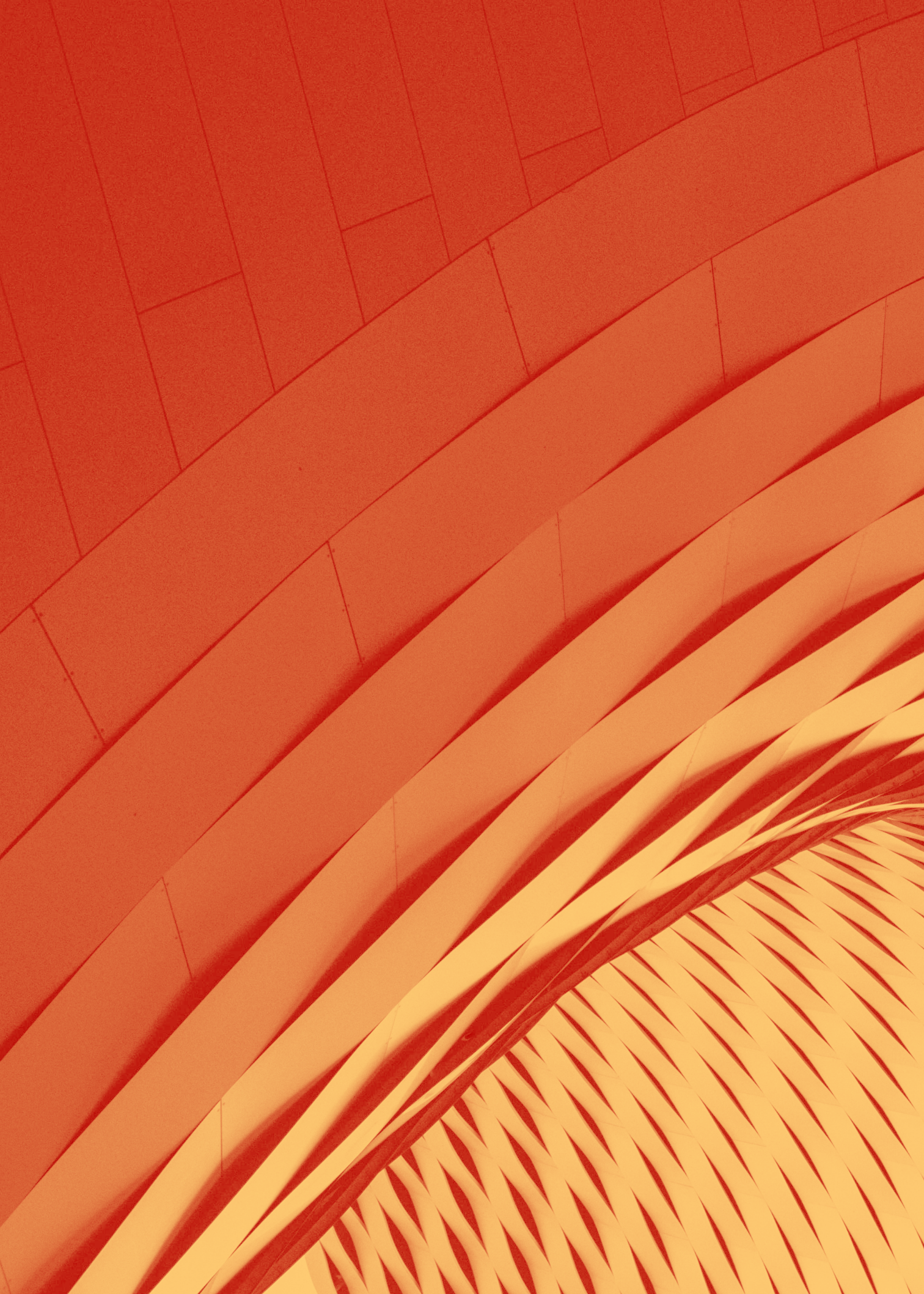


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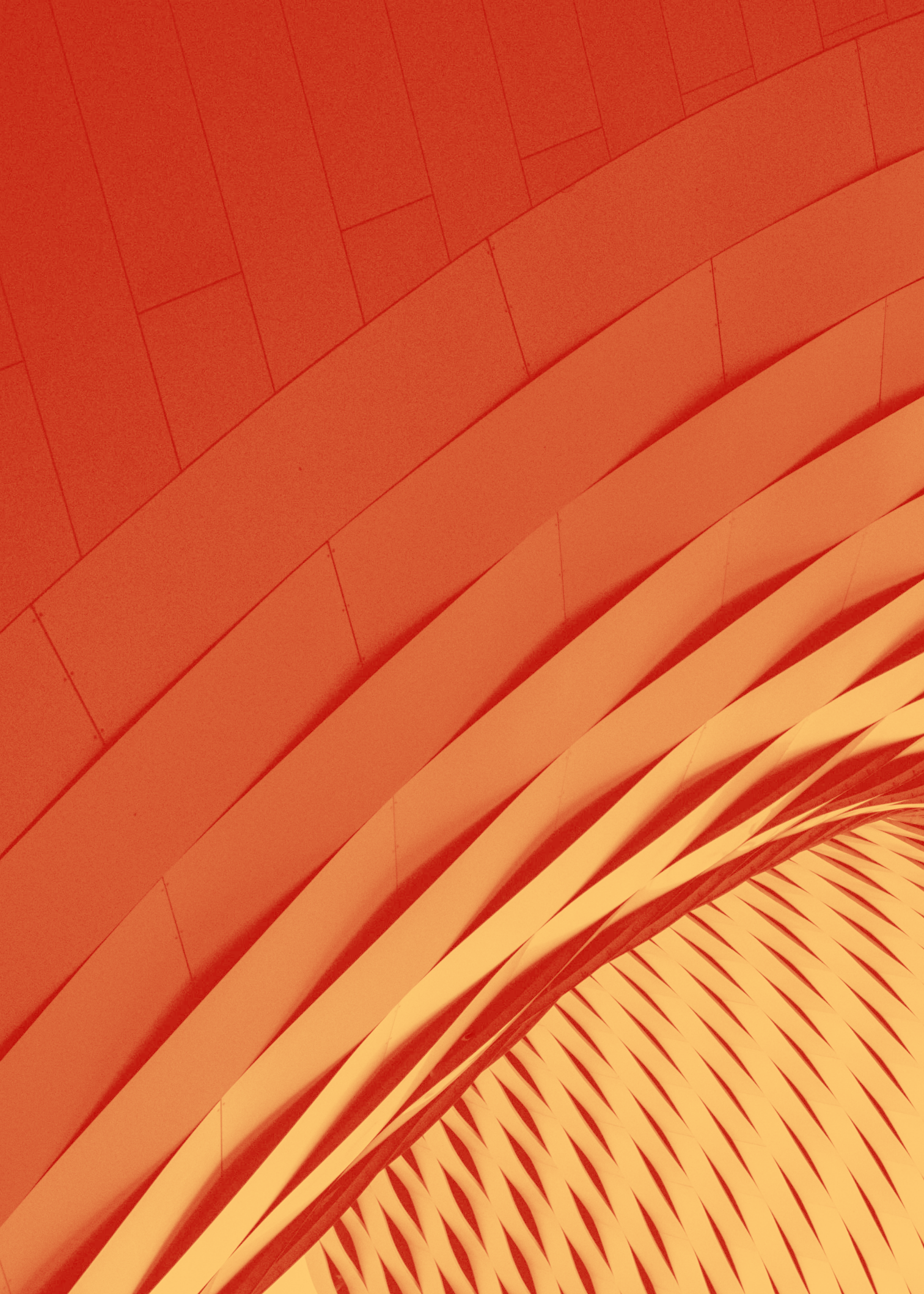
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# índice

**9**

A CAPACIDADE TRANSFORMADORA  
DA REGENERAÇÃO URBANA

**Isabel Breda Vázquez**

**17**

URBAN REGENERATION IN CASTELO BRANCO'S CIVIC CENTRE,  
A CHALLENGE TO THE CITY'S TRANSFORMATION

**Alexandra Paisana Belo**

**31**

BRINGING THE CITY TO THE PEOPLE. URBAN AND  
TERRITORIAL REGENERATION CHALLENGES IN THE  
OUTSKIRTS OF GUIMARÃES

**Eduardo Fernandes**

**Carolina Teixeira**

**45**

REGENERATION OF VLORA WATERFRONT PROMENADE

**Ani Cuedari**

**Florian Nepravishta**

**71**

TERRITORIES IN TRANSITION:  
THE URUGUAYAN-BRAZILIAN BORDER

**Isabel Clemente Batalla**

**87**

REABILITAÇÃO URBANA: NOVO PARADIGMA  
DAS POLÍTICAS URBANAS NA CIDADE DO PORTO

**Álvaro Santos**

**Miguel Branco-Teixeira**

**107**

O REJUVENESCIMENTO URBANO.  
CINQUENTA ANOS DE OBSERVAÇÃO  
SOCIODEMOGRÁFICA EM PORTUGAL

**Rui Leandro Maia**

**Luís Pinto de Faria**



editorial

## **DESAFIOS DA REGENERAÇÃO URBANA E TERRITORIAL**

Os territórios estão em permanente reestruturação em consequência das dinâmicas que neles se operam e da relação de forças estabelecida – uma inevitável resposta a uma determinada acção. É um processo lento – embora hoje muito mais rápido do que em meados do século passado – que encerra tensões espaciais, sociais, económicas, políticas, e do qual nem sempre imediata ou directamente se percebe o que resulta, aquilo em que aquele território se transforma.

