, some Municipalities present a share of people with Portuguese origin above 90, showing a very small presence of immigrant population.

Yet, other Municipalities present significant percentages of resident foreign population, such as: Seixal, with 44% of its population surveyed by the PER being of foreign origin; Almada, with 36%; Cascais, with 33%; Loures, with 33%; Amadora with 30%; Sintra with 24% and finally Oeiras, with 23%³⁸. There is an almost geometrical distribution of the Municipalities that lodge large percentages of foreigners, and it is possible to

³⁵ Organization NFPPT0060

³⁶ INH – Instituto Nacional de Habitação (1999) “ Diagnóstico sobre Implementação do Programa PER nos Municípios das Áreas Metropolitanas de Lisboa e Porto”, Lisboa.

³⁷ These data report to the Municipality Census done in 1993.

³⁸ All these municipalities are in the Outskirts of Lisbon. Both Almada and Seixal, are in the south bank of the Tagus River, unlike the others.

identify a waistline of Municipalities where people from other nationalities are concentrated, specially from PALOP. For example: Cascais appears as the Municipality with the biggest percentage of PALOP foreigners, a group that counts locally 36%, of which 14,7% were from Guinea and 14,5% from Cape Verde; Loures was the second Municipality to register a remarkable quantity of PALOP citizens (32,6%) of which 13,7% were from Cape Verde and 8% were from Guinea.

We must remember that the majority of immigrants was, until 2001 (the migratory panorama has strongly changed with the new influxes proceeding from Eastern Europe), concentrated at the Lisbon Metropolitan Area, specially African people. As Baganha says, there were true “islands” at Lisbon suburbs or surrounding Districts as Amadora, Loures, Oeiras or Almada³⁹. Africans are over-represented in this population as shown in the table below.

Table 8 - Shanty Dwellers by Municipality and Nationality – Lisbon Metropolitan Area

Municipality	Country of Nationality of Shanty Dwellers								
	Portugal	E.U.	Brazil	Angola	Mozambique	Cape Verde	Guinea	Siant Tomé	Others
Amadora	14.956	36	13	440	22	4707	637	418	89
Azambuja	224	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Cascais	2024	9	2	130	7	555	537	49	74
Lisbon	35108	27	20	495	112	1081	68	359	46
Loures	10249	12	20	712	55	2111	1222	916	59
Mafra	173	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Oeiras	9052	3	3	182	75	2341	195	98	3
Sintra	4338	6	6	117	4	854	168	109	9
V.F.Xira	1770	11	11	28	1	174	262	12	3
Alcochete	139	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0
Almada	4805	6	6	596	31	1067	155	378	37
Barreiro	1264	0	0	27	0	90	6	19	6
Moita	342	0	0	29	2	48	11	33	1
Montijo	903	0	0	9	1	2	2	0	1
Palmela	268	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	0
Seixal	1083	0	0	85	12	404	39	275	6
Sesimbra	416	0	0	8	7	10	6	1	3
Setúbal	3077	0	0	88	14	218	19	7	4
Total	90191	129	81	2947	343	13668	3327	2674	341

source Characterization data of the Special Re-housing Programme , 1997

³⁹ Baganha et al. « Is an Ethclass Emerging in Europe ? The Portuguese Case. Luso-American Foundation, Lisbon, July 2000, p. 49.

Also among the immigrant populations different settling patterns of the degraded areas are noticed.

By looking at the above Table we can verify that Cape Verdean population (data are referred to 97, but in the meantime the re-lodging process was being carried out) were the greatest group living in neighbourhoods with precarious conditions in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area (13668 individuals). Next appears Guinea population (3327 individuals) and Angola population (2947 individuals).

In fact, when we compare with the total figures for the immigrant population, broken down by nationality, in the same year, we conclude that a most remarkable disparity is verified between the number of PALOP immigrants living in shanties, and those of other origins, such as Brazil or Europe. Of the total Cape Verdean immigrants living in Portugal in 1997 those that lived in shanties were 34%. For Brazil the proportion was only of 0,04%. For Sao Tome, its population being one of the least significant in the total of migratory fluxes, we find a total of 62% living in conditions of precariousness (see table 9). Considering the total number of PALOP residents (and only in the Lisbon area), 30% of them was living in shanties. It means 13% of the total number of immigrants in 1997.

In short, considering that immigrant population is mainly concentrated in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area and pointing out that this population is on its majority from African origin, we can affirm with some certainty that a particular incidence of Africans was registered at the more degraded neighbourhoods. Not talking directly about racial segregation, these figures point nonetheless to an accentuated spatial segregation. There's no doubt that the social and economical precariousness which was affecting PALOP immigrants has strongly contributed to this outcome.

Table 9 - % of foreign population living in Shanties in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area in relation to the total of immigrants by nationality.%

Nationality	Absolute Numbers*	% total population	** % of foreign population living in shanties**
Angola	16296	0,17	0,18
Cape Verde	39789	0,42	0,34
Guinea	12785	0,13	0,26
SaintTomé	4304	0,04	0,62
Mozambique	4426	0,05	0,08
PALOP	77600	0,44	0,30
Brazil	19990	0,21	0,004
Europe	49747	0,53	0,003

T. Imigrants	175263	1,87	
T.Population	9382200	100	

*source: Demographical Statistics, 1997

**source Characterization data of the Special Re-housing Programme , 1997

The existing house amenities are another of the possible indicators of living conditions. Also according to Baganha, in 1991 almost 14% of foreign residents in Portugal were living in houses with few or any sanitary conditions. Here also, underlines the author, the percentage of PALOP immigrants (22%) is highly superior to the remaining immigrant population. Cape Verdeans appear as the most representative (31%) while there are only 11% registered for Europe and for Brazilians this figure stands at a mere 7% (see table below). But if we look at the specific lodging conditions we can verify that, notwithstanding the concentration in certain degraded areas which affects PALOP populations, Roma are, however, the group which presented more needs referring to housing conditions. As a matter of fact, at the beginning of the 90's, almost 80% of the Portuguese Roma population hadn't tap water; in the same way 76% of them had no bathing conditions and about 60% of the houses had not any kind of sanitary equipment.

Table 10 - Housing Conditions by Community, 1990 (Percentages)

Nationality	<i>Without water</i>	<i>Without electricity</i>	<i>Without bath</i>	<i>Without sanitation</i>
Cape Verde	33,2	15	41,6	9,5
Angola	33,6	17,3	36,1	9,3
Mozambique	23,2	5,9	29	5,8
S. Tome	46,4	26	47,4	13,4
Guinea	22	11,1	18,1	7,9
India	34,8	19,7	38,6	5,3
Roma	68,8	44,6	75,9	60,7
Total	35,4	18,4	39,8	14

source: *Costa et. al., 1991 in Baganha et. al, 2000*

Referring to income levels, we find out that these were generally low, so it can be concluded that economic precariousness is a permanent factor at degraded housing contexts. In the group of Municipalities integrating the Lisbon Metropolitan Area, 62,6% of the surveyed population was declaring monthly incomes inferior to 25.000 esc. (125 €), 16,4% declared having an income between 125 and 250 €, while 14,1% were situated at the 255 to 369 € rank and about 7% declared having incomes between 379 and 1000 €. The same low levels detected for LMA (Lisbon Metropolitan Area) are equally found at the ones surveyed in Porto Metropolitan Area. 36% of the inhabitants

declared having incomes inferior to 125 €, 23,5% affirm having incomes between 125 € and 250 €, and 17,2% were placed at the 255 € to 369 € rank, remaining 7% at the 379 € to 1000 € rank.

By observing the income according to each nationality it is not so linear as we might guess at start⁴⁰.

Table 11 - Income according to each nationality

Municipality	Angola	Brazil	U.E.	Cape Verde	Guinea	Mozambique	Portugal	Saint Tomé	Others
Amadora	135,5	137,5	68,5	130,5	224	134	103,5	112,5	39,5
Azambuja				290			138		
Cascais	94,5		150	159,5	274	114,5	106	151	42,5
Lisbon	125	124	85	179,5	168	118,5	134,5	134,5	116,5
Loures	173	38	23,5	159,5	200	116,5	94	136	44
Mafra							175		
Oeiras	104,5	82,5	12	178	212	118	109,5	154,5	292
Sintra	70	57	39	158	163,5	225	87,5	99,5	47
V.F.Xira	97,5			171,5	104,5	238	81	196,5	
Alcochete				319			118		
Almada	157	83,5	194	222	215	128,5	123	140,5	165,5
Barreiro	98,5			159	41		80	183	
Moita	52,5			215	164,5	112,5	76,5	149	300
Montijo	132			25	242,5	291,5	120		
Palmela				137,5			58		
Seixal	108			155	189	93,5	31	112,5	83,5
Sesimbra				77,5	100	85,5	104		125
Setúbal	86,5			138,5	119	63	96	131	207
Total	136,5	75,5	67,5	159	206,5	121,5	113,5	130,5	70,5

source Characterization data of the Special Re-housing Programme , 1997

Of the foreign residents surveyed by PER Brazilians and people born in the European Community are those which, in average, present smaller incomes; 75,5 € (Brazil) and 67,5 € esc. (EU). Although all the groups were showing low incomes Guinea people and Angola people are the groups that present higher income average in the total of Lisbon Metropolitan Area Municipalities.

⁴⁰ Note that there are no published data about incomes per each nationality for Porto Metropolitan Area; but the fact that nearly all of its inhabitants is of Portuguese nationality doesn't leave much room for comparison.

5.4 Immigrants and Portuguese in Shanties: a comparative perspective

A comparison is needed as to the housing conditions of immigrants vis-a-vis Portuguese. As abovementioned, the population living in shanties, in spite the representations conveyed in the media, was composed mainly of Portuguese. But even in shanties a comparison would be interesting among Portuguese and foreign immigrants. Unfortunately there is no updated data that would allow us such a comparison as to the present situation. Therefore, we have to go back until the beginning of the nineties to have such a comparison, which was made in 1994 for the derelict neighbourhoods in the Lisbon area⁴¹. The basis for this analysis were two surveys: one focusing in the national population comprising 475 cases; the other focused on ethnic minorities with migrant background and comprised 1061 families from an estimated total of 50000; from this Roma were withdrawn on account of not being immigrants and the final survey stood at 949 families. The former was conducted in 1989 and the latter in 1990. Both surveys were applied in the Lisbon Region.

Following these procedures a set of indicators was obtained that allows comparing the lodging conditions of immigrants and nationals living in derelict quarters in the Lisbon area and its outskirts⁴².

Some conclusions might be summed up. First, nationals are more likely to live in re-housing neighbourhoods, in classic lodgements, than immigrants are. The majority of immigrants at that time lived in shantytowns. Additionally, the density in-housing is bigger among immigrants than among nationals. For instance, 56% of the lodgements with only one division were inhabited by families with three or more individuals; 55% of all the dwellings with two divisions were inhabited by families with four or more elements; and finally, 34% of all the dwellings with three divisions were occupied by families with six or more elements.

Regarding nationals that live in derelict neighbourhoods the values found are considerably lower. As such, 39% of all the dwellings with one division are inhabited by families with three or more individuals; 35% of those that have two divisions are

⁴¹ Cardoso, A. and Perista, H. (1994) *A cidade esquecida- pobreza em bairros degradados de Lisboa* [The forgotten city- poverty in derelict quarters in Lisbon] in *Sociologia Problemas e Práticas* N° 15, pp 99-111 Centro de Investigação e Estudos de Sociologia- ISCTE [Center of Research and Studies in Sociology]

⁴² The immigrants survey encompasses the following groups: Capeverdians, Angolans, Mozambicans, Santomese, Guineans, Indians and Timorese.

occupied by families with 4 or more individuals; and regarding those that have three divisions, 22% are inhabited by families with six or more individuals.

Despite the fact that density in-housing is generally high in derelict neighbourhoods, it is even higher among immigrant families.

The same can be verified regarding amenities. The study reckons that, regarding this aspect, immigrant families also fare worst than nationals. In fact, it's among immigrants that the shortages in electricity and water were felt the most.

Also regarding housing equipments immigrant families bear more shortages than nationals' families. Data shows that 67% of immigrant families don't have gas-water heater and 72% don't have a phone.

Curiously, and regarding perceptions of the neighbourhood the study came up with the conclusion that 69% of the immigrant population and 60% of the national population enjoy living in their neighbourhood. Notwithstanding, there was a clear acknowledgement amidst nationals that their neighbourhood faces a set of lacks on account of which they show their discontent.

5.5 Immigrants' Living Conditions

Until now we have been analysing data collected by surveys demanded by the Special Re-Housing Programme. This information only covers shanty dwellers and not the immigrant population as a whole, who doesn't live all in shanties. Therefore we don't have an accurate image of the living conditions of immigrants. An important association of defence of human rights, *OhoVivo*⁴³ made a nationwide study on immigrants focusing the conditions in which they were lodged. The study was conducted among 700 immigrants in the districts of Beja, Braga, Lisbon, Oporto and Setúbal in October 2000.⁴⁴

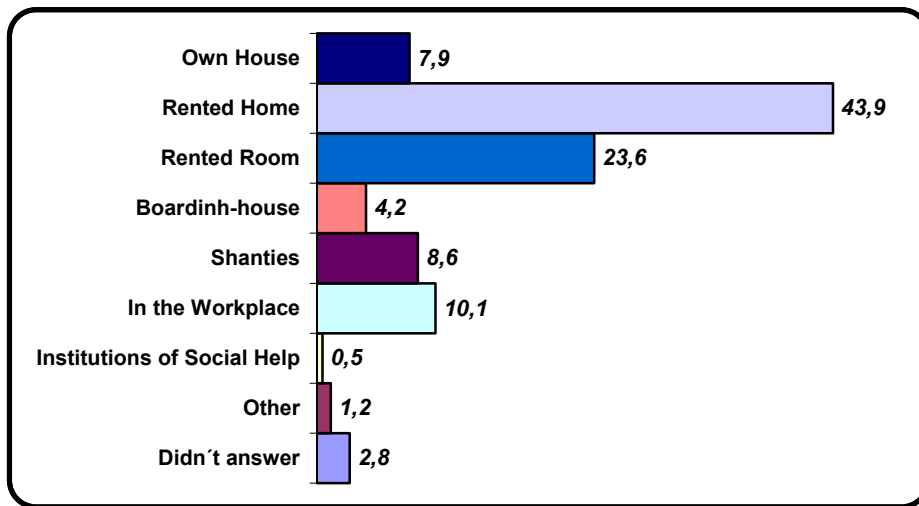
We can see the results of the inquiry summarized in the graphics below. One of the most noticeable results of the inquiry is the little percentage of immigrants who own the dwelling in which they live. Several factors concur to this aspect. One of them may be the weak economic power of immigrants, who in their great majority hold low-skilled jobs in the less attractive segments of the labour market with low payment and in precarious conditions. Another reason may be the difficulty in getting a bank loan in order to buy a house. African resident immigrants often complain about the extreme

⁴³ Organization NFPPT0015 of the Mapping Exercise

⁴⁴ Publication PUB/PT0079 of the Mapping Exercise

difficulty in getting a loan⁴⁵. For those who have not the resident status but instead hold permanence permit obtaining a loan is almost impossible. Therefore most of the immigrants either live in rented houses (43,9%) or in rented rooms (23,6%). A worrying fact is that 10,1% of the immigrants live in the workplace and 8,6% in Shanties. This is a further sign of the difficult economic situations in which they live in.

Graphic 1- Immigrants' Lodgings (%)

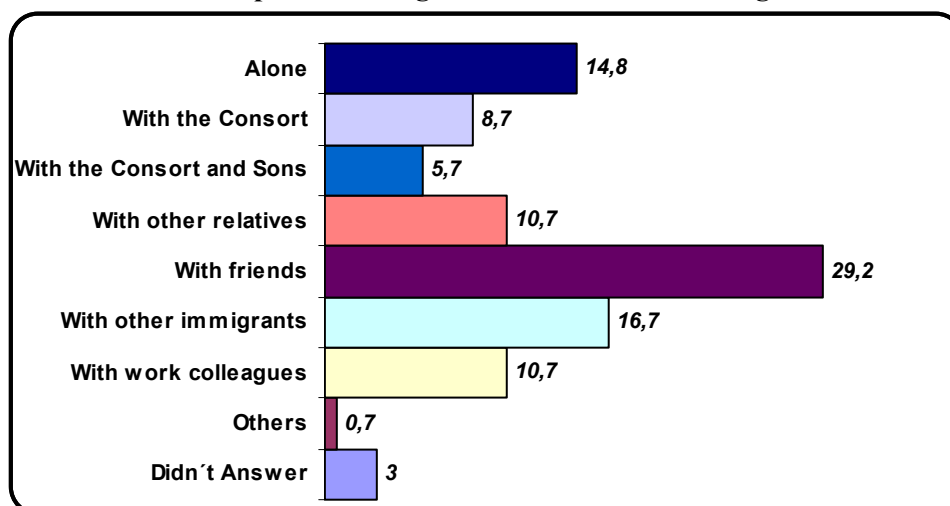


Source: *Imigrantes, Direitos Iguais [Immigrants –Equal Rights]*, Brochure Published by the Association Olho Vivo, 2003

As to the persons with which immigrants live it is remarkable that only 8,7% live with the spouse and 5,7% with spouse and sons. In contrast 29,2% live with friends and 16,7% with other immigrants. Once more this may derive from their weak purchase power and therefore of the necessity to share the expenses associated with the dwelling. It may be also on account of the fact that, when arriving at Portugal, most immigrants resort to established networks of solidarity in order to find a place to live.

⁴⁵ Interview with a member of Association *Olho Vivo*.

Graphic 2- Immigrants' Conditions of Living



Source: *Immigrantes, Direitos Iguais, [Immigrants –Equal Rights] Brochure Published by the Association Olho Vivo, 2003*

5.6 The specific case of Roma

There are no official statistics on Roma due to the fact that individuals are not categorized by ethnic background. However, SOS Racism⁴⁶ launched a questionnaire to all Portuguese Municipalities where data concerning the Roma community was asked for. The answers don't give a definite picture of the Roma community but allow a clear perspective on their ways of living⁴⁷. This study was also based in work on the distribution of Roma throughout the national territory undertaken by the Roma Pastoral⁴⁸.

From the results we can conclude that Roma live in areas with higher population density, particularly Lisbon (2332), Loures (1028) and Amadora (948); these Municipalities are also those where the presence of immigrants is higher. Map 1 in the annex shows the Roma population distribution in the Lisbon Area.

Other data available is on housing precariousness and its distribution throughout the national territory, with the exception of the Lisbon Area. Map 2 in the annex shows that there is a concentration of this kind of situations in the north seaside, but also through all the country. This points to the fact that these situations are widespread and not confined to specific regions.

⁴⁶ Association NFP/PT/0002 of the Mapping Exercise

⁴⁷ Publication PUB/PT/0081 of the Mapping Exercise

⁴⁸ Association NFP/PT/0021 of the Mapping Exercise

According to this data we can conclude that Roma are particularly concentrated in the seaside regions that have higher population density and in its outskirts. The total number of Roma surveyed by this research was of 21,831 people. Therefore, and following this data, while the total of Roma living in the Lisbon Region amounts to 6043 this corresponds to 29% of the national Roma population.

The authors reached the conclusion that 31% of the Roma all over the country live in conditions of housing precariousness. Comparing by districts, in Castelo Branco 87% of the Roma population live in conditions of precariousness, in Viana do Castelo approximately 94% of the Roma were found living in such conditions, finally in Évora the situation presents itself particularly serious with almost all Roma living in conditions of precariousness (see annex, graphic 1).

6. ANALYSIS OF DIRECT AND INDIRECT DISCRIMINATION

6.1 Main victims of discrimination

As we previously mentioned, one of the most important sources of information for complaints on racism and xenophobia are anti-racist associations and immigrant associations. Immigrants often search these associations for help or to participate some complaint on discrimination, rather than to the police or state authorities. One of the reasons for that fact is that many immigrants are in an irregular situation, other may be that these associations, by publicly defending the rights of immigrants, end up by gaining their confidence. Many times immigrants themselves work in these associations and are in a better position to gain the confidence of other immigrants, especially if these don't speak Portuguese. Contacted by the NFP, three of the major associations working directly with immigrants and ethnic minorities, *Olho Vivo*, *SOS Racismo* and *Solidariedade Imigrante*, all agreed that immigrants suffer from discrimination in the housing market, both in renting and in buying houses. *Olho Vivo* stated that it was particularly difficult for Africans to get someone that is willing to rent them a house. Eastern Europeans, though they have occasional trouble in renting a house, face a lesser degree of difficulty than Africans. One of the reasons may be plain racism, since Eastern Europeans are white and Africans are black. It is impossible, in the absence of serious scientific research on the subject to give even an approximate answer to the question of differential treatment to different groups. Another reason may be the different images the media convey of the different immigrant groups. Usually news and media pieces on Eastern European immigrants tend to convey a highly favourable image of these immigrants. A further difficulty is that in most cases the proprietor demands a Portuguese guarantor in order to rent the house to an immigrant, making it difficult to the immigrant to resort to their most immediate relations. This difficulty is felt also by any immigrant who wants to buy a house and needs to get a loan from a bank, since usually the banks also demand a guarantor that is Portuguese, and thus many times not accepting those that were the most natural guarantors of the immigrants, their close relatives, most of the times their parents. In fact, getting a loan to buy a house is even more difficult than renting a house. All associations agree that of all immigrants, only

those that hold a residence permit can hope to obtain a bank loan, thus leaving aside about 170.000 immigrants who hold permanence permit. But even for those holding a residence permit a bank loan is not easy to obtain. One of the reasons being the aforementioned need to present a warrantor of Portuguese nationality, sometimes extending that demand to the domain of Portuguese language.

6.2 Data on recorded complaints about racial/ethnic/religious/cultural discrimination

From 2000 to 2003 the Commission for Equality and Against Racial Discrimination only registered three complaints that can be considered of racial discrimination with regard to housing. In February 2001 the Association of Angolan Residents in Portugal lodged a complaint accusing a real estate broker (Tourism and Real Estate Society) of refusing to rent a house on grounds of racial discrimination (the person allegedly discriminated was black). A joint dispatch of the Minister of Presidency and of the Minister of Public Works, Transports and Housing and of the Minister of Cities and Territorial Ordering is awaited, who will probably consider the IMOPPI (Institute of the Markets of Public Works, Private and Real Estate) competent for the instruction. At the time of reporting this decision is in conflict of competences regarding the decision.

A second case that reached the Commission denounced the refusal of hotel services to two Ukrainian citizens (the hotel is located at the North of Portugal). The complaint was brought by the employer of these two Ukrainian immigrants to SOS Racism. According to the complainer the hotel manager refused to register the two Ukrainians stating that “this hotel does not serve for this type of people” and subsequently banishing them from the hotel. The employer lodged a complaint to the High Commissioner for Immigration and Ethnic Minorities⁴⁹ that was sent to the Commission for Equality and Against Racial Discrimination. This complaint was appreciated by the General Inspection of Tourism and the process is currently in the instruction phase.

A black woman lodged a complaint to the High Commissioner complaining of being victim of discrimination by the other neighbours. According to this the other neighbours abusively charged the woman of making noise in her flat; yet the woman argued that the charge had no other reason than the colour of her skin. This process was filed since the woman didn't show up and failed to present witnesses of the occurrence.

⁴⁹ Organization NFP/PT/0098

Taking into account that from 33 complaints registered by the Commission for Equality and Against Racial Discrimination only three can be said to concern the housing sector, the number is not very expressive.

On the other hand, there are other complaints besides those brought to the Commission for Equality and Against Racial Discrimination. Associations that fight against racism receive them also. SOS Racism gets several complaints during its usual activity, evidence pointing to Roma as being the main victims. Nevertheless, there are also cases of discrimination against African or Eastern European. Unfortunately, like most NGO's working directly in the field, this association doesn't keep organized records of the complaints that reach them. Notwithstanding, several cases that were brought to the fore by SOS racism were made public through the media, namely through the press.

Hostile reactions from local populations regarding Roma integration have also been known to happen. Sometimes they don't reach the official channels nor the associations. Though media are not the most reliable of sources they can't be overlooked either by its impact or by its capacity to reflect (sometimes a biased reflection) the public domain.

Surveying the main media in Portugal it is possible to gather various accounts of racial discrimination regarding access to housing. Again, Roma community appears as the most significant target of such actions and, therefore, of the attention of the media. Sometimes local authorities themselves are behind such attempts as in the case of the local authority of Arcozelo, in Ponte de Lima, that made a straightforward claim against the lodging of Roma families in the new social dwellings that have been built in that locality ("The local authority of Arcozelo doesn't want Gypsies" in Público, July 27 2002)

On the other side, there are several accounts concerning local populations that refused to have Roma people living in the neighbourhood:

for instance, through a sort of collective outcry the Inhabitants of Oliveira do Douro [a village in the North of Portugal] refused to live side by side with Roma families which was reported by the newspapers, the news having as title a quotation by one of the locals: "Why don't they build a village for themselves?"⁵⁰

Indeed, newspapers are responsible for the bulk of information on housing discrimination events. For instance, in Borba (a village in the South of Portugal) inhabitants that live in the premises of a Roma camp, at the village entry, complaint

⁵⁰ in Jornal de Notícias, June 4 2001

about the behaviour of their neighbours, which, they assure, sometimes cause disturbance. Afterwards the local inhabitants asked for the removal of all the tents to another place. The Roma community diverged, reassuring that they are peaceful. The Municipalities acknowledged, however, the urge to find a new space.⁵¹ Another example is the dwellers protest against the intent of the Barreiro Municipality [Municipality of the Lisbon Metropolitan Area] to give houses to un-sheltered Roma⁵² or the fact that some dwellers of a building in Damaia [a neighbourhood in Lisbon] contested the decision of the Municipality of lodging «at a distance of less than five meters» of the building in which they live, housing containers which were prepared to temporarily re-house five Roma families.⁵³ The proliferation of this type of images conveyed by the media may have an indirect effect in the engendering and strengthening of a kind of “mental segregation”, that may lead to an increase of stereotypes towards neighbourhoods where the majority is of Roma origin, identifying them as dangerous spaces. Minorities are usually linked, by the host society, to local criminality.⁵⁴

However, as Esteves suggests, the feeling of insecurity is in fact the result of other factors such as low habitation standards, the residents’ socio-economic characteristics and its surrounding areas⁵⁵. Notwithstanding, associations that support immigrants have been exposing what they consider to be the discrimination of neighbourhoods where population with ethnic minority background is concentrated. According to the association “Olho Vivo” some re-housing processes have had the unintended consequence of reinforcing minorities ghettos. Moreover, the representatives of this association stated that re-housed people are thrown to the periphery, marginalized from the mainstream society, and that the specific structures built to this neighbourhoods are not at all in line with the rest of the urban design, constituting a further factor of discrimination for the population who live there.