Ainda assim, um aspecto evidente dessa reestruturação, particularmente claro nas áreas urbanas, é aquele que se revela no espaço físico, na expansão da área edificada, um forte indicador da mudança que é facilmente comprovado pela comparação diacrónica de plantas e fotografias aéreas. Outras facetas da reestruturação são no entanto menos evidentes e mostram-se, por exemplo, na dimensão estatística, nacional e internacional, como, a seu tempo, nas movimentações sociais. É amplo, e por vezes imprevisível, o espaço (real ou virtual) das manifestações da reestruturação territorial.

Mas se há certeza de algo sobre esta reestruturação é que ela revela desequilíbrios – muitos e diversos – fruto da rapidez com que acontece e que torna difícil a consciencialização da mudança, do seu sentido e da intervenção crítica subsequente. A acção voluntária – que é mais do que a mera reacção – sobre o território em transformação orientada para o seu reequilíbrio constitui a base dos processos de regeneração urbana e territorial que enfrentam, pelo dito acima, múltiplos, sérios e difíceis desafios. Estes impõem visões concertadas sobre os papéis complementares que se estabelecem entre a parte e o todo, entre o urbano e o não urbano, entre os centros e as “periferias”, entre o nacional e o internacional, num quadro em que os territórios local e global não mais devem ser pensados e executados isoladamente por cada um dos pequenos actores que nele intervêm, mas articulados na sinergia entre as várias escalas e em movimentos não determinadamente lineares, unidireccionais ou hierárquicos.

É, assim, no âmbito deste debate que o presente número da Revista *A Obra Nasce* agrupa um conjunto de contribuições científicas que, como antes dito, concentram refle-

## **URBAN AND TERRITORIAL REGENERATION CHALLENGES**

Territories are constantly restructuring as a consequence of both the dynamics that operate in them and the power balance established, that inevitable reaction to a certain action. It is a slow process (though much faster today than in the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century) that encloses spatial, social, economic, political tensions and from which the outcomes – that in which that territory transforms itself – are not immediately or straightforwardly understood.

Even so, an evident aspect of that restructuring, particularly clear in urban areas, is the one that materializes in physical space, in the expansion of the built area, a strong gauge of change that is easily proven through the diachronic comparison of maps and aerial photographs. Other faces of restructuring are however less evident and are shown, for instance, through the statistical dimension, national and international, as well as, in due time, by social dynamics. It is a wide, and sometimes unpredictable space (both real and virtual), the one of territorial restructuring' manifestations.

But if something is to be taken for granted about this constant restructuring is that it displays unbalances – many and diverse – as result of the speed with which it happens. That makes the clear awareness of change hard, of its sense and of the subsequent critic intervention. The voluntary action – which is more than mere reaction – upon the changing territory, aimed at its rebalance, establishes the base of the urban and territorial regeneration. That regeneration faces, as per above, multiple, serious and difficult challenges. They call for concerted visions over the complementary roles established between the part(s) and the whole, between the urban and the non-urban, between centers and “peripheries”, between national and international, within a framework in which local and global territories should no longer be thought of and manipulated in isolation by each one of the small actors that intervene in it, but in articulated synergy among various scales and in non-strictly linear, unidirectional or hierarchical directions.

Thus, it is in the context of such a debate that the present issue of the *A Obra Nasce* Journal brings together a set of scientific contributions that, as previously discussed, focus on

xões sobre a regeneração urbana e territorial, explorando quer o seu lado mais teórico e relativamente abstracto ou abrangente [Vasquez; Maia e Faria], como a sua vertente mais prática através da avaliação crítica de intervenções em centros históricos [Belo; Santos e Branco-Teixeira], em partes específicas da cidade maior [Fernandes e Teixeira; Cuedari e Nepravishhta], ou ainda em espaços de fronteira entre países [Clemente].

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**Luís Pinto de Faria**

territorial and urban regeneration, exploring both its more theoretical, broad and somewhat abstract side [Vasquez; Maia and Faria], as well as its more pragmatic implications, by means of a critical assessment of specific interventions either in historical centers [Belo; Santos and Branco-Teixeira], in particular sections of the wider urban areas [Fernandes and Teixeira; Cuedari and Nepravishhta] or in transnational border zones [Clemente].

**Sara Sucena**

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# A capacidade transformadora da regeneração urbana

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## RESUMO

As políticas de regeneração urbana têm-se caracterizado, nas últimas décadas, pela coexistência de diferentes iniciativas e instrumentos de intervenção, com características muito variadas. Tem-se mostrado, também, como nessa variedade de iniciativas, instrumentos e ações, se condensam diversos tipos de agendas, umas mais sectoriais outras mais integradoras, bem como diferentes modelos organizativos, contextos territoriais e escalas de intervenção.

Este artigo propõe-se abordar a questão da capacidade transformadora das políticas de regeneração urbana, tendo como pano de fundo este quadro de diversidade. Trata-se de mostrar que estas características são acompanhadas por dificuldades que condicionam significativamente a capacidade transformadora das estratégias de regeneração urbana. São aspetos críticos que justificam o papel de desafios específicos tendo em vista a melhoria da capacidade transformadora da regeneração urbana.

## PALAVRAS-CHAVE

Regeneração Urbana; Diversidade; Capacidade Transformadora

## ABSTRACT

Urban regeneration policies have been characterized, in recent decades, by the coexistence of different initiatives and instruments, with very diverse characteristics. It has been shown, too, as this variety of initiatives, actions and instruments, condense several kinds of agendas, some more sectorial other more comprehensive, as well as different organizational models, territorial contexts and scales for intervention.

This article intends to address the issue of the transformative capacity of urban regeneration policies, against the backdrop of this diversity. It shows that these characteristics are accompanied by difficulties which affect significantly the transformative ability of urban regeneration strategies. These critical aspects justify the role of specific challenges in order to improve the transformative capacity of urban regeneration.

## KEYWORDS

Urban Regeneration; Diversity; Transformative Capacity

## 1. INTRODUÇÃO

A agenda da regeneração urbana mobiliza hoje a atenção das políticas urbanas em diversas cidades da União Europeia. A sua importância reflete os novos, e variados, problemas e desafios que se colocam à cidade existente, e é acompanhada pela coexistência de diferentes iniciativas e instrumentos de intervenção, com características muito diversas. A natureza complexa da regeneração urbana é hoje bem reconhecida.

É neste contexto que se considera oportuno refletir sobre a relação das iniciativas de regeneração urbana com os processos de mudança. Analisar criticamente a capacidade transformadora das políticas de regeneração urbana é, então, o objetivo principal deste artigo. Para isso, expõem-se as principais características das estratégias recentes de regeneração urbana, e analisam-se as dificuldades e as condicionantes específicas que lhes estão associadas. É perante este quadro crítico que serão apresentados, seguidamente, alguns desafios fundamentais para promover a desejável capacidade transformadora da regeneração urbana.

## 2. ESTRATÉGIAS E INICIATIVAS RECENTES DE REGENERAÇÃO URBANA: PRINCIPAIS CARACTERÍSTICAS

A regeneração urbana tem desempenhado um papel-chave na transformação recente das políticas urbanas, quer ao nível das agendas quer no que respeita a novos modelos de ação e de organização institucional. A vasta e heterogênea literatura existente sobre as estratégias e iniciativas de regeneração urbana mostra, com clareza, a sua importância.