⁵¹ “Borba wants to cast away the Roma Community”, in *Diário de Notícias*, April 14 2002.

⁵² “Houses were granted to Roma families”, in *Jornal de Notícias*, May 8 2002.

⁵³ (“Damaia’s dwellers contest re-housing”, in *Público*, July 3 2002).

⁵⁴ Esteves, A. (1998), *A criminalidade na cidade de Lisboa. Uma geografia da insegurança* [Criminality in the city of Lisbon. A geography of insecurity], Lisboa: Edições Colibri. ; Marques, M. et al. (2001), *Realojamento no concelho de Oeiras. Um estudo sociológico* [Re-housing in the Oeiras municipality. A sociological study], Caderno Técnico de Habitação nº1, Oeiras: Direcção Municipal de Planeamento, Urbanismo e Habitação.

⁵⁵ Esteves (1998) op. cit. pag. 165

On the other hand, some case studies point to the fact that neighbourhood relations in neighbourhoods with ethnic heterogeneity can be problematic⁵⁶. Displays of strangeness (regarding cultural background – e.g. spoken tongue and ways of living generally considered) are fuelled by feelings of suspicion and insecurity often by the majority population towards ethnic minorities, leading these minorities apart from the majority. Another type of events are those related to direct discrimination in the housing market. These are surely much more difficult to pin-point due to its invisibility. As was mentioned above there is no study on this topic and therefore there is no measure or perception of the weight of racial discrimination in having access to a house. Once again anti-racist associations are the main source for this kind of complaints. Some examples were reported to the NFP by the association SOS Racism.

A Roma couple, with the support of the Association SOS Racism, intends to lodge a complaint of racial discrimination against a Construction Work Corporation and a real state promoter allegedly after having been denied the chance of buying a lodging in one of its buildings. This was also made known by the newspaper *A Capital*, July 4th 2003, in a article with the title “Private Condominium with its doors closed to Roma family”. Another complaint that reached SOS Racism concerns the refusal to sell a house. A Roma family was prevented of buying a house, after dealing with the real estate company, by the refusal of its constructor that stated that “he wont sell to Roma people”.

Concluding, it is apparent from the complaints brought before associations that Roma are the community which endures more discrimination regarding housing and placement. Negative reactions can be identified country wide without any specificity besides that of steering local population in protest, sometimes with the support of local authorities. In sum, we can distinguish, creating a provisory typology, three categories for framing differences in housing discrimination. We find direct discrimination of the type displayed by real estate or housing constructors; local populations movements either against the placing of Roma families or striving to cast out these families from their neighbourhoods and villages; and political actions taken by local politicians taking advantage of negative feelings endorsed by local populations towards Roma.

⁵⁶ Marques et. al. (2001) op. cit. pag. 115

It is difficult to quantify any of these categories. The numbers are not too expressive and sources don't fit one another rendering difficult the finding of a pattern or having a correct depiction of the state of affairs. The majority of the information points to Roma as the main victims. Additionally, Roma are the community with a more negative evaluation in various surveys conducted at the Municipal level, such as Amadora or Oeiras. But this doesn't mean that black minorities or even Eastern European ones rest untouched by prejudice and intolerance. Word of mouth information about discrimination in the housing market towards these two groups sometimes comes up. This, of course, is not a reliable source; hence, to have a more objective view, studies on this would be needed that still don't exist in Portugal.

6.3 Data on court cases

As we already referred the Commission for Equality and against racial discrimination is the body responsible for collecting complaints of racial discrimination in Portugal but as we saw the number of received complaints on housing, is, however, insignificant from a statistical viewpoint. We must note, on the other hand, that for a case to reach the commission the victim must send it to the commission. The fact is that some victims prefer not to do so and go directly to court, and so there may be cases of racial and ethnic discrimination that have not reached the commission, making it impossible to track them. Information on these cases is available only in courts, and a search in every court of the country is almost an impossible endeavour. Moreover, there is only one case until now judged under the anti-discrimination law (Law 134/99), and it doesn't concern housing. Notwithstanding, other cases were brought before the courts, albeit not falling under law 134/99.

Nevertheless, other data point to the existence of racial discrimination in this sector. Among this, in the year 1996, the demolition of Roma dwellings in Vila Verde (a village in the north of Portugal) as a result of pressure exerted on the mayor by local inhabitants, who then ordered the demolition of those dwellings should be noted.⁵⁷ Those implicated were accused in court of "terrorist association" by the High Commissioner and by the Governor of the district of Braga. After these events the Roma families had to be relocated in another nearby village (Cervães). The Governor of Braga, Pedro Bacelar de Vasconcelos, who tried to lead the process, was then coerced

⁵⁷ Ombudsman recommendation No. 72/A/96 that was issued before the courts had come to a decision.

by the mob. The people of Cervães justified their acts by associating Roma to drug traffic. Following these events, the Governor of Braga accused some people of Francelos of aggression. The accused were later absolved by the court of Braga and no practice with racist intent were proved (Collective Common Process nº181/99 of the 2nd Criminal Court).

Another case that was labelled as racist and xenophobic, especially by the media, was the outburst of intolerance by the local population of Francelos, a village in the north of Portugal, in 1997. Similar to the aforementioned events, the case of Francelos also involved the Roma Community. The inhabitants of Francelos accused the Roma families living in the village of being drug dealers. Blaming the authorities for being ineffective concerning the fight against the “drug traffic,” the local inhabitants decided to organize “vigilante groups”. Two parallel events occurred: on one hand, these “vigilante groups” started to attack the drug addicts that used to buy drugs at the Roma’ campsites; on the other hand, they began to appeal to the local population with the aim of taking the matter into their own hands and force out the Roma families. These groups led several demonstrations, and slandering messages against Roma were publicized by them. “The organized militias of Francelos” – as they called themselves – started to do justice themselves in view of the local authorities’ apathy. This case was brought before the Courts and several members both from the militias and others that took part in the demonstrations against the Roma were incriminated. The Court charged these groups with terrorist association and aggression, but only indicted them for the crime of aggression and kidnapping. Those indicted were punished with up to five years’ imprisonment. Nevertheless, no charges were pressed based on the anti-discrimination law or in the basis of racial intent, even after the population had publicly slandered the Roma families that lived nearby.

Another case, was detected by the Administrative Court of First Instance of Porto that examined the regulations of the municipality of Vila do Conde which required all Roma with no official residence to report their arrival in the area of the municipality, and to leave it within eight days. This measure gave rise to strong indignation in the press and sharp reactions of disapproval on the part of the Ombudsman. Following these reactions, the municipality adopted new regulations, revoking the old ones, stressing that the new text was aimed at everyone, whether or not they were Roma, who put up any clandestine form of housing, stating that such housing should be destroyed. The Public Ministry contested this act, which continued to be illegal because in reality it was

aimed at the Roma, and in this sense violated the principle of equality. The Court did not refer to the problem of the Roma as such, but to the question of the invalidity of the administrative act. It decided, however, that the essential problem was that of the persons affected by the act, the order to destroy houses and the impossibility of rebuilding them in any other place in the area of the municipality. The key point of the decision was that the act, too general and abstract, could therefore not have force of law because it was impossible to identify the persons at whom it was directed; hence, the act was null and void.

6.4 Inter-ethnic relations in contexts of spatial proximity: some case studies related to re-housing programmes

Some research has been made as to the spatial segregation of immigrants and ethnic minorities, as well as to interethnic relations arising from spatial co-existence, mainly in studies that have accompanied re-housing processes. Since many of the re-housed individuals were either immigrants or ethnic minorities (especially Roma or Africans) some reports have focused on the specific question of inter-ethnic relations or on the contribution of re-housing programmes for the integration of immigrants and ethnic minorities.

That is the case of a study⁵⁸ conducted by the Centre for Social Ecology (NESO) of the National Laboratory of Civil Engineering (LNEC)⁵⁹, requested by the National Housing Institute of the Ministry of Social Equipment⁶⁰. The relation between housing and the processes of social integration of Ethnic Minorities from PALOP (African Countries Having Portuguese as their Official Language) and Roma population residing in the Metropolitan Areas of Lisbon and Porto is the main theme of this research⁶¹ which was directed by a researcher of NESO⁶². The request for this study was based on the

⁵⁸ Mapping Exercise Publication NFP/PT/0074

⁵⁹ Mapping Exercise organization NFPPT0060

⁶⁰ Mapping Exercise organization NFP/PT/0115

⁶¹ Ministério do Equipamento Social- Laboratório Nacional de Engenharia Civil- Grupo de Ecologia Social [Ministry of Social Equipment- National Laboratory of Civil Engineering- Center of Social Ecology] (2001), *Habitat e Minorias: Limites e Potencialidades da Promoção Pública de Habitação em Processos de Integração socio-urbanística. Relatório Final*. [Habitat and Minorities: Limits and Potentialities of the Public Promotion of Housing in processes of socio-urban integration. Final Report] Trabalho executado para o Instituto Nacional de Habitação [Work executed for the National Housing Institute]

⁶² The population target of the study was divided into four groups of analysis, taking into account ethnic belonging, the type of housing and the geographical area of residence: Africans in Lisbon residing in degraded areas; Africans in Lisbon living in re-housing neighborhoods; re-housed Roma in Lisbon; re-housed Roma in Oporto.

necessity of providing municipalities with research that helps them dealing with Population of African and Roma origin in need of public support for the resolution of their housing problems. The Portuguese state, as we said above, has developed a public program of housing promotion, the Special Re-housing program (PER), in order to eliminate shantytowns, giving an opportunity to groups with poor capacities of residential choice to improve their housing conditions. A special attention was given to the way minority members perceive themselves, how they evaluate their residential situation, how they perceive the majority “other” (in these case Portuguese whites) and how they suppose that that other perceives them and the territories they inhabit. We must pay attention to the fact that, as we already said, shanties are not exclusively occupied by immigrants and ethnic minorities nor do these comprise the greater part of those inhabiting in the run-down areas of the Portuguese cities. Furthermore shantytowns are seldom spaces of ethnic homogeneity⁶³.

As to inter-ethnic relations among the re-housed population, if we consider the total population it is not a very relevant dimension, but it is if we consider solely Roma re-housed in Lisbon. This population manifests their dislike with the multi-ethnic character of their neighbourhood but also with the fact that they have to live with other families of Roma origin. In this respect it should be pointed out that half the Roma population states that, if they could, they would choose as neighbours non-Roma white Portuguese. Only 26% of individuals claim to prefer to co-habit with members of the same ethnic background. 22% of Roma said that if they could they would avoid living with other Roma, and 30% of them states that Africans are to avoid as neighbours. The same percentage of Africans, 30%, point individuals of Roma ethnic background as persons to avoid as neighbours. 44% are indifferent as to the ethnic origin of neighbours⁶⁴.

Two trends seem to emerge from this data, namely that inter-ethnic co-habitation is a problem to the Roma communities covered by these study, and that ethnic rejection is pointed to individuals with the same ethnic background and of African origin, but not to Portuguese whites.

⁶³ Though *shanties* constitute undoubtedly spaces of social and urban exclusion the authors of this report find the designation of ghetto not adequate. First, because that designation relates to a reality that is specific of the American society and second because, as it was defined by American sociology, and as it as also penetrated in the public imaginary both in America and Europe, ghetto refers to ethnically homogeneous urban spaces, and this is not the case of Portuguese *shantytowns*, one of whose essential traits is their ethnic and cultural heterogeneity.

⁶⁴ Op. cit. pp. 27-28

Another important aspect is that of inter-ethnic relations between the re-housed population and the population of the neighbourhoods surrounding the re-housing site. Although, as we said above, it is not correct to call Portuguese shanties ghettos, nevertheless some characteristics of the ghetto do verify for Portuguese *shantytowns*, namely their isolation in relation to their urban environment and to the society in general, marked by the scarcity and even non-existence of contacts and interaction with what surrounds them, either the more immediate urban context or society in general. The degree and intensity of contacts between residents in *shanties* and the exterior are weak or solely of a functional nature. These territories are seldom perceived from the exterior as places to avoid. This closing to the exterior can sometimes constitute a defensive strategy, namely in what concerns immigrants, absorbing in a way the impact of arriving at a strange land, and for the undocumented it can provide a safety net from the implications that their illegal situation can bring them. Closed spaces can also prompt the emergence and development of clusters of irregular economic activities. The authors note that there is a continuity of some of the specific traits of Shanties into the social housing neighbourhoods, namely socio-spatial closure. This is what Peter Somerville⁶⁵ calls the *encapsulating* of a community in relation to its environment, marked by the absence, voluntary or involuntary, of relations between a group and society in general. Ethnicity and Nationality may be at the base of such closure, and so can social class and even residence in a determinate neighbourhood. Reinforcing the processes of encapsulating can be the phenomenon that is usually called *NIMBY* (not in my backyard), that is, the rejection of processes of urban intervention, namely the construction of collective equipment with the aim of re-housing populations, by groups in the locality where the intervention is to be made. The rejection is usually made out of fear of the consequences that the incoming of new population will bring. This fear is often associated to highly negative social representations of the neighbourhood from where the new population proceeds, and to a homogeneous negative perception of that population.