Em geral, as estratégias e iniciativas recentes de regeneração urbana, presentes no quadro europeu, podem ser caracterizadas por um conjunto de quatro dimensões principais. Com efeito, e em primeiro lugar, constata-se a existência de uma ampla variedade de agendas e de iniciativas de regeneração urbana (como mostram, entre outros, Breda-Vázquez et al., 2009; Couch et al., 2011; Shaw e Robinson, 2010). Esta diversidade revela a existência de diferentes tipos de objetivos com temporalidades, lógicas espaciais e formatos também muito diferenciados. Assim, por exemplo, coexistem ou

sucedem-se, no tempo e no espaço, iniciativas associadas a objetivos mais setoriais (intervensões que privilegiam uma dimensão física, ou funcional, ou social, ...) e iniciativas de carácter mais integrador; do ponto de vista espacial, encontram-se iniciativas de âmbito geral e outras mais associadas a áreas muito específicas, como é o caso dos chamados 'programas territorializados' (Lawless, 2011).

Assiste-se, em segundo lugar, à proliferação de novos modelos de ação e de organização institucional, com vários tipos de esferas (local, nacional, europeia, ...) e de agentes envolvidos nos processos de decisão e de implementação de programas/projetos de regeneração urbana (para uma revisão do debate associado ver, entre outros, Kokx, 2011 e Darchen, 2016). Esta crescente fragmentação e hibridização institucional associa-se à própria diversidade de agendas e modelos de ação, e ao modo como nestes intervêm diferentes esferas de decisão (e se definem novas relações de poder), e/ou se constroem novas formas de capacitação institucional, como evidenciam, entre outros, Bailey (2010) e Parés et al. (2014).

Em terceiro lugar, observa-se a natureza experimental, e dinâmica, das estratégias e dos vários programas de intervenção, nem sempre articulados entre si do ponto de vista funcional, processual e temporal. Essa experimentação procura dar resposta a novos contextos de transformação urbana, e associa-se, também, à importância que a inovação e a disseminação de 'boas práticas' assumem atualmente no contexto das políticas urbanas, como bem salientam Gonzalez (2011) e McCann e Ward (2012).

Por fim, a crescente influência europeia apresenta-se como característica importante das estratégias e experiências recentes de regeneração urbana. A europeização da regeneração urbana tem associada a difusão de modelos de ação muito específicos, do ponto de vista estratégico e institucional, contribuindo quer para a disseminação de 'boas práticas' quer para a importância de formas de ação baseadas na lógica particular dos instrumentos de financiamento (Breda-Vázquez et al., 2009; Couch et al., 2011; Dukes, 2008). Estes modelos de ação nem sempre se encontram articulados com os programas nacionais e locais de regeneração urbana, e suas formas de financiamento.

Este conjunto de dimensões características das estratégias e iniciativas recentes de regeneração urbana reflete um processo mais amplo de inovação e de transformação nas próprias políticas urbanas (e nas políticas públicas em geral), e enquadra-se num contexto de crescente complexidade e heterogeneidade dos problemas e dos desafios urbanos, e de incerteza quanto às suas dinâmicas futuras, como têm mostrado vários autores (ver, por exemplo, Jessop, 2016; MacLeod e Jones, 2011; McCann e Ward, 2010).

### 3. A CAPACIDADE TRANSFORMADORA DA REGENERAÇÃO URBANA: DIFICULDADES E CONFLITOS

O vasto debate crítico existente em torno da regeneração urbana mostra que as dimensões características salientadas são acompanhadas por dificuldades e conflitos que condicionam, significativamente, a capacidade transformadora das estratégias e dos modelos de ação. Interessa, por isso, conhecer melhor alguns dos temas críticos em debate.

São apontadas tensões e dificuldades relacionadas com a insuficiente articulação (em termos de coerência e de sinergia) de estratégias e objetivos muito diversificados e heterogêneos.

Mostra-se, por exemplo, a natureza conflitual associada à coexistência 'em paralelo' de diversas iniciativas de regeneração urbana com objetivos opostos ou mesmo excludentes. É o caso das intervenções dirigidas para objetivos de dinamização económica e de competitividade (como os chamados 'grandes projetos urbanos', ou como algumas estratégias 'empreendedoras' apoiadas no conceito de cidade criativa), e daquelas mais orientadas para objetivos de inclusão social.

Vários autores têm chamado a atenção para problemas de conciliação desses dois tipos de objetivos, dados os potenciais impactos do primeiro tipo de intervenções na intensificação das injustiças socioespaciais e na mitigação de resultados de estratégias sociais (ver, entre outros, Andersen e Ploger, 2007; Arbaci e Tapada-Bertelli, 2012; Bontje e Musterd, 2009; Colomb, 2007; North et al., 2009; Ponzini e Rossi, 2010; Pugalis, 2013; Shaw, 2013). Nesta discussão,

mostram-se as dificuldades acrescidas, num contexto de dualidade de objetivos, associadas aos consequentes modelos de governância 'duais': mesmo recorrendo a formas inovadoras (e episódicas) de governância, são óbvias as dificuldades em garantir o potencial transformativo de estratégias dirigidas para a inclusão social. Sublinham-se, também, as consequências de estratégias recentes dirigidas para a cidade criativa na intensificação de processos de (super) 'gentrificação', ampliando o intenso debate existente sobre as agendas ambíguas de diversificação social (ou de 'mix' social) que rodeiam algumas estratégias de regeneração urbana (como mostram, entre outros, Atkinson e Easthope, 2009; Bacqué et al., 2011; Bontje e Musterd, 2009; Lees, 2008; Rose et al. 2013).

São salientados, em segundo lugar, os limites da crescente pulverização institucional na regeneração urbana, do ponto de vista da sua governabilidade, de dificuldades relacionadas com a disseminação da inovação institucional e da aprendizagem, e da subalternização de capacidades agregadoras (ver, por exemplo, Allmendinger e Haughton, 2009; Bacqué e Biewener, 2013; Breda-Vazquez, Conceição e Fernandes, 2009; Brownill e Carpenter, 2009; Darchen, 2016). Chama-se a atenção, nomeadamente, para (i) os problemas de articulação entre diferentes 'níveis' de instituições (local, central, europeu,...) com responsabilidades na promoção das agendas de regeneração urbana e dos seus modelos de ação (mais gerais ou mais locais), (ii) as tensões associadas à coexistência de modelos institucionais mais coercivos ou mais participativos, (iii) a racionalidade crítica de arranjos institucionais baseados nos instrumentos de financiamento, e (iv) os problemas relacionados com a instabilidade (no tempo) de diferentes modelos e formas institucionais.

No debate crítico sobre a capacidade transformadora das iniciativas de regeneração urbana, é colocada em evidência, em terceiro lugar, a questão da relação ambígua entre os problemas existentes e os modelos de ação (Deas, 2012; Lawless e Beatty, 2013; Ponzini e Rossi, 2010; Pugalis, 2013). Em causa está o reconhecimento de insuficiências na identificação da diversidade de situações problemáticas e da sua natureza contextual, por um lado, e de ambiguidades decorrentes da utilização de modelos gerais de intervenção, com características e formas de ação nem sempre ajustadas

às características dos problemas e dos desafios, por outro lado. Chama-se a atenção, nomeadamente, para as distorções na 'identificação' adequada dos problemas que poderão decorrer da tendencial europeização dos modelos de intervenção e da difusão de 'boas práticas', como bem sublinham Musterd e Ostendorf (2008) e Gonzalez (2011). É interessante notar, a este propósito, o intenso debate crítico atualmente existente sobre a transferência de 'modelos' de política urbana, as suas premissas e os seus constrangimentos (Cook e Ward, 2011; McCann e Ward, 2012; Peck e Theodore, 2010).

Em síntese, o contexto geral de crescente diversidade, fragmentação e experimentação das políticas de regeneração urbana é acompanhado por vários tipos de constrangimentos e dificuldades que condicionam, significativamente, a capacidade transformadora das estratégias e dos modelos de ação. Os aspetos críticos estão associados, sobretudo, a incoerências do ponto de vista dos principais pressupostos que orientam as agendas da regeneração urbana, a dificuldades nas condições de governância, e a potenciais desajustamentos entre a natureza dos problemas e os modelos gerais de intervenção.

#### 4. REGENERAÇÃO URBANA E CAPACIDADE TRANSFORMADORA: OS PRINCIPAIS DESAFIOS

As observações anteriores permitem sublinhar que uma reflexão prospetiva sobre a regeneração urbana e, em particular, sobre a sua desejável capacidade transformadora, deverá envolver desafios tanto de natureza institucional (a qualidade da governância) como associados ao sistema de valores que devem informar a natureza das problemáticas em jogo, e influenciar as agendas específicas e os seus resultados. Assim, numa perspetiva de promoção da capacidade das políticas de regeneração urbana para influenciar mudanças estratégicas e estruturantes (no sentido exposto em Healey, 2009), apresentam-se, a seguir, alguns desafios principais.

Desde logo, o desafio da promoção de 'capacidades integradoras' associadas a exigências de articulação das instituições e dos atores em jogo, e de coerência dos vários programas e das várias agendas, parece óbvio.

A relevância que tem vindo a ser atribuída, nas políticas urbanas, à questão da 'integração' é reveladora dessas preocupações mas também de responsabilidades específicas. Como salienta P. Healey, a palavra 'integração' tem múltiplos significados e, por outro lado, uma perspetiva integradora pode ser, ela própria, geradora de novas fronteiras e divisões, dado que as ligações estabelecidas numa dada direção 'fecham' oportunidades de ligação noutras direções. Por isso, os estudos que têm debatido a importância da construção de capacidades 'integradoras' nas políticas urbanas, e na regeneração urbana, referem a necessidade de influenciar e dinamizar a construção de capacidades coletivas locais. Sublinha-se a centralidade da *qualidade* da 'governância urbana' e a sua relação com processos micro e macro de capacitação institucional capazes de influenciar as agendas e dinamizar a mobilização de atores-chave em torno de problemas, compromissos ou estratégias comuns. O nível local apresenta-se, pois, como o 'espaço' privilegiado de agregação e de representação de múltiplos interesses, e de coordenação de diferentes programas e projetos. (MacCallum et al., 2009; Parés et al., 2014).

Neste contexto de centralidade da governância urbana torna-se importante salientar, também, a necessidade de aprofundar e clarificar o papel estratégico das políticas urbanas nacionais e, em articulação, o papel de 'redes multi-escalares' entre diferentes esferas institucionais (local, nacional, ...) para a disseminação da inovação e para a dinamização de estratégias locais (Darchen, 2016; McGuirk et al., 2016).

A articulação local das instituições e das iniciativas de regeneração urbana é um processo dinâmico e contínuo, facilitado por efeitos de sinergia decorrentes da interação entre agentes diversificados. Essa articulação tem subjacentes, por isso, capacidades individuais e coletivas, aprendizagem e experimentação. Estes aspetos tornam central o desafio de um processo de avaliação compreensiva, que dê valor à aprendizagem para a construção de oportunidades de interação e de dinamização de capacidades coletivas (Breda-Vázquez et al., 2010).

Salienta-se, por fim, o desafio associado ao aprofundamento dos debates em torno da maior especificação dos 'valores urbanos' que interessa produzir e atingir com a

regeneração urbana. Como salientam Albrechts (2010) e Fainstein (2010), as políticas urbanas devem ser uma condição necessária para se atingirem 'valores urbanos'.

A atenção corrente à necessidade de articulação e de coerência das várias iniciativas de regeneração urbana tem subalternizado este tipo de desafio relativamente a questões de natureza institucional (centradas, portanto, no 'processo'). Importa reconhecer que bons processos não significam, necessariamente, bons resultados. O foco nos sistemas de valores que informam as agendas de regeneração urbana e os seus efeitos (e, então, o tipo de problemas e de desafios que deverão justificar a regeneração urbana) deve tornar-se, assim, uma questão essencial para promover a sua capacidade transformadora. Este tipo de reflexão remete, necessariamente, para debates mais amplos em torno dos referenciais normativos que devem influenciar a construção de futuros urbanos, e então, as políticas urbanas.

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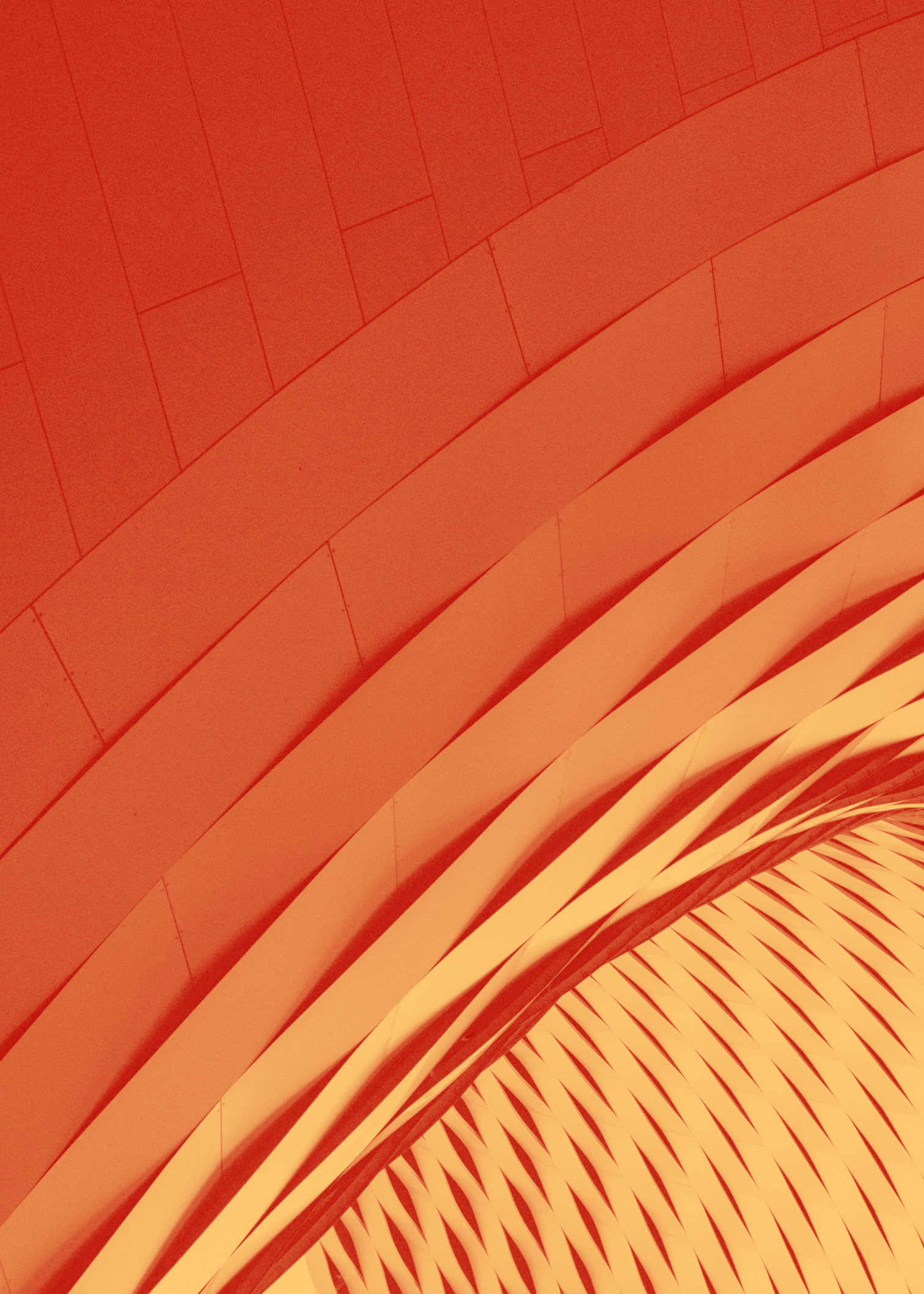
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# Urban regeneration in Castelo Branco's civic centre, a challenge to the city's transformation

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## **ABSTRACT**

Castelo Branco was the target of a POLIS operation, concerning its centre's requalification. After its conclusion, the City Hall continued to engage in urban revitalization, intending to improve competitiveness. The latest instruments face urban regeneration as a whole, identifying and connecting new centralities.

Besides, the requalified equipments and public spaces need to be well used. Its programming presents itself a strategy challenge. The latest cultural and heritage investments aim to enhance the city's touristic potential, creating a brand image and alternatively stimulating the economy.

This paper will analyse the impact of urban regeneration in Castelo Branco's public space, comparing it to its previous context and pointing out trends. To that end, different theories, planning instruments and programs related to this theme will be studied. Considering a critical approach, the advantages and disadvantages of the urban strategy that was led and still is in process, will also be taken into consideration.

## **KEYWORDS**

Urban Regeneration; City Centre; Public Space; Political Challenge; Castelo Branco.

## 1. THE CITY AS A POLITICAL CHALLENGE: CITY POLICIES, URBAN REQUALIFICATION AND IDENTITY

An important part of territorial policies is nowadays either urban or focused on cities, due to the gradual and intense urbanization of populations. In fact, the borders between regional development and territorial planning have increasingly become less clear (Ferrão, 2011).