All the neighbourhoods covered by this study have, according to the authors, and based on the statements from the re-housed population, negative public images more or less embedded in the social imaginary of the populations. This negative image comes from the simple fact of being re-housing neighbourhoods, with population coming from

⁶⁵ Somerville, P. (1999) *Community Development: A Rational Choice Approach*, Presented at ENHR conference in Lisbon, Portugal; cited in Ministério do Equipamento Social (2001) op. cit.

shanties, and the fact that the latter were perceived by society as dangerous spaces. Reinforcing this aspect is the occurrence of violence, and the presence of marginality and delinquency, which tends to be amplified. The interviews show that the residents have a clear perception of the negative image affecting their neighbourhood⁶⁶. When asked about the reasons for the bad image of the neighbourhood, the respondents usually point the residents themselves, their attitudes and behaviour, but also the mass media that, according to them, contribute to the crystallization of a negative image of those spaces before the population at large. Furthermore, Africans point to the fact that outsiders tend to homogenize the population who lives in the neighbourhood.

In some cases, like *Vale do Forno* and *Quinta da Fonte* in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area, the re-housing was made with little care and in a hurried way, responding to the momentary need to re-locate some populations. In the case of *Vale do Forno* the land was necessary for the realization of public works and thus the population was re-located to an derelict army headquarter. Both neighbourhoods are in a peripheral situation with poor accessibilities to the centre, thus in a situation of socio-spatial isolation who, for most of the dwellers meant that they were being relegated to the periphery. The case of *Vale do Forno* is the most significant of the two. To the fact that it is an headquarter with only one way out and surrounded by a high wall, it must be added the fact the population is constituted only by Roma, what in fact configures a ghetto as it was previously defined.

Another revealing aspect observed by the researchers, mainly in the re-housing neighbourhoods, is the lack of practices of sociability among residents in the neighbourhoods. Young people may constitute an exception to this, confirmed by the results from the inquiry by interview regarding the occupation of free time. According to the findings, most of the respondents claim to spend their free time outside the neighbourhood. We must also note that either Roma or Africans socialize mostly with members of their respective ethnic group.

Connected also to the special re-housing program but with a narrower territorial scope than the previous study is the work *Re-housing in the Oeiras municipality*⁶⁷, a sociological study⁶⁸. This report originated in a demand of the Oeiras Municipality⁶⁹,

⁶⁶ Ministério do Equipamento Social, pp. 26-27

⁶⁷ Mapping Exercise Publication PUB/PT/0076

⁶⁸ Marques et. al.(1999) *Realojamento e Integração Social: A população do Vale de Algés perante uma operação de requalificação. Vols. II and III- Exploration of results*. Lisbon: Edições Colibri/Socinova

⁶⁹ Mapping Exercise Organisation NFP/PT/0116

located in the outskirts of Lisbon, to the Centre of Applied Sociology of the New University of Lisbon⁷⁰. The main objective of the study was to assess the effects of a re-housing process in the integration of the populations targeted by that re-housing in nine neighbourhoods in the municipality. The fieldwork took place between July 1997 and August 1998 and the observation included 816 questionnaires and 208 semi-directive interviews.

This study is all the more important for the purposes of the present report since a large percentage of the population in the studied neighbourhoods holds a minority ethnic background (44%) and the research focused also on the inter-ethnic relations in the neighbourhood as well as on the representations of the Africans in Portugal. Of all those who were inquired for this study 32,6% came from a PALOP country. When we cross the provenience with the age of the inquired we can verify that most of the youth population was born in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area, and that the adults and the aged were born in other regions of Portugal or in one of the PALOP⁷¹. Thus, a great part of the youngsters with a minority ethnic belonging, are second-generation immigrants⁷².

One of the aims of the study was the characterization of attitudes by the surrounding population toward ethnic minorities, measured through several indicators, namely the relevance of the racial attribute, the evaluation of immigrants in the labour market and the evaluation of the introduction of the mother tongue in Portuguese schools.

When the inquired are questioned about the relevance of the racial and ethnic attribute on personal relations, 87,3% do not consider it an important attribute in relations, whereas 12,7% consider it to be a relevant factor. The age of the inquired does seem to have importance as to the judgement on the relevance of racial and ethnic attributes, with adults and aged giving it a greater importance than youngsters do. Another indicator utilized to determine the position of the individuals as to the ethnic factor is to choose the most important element of social distinction: socio-economic stratification, individual characteristics (effort, orientation to work) or racial segmentation. This last appears as the least important among the forms of distinction.

⁷⁰ Mapping Exercise Organisation NFP/PT/0117

⁷¹ From the total of individuals from a ethnic minority, 35% were born in Portugal and 64% born in a PALOP. Among those who were born in PALOP Cape Verdians constitute the largest group (55,2%), followed by Angolans (18%), Mozambicans (13,3%), Santomese (7,1%) and Guineas (6,4%).

This concept is usually used as a category to refer to the descendents of immigrants, youngsters and children, who are still at school, about to enter or recently entered in the labor market.. To call this youngsters immigrants is wrong since they do not have a migrant trajectory and most of them doesn't even know their fathers' country of origin.

When we look at the question of the relation between immigrants and the labour market we conclude that about 40,8% of the respondents agrees with the existence of a causal relation between labour shortages and the insertion of immigrants in the labour market, which makes up an expressive number. There is a statistical relation between the evaluation of the presence of immigrants in the labour market and ethnic belonging: the respondents belonging to the ethnic majority are more prone to hold immigrants responsible for situations of unemployment than are the respondents of minority background.

By its turn, the analysis of inter-ethnic relations in re-housing neighbourhoods discloses “the existence of signs of racial intolerance, reciprocal stigmatisation, insecurity and competition for power, rooted in “culturalist” references and group identity discourses⁷³” thus legitimating segregation. There is a marked preference for ethnic homogeneity, but ethnic prejudice is not, by itself, an obstacle to living side by side.

The case of Timorese and Roma was specifically considered in the research on account of the importance of the presence of the former in some neighbourhoods (Laveiras) and of the animosity towards the latter frequently shown in the interviews. The cohabitation with the Timorese population points to a positive representation by the locals. Nevertheless, the perception of the inhabitants of the Laveiras neighbourhood is that the existence of many Timorese bestows a negative image upon their neighbourhood. The same can be verified for Africans, that is, they are considered elements proper to the stigmatisation of the neighbourhood. As to the Roma dwellers, their image in the neighbourhood is not as positive as the one of the Timorese. Cultural reasons and a deficient adaptation of the members of this ethnic group to the new residential context are the main reasons to be stressed.

It is important to refer that one of the indicators used in this work is the condition of the inquired in relation to housing, that is, if they own the dwelling in which they inhabit or if they are tenants. This analysis changes in function of the antiquity of the neighbourhood, i.e., there is a tendency, in older neighbourhoods, to have a greater percentage of owners, which is in accordance with the policy of the local authorities of selling, as soon as possible, the house to their dwellers⁷⁴. A statistical correlation was found between the condition of the inquired in relation to housing, their ethnic belonging and the neighbourhood where they reside. In the neighbourhoods in which

⁷³ Pág. 120

⁷⁴ Pág. 37

the condition before housing is characterized by a majority of tenants, the condition of owner appears connected mainly to inquirers belonging to the ethnic majority, the access to the ownership of the dwelling being much smaller for ethnic minorities. In neighbourhoods where respondents are largely proprietors, the percentage of respondents of minority ascendancy in this condition is also smaller. These data point to a greater difficulty by ethnic minorities in getting a house of their own.

Another study of this kind was promoted by the Amadora Town Hall, one of the municipalities of the Lisbon Metropolitan Area where a greater number of ethnic minorities exist, most of them of African origin. Like the previous reports a special focus is given on interethnic relations, namely on the representations of ethnic minorities held by members of the ethnic majority⁷⁵. The empirical research was divided into two distinct fieldworks: one directed to the ethnic majority, made by phone; another, made in presence, to the dwellers in the neighbourhoods targeted by this study⁷⁶.

One of the guiding concepts used by the team that conducted this work to characterize the target population was the Territorial/Ethnic Origin (TEO) of the inquired. In what concerns this aspect the great majority of the respondents are from Cape-Verde (64,2%). 11,6% are from Guinea-Bissau, 11,3% from Angola, 5,2% from St. Tomé and 4% from Mozambique. As we can see the population studied is almost composed exclusively of individuals of African origin. The exceptions are 4% of Eastern European immigrants and 1,5% of Roma. 91,6% of the population covered are first generation immigrants, that is, individuals who were not born in Portugal.

From the phone inquiry made to ethnic majority individuals on the subject of inter-ethnic relations, some interesting results are worth mention : the African community is that with which the majority entertains most relations, either at the level of work or neighbouring. It is also the community who holds a better image. 56% of the inquired see the African as more hard working than the Portuguese and 76,3% claim never to have had problems with Africans. Those who find Africans troublesome connect them

⁷⁵ Costa, F. M. ET. Al. (2002) As populações do Concelho da Amadora: relações inter-étnicas e representações [The populations of the Amadora Municipality: inter-ethnic relations and representations], Amadora: Amadora Town Hall

⁷⁶ The neighbourhoods were Cova da Moura, 6 de Maio, Azinhaga dos Besouros, Estrada Militar, Estrela de África, Fontainhas e Santa Filomena. The study was made before a pre-defined sample of 400 individuals, stratified in function of gender, age distribution (23-34 years, 35-55 years and more than 56 years) and place of residence. In the end 402 inquiries were analysed. A set of semi-directive interviews were conducted, in order to analyse some realities in-depth. The fieldwork took place between the 5th and the 12th of June 2001.

with crime and conflict. But it is the community whom the respondents evaluate more positively in their contribution to the development of the country. Eastern Europeans come in second place after the Africans, being perceived as the most hard-working. Brazilians come in third in what concerns positive relations, being considered the nicest and most sociable, but at the same time being perceived as less prone to work, but also not inclined to conflicts and crime. Indians are seen as the community who contributes less to the development of the country. However, they are also the least associated to drug traffic and consumption and to derelict neighbourhoods. Overall is the community on which fewer judgements are made, either positive or negative, on account of indifference or lack of knowledge by the great majority of the local population. The most rejected community are Roma, considered as the ones who contributes less to the development of the country and as the laziest. However, they are also considered the least likely competitors with the Portuguese for jobs.

The inquired from the ethnic majority were also asked as to whom the main targets of their solidarity were, among the different ethnic groups. The majority of the respondents stated that they would help their like above all others, and after them the Brazilians, followed by Eastern Europeans and Africans ex-equu, then the Indians, and Roma in the last place.

As to equal opportunities for immigrants and ethnic minorities, the inquired have different degrees of acceptance for the different types of equality: from equal access to health (the most accepted) to equal access to jobs (the one who gets less acceptance). This means that tolerance towards foreigners and ethnic minorities diminishes wherever personal interest is involved and the perception of the threat of competition is bigger.

One other important aspect covered by this report has to do with the perception of the neighbourhood held by the immigrants and ethnic minorities living there. This perception is not the same for every neighbourhood or for every minority group. Africans in general show some degree of satisfaction with their neighbourhood- especially Cape Verdeans but also the other African communities. Eastern Europeans, by its turn, show a very negative evaluation of their neighbourhoods. The different evaluations of the different groups can be a reflection of the different conditions in which those communities live.

The assessment of the consequences of living in the neighbourhoods in which they live is also different. If 30,7% of the interviewed believes that living where they live is a factor of segregation, 32,9% considers that it has no influence whatsoever in the general

acceptance of the communities. In the same way 22,5% believes that the fact of living in the neighbourhood has a negative effect on their job opportunities, while 18,6% holds the opinion that the fact of living where they live does not lower their probabilities of getting a job.

Among the different groups, Roma, Guineas and Mozambican are the ones who have a stronger perception of the stigmatising effects of the neighbourhood. By its turn, the Angolan and Santomese community believe that living in those neighbourhoods has not serious consequences on the general appreciation of the population on them.

The analysis of the practices of sociability inside each neighbourhood and among different communities reveals that most of the inquired show an open attitude, with race and ethnic origin not being a relevant attribute for someone to entertain relations with another.

6.5 Evaluating the effects of governmental initiatives

The Special Re-housing Program (PER) was the most prominent aspect of state intervention in social housing in the last years. The report made on the population with minority ethnic background by the Centre for Social Ecology of the National Laboratory of Civil Engineering⁷⁷, mentioned above in this chapter, comprised an evaluation on the contribution of the PER in ending with processes of social exclusion of which inhabiting in shanties is just the most visible aspect⁷⁸. One of the assumptions both of the researchers and the decision makers that ordered the study is that the housing dimension can prevent, and even contribute to invert, trajectories of social mismatch. Therefore one of the main aspects focused is a weighing of the gains and losses between the shanties and the re-housing neighbourhoods, and one of the guiding questions of the study is: is there continuity between the two spaces in what concerns certain dynamics that eventually hinder the integration of ethnic minorities living in situations of poverty? In what measure can these initiatives stop vicious cycles of social

⁷⁷ Ministério do Equipamento Social- Laboratório Nacional de Engenharia Civil- Grupo de Ecologia Social [Ministry of Social Equipment- National Laboratory of Civil Engineering- Center of Social Ecology] (2001), *Habitat e Minorias: Limites e Potencialidades da Promoção Pública de Habitação em Processos de Integração socio-urbanística. Relatório Final*. [Habitat and Minorities: Limits and Potentialities of the Public Promotion of Housing in processes of socio-urban integration. Final Report] Trabalho executado para o Instituto Nacional de Habitação [Work executed for the National Housing Institute]

⁷⁸ Ministério do Equipamento Social Op. Cit.

exclusion? Or instead, do they constitute solely an opportunity to improve the housing conditions of the beneficiaries?