Moreover, the reflection of city policies implies, on one hand, listing the main challenges and problems that cities face, and on the other, to have a retrospective view on the evolution of urban policies in Portugal, due to the confusion generally made between policy and planning or policy and policy's instruments (Salgueiro et al., 2015).

Troughout the planning of strategies for action, city policies intend to promote new forms of governance. They can be articulated according to several strategic processes, among which urban planning, that defines a conceptual framework of urban organization and use. In this context, we can say that a city policy must respond to the specific problems of a certain urban area and simultaneously define the guidelines of both the city interventions and the urban system's structure, articulating the development strategy intended for the country or region.

This is evident in the text "*Política de Cidades – Polis XXI*", that recognizes that the knowledge and innovation-based development models presuppose a solid urban base and demand that cities have a high qualification of their functions. They must also have a strong capacity of promoting population settlement and attracting innovative activities and creative people (MAOTDR, 2007).

City policies can contribute to the creation of self-sustainable models, so as to help cities help themselves to an integrated valorization, increasing governance forms based on action strategies articulated in accordance with strategic processes, including *urban requalification*.

According to DGOTDU (Direcção Geral de Ordenamento do Território e Desenvolvimento Urbano), this concept consists in:

"[...] the operation of urban renovation, restructuring or rehabilitation, in which environmental valorization and the improvement of the urban fabric's functional performance are decisive aspects of the intervention." (*Requalifying also means to*) "...create factors that favour identity, livability, attractiveness and competitiveness fo cities or specific urban areas" (DGOTDU, 2008, p.67).

Indeed, planning actions directed towards requalification propose new feasible perspectives, regarding both the physical and symbolic elements of cities, those which can set off a sense of belonging and establish a relationship with a certain place's past and identity (Silva and Carvalho, 2012).

According to Silva and Carvalho, *urban regeneration* is also a planned process whose main intentions are the promotion of urban competitiveness and the protection and valorization of natural and human resources considered crucial for the perception and construction of an urban image, that might contribute to strenghten both individual and collective identities. In this context, heritage assumes itself as a decisive strategic component in urban requalification (Silva and Carvalho, 2012).

In the case of medium-sized cities, such as the case study this paper intends to analyse, identity and the sense of belonging to a certain region or place remain fundamental factors of identification, distinguishing them from larger urban areas. Oberti (2000, p.98) refers that they are still "strongly rooted in a circumscribed and closely defined territory and so depend chiefly on local and regional networks."

This does not exclude the fact that they might be linked to networks, groups, interests or markets at national or European level. However, their "territory-based societal coherence", that is, a structure of idiosyncratic history and tradition, political and economic actors, institutions and urban fabric, assumes itself as a crucial differentiation element (Oberti, 2000). This means that *identity*, whether existing or fabricated to form a particular brand image, will always play a relevant role on the development and requalification of medium-sized cities.

Nevertheless, most urban development processes in the last decades have led to several problems and questions

that are common to both large and medium-sized urban areas. Near the end of the 20th century, many cities were struggling with problems, both in central and peripheral zones, in parallel with severe financial crisis and job shortage. It was necessary, on one hand, to reorganize the suburbs' territory and contain its growth. In contrast, the valorization and revitalization of central areas (as well as of other derelict zones, such as social housing neighbourhoods or rundown industrial sites) was now also part of the agenda (Salgueiro et al., 2015).

These operations implied a diversified framework of action: in some cases, they combined building refurbishment with infrastructural and public space improvements; in others, functional reactivation was mandatory, both in the sectorial point of view as in that of the actors responsible for the investments. They aimed to respond to the complex challenges that cities and societies were facing at the turn of the century.

The main attempts in doing so focused in human resources and entrepreneurship actions, with urban interventions based on the intended demand, with strong images and marketing campaigns. Meanwhile, the cities' economic bases had changed: the industrial activities had diminished, with an increase on creative activities, knowledge economy, urban tourism, new forms of services and commerce, namely due to the rise of the so-called new economy and of *e-government* (Salgueiro et al., 2015).

In the last years, the new paradigms of change have been more and more directed towards territorial competitiveness. For that end, technically viable city development policies were prepared and implemented, giving privilege to both private and public actors (Silva and Carvalho, 2012).

However, in what concerns city policies, Figueiredo (2010) defends that territorial-based public policies cannot be exclusively conceived in a logics of promotion of competitiveness and development conditions, and should include conditions that guarantee the social cohesion of disadvantaged territories (Figueiredo, 2010).

Concerning a social point of view, the present challenges include dealing with the demographic transformations

(particularly the substantial ageing of the populations), the new migrations and types of mobility (both in the spatial and social levels), with an aspiration to build more inclusive cities, where a greater number of citizens can engage in collective decisions.

Regarding the population as an active agent in the construction and diffusion of a city's heritage and identity, it is also important to instill a sense of responsibility and active citizenship among the communities, so as to potentialize adequate management and fruition of urban environment and public space (Silva and Carvalho, 2012).

In spite of these brief reflections, it is important to understand the changes in the planning models, and how it affected the management of urban areas.

## 2. SHIFTING PARADIGMS IN URBAN POLICIES AND INSTRUMENTS

*[...] any progress towards a genuinely 'new urbanism' movement must be centered on process rather than form, on openness rather than closure and on flexibility rather than order.* (Graham and Marvin, 2001, pp.405-415)

Until the publication of Lei de Bases da Política do Ordenamento do Território e do Urbanismo (Law nº 48/98, of 11<sup>th</sup> August), the legal framework for territorial planning in Portugal was practically inexistant, consisting in the existence of urban planning and a few piecemeal measures. Regarding the urban dimension, the plans accommodated accessibility infrastructures and great facilities, defined in their related sectorial plans, with the purpose of regulating urban expansion, offering a *correct* life space (Salgueiro et al., 2015).

Essentially, a plan was a land use and circulation map, in which to frame the private initiative, the main stakeholder in urban expansion. It can be said that it was an essentially physical plan, of land offer for different uses, and that cities have grown and occupied the suburbs, mainly by means of speculative or illegal operations, in a context of real estate and landholding speculation.

A certain exhaustion of physical planning models, combined with economic restructuring, economy liberalization and the reduction of State responsibilities, generated new urban policies that reflect changes in the actors' roles and a market-oriented attitude. The plans started to pay more attention to promotion and development than to regulation and physical planning. The pressure on competitiveness compels to a growing orientation to the demand of tourists, entrepreneurs, dwellers and consumers, and to an effort on differentiation. Natural and built heritage, as well as culture, are valued as strategic factors of competitiveness [Salgueiro et al., 2015].

In the last decades of the 20th century, in parallel with changes in the mobility of capital and an increase in territorial competition, the broadening of municipal competences and decentralization led to adjustments in the way regional planning and policies were faced.

Physical and economic planning were now connected, leading to more comprehensive and integrated strategic approaches. There were also changes in the actors and the relationships among them, as partnerships and other forms of cooperation between the central administration and regional and local, public or private actors grew, corresponding to a weakening of the State. This trend, both national and international corresponds to the transition of a *land use* model towards a *spatial planning* one [Wegener, 2000].

Decentralization brings about added responsibilities to municipalities. Business management models are being applied, combined with territorial marketing, strategic planning and the construction of positive images, in the context of what Harvey (1989) calls the transition from managerialism to entrepreneurialism. This is the support for the investment in infrastructures, events, big territorial interventions and the production of qualified spaces. In a context of strengthened relationships with both the third and the private sectors, urban management finds its bases in partnerships and consensuses [Salgueiro et al., 2015].

### 3. COMPETITIVENESS, COOPERATION AND TERRITORIAL COHESION

In the portuguese case, the application of European funds has filled gaps and provided solutions for housing and infrastructure problems. It has also developed the logics competitive funding, that is to say, of competitiveness for the benefit of subsidies and supports, as well as the existence of strategic programs to which specific fund allocations correspond [Salgueiro et al., 2015].

In this context, there are several guidance documents produced in the last two decades by the European union, aiming to influence the implementation of integrative urban development policies. Among them we may find the *Green Book on Urban Environment* (1990), the *New Charter of Athens* (2003), that transmits the Council for European Urbanism's vision on the cities of the 21st century, and the *Territorial Agenda of the European Union* (2007) [Silva and Carvalho, 2012].

Approved in 2007, the Lisbon Treaty added, to the territorial cohesion goals, those of economic and social cohesion, particularly emphasizing the role of cities. Later on, in 2008, the publication of the *Green Book on Territorial Cohesion* – taking advantage of territorial diversity opened a debate process on the meaning of territorial cohesion and its implications on cooperation, coordination and politics [Vale and Queirós, 2015].

Territorial cohesion requires different approaches concerning development actions of any area, in a framework of interterritorial cooperation, as it works through the power of difference [Morphet, 2011]. Yet, in spite of all the European Commission's efforts to clarify this concept, it remains ambiguous, which means it can only be approached through the actions of its proponents [Vale and Queirós, 2015].

The revision of the Territorial Agenda of the European Union, adjusting it to new economic and social climate dynamics, together with the Lisbon Treaty's context, has led the European Union to adopt the Territorial Agenda 2020 in May 2011, defining six key priorities for territorial development: stimulus for integrated urban development, in rural

environments and specific areas; promotion of a balanced and polycentric territorial development; assuring global regional competitiveness based on strong local economies; functional integration of cross-border and international regions; management and interconnection of ecologic, landscape and cultural regional values; improvement of territorial connectivity for companies, communities and individuals (Vale and Queirós, 2015).

The Territorial Agenda's recommendations are broadened to territorial cooperation initiatives, which contribute to the goals of territorial cohesion. The European instruments' support for the share of knowledge, innovation projects and good practices is evident in interregional and network projects such as INTERREG, URBACT or INTERACT.

With limited financial resources, INTERREG has supported more than 200 border projects and has been developed throughout four funding periods. Cross-border cooperation has converted itself in one of the structural funds' main objectives (Mirwaldt et al., 2009). Thus, territorial cooperation has been implemented through this program, which has also added value to political processes, for it stimulates the cooperation between local, regional and national actors at an international level. Therefore, INTERREG has become crucial for the assumption of the inevitable association between territorial cooperation and cohesion (Vale and Queirós, 2015).

In Portugal, public policies associate the valorization of urban and regional development to sectorial integration, access to general interest services and network creation (Santinha and Marques, 2012). The main problems in Portugal are associated to imbalances in the urban system, that consequently produce social and demographic asymmetries, reduced critical mass, lack of institutional cooperation culture and interurban collaboration deficit.

It is in this context that it becomes relevant to reflect on the perspectives of urban competitiveness, development and social cohesion in Portugal, regarding European guidances. The European Community's demands have been decisive for the development and implementation of Portuguese urban policies, that emerged between the late 1980s and the early 1990s, coinciding with the application of the first

Community Support Framework (CSF), between 1989 and 1993. This did not contemplate specific interventions conceived for urban requalification, a situation that changed with the creation of an Operational Program for the Environment and Urban Revitalization, within the scope of the second CSF (1994-1999) (Silva and Carvalho, 2012).

In the 1990s, we can identify several sustainable urban development initiatives, such as PROSIURB, URBAN I and II and Intervenção Operacional de Reabilitação Urbana (Urban Rehabilitation Operational Intervention). In this period, when the first urban policy instruments were structured, several factors of success and positive outcomes gradually became evident, through programs such as EXPO 98, POLIS and POLIS XXI.

#### **4. RECENT MODELS OF URBAN REQUALIFICATION PROGRAMS: EXPO 98, POLIS AND POLIS XXI**

With the EXPO 98 program, that modernized and polarized a run-down, marginalised riverfront through an innovative strategy of action, Portuguese planning had now a new paradigm for the implementation of urban initiatives. According to Parque Expo, the company that developed this urban strategy that followed the Universal Exhibition in 1998, the intervention was particularly successful regarding environmental and economic aspects, as well as its acceptance by the civil society, namely due to the creation of new public spaces, which was one of the initial fundamental strategic vectors (Belo and Mingacho, 2014).

As a follow-up, a new public policies' period (2000-2006), supported by the European Union, included programs based in the EXPO 98 experience, among which POLIS (legally created through Resolução do Conselho de Ministros, or Council of Ministers Resolution nº 26/2000) is the most representative (Silva and Carvalho, 2012).

Developed by Parque Expo from 2000, POLIS had as its main goals the urban requalification and environmental valorization of several cities nationwide. Following PROSIURB, a pioneer territorial development for medium-sized cities, POLIS emerged as an attempt to take advantage of the financial

opportunities created by the third CSF to enhance and mobilize this kind of cities (Belo and Mingacho, 2014).

Thus, this program also intended to improve the competitiveness and attractiveness of urban poles that play a relevant role on the national urban system. It established partnerships between Municipalities and the Government (Ferreira, 2007), that would serve as a reference for future partnerships between the local authorities and other entities.

A set of guiding principles then generated four intervention components, directed to different types of urban areas, among which component 1 must be highlighted, consisting in carrying out a relatively limited assembly of urban requalification interventions with strong environmental valorization features (Ferreira, 2007).

These interventions were also intended to have an exemplary character and become a model for future operations, with a strengthening of their specificities and role in the national urban system. In an overall perspective, these interventions were carried out around existing elements with heritage or environmental value, so that they could be re-integrated in the urban fabric, thus contributing to the reinforcement of urban identities (Belo and Mingacho, 2014).

Moreover, regarding territorial planning, the strategic vectors encouraged border or interior cities' valorization, so as to enhance their potential to generate new regional acknowledged economic power, attempting to improve populational settlement in these regions (Ministério do Ambiente e Ordenamento do Território, 2000).

Regarding POLIS' management instruments, the urban intervention instruments at several scales stand out: Strategic Plans, Urbanization and Detail Plans. Those which substantiate the institutional model are also relevant, assuming new forms of articulating the cooperation between local and national authorities, through companies with majority public shareholding (Silva and Carvalho, 2012).

These urban interventions were subsequently supported by city policy POLIS XXI, co-financed by the operational

programs of the National Strategic Reference Framework (Quadro de Referência Estratégica Nacional, or QREN), between 2007 and 2013. In 2007, the National Program for Territorial Planning Policies (Programa Nacional da Política de Ordenamento do Território, or PNPOT) was launched simultaneously with POLIS XXI, but it aims to define structuring guidelines to a macro level, for the whole national territory.

Concerning POLIS XXI, its operative policy goals consist roughly in requalifying differentiated urban spaces, strengthening human, institutional, cultural and economic capital, intensifying the integration of cities in their regional surroundings and innovating in solutions for urban qualification (Salgueiro et al., 2015). These goals substantiate in three intervention axis: regional integration, competitiveness and differentiation and urban regeneration.

The latter is directed towards specific intraurban spaces, aiming to increase the coherence and cohesion of urban areas. The second faces cities as competitive hubs of innovation, valuing their role in international markets and networks as well as their differentiated identity, whereas the first is associated with the enhancement of the urban effect as a development factor, considering the relations between a city and its region (Salgueiro et al., 2015).

Urban regeneration assumes a very important role in POLIS XXI. This policy instrument distinguishes itself from its predecessors in the sense that it adopts a more ambitious and integrated view on regeneration: it assumes itself as a strategic process that involves the population, private initiative and other institutional actors. Thus, it aimed to gain great visibility and urban and social significance, especially in impoverished urban areas (Vale and Queirós, 2015).

PRU's, or Partnerships for Urban Regeneration were an urban revitalization instrument in the context of POLIS XXI, whose main targets were the promotion of urban and social development, as well as the stimulus to territorial governance and the improvement of collective facilities and infrastructures. A great part of POLIS XXI's applications were PRU-related, and its actors are unquestionably the municipalities, leading more than two thirds of the projects, followed by cooperatives and associations (Vale and Queirós, 2015).

Studies and intermediate evaluations by ECORYS (ECORYS, 2011) show low community, private sector and central government participation levels, which decisively affects the performance of this urban regeneration instrument.

Moreover, in most of the application cases, material socio-economic goals were defined in a wide and generic way, so that in the requalification of municipal buildings and public spaces could be contemplated (Vale and Queirós, 2015). Indeed, in several cases, such as that of the case study, this program was faced as a continuity and conclusion for the previous one (POLIS). This process is evident in the case study's evolution, which we will then analyse.

## 5. CASE STUDY: CASTELO BRANCO AND POLIS

Situated in a transition territory between the central region of Portugal and Alto Alentejo, the city of Castelo Branco stands out thanks to its strategic national interior potential, due to its geographical proximity to the Spanish border. It is inserted in AUCI (Arco Urbano do Centro Interior), the Central Interior Urban Arch, formed by an assembly of border cities and municipalities (Belo and Mingacho, 2014). This urban form is associated to several highways that constitute the great terrestrial corridors from Portugal to Europe.

In this context, highway A23 takes a relevant role, forming an axis that comprises the cities of Castelo Branco, Fundão, Covilhã and Guarda. In a similar hierarchical level, these cities create a socioeconomic anchor, transforming a vast territory threatened by desertification in a statement of cross-border relationships (Belo and Mingacho, 2014).