The authors suspect that many times re-housing programs are an improvement in the housing conditions of the beneficiary populations, but do not constitute significant steps in the processes of integration. This may be on account of the already mentioned continuity of specific traits of Shanties into the social housing neighbourhoods, namely its social isolation in relation to the enviroing community and the bad images of the shanties that accompany the population to the new neighbourhoods, prompting the rejection by the population that lives nearby the re-housing site. The authors assume that precariousness in housing constitutes only the most visible aspect of a social exclusion present in other domains such as the social, the economic and the politic, and that these factors, at the root of processes of social exclusion, are not toss away as a result of re-housing projects.

As to the judgements of the population re-housed, the four groups into which the population target of the study was divided held different opinions about the re-housing neighbourhood into which they were moved. Re-housed Africans in Lisbon is the group who, in comparison with the others, is more satisfied with the house/neighbourhood. The public spaces are perceived in a negative way, but the residential mobility is considered positive in what concerns housing conditions. Re-housed Roma in Lisbon reveal the greater dissatisfaction as to their present residential condition. The main focus of negative judgment is the neighbourhood itself, to whom they claim to prefer their previous place of residence. Re-housed Roma in Porto show levels of satisfaction in-between the two previous groups. Despite the negative evaluation of the place of residence, they say that they are presently better lodged in comparison with the past. Like the other groups the neighbourhood is what displeases them the most. Africans residing in degraded neighbourhoods (a.k.a. shanties) demonstrate an attitude towards the place where they live that is, above all, one of conformity. The degree of expressed disgust varies with the investment made in the house.

Most of the residents in social housing point to the non-existence of an effort of conservation, leading to the deterioration of buildings and equipment. Re-housed Roma in Lisbon point also to the small dimension of the house when compared to family size and to poor conditions of living. The dissatisfaction with the neighbourhood comes from the degradation of public spaces, which the inhabitants attribute to the authorities and with the lack of roads and public transportation connecting the neighbourhood to

the centre of the city (this is mostly pointed by Roma). It comes from other socio-environmental factors such as marginality and ethnic co-existence. The most referred marginal practices are drug trafficking and consumption and burglary.

6.6 Non-existing data and insufficiencies of information

One of the major problems with racism, xenophobia or discrimination in the Housing sector in 2002 is the scarcity of data on direct racial and ethnic discrimination in housing. The effective fight against racism and xenophobia presupposes first and foremost knowledge of that reality that we don't have at this moment, as well as of its immediate and structural causes. The lack is a double one: of official statistics and academic studies. In what concerns the latter, more studies are needed specifically on the treatment of immigrants and ethnic minorities in the housing market in Portugal.

This lack of studies is, by its turn, related to the scarcity of official data on immigrants and their housing insertion. The situation regarding ethnic minorities is even worse. General data on Portuguese population, collected by the National Statistics Institute (INE) and data on immigrants collected by the Borders and Aliens Service (SEF) (the government body who controls the entry, permanence and leaving of foreigners in Portugal) doesn't consider ethnic background categories. This lack of studies on ethnic minorities prevents us from acknowledging a possible situation of inequality in the access to houses, a problem that may be affecting citizens that although having acquired Portuguese citizenship, are of a ethnic minority background, like second and third generation immigrants (as we have already said the Portuguese law and thus the Portuguese statistics do not acknowledge such a concept, and we use it here in its current meaning, i.e., to designate individuals who, having born in Portugal, are sons or grandsons of immigrants)⁷⁹.

An important progress in the availability of data concerning racial and xenophobic discrimination was expected with the creation of the Commission for Equality and Against Racial discrimination, one of whose aims is to receive complaints of racism as well as to gather information on discriminatory acts. But this is not what happened, at

⁷⁹ Data on Nationality hinders the identification of those immigrants that have acquired Portuguese nationality, as well as those of African origin that are considered Portuguese citizens since they came to Portugal after the decolonisation.

least not so far. As the second ECRI report on Portugal refers, “there are still problems in the application of the anti-racism and discrimination laws, as the application falls short of the protection provided by the legislation in force.⁸⁰” The regular functioning in the receiving of complaints and the gathering of information are of the utmost importance, since empirical data concerning racial or ethnic discrimination on employment, education or housing are still almost non-existent. Several factors can account for this state of affairs: firstly, an almost complete absence of academic research on these fields (especially in what regards a sector approach); secondly, the lack of articulation between the various organisations (anti-racist organizations, immigrant associations, social partners and governmental organizations) in the field that, if changed, could function towards a more swift system of collecting data. Thirdly, and most important, there are no statistical data on racial or ethnic groups in Portugal by Constitutional imposition; therefore, following the Portuguese Constitution, we cannot statistically classify individuals by ethnic belonging.

Therefore, the main sources on general information on foreigners are the Borders and Aliens Service⁸¹ (SEF)⁸² and the National Statistics Institute (INE)⁸³. The former is the state police responsible for controlling the entry and exit of foreigners in Portugal, keeping a database for statistical purposes, but housing data are outside of its scope. The latter is the state body who is the main producer of official statistics at the national level⁸⁴. Its main data sources on foreigners are the SEF and the general survey on the population promoted every ten years. The last one took place in 2001 and the data is still being published. As we said above, in official statistics there are no such categories as immigrants and ethnic minorities, only non-nationals. But even considering only the nationality, there are serious lacks as to the published data on Housing for foreigners. One of the most important is the lack of published updated figures on the distribution of the foreign population by type of lodging. Another important gap (at least as to the information that is made public) is that concerning levels of education by nationality

⁸⁰ European Commission Against Racism and Intolerance, *Second Report on Portugal*, http://www.coe.int/t/E/human_rights/ecri/1-ECRI/2-Country-by-country_approach/Portugal

⁸¹ <http://www.sef.pt> contains a number of important statistics on the immigrant population. The English version is not yet available.

⁸² Mapping Exercise Organization NFP/PT/0096

⁸³ Mapping Exercise Organization NFP/PT/0093

⁸⁴ <http://www.ine.pt> An version of the site in English is available. Access to the tables of statistics is restricted to registered users. Registration for downloading information implies payment but if the end is solely to see or print the tables registering is free.

and place of residence. This could constitute some evidence, even if indirect, on spatial segregation, and on the constitution of clusters of population marked by inequalities of opportunities regarding economic and social success. The same happens with data on employment and unemployment. Since 1998 we don't have the stock of active foreign population, due to the adoption by INE of the new 1994 National Professional Code, and the delay in translating data prior to 1998 to the new code. Therefore what we have each year is the number of actives who demanded resident status, and their respective professional situation. Not having the stock of foreign actives prevents us from having the updated rate of unemployment for foreigners. Therefore it is impossible to cross information on the distribution, throughout the national territory, of foreigners with their unemployment and then compare it with the same data for nationals. This would be a very useful indicator of the possible inequality of chances for immigrants.

Other important source of data on immigration is the one that concerns the foreign population holding a permanence permit. Data from INE concerns mostly foreigners holding a residence permit. The permanence permit, introduced much latter, but already dropped, was the legal instrument that allowed the legalization of thousands of immigrants during the 2001 extraordinary legalization. The process involved the presentation of a valid work contract before the General Inspection of Work (IGT)⁸⁵ who then issued the permit, valid for a year and renewable. This process enabled IGT to constitute a database on those who demanded a permanence permit, that comprised the place of residence of the immigrants, but not the type of dwellings where they inhabit or any information on their living conditions.

In fact, the lack of information on the housing conditions of Eastern European immigrants is a serious gap, since they constitute one of the largest communities living in Portugal today. Media reports and of organizations working directly with immigrants give accounts of very hard situations endured by these immigrants. Information about individuals living in garages or in the place of work, sometimes several of them, and without any amenities or comfort are frequent in the papers and on the television. Those who can afford a house usually have to share it with several other immigrants, and there are also many of them living in cheap boarding houses and subletting rooms. News about homeless Eastern European immigrants are also getting more frequent. An association set up to provide help to the homeless, *Cais*, called the attention for the

⁸⁵ Mapping Exercise Organisation NFP/PT/0095

rising number of homeless immigrants. Association *Olho Vivo* also stated that it has been receiving ever more complaints about immigrants who cannot find a lodgement in Portugal. The precariousness of their work conditions, of which long periods of unemployment are the consequence, can be at the roots of the harshness these immigrants experience in their lives. However, no reliable data exists, and more research is needed on this subject.

The absence of direct data on discrimination has lead us to other sources who could in some way depict the situation of immigrants and ethnic minorities in what concerns housing. The Re-housing programmes promoted by the state in the nineties are in this aspect of great importance, since they prompted not only the survey of the populations to be re-housed, many of them immigrants and ethnic minorities, but also studies made after the re-housing and some times considering explicitly the question of immigrant ant ethnic minority populations. These works were already treated at length. But it must be said that the main survey to the population living in shanties was conducted in 1993 and since then no updating of these numbers has been done while it is visible that the number of shanties has been informally growing at a steady pace. On the other hand, PER was to be implemented in three years, and by now we have reached the tenth year of its implementation, meaning that in the meantime, with the arrival of more migrant families the capacity to re-house was greatly curtailed. A further problem may yet derive from the demographical dynamics of the re-housed families, especially in what concerns some ethnic groups in which the tradition is one of large families with many children. It is the case of Roma and some African communities, a tendency amplified by the lack of family planning This means that cycles of social exclusion of which these populations were the victims were not broken with re-housing since the cultural and economic processes at the root of exclusion do not disappear in their neighbourhoods. Therefore, as the re-housed families grow new housing problems will arise from the needs of the new generations of ethnic minorities with no purchase power to meet the demands of the housing market.

7. SPACIAL DISTRIBUTION AND SEGREGATION

7.1 Spatial segregation in Portugal

Spatial segregation regarding migrants and ethnic minorities hasn't been a main concern amidst the scientific community. At the local authorities level something similar happened. Though there are several records on housing conditions and their spatial distribution these tend to obscure the ethnic belonging of the inhabitants. We should stress, though, that this is not specific of the housing sector. Instead, problems with ethnic and national classifications are pervasive in almost all spheres of social life of which we have records, either within public or private institutions.

Therefore, studies on ethnic spatial segregation are scarce; and studies in housing discrimination are even scarcer. This is an important distinction that we need to have in mind: ethnic segregation refers to a pattern of spatial distribution specific to the capitalist city; whilst housing discrimination is the behaviour that characterizes prejudice perceptions supported either by market agents – individuals and corporations – or by public services. Though patterns of segregation may be the effect of prejudiced behaviour the two concepts shouldn't be mixed. This holds true, especially, in what concerns sources for data collection. The latter tackles with data that we must search mainly in complaints and plaintiffs testimonies, the former focus on urban organization, urban policies, and market distribution. This doesn't amount solely to an analytical distinction; rather it requires different sources of information.

Regarding housing discrimination no scientific study was ever made in Portugal; not even at the local level. There are no general accounts either of the numbers of victims of racial discrimination or of the processes behind housing market that might built discrimination based on race or nationality. Frequently, it comes to our knowledge that someone was discriminated when trying to buy or to rent an house; but this usually stays at the level of word of mouth. Associations that fight against racism and immigrant associations are also possible sources, and they do receive complaints of racial discrimination, as was described in the previous chapter. However, these are for the most part scattered through various organizations, they are difficult to put in social and economic context, and therefore they don't allow us to extract any patterned information. Sporadically, some cases burst into the media and drive some public

discussion, mainly when the targeted group are the Roma. Re-housing problems are frequently on the origin of such stirring. But it is difficult to understand, in face of the lack of data, the effective weight of housing discrimination – conversely, it would be hasty to say it doesn't happen.

Patterns of spatial exclusion are more evident than discrimination *per se*. In this case we have to consider two main aspects: 1) the importance of re-housing programs, not only in the relocation of people – many of them from ethnic belonging – but foremost in the insertion of a vast fringe of immigrant and ethnic populations on the formal housing market. As was already described in this report, during the 80's a large belt of shanties was consolidated around the main cities of the Lisbon Metropolitan Area (LMA). These were for the most part occupied by immigrants from PALOP (Portuguese Speaking African Countries) that came to Portugal after the decolonisation. As networks of recruitment were constructed between countries of origin and the host localities a growing pattern of ethnic spatialization has been consolidating . naturally. The re-housing of many of these populations, as we said, kept the ethnic concentration and the image of dangerous neighbourhoods was displaced from slums to social housing concentrations 2)we should also pay attention to new forms of ethnic zoning through the gradual occupation of the inner city – specially the more degraded neighbourhoods – that have been occupied by recent immigrants' fluxes. Chinese and Indians are the most prominent groups in these spaces. A tiny Chinatown was promoted by local authorities and ethnic commerce tend to cluster on some delimited city spaces.