The city's historic and civic center has also benefited significantly from the institutional regeneration processes driven by strategic planning programs POLIS and POLIS XXI, between 2000 and 2013. Their measures generated a strengthening of urban centrality, with historic centre and heritage valorization and an improvement of its connection to the renewed civic centre.

Indeed, this city was one of the POLIS targets, and, among the interventions carried out by this program,

the requalification of the Historic and Civic centres, the restructuring of urban traffic and the creation of new public spaces stand out. These were synergetic operations, attempting to modernise and value the city's environmental and historic heritage, enhancing a centrality faded by former urban expansion processes (Belo and Mingacho, 2014).

In effect, after the Portuguese accession to the European Union in 1986, these territories had suffered a process of expansionist euphoria, in accordance with the national and international trends. In the peripheral territories of a peripheral country, there were many things left to be done, from housing and infrastructures to public facilities.

Therefore, this is an optimistic moment, marked by the possibility of accomplishing the modernization aspirations of less-favoured populations, offering these areas a possibility to counteract the litoralization processes, a dominant tendency in Portugal. The operationalization of urban planning was almost inexistent, as it only assumed a relevant active role from the 1990s, boosting, however, the unbridled, unprecedented growth so distinctive of this period (Belo and Mingacho, 2014).

Nevertheless, it is important to mention that this kind of cities had had previous slow growth processes, with a great lack of equipments and infrastructures. Therefore, the expansion assumes itself as a strong development factor, generating a cluster of economic activities linked to urbanization and construction.

This radical urbanity dream was interrupted in the 21st century, first with the accession to the single currency and then with the 2008 financial crisis, that highlighted the utopian character of the previous period. The model's limits were put in jeopardy, mainly due to the economic and demographic stagnation context, a widespread reality in these regions (Belo and Mingacho, 2014).

In this way, the development possibility of an archetypal metropolization process was interrupted, and the urban fabric remained disperse and incomplete, in what concerns its occupation.

For that reason, even though multiple centres were created in several new neighbourhoods, these were fragile centralities, unable to assure an adequate life support for an urban and environmental cohesion. In this context, there was a huge dispersion of micro-equipments that became inadequate and dysfunctional, regarding the scale of the urban area at stake, implying high maintenance costs for local authorities, which meant added costs and difficulties.

Envisioning the strengthening and concentration of the historic centre, as well as an enhancement of urban mobility in a context of poor public transports and infrastructural networks, associated to the former disjointed and deregulated growth processes, a traffic study was elaborated. It would consider the possibility of creating different street levels, as well as parking areas in the city centre. The eventual needs for public transport were also analyzed in all of the intervention area (Ferreira, 2007).

Awareness campaigns and participative actions were also relevant to this requalification operation. They contributed to a positive change in its dwellers' perception as well as their form of attributing symbolic value to public space, culture and heritage, particularly in the city centre.

The creation of cultural facilities was one of POLIS' main strategic vectors. In addition to Cargaleiro Museum, two interpretation centres and CCCCB (Castelo Branco's Contemporary Culture Centre), public space requalification was also crucial: squares were renewed, green spaces were rearranged and streets repaved.

Once the works were finished, cultural programming, both institutional and spontaneous, took advantage of the new spaces to hold events that allowed the population to re-value and recognize the city centre. It is important to understand the changes, regarding lifestyles and space occupation, that were strongly influenced by this process. To that end, it will be necessary to have a retrospective insight on this aspect.

## 6. THE INFLUENCE OF POLIS IN PUBLIC SPACE OCCUPATION

With the previously described process, there were radical changes in public space occupation. Expansion strategies had privileged suburban areas in the 1980s and 1990s, re-locating services, commerce and leisure in new peripheral neighborhoods. The central areas were then transformed in a functional suburb, exclusively dependent on residual administrative activities and devoid of symbolic value. In both the day and the nighttime, poles of attractivity were located in the periphery, which induced a predominance of car circulation.

When POLIS was concluded, several entrepreneurial and cultural facilities were located in the centre, and pedestrian circulation was favoured, once the points of interest were located within a compact range of action. After the improvement of the urban environment's quality, the promotion of tourism (especially in the cultural sector) became an additional goal. In effect, the influx of tourists is increasing, with a significant weight of Spanish groups, putting in evidence the strengthening of cross-border relationships.

The dynamics created in the city's central area have also motivated the emergence of new commercial activities, bringing the centre of the city to its dwellers and reducing car traffic (Constantino and Camões, 2016). This space has a more permanent occupation throughout the whole day, and the community's perception of it is generally positive.

Therefore, we verify that this strategy has significantly altered the inhabitants's lifestyle and their perception of the city. Local authorities have also had an important role in managing the new cultural, social and economic resources through a balanced urban programming. In this context, the present actions regarding governance must be analyzed.

## 7. GOVERNANCE, PROGRAMMING AND CROSS-BORDER COOPERATION

With regard to governance, there are four categories, according to Hall (2011), based on the forms of government (hierarchical or not) and the actors' relevance (predominantly



private or public]. In the case study, there is a typology of strong public intervention, non-hierarchical, favoring multilevel governance, which corresponds to a *network* model.

With the completion of POLIS, this paradigm was stimulated, and the City Hall subsequently promoted urban programming, with special emphasis on cultural activities. The cultural management supports, for that end, several groups of young creatives and associations. This occurs either by means of ceding public space for events (Constantino and Camões, 2016) or direct funding in exchange for contributions for the institutional cultural agenda.

These associations and groups are also involved in cross-border cultural networks, such as INTERREG or TRIURBIR, that depend on EU programming funds. Other cross-border cooperation programs include entrepreneurial activities in several other sectors, as well as common interests, namely energetic efficiency, environmental protection or heritage (Raposo, 2015).

In this context, the first edition of *Iberencontras* arts festival, in July 2015, held with the support of INTERREG, is a good example of the recent strategies. It dynamized Castelo Branco's urban spaces with installations and works in result of a collaborative between Spanish and Portuguese creatives. This event intends to guarantee the cultural offer's economic sustainability in border cities, committing several cultural agents and promoting cultural tourism in their urban environments (Raposo, 2015).

Thus, we can conclude that the promotion of centrality and competitiveness is nowadays more related to cooperation relationships within urban networks, following the theories of Castells (Muñoz, 2008), than with a specific geographic position or physical proximity.

Nevertheless, place still matters when we consider its symbolic value and public recognition, and the networking process is still at an embryonic state. Indeed, the case study's regeneration, when we consider its immaterial dimensions, has only begun after the conclusion of the physical strategic goals. Even though POLIS XXI's guidelines were already oriented towards innovation, competitiveness and social

cohesion, in practice its financial funding was used to conclude the works envisaged in POLIS.

Yet, in spite of this mismatch, the current strategies and new policy instruments are following its conceptual purposes. As councilor Raposo states,

*[...] the previous time [...] was that of infrastructure creation [...] Now, we are continuing what was made giving ends and purposes to the objectives for which the equipments were built* (Raposo, 2015, p.4).

The requalified central public spaces and new facilities have offered the adequate urban environment for cultural activities, such as thematic festivals or open-air concerts to occur, among other events. However, we can identify several persistent urban problems.

Physical degradation is evident, not only in central areas, but in other parts of the city. In the centre, it is more noticeable, as derelict and vacant buildings are still a reality, in spite of several municipal efforts to acquire and refurbish them, mainly for social housing. In the city centre, namely nightlife noise related conflicts and gypsy community stigmatization. The convergence, in the same space, of different sociocultural spheres, which used to function in parallel circuits generates a tension that will eventually fade over time, with the development of new coexistence habits.

This will only be confirmed in a medium time range, as the evolution of the urban socioeconomic dimensions has just begun. In the meantime, new strategic directions and goals are being envisioned. Thanks to them we may detect several future tendencies, whether in a local or a more ample context.

## 8. NEW GUIDELINES: ENVISIONING CHALLENGES FOR THE NEXT DECADES

Strategic Plan Castelo Branco 2030 was presented by CEDRU – Centro de Estudos e Desenvolvimento Regional e Urbano [Center of Regional and Urban Development Studies, a technical consultancy in the fields of territory, economy, society and culture] in 2015. Its main goals include social cohesion,

mobility and urban environment, culture and urban rehabilitation, as well as the creation of a solid economic basis.

Considering the latter, the sectors of commerce, agrifood and tourism are highlighted. The existing cultural assets (namely cultural facilities created with POLIS and architectural heritage) present themselves as a basis for touristic activities, combined with a regular cultural offer, influencing the creation of a stronger identity that can externally promote the city.