Facing the absence of studies that deal directly with the issue we had to search to works not dealing directly with racial discrimination or segregation but that tackle with those issues in an indirect way. We can say that 1990 was the year that prompted several academic and non-academic works in the scientific analysis of the social dimension of housing. A conference organised under the auspices of the National Engineering Laboratory gave public knowledge of various works – some finished others still on the making – that analysed the urban environment, its spatial distribution and life styles. A simultaneous movement of urban rehabilitation may have thrust such intensification on the demand for knowledge on urban living conditions. Thus, it was not surprising that the bulk of the research was focused in neglected or old urban living spaces where the presence of ethnic minorities and immigrants could be significantly verified. This work was the result of some previous investigation, which signalled a starting point for gathering and analysing data on this specific social reality.

Curiously, ethnic segregation was not one of the main focused issues. Despite the straight link that was (and still is) currently identified by the media between shanties and ethnic belonging the fact remains that the majority of its population was from Portuguese origin. Nevertheless, a caveat is in order here. Since many of the “retornados” (people that came from Africa after de de-colonisation process) were of Portuguese nationality there is a high probability that Luso-african are enmeshed in this number thus hindering the correct proportion of people of minority ethnic background living in slums. Additionally, it was not one of the main concerns – either on the part of public authorities or on the academic side – to highlight ethnic segregation; this is backed, for instance, by the following sentence copied from the “PER Characterisation Programme of LMA”: “the nationality evinced in the numbers shows (...) that 79% of those inquired were of Portuguese nationality, despite the fact that a significant number were from those countries [African countries]. But this analysis has as object nationality and not the skin’s colour” (p.28)

This excerpt condensates in few sentences the public attitude before ethnic and racial segregation: nationality is the paramount issue, not race or ethnicity. Bearing this in mind, distinction is blurred and the most salient category is poverty instead of racial and ethnic exclusion.

In substantive terms work carried out in this field don’t amount to much. In effect, we can find more theoretical or methodological works than empirical data collection works. Some exceptions do occur, specially when thinking on spatial segregation measuring.

7.2 Patterns of Spatial Segregation in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area

According to some authors social ethnic segregation is believed to be a reality. In effect, analysing the segregation indexes for the main national groups living in the Lisbon Metropolitan Region some patterns can be underlined⁸⁶. The main conclusion to be drawn is that segregation levels are higher for EU groups (see table bellow). In 2001 the

⁸⁶ Malheiros, J. (1998) Segregação socioétnica na região metropolitana de Lisboa [Social Ethnic Segregation in the Lisbon Metropolitan Region] in *Sociedade e Território* 30

Following the author the segregation index was calculated according to the following:

$SI = 1/2 \sum |x_i - y_i| * 100$ where x corresponds to the relationship between an immigrant group in the i region and the global population of that group in the whole area of study; y corresponds to the relationship between the population of all the other groups in the region i and the population of all the other groups in the whole area of study; and n is the number of spatial units considered (i=1 untill n). This segregation index ranges between 0 (perfect distribution – social and/ or ethnic mix) and 100 (extreme segregation) (p.132)

Spanish scored 35,5 in this index, the Germans 31,8 and the English showed the highest segregation index scoring 37,9. Conversely, the total African population evinced a score of 25,6 and Brazilians scored 17,6⁸⁷.

Table 12 - Segregation Index for the main foreign Communities in the Lisbon Metropolitan Region

Nationality	Segregation Indexes		
	1981	1991	2001
Portuguese Nationals	14,2	17,4	15,8
EEC (12)	27,8	30,5	32,8
Germans	25,2	27,1	31,8
Spanish	33,7	36,6	35,5
French	15,4	19,5	25,6
U.K. Citizens	40,9	41,2	37,9
African nationals (total)	18,1	21,4	25,6
Cape Verdeans	25,2	27,5	24,4
Guinea-Bissau Nationals	16,1	31	34,7
Angolans	11,1	14,5	26,6
Santomese	37,6	30,2	36,4
Mozambicans	11,8	22,5	15,5
Brazilians	18,8	24,2	17,6
USA and Canada citizens	30,2	29,3	23,7

Source:Fonseca et al. (2002) Immigrants in Lisbon. Routes of Integration

Does this mean that EU citizens are the most ill-favored of the majority of the foreigner citizens? It does not. If it were so these results would be particularly misleading. Rather, when we take into account patterns of segregation we must bear in mind that some are the result of active trends and others are the result of passive trends. Therefore, the U.K. citizens as well as the Germans belong to the group of wealthier people living in the most well-off areas at the periphery of Lisbon. Instead, Angolans, Santomese, Guineas, display a different pattern of residential distribution and are for the most part located in less valued areas. This is demonstrated by the data on PER, where we find that African people are over-represented in the surveyed shanties compared to EU citizens. We can easily verify that the proportion of African people living in shanties in relation to the total foreign population is much higher than the same indicator for EU citizens. Thus, despite what might seem to be, at a first glance, a non-differentiated pattern of segregation a hidden variable must be taken into account, that is social class. Regretfully there are no data on social class and residential distribution – the interplay

⁸⁷ Mapping Exercise Publication PUB/PT/0068

of this two variables would surely strengthen the information and give us a more clear depiction of the state of affairs about housing.

Notwithstanding, comparing some European cities regarding various significant minorities we can find “lower proportions of foreigners and ethnic minorities in Southern European metropolises and lower levels of segregation in these cities”⁸⁸, Lisbon being a case in point. As we can see by the table bellow, whereas Southern European cities have segregation indexes, for the most part, under 30, Northern cities like Manchester and Rotterdam show values above 50.

Table 13 - Segregation indexes in selected European cities

Metropolis	Indexes	% in total population
Barcelona		
EU Foreigners	35	0,52
Moroccans	56,8	0,23
Peruvians	22,9	0,2
Filipinos	65,4	0,13
Lisbon		
EEC+North	37,1	0,44
American Foreigners	-	-
Cape Verdeans	43,3	0,56
Brazilians	30,7	0,18
Africans (total)	34,8	1,1
Madrid		
Eu+North	33,1	0,53
American Foreigners		
Latin-Americans	20,2	0,65
Peruvians	22,1	0,19
Moroccans	27,3	0,26
Brussels		
EU Foreigners	18,7	14,69
Turks	59	2,22
Moroccans	42,6	7,77
Asians+Africans	30,6	12,85
Manchester		
white	45,7	87,4
Black Caribbean	50,7	2,9
Indian	51	5,4
Rotterdam		
Dutch	32,7	61,15

⁸⁸ Malheiros, J. (2002) “Ethni-cities: Residential Patterns in the Northern European and Mediterranean Metropolises – Implications for Policy Design.” in *International Journal of Population Geography*, vol.8 pp. 107-134.

Surinamese	29,9	7,33
Cape Verdeans	47	2,09
Turks	51,9	5,67
Moroccans	47,2	3,71

Source: adapted from Malheiros 2002 (see annex)

The author concludes that these numbers follow the “tradition of more reduced levels of spatial segregation which, in the past, were associated with the social dimension”; evidence points to the reiteration of this trend but as to ethnic dimension, as it is shown by the case of Lisbon. Thus “social segregation has become socio-ethnic segregation in the metropolises of the South”⁸⁹.

However, unlike some North European cities we can hardly find the urban space clearly divided along ethnic lines; rather, it would be preferable to see it as a lighter segregated city model⁹⁰. Be as it may, as the author stresses, we can verify a gradual move from this lighter model to a more fragmented one which the increasing in immigrant influxes might help to prompt. The combination of large numbers of immigrants or individuals with minority ethnic background with social exclusion conditions may point in this direction.

Overall, and following these authors, we can draw some conclusions:

- i) the dual spatial distribution (e.g. the areas where non-EU citizens are over represented are clearly separated from those where “white” people live) is much weaker in the Southern cities, specially in Lisbon and Porto. Nevertheless, we can find either in Lisbon or in other cities with immigrant presence like Setubal – a pattern of ethnicization of several peripheral quarters.
- ii) the pattern of sub-urbanisation of the non-EU citizens is higher than in the North European cities.

Additionally, like in other global cities, we have been witnessing to the placement of international highly qualified professionals, earning wages above the average, in the most central, attractive zones and with the highest symbolic value of the Lisbon

⁸⁹ op. cit. p.119

⁹⁰ Barata Salgueiro, T. *et al* (1997) *Internacionalização, Reestruturação Económica e Produção de Novas Marginalidades na Região de Lisboa* [Internationalization, Economic Re-structuration and the Production of New marginalities in the Lisbon Region], Lisbon, DGOTDU Project Report

Metropolitan Region, whereas immigrants that are less qualified and with low skill jobs tend to cluster in least attractive areas in the periphery of Lisbon and other major cities. Nevertheless this is not a clear-cut distinction since the inner city has also been slowly occupied by some ethnic groups such as Chinese and Indians. In this cases the urban distribution present some features of an ethnic enclave⁹¹ and this pattern is mostly explained by the increasing number of degraded buildings with many vacant places and low rent dwellings.

⁹¹ see Oliveira, C. (2002), “Chinese in Portugal. An immigration cartography”, in Fonseca et al. (eds.), *Immigration and place in mediterranean metropolises*, Metropolis Portugal, Lisboa: FLAD, pp.229-254.

8. Data on new policies and legislation with respect to equal treatment and access to housing and to integration (of immigrants and minorities)

The Special Re-housing Programme as a social housing subsidizing programme, was launched in 1993, with the aim of eradicating all shanties in the Lisbon and Porto metropolitan areas. The fact that it was exclusively targeted to put an end to shanties is enunciated in Decree-law 163/93, which states that its goal is to countervail “the open wounds in the social tissue” and thus equating the housing problem with shantytowns stating that “the social problem of housing demands that Municipalities clearly assume the responsibility for the removal of all shanties”. Thus, contrary to other European Countries (e.g. Sweden, Netherlands, Germany) the social housing supply is strictly directed to ill-favoured people and was put in place to face occasional situations – shanties increasing being one of them. Therefore, PER has been functioning with a very specific schedule, one that will not have any continuity once its deadline is met with. Rather, the problem of clandestine building will, perhaps, remain without an envisaged solution. Some numbers can illustrate this state of affairs: the number of shanties in Portugal was 12.000 in 2002 and that of shanty-like constructions 18.000. Only in the Lisbon area, according to the 2001 Census, 9403 shanties remain and in the Setúbal area, 2557 shanties still resisted. But this problem is pervasive in almost all Municipalities in the Lisbon Metropolitan Areas.

Of the 120.000 people living in shanties in the LMA surveyed in 1993 – with the beginning of PER -, only half of them were re-housed. In Loures – a Municipality at the outskirts of Lisbon – of the more than 3.000 people surveyed in the same year, approximately 56% are still waiting to be removed; and in Sintra, another Municipality where the presence of minorities has been growing, of a total of 1591 dwellings 36% of surveyed people are yet to be re-located. In Amadora, almost all people entitled to be covered by the programme (3369 families) are still waiting to be re-housed. In other cases, truly run-down areas that were left out of the PER will remain so. Thus, it all points to the incapacity to supersede this problem, all the more so since Portugal has to face the challenge posed by an increase of the number of foreigners and immigrants.

Notwithstanding, the Special Re-housing Programme, through the engagement of the surveyed populations, empowered several of the immigrant associations that work at the local and neighbourhood level. It is possible to pin-point various associations working in partnership with Municipalities and also with Urban Management Public Corporations⁹². Though these actions were carried out mainly at the level of sensitisation and training – hygiene courses and information about the new lodgements were the core actions – they ended by strengthening the position of local associations and dwellers *vis a vis* Municipalities and Central Administration.

Although immigrants in a regular situation were able to benefit from PER the same didn't happen with other state policies of intervention in the housing market. That was the case with the government-subsidized loan granted to young people, and from which only national citizens could benefit. These subsidized loans came to an end in 2002. No special measures destined to help immigrants and ethnic minorities in the housing market, such as subsidized bank loans or allowances were ever taken with a view of specifically helping immigrants and ethnic minorities. The same can be said about the promotion of diversity in housing areas, which, taken as an objective in itself, is not a common practice in Portugal. As we referred, the re-housing program, according to some authors, had the effect of reducing spatial urban segregation, with ethnic minorities living side by side with white Portuguese. But the spatial distribution of populations in the urban tissue according to ethnic belonging was never an explicit objective of urban state planning. Neither was the creation of areas occupied by ethnic enclaves, thus promoting ethnic business, as was the case in the Netherlands. We can say, in fact, that positive discrimination is strange to Portuguese political culture.

As we said in chapter 6, in 2000 the association SOS Racism launched a survey to all Municipalities in Portugal on the integration of Roma. The aim of this survey was knowing the concrete measures promoted by this authorities regarding the integration of Roma, covering all measures directed to the Roma community as well as those which the target was the overall population. The association got 95 responses from a total of 307 Municipalities⁹³.

⁹² see templates NFPPT0001, NFPPT0002, NFPPT0006, NFPPT0010, NFPPT0011, NFPPT0013, NFPPT0016, NFPPT0020, NFPPT0021, NFPPT0024, NFPPT0025, NFPPT0026, NFPPT0028, NFPPT0030, NFPPT0032, NFPPT0035, NFPPT0036, NFPPT0039, NFPPT0040, NFPPT0041, NFPPT0055.

⁹³ Mapping Exercise Publication NFP/PT/0002

According to the authors, the survey allows for two types of conclusions: a) the majority of the measures promoted in view of a betterment in the integration of Roma gave priority to initiatives targeting exclusively this community and seldom to initiatives engaging the rest of the population; b) the bulk of measures prompted by local authorities are specially focused in the fields of housing, education and social support; mainly in the perspective of reducing poverty and fighting exclusion.

The first implies that measures are not directed to the prevention of ethnic conflict and to the promotion of interculturality; the second implies that these initiatives are seldom planned having in view specifically the Roma community; rather, they are destined to all people that is vulnerable to social exclusion.

The solution of housing difficulties is the main drive for the implementation of these measures by Municipalities. From those interviewed, around 50% have undertaken or are about to undertake the re-housing of Roma, removing them from previous degraded quarters. Another frequent measure is the recovering of dwellings through the supplying of building materials or basic amenities in Roma neighbourhoods.

The Municipalities' intervention in the housing field is generally done under re-housing protocols celebrated with state institutions, but can also be framed by programmes against poverty and exclusion.

Some examples can be listed:

- a) the Municipality of Loures⁹⁴ (in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area) is carrying through the project "Apelarte" destined to the inhabitants of a re-housing neighbourhood, specially to youngsters. This intervention is guided by the principles of interculturality shown by various socio-cultural activities such as dance, gastronomy, visual arts, etc. This project is developed in close connection with schools.
- b) since the end of 1999, the Municipality of Moura (a city at the South of Portugal) has been carrying out the project "New Routes" the target being Roma that live in shanty towns. This project is divided in three phases: first, the introduction of cultural mediators among the Roma population aiming to create awareness on health matters; second, the building of social equipment and services, specially for children; and finally, the promotion of initiatives

⁹⁴ Mapping Exercise Organisation NFP/PT/0119

linked with education and professional training. This project also entails meetings with the rest of the population which objective is to discuss and alert to racism and social exclusion .

- c) the Municipality of Oliveira do Bairro (North of Portugal) is currently developing a project directed to the ill-favoured people with a special branch concerning Roma. From its multiple activities we should stress those focused on Roma women either in professional training courses or in health and family planning. On the other hand, Roma children are engaged in cognitive games in order to develop their learning capacities. This courses also included the learning of the basic rules of hygiene in the new housing environment.
- d) Concerning the Roma community and its degree of acceptance there are not many initiatives which implicate the non-Roma population; however, two of them, though unusual, are worth to be mentioned: Municipality of Aveiro promoted a public display for the supporting of integration of three Roma families and the Municipality of Pombal promoted an informative action regarding the merchant activity that Roma, usually, hold.

In sum, from the range of activities towards Roma integration we should underline a general concern with the degraded living conditions which the majority of this community endure. Hence, the initiatives that are put in place sought, above all, to find adequate solutions to the housing problem and enhance the educational level both understood as crucial areas to a progressive insertion in the mainstream society.

Notwithstanding, the majority of the initiatives are directed to the generality of less favoured people and seldom specifically to the Roma community. This shows, once more, that minorities problems are usually dealt as poverty obstacles and, therefore, insertion in the mainstream society is thought to be a matter of improving living standards. This is, however, rarely the case as the re-housing programmes bluntly show.

9. CONCLUSIONS

It is difficult to take any conclusion on racial and ethnic discrimination with regard to housing at the present in Portugal. The absence of data, mainly juridical data and academic research, makes it difficult to make any judgement on the situation concerning racism in the housing market. How many cases exist that reach the courts? What are the main causes and its effects? Who are the main perpetrators? If we don't know the phenomenon it is also very difficult to prevent and combat it. But even if we had a thorough knowledge of the juridical reality on discrimination we would still be lacking the knowledge of the phenomenon at large. Scientific research on the subject is also needed and has been lacking in Portugal. The scarcity of knowledge on racial and ethnic discrimination has probably contributed to a reduced public awareness on the subject, which is reflected in the absence of measures to combat discrimination in the housing market. But, at the same time, immigrants and ethnic minorities, chiefly among them Roma and Portuguese of African origin, have benefited from measures promoted by the state to improve the conditions in which populations living in degraded neighbourhoods lived, namely the re-housing programmes started in the beginning of the nineties, and still running nowadays. As we pointed out throughout this report, these measures were not specifically destined to immigrants and ethnic minorities, but to shantytown dwellers, who were in their majority Portuguese. But since a considerable number of these Portuguese citizens were of Roma or African origin, and if furthermore we add the immigrants who benefited from the re-housing programmes, we can see that ethnic minorities were major beneficiaries. This is a clear sign that some spatial segregation did exist, and that ethnic minorities were victims of that segregation, but not exclusively. What happens is that they were over-represented among the excluded populations living in shanties.

But did the improvement in the habitation of these populations meant a significant step in escaping social exclusion, of which living in shanties was a clear sign? A thorough evaluation must yet be made, but some claims have been made by researchers working in the field, as well as by part of the population re-housed, that re-housing programmes failed in their most ambitious claim, that of promoting the socio-economic inclusion of the populations heretofore living in social exclusion. One of the reasons for the

continuity of exclusion may be the negative images associated to the populations that lived in shanties, that carried that bad image with them to their new neighbourhoods, causing the rejection of the surrounding populations, who associate them with crime and violence. Sometimes these phenomena of rejection are the manifestation of racial stereotypes, as happens with Roma, frequently rejected by the neighbouring population. Cases such as those make us think that discrimination towards some ethnic groups does exist in Portugal, and that more is needed to combat and prevent that discrimination. Maybe the time has come to start tackling the issue of racial and ethnic discrimination in specific areas, among them housing.

As we said above one of the shortcomings facing researchers with the task of studying racial discrimination in the housing sector in Portugal, is the double lack of both data on discrimination and scientific research on the same subject. As we also referred we tend to believe that this is less a sign that such discrimination is non-existent than that we have yet to find appropriate channels for them to manifest. There is already a special body that receives complaints of racial discrimination, the Commission for Equality and Against Racial Discrimination, but we have reasons to believe that many cases of housing discrimination don't reach the records. Indeed, according to agents working in the field, discriminating customers with a minority ethnic background in the business of renting or selling a house is common practice in the market, the victims being mainly citizens of African origin. Many times these victims do not file a complaint because they find little use in it, since they don't believe much will happen to the perpetrator. And in fact proving discrimination is a difficult thing since it is seldom invoked as a reason for not renting or selling the house. But we have reasons to believe that even when the evidences of discrimination are strong the victims usually do not file an official complaint. Such evidence can be, for example, a request, made after the refusal of the agent to sell or rent the house to a black person, by a white person faking to be interested in the dwelling. One of the ways to encourage the complaints of racial discrimination would be to launch a public campaign telling people what to do in case they find themselves discriminated in buying or renting a house. One of the main aspects of such a campaign would be to inform the public where they should go on such occasions. People generally are not aware of the existence of the Commission for Equality and Against Racial Discrimination where they can direct to in case of discrimination on ethnic or racial grounds. Such a campaign would have the effect not

only of raising the complaints, thus filling the gap between the number of recorded cases and the number of cases that really took place, but also, by raising the awareness to such problems, of probably reducing discrimination itself.

It is common knowledge that solving a problem involves knowing it. Though we have clear signs, both from anti-racist associations and from agents working in the housing sector that discrimination of ethnic minorities occurs frequently, we are very far from knowing the contours of the phenomena. Racial discrimination in general has not been so far a major concern of social scientific academic research in Portugal. Besides some theoretical considerations, the major study so far concerned racism in general, in its origin and in the different guises it can take. The study of ethnic or racial discrimination, either blatant or subtle, either direct or institutional, in several areas and based on empirical research, remains to be made. One such area is housing. It is an area where the limits between direct and indirect racism are difficult to trace. The discrimination perpetrated by housing agents reflects many times an option taken by the proprietors of the house who explicitly say they don't want the house rented to blacks or to Roma. It is many times the case that these owners will say that they are not being racists since they do not believe Africans or Roma to be in any way inferiors to white persons, they simply stick to widely held societal representations of these populations as less liable to keep to their contractual obligations, and so the proprietors of the house would not simply want to take risks. But, notwithstanding the beliefs of whoever denies to a Roma or an African the right to buy or rent a house, the fact remains that people get differential treatment on account of a different skin colour or ethnic origin.

Immigrants and ethnic minorities may face other disadvantages, concerning their housing situation, other than racial discrimination. The many times difficult economic situation in which they live is a serious obstacle to obtain a dwelling with the minimum of conditions for a decent living. It can be said, of course, that this is a problem that affects not only immigrants, but that in moments of downturn of the economic conjuncture such as these, all population is affected. But immigrants are doubly so, since most of them hold precarious jobs in the most precarious sectors of the economy, like construction works, and additionally a considerable number of them are undocumented, which means that they are not eligible for systems of state social protection. They can at best rely on the good will of some institutions, whose means are

very limited. As we said above, according to media and NGO's the number of homeless among immigrants, specially among Eastern Europeans, keeps rising. It would be important to make a survey or an academic research on the conditions of living of these immigrants, both those who are in a regular situation and the undocumented.

Policies of the host society can have an active stance in the reconfiguration of the image of certain derelict neighbourhoods, as well as on the integration of the populations living there. A good example of that was the successful project developed in the Hague, in Holland. That project- *City Mondial*- was awarded the 2000 "Eurocities Award on Innovative Urban Strategies". A network of partners (tourism organizations, religious associations, Chambers of commerce, Institute of small and medium enterprises, local political parties and the media) with the financial support of the European Union and of the Town Hall , developed a number of measures which improved the entrepreneurial activities of the different ethnic minorities residing in certain neighbourhoods of the city (especially in degraded and segregated zones). The objective was to stimulate entrepreneurial initiatives as a way of integrating its inhabitants, creating job opportunities, and making derelict neighbourhoods attractive sites for dwelling and investment.

But it is clear that the success of this project was also based on the tourist demand for some products deemed exotic⁹⁵. Thus, though this example can stand as a suggestion for a good practice, its implementation in other residential contexts and in other societies will rely heavily on the market conditions, on the contexts of reception (foremost the engagement of the privileged institutional actors) and in the motivation of the populations living in the neighbourhood themselves.

⁹⁵ Santokhi, S. (2002), "Neighbourhood Transformation and Economic Activities. Aspects of Urban economic activities in segregated areas in The Hague", paper presented in the Workshop «Communication across cultures in Multicultural Cities», promoted by the Institute of Higher European Studies, The Hague, The Netherlands, between 7 and 8 November 2002.

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HOUSING REPORT STATISTICAL ANNEX:

In Portugal, the phenomenon of immigration is relatively new. Notwithstanding, ways of dealing adequately with the issue have been sought.

The Activities Report by ACIME (High-Commissioner on Immigration and Ethnic Minorities), bearing the title “Integração de Imigrantes e Minorias Étnicas” [Integration of Immigrants and Ethnic Minorities] – which covers the period between 1996 and 1999 – states that the Government acknowledges the new challenges facing Portugal today, as a country of immigration, and adds that the later call for measures aiming at the integration of immigrants and ethnic minorities in Portuguese society, so as to avoid situations of discrimination related with racism and xenophobia.

Refugees/Asylum Seekers in Portugal: In Portugal, the number of asylum applications is extremely low, especially when compared with the number of economic immigrants or with the number of asylum applications in other European countries.

Between 1993 and 2001, 112 asylum applications were accepted under the Geneva convention, which, when measured against the total number of applications submitted throughout the same period, rates at 2.7%⁹⁶. With regard to residence permits for humanitarian reasons, 161 applications were accepted between 1998 and 2001, which corresponds to a 16% acceptance rate.

Immigrants: We should stress that the terminology in use to define immigrants and migration is far from being clear. In fact, what we can find in official statistics is the category of legal non-nationals having foreign nationality.

Table 14 - Evolution of the foreign population with residence permit in Portugal

Year	Number of foreigners with residence permit	Rate of Change (5 years)
1980	50750	
1985	79594	56,8%
1990	107767	35,4%
1995	168316	56,2%
2000	207607	23,3%

Source: Statistical Report of the Borders and Aliens Services(<http://www.sef.pt/estatisticas.htm>)

⁹⁶ Bárbara Mesquita, “Asilo e Imigração Económica ou a Fronteira Indefinida” in *A Imigração em Portugal*, SOS Racismo, Lisbon, November 2002.

Thus we face the problem of mistaking immigrants with foreigners, whereas there are, actually, immigrants with Portuguese nationality, but that were born abroad, and those that are natural of the host country and have foreign nationality. This confusion is patent in the media, in the political discourse and even in scientific research (Rosa et al., 2000:2)

The coming back of Portuguese emigrants specially during the seventies and the eighties makes this problem obvious taking into account that half a million people with Portuguese nationality returned, having diluted themselves in the mainstream society, hence they are not seen as immigrants (Pires et al. 1987, Ferrão 1996).

Moreover, there are foreigners to whom it was granted the Portuguese nationality through marriage – after three years of being married to a Portuguese citizen – or through naturalization – after six to ten years (respectively to a citizen from the PALOP and from other countries) having a valid residence permit in Portugal (Oliveira e Inácio, 1999). The majority of foreigners to whom the naturalization was granted between 1985 and 1996 are from African countries (48%) followed by Asians (33,6%). Naturalization by ways of marriage was predominantly granted to Asians (42,5%) followed by Africans (29,8%).

**Table 15 - Portuguese nationality grants by way of marriage and naturalization
Between 1985 and 1996, according to Law nº37/81**

Nationalizations	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	Total
Marriage	833	459	51	840	1375	781	1078	1628	1062	1623	1134	974	11838
Naturalizations	42	17	25	21	37	65	61	78	115	81	87	124	753
Total	875	476	76	861	1412	846	1139	1706	1177	1704	1221	1098	12591

Source: Oliveira e Inácio, 1999

Nevertheless, the statistical significance is not very meaningful. The naturalizations' weight never went over 0,8%, during these years, when compared with the total of foreign resident population (only in 1998, accordingly with data from SEF, reached 2,9%). Notwithstanding this weak significance, Portuguese nationality granting was the reason why 53% (1997 data) of the foreign residents had ceased their residence permit (Rosa et. al. 2000).

Table 16 - Naturalizations in Portugal

	Naturalizations	Number of foreigners with legal residence	Naturalization ratio⁹⁷
1985	42	79594	0,5
1986	17	86982	0,2
1987	25	89778	0,3
1988	21	94694	0,2
1989	37	101011	0,4
1990	65	107767	0,6
1991	61	113978	0,5
1992	78	123612	0,6
1993	115	136932	0,8
1994	81	157073	0,5
1995	87	168316	0,5
1996	124	172912	0,7
1997	153	175263	0,9
1998	512	177774	2,9

Source: Oliveira e Inácio, 1999

In this context, it is fundamental to take into account that when we are studying spatial segregation in Portugal we are actually taking into consideration data on residential concentration or dispersion of the foreign population. Due to the fact that in Portuguese data the categories of race or ethnicity of the resident population are not in use, only nationality, we are unavoidably studying the residential segregation of foreigners.

On the other hand, taking into account that the category “national minority” is missing from the official statistics there are no data concerning various communities, such as Roma.

⁹⁷ Ratio = Naturalizations' number / Number of foreigners with legal residence x 1000

Table 17 - Districts of Residency of Immigrant Population*

Districts of residency	Ukraine		Moldava		Romania		Russian		Lithuania		Total of line	
	N.	%	N.	%	N.	%	N.	%	N.	%	N	%
Aveiro	3635	7,1	235	2,4	115	1,4	784	14,3	43	4,8	4812	6,4
Beja	756	1,5	120	1,2	179	2,1	54	1,0	4	0,4	1113	1,5
Braga	3455	6,8	160	1,7	305	3,6	397	7,3	130	14,6	4447	5,9
Bragança	177	0,3	7	0,1	8	0,1	22	0,4	4	0,4	218	0,3
Castelo Branco	915	1,8	54	0,6	91	1,1	61	1,1	22	2,5	1143	1,5
Coimbra	2242	4,4	178	1,9	277	3,3	223	4,1	122	13,7	3042	4,0
Évora	1570	3,1	342	3,6	421	5,0	117	2,1	45	5,0	2495	3,3
Faro	7435	14,6	2510	26,1	2019	23,9	860	15,7	76	8,5	12900	17,1
Guarda	530	1,0	27	0,3	25	0,3	33	0,6	38	4,3	653	0,9
Leiria	5734	11,3	653	6,8	98	1,2	389	7,1	19	2,1	6893	9,2
Lisbon	9563	18,8	2683	27,9	2913	34,5	989	18,1	76	8,5	16224	21,5
Portalegre	400	0,8	130	1,4	225	2,7	18	0,3	18	2,0	791	1,1
Oporto	5510	10,8	444	4,6	318	3,8	726	13,3	194	21,7	7192	9,6
Santarém	3465	6,8	496	5,2	358	4,2	197	3,6	37	4,1	4553	6,0
Setúbal	2563	5,0	1301	13,5	951	11,3	329	6,0	27	3,0	5171	6,9
Viana do Castelo	557	1,1	42	0,4	30	0,4	84	1,5	10	1,1	723	1,0
Vila Real	482	0,9	22	0,2	3	0,0	54	1,0	5	0,6	566	0,8
Viseu	1909	3,8	203	2,1	96	1,1	136	2,5	23	2,6	2367	3,1
Total	50898		9607		8432		5473		893		75303	

Source: Report on the Evolution of the Migratory Phenomenon, March 2002, IGT, ACIME, SEF; www.idict.gov.pt/docum_igt/acime

* Marked as yellow are the most significant occurrences, i.e., the districts where the majority of foreigners are concentrated.

Table 18 - Resident employed population according to professional groups and region of the country in 2001

Professional Groups *		Portugal	North	Centre	Lisbon and Tagus Valley	Alentejo	Algarve	Azores	Madeira
Group 1	N	325268	117265	69372	96862	19221	13872	3908	4768
	%	7,0	7,1	6,9	7,5	5,9	7,7	4,1	4,5
Group 2	N	395477	116771	77054	154726	21053	11858	6739	7276
	%	8,5	7,1	7,7	12,0	6,5	6,6	7,1	6,9
Group 3	N	442797	136596	82773	166599	25101	14819	8289	8620
	%	9,5	8,2	8,2	13,0	7,8	8,2	8,8	8,2
Group 4	N	511589	154320	93693	191191	31555	20115	9640	11075
	%	11,0	9,3	9,3	14,9	9,8	11,2	10,2	10,5

Group 5	N	658221	201015	136239	202157	49330	37714	13000	18766
	%	14,2	12,1	13,5	15,7	15,3	20,9	13,7	17,8
Group 6	N	188054	68409	59444	11632	19859	10015	9502	9193
	%	4,0	4,1	5,9	0,9	6,1	5,6	10,0	8,7
Group 7	N	1001568	459441	226002	186213	59937	32293	18367	19315
	%	21,5	27,7	22,5	14,5	18,5	17,9	19,4	18,3
Group 8	N	398048	178899	102047	69921	27265	8471	5325	6120
	%	8,6	10,8	10,1	5,4	8,4	4,7	5,6	5,8
Group 9	N	697514	217948	152269	191102	66807	30691	18892	19805
	%	15,0	13,2	15,1	14,9	20,7	17,0	19,9	18,8
Total	N	4650947	1656103	1006373	1284673	323167	180395	94728	105508
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: General Survey 2001, National Statistics Institute.

* Legend: Professional groups according to the National Professional Code of 1994

Group 1: Public Administration Officers and Corporate Managers

Group 2: Specialists on Scientific and Intellectual Professions

Group 3: Intermediate professions and technicians

Group 4: Staff and Similar

Group 5: Service workers and Sellers

Group 6: Farmers and Qualified Workers on Agriculture and Fishing

Group 7: Workers, Artisans and similars

Grupo 8: Machine Fitting Operators and assembly line workers

Grupo 9: Non-skilled workers

A great vulnerability to unemployment can be verified among some nationalities, as well as a greater dependence on the dole and on the Minimum Guaranteed income. Most foreign unemployed are from the PALOP, who are also the main beneficiaries of the dole (see table bellow).

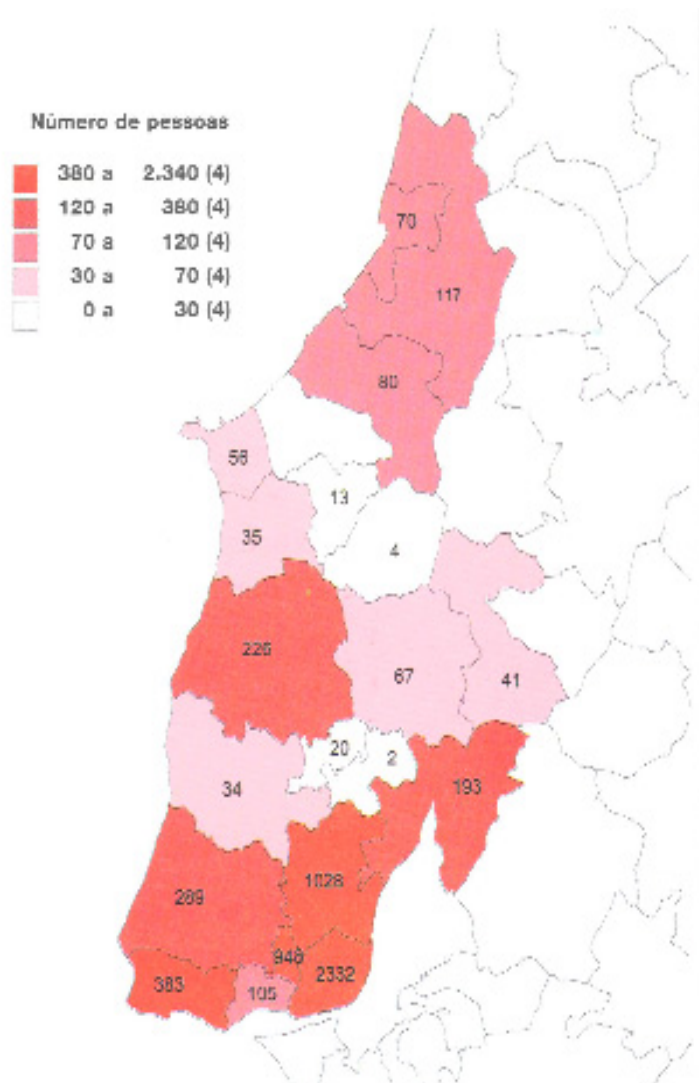
Table 19 - Beneficiaries of the dole and of the minimum guaranteed income according to their nationalities in 2002

Origens	Dole*		Minimum Guaranteed Income **	
	N	%	N	%
Africa	5516	33,8	5367	43,6
PALOP	5238	32,1	5248	42,7
América	1768	10,8	463	3,8
Brazil	1389	8,5	271	2,2
Oceania	36	0,2	-	-
Asia	125	0,8	129	1,0
Europe	2260	13,8	821	6,7
Total Foreigners	16332	100	12299	100
Portugueses	318048	-	302373	-

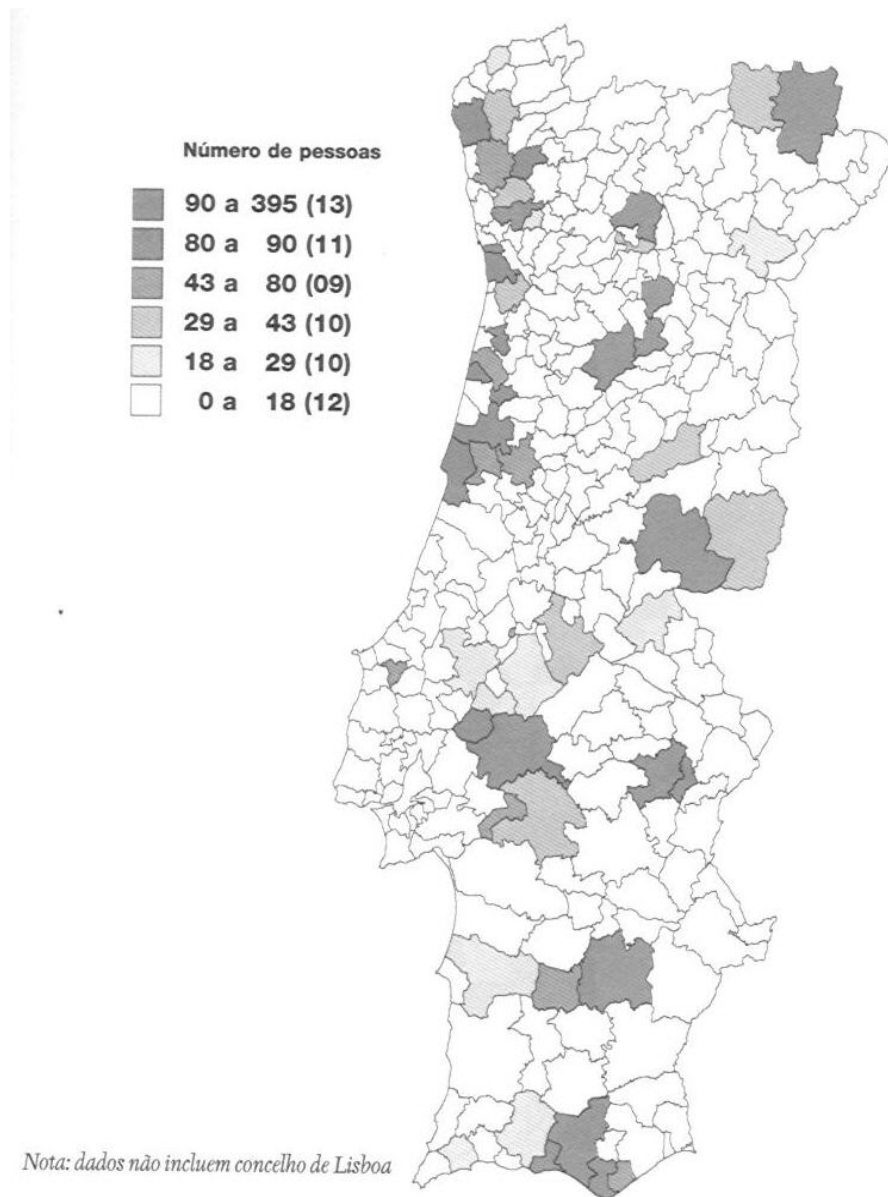
* Source: Institute of Informatic and Statistics of Solidarity of the Ministry of Work and Solidarity

** Data referring solely to the Continent.. Source: Institute of Solidarity and Social Security

Map 1 Distribution of Roma population in Lisbon



Map 2 National Distribution of the Roma population in precarious housing conditions



Nota: dados não incluem concelho de Lisboa

Graphic 3 - Number of Roma that live in precarious housing