Thus, economic and touristic development are intimately connected with culture, regarding the challenge to promote Castelo Branco as a creative and cultural pole, “attracting talent and reinforcing the conditions to the settlement of young professionals in the areas of artistic, cultural and creative production in multiple areas” (CEDRU, 2015, p.74).

In that framework, the cultural goals established in Castelo Branco 2030 include promoting the fixation of creatives with a new cultural clustering facility (*Arts' Factory*); favoring internationalization and patronage; reinforcing programming capacities and cultural management and articulating the existing academic structures and the municipal cultural facilities.

In this context, there is the intention to interweave the existing cultural equipments and heritage with cultural and artistic activities. To that end, *Caminho das Artes*, a cultural urban route will be defined and implemented, in order to link the several culture-related facilities, thus promoting urban regeneration and cultural tourism in the medium to long term.

Concerning public space requalification and urban rehabilitation, their range of action will extend to expansion neighborhoods, with the creation of new centralities and incentives to private housing refurbishment. There will be also an attempt to improve the connections between the city's several functional zones (CEDRU, 2015).

It is then evident that there is a broadening of the notion of centrality: the polarity between centre and periphery has been abandoned and the urban regeneration logics has

been extended to the whole city. The promotion of competitiveness is now being based on the cultural and creative economy, symbiotically combined with urban marketing. The facility management and cultural programming implemented in the sequence of POLIS' conclusion has indeed imposed itself as fundraising and application tool, simultaneously rising municipal visibility.

All this trends and strategic vectors are related with the general tendencies envisioned in a wider context. A brief insight on the national and international orientations for the next decades will allow us to establish analogies and draw final conclusions on these matters.

## 9. TENDENCIES AND CHALLENGES FOR THE NEXT DECADES

As seen both in a general context and in the case study, in the last decades, city policies developed in Portugal were centered on urban regeneration actions, in line with Anglo-Saxon *urban renaissance* paradigms (Porter and Shaw, 2009). Public space valorization and the creation of cultural equipments were the main priorities, and exceptional territories were privileged, due to their requalification potential.

Underlying these interventions, there was the idea that the improvements in infrastructures and facilities, combined with beautification strategies would possibly attract private real estate investments and new dwellers and catalyze dynamics in the economic fabric.

However, even though a thorough and systematic analysis is mandatory, a quick empirical on-site appreciation suggests that the strategies followed were insufficient to generate such dynamics, namely in the housing sector. The aggravated economic crisis, which led to difficulties in the access to credit, hindered many investments. Nonetheless, the most disappointing results concern the struggle to problems in urban areas at risk of exclusion, which means much remains to be done regarding social cohesion.

According with Salgueiro et al. (2015), there are two other relevant aspects which deserve a more profound reflexion. One

involves urban partnerships and their fragilities, as a more effective mobilization of public and private actors is necessary, with a multisectorial and multilevel consulting in policy measures, so as to reach an integrative urban development.

The second regards a rethinking of the promoted actions, for they must be more feasible in a framework of strong budgetary restrictions, as we are facing a context of crisis which will probably persist throughout the next years (Salgueiro et al., 2015).

In effect, many interventions and programs were interrupted with the deterioration of the Portuguese economic situation, which compromised the coherence and pertinence of urban regeneration strategies. In effect, the case study is an exception in this sense, for in many cases the PDLIS' ambitious intentions and efforts were hindered by shortage of funds. The new context demand that perhaps new lighter intervention forms (even of immaterial character) are prospectively to be adopted.

In the last years, the crisis provoked an unprecedented rise in unemployment rates, and the regressions in public welfare worsened poverty situations and exclusion risks. Apart from the aggravation of the situation of the poor, the impoverishment of the middle class has expanded the poverty footprint in most cities, accentuating social polarization.

Against this background, it is imperative that this should be a main priority in future city policies, redirecting the previous beautification logics to types of intervention more focused in target groups with severe material deprivation and social exclusion, which also reflects in the degradation of buildings (Salgueiro et al., 2015).

In this context, *urban accessibility* (Ascher, 2012) is a priority for urban development, implying that no economic, social, cultural, material or legal obstacle may deprive citizens from the urban potential. The Lefebvrian "right to the city" is therefore connected to the mobility of people and goods, in an attempt to promote equity. Ascher (2012) also proposes incentives to social diversity with residential mixture, in order to avoid segregation and exclusion, thus promoting an equitable use of public space and collective facilities.

Some priority lines have been defined by the European Commission, regarding *Europe 2020*: smart, inclusive and sustainable cities. The existence of an urban agenda implies the recognition of cities as relevant protagonists in european territorial policies, a fact inevitably associated with globalization. In fact, many european cities are simultaneously located in a worldwide sphere without abandoning their ties to territorial proximity. Therefore, they correspond to what Swyngedouw (2004) designates as 'glocalization'.

At present, the main problems we may identify in european cities are employment, sociospatial fragmentation, lack of urban models and impoverished areas. In this framework, Balducci et al. (2004) identifies, as two crucial goals:

- (a) the support of horizontal and vertical cooperation initiatives, so as to support the political and functional role of cities;
- (b) the recognition of cities as networks of centres of different dimensions.

In fact, this largely concerns the balance of multiscale power between the State, regions and cities (Balducci et al., 2004).

In the period 2014–2020, european cities will benefit from EU's regional politics, namely:

- Urban areas will be able to have access to different investment priorities that FEDER contemplates. This will enable more opportunities in the areas of sustainable urban mobility, physical, economic and social regeneration of less favoured communities and innovation and investigation capacities;
- An urban development network will guide the application of funds and promote the exchange of experiences in the cities involved in innovative actions;
- URBACT will be more results-oriented, incorporating a reference billboard for sustainable cities and promoting integrative urban development.

Moreover, community regulations will provide an assembly of policy instruments that aim to amplify and consolidate the path of a better partnership between actors and the coordination of measures. In this context, it is important to refer the decision to broaden the experience of community-based local development (Salgueiro et al., 2015).

This kind of guidelines seem to undoubtedly meet the study case's needs. It is also evident that, envisioning a balanced growth, the recent planning policy guidelines seem to meet the challenges of the present and the future, contemplating an integrated intervention philosophy for the city, as well as a multisectorial perspective.

#### CONCLUDING NOTE

Regarding the new immaterial accomplishments, cross-border cooperation, touristic promotion and the enhancement of urban identity and social capital, with an emphasis on culture and creativity, emerge as key priorities.

However, as Ascher (2009), states, the creative class and its seduction potential will not suffice to generate a territory's attraction abilities. It might be able to generate employment and has an important multiplier effect, especially concerning services. It is relevant, nevertheless, to consider non-relocatable sectors and resources as what effectively is able to generate wealth and catalyze dynamics through time. This includes, for example, a specific agricultural production or other direct productive resources linked to a specific area, that contribute to what Ascher calls "the regional effect", something that has great impact on an open market context, as it offers protection guarantees against competition (Ascher, 2012).

Moreover, *territorial cohesion*, the third pillar of the European cohesion policies is also a future challenge, as it has significant implications on the quality of life in urban territories. For that end, the coordination between sectorial, geographical and time resources is mandatory, as well as it is avoiding the *one-size-fits-all* types of policies (Vale and Queirós, 2015). As Farinós (2008) states, each region must be able to find its position in the European territory and its intrinsic development potential.

In the last years, urban programming has gained prominence in Castelo Branco, particularly concerning the cultural sector, related to the existing facilities provided by POLIS' regeneration processes in the historic and civic centres. A strong economic basis, connected with cross-border cooperation and culture is being launched through the recent planning policies' instruments (namely Castelo Branco 2030), generating new attractivity factors.

However, it is important to relate the completion of POLIS and POLIS XXI with the context of crisis that has been felt since the late 2000s. Regardless of the great optimistic expectations of the late 1990s, when EXPO 98 and POLIS were launched, the late 2000s' crisis context has progressively lowered them. In this way, however successful POLIS might have been in Castelo Branco, due to the management efforts by local authorities and the channelling of POLIS XXI's funds to achieve the first program's goals, concluding all the works in progress, the outcome fell short of the early aspirations, as the economic conjuncture had changed.

Therefore, even though the strategy was successful in a general scope, many buildings remain derelict and vacant. The fight against social exclusion and the creation of employment remain important challenges. Indeed, the socio-economic regeneration of the city is still at an early stage, and its evolution will only be evident in the long term, as it will never solely depend of strategies, programs and policies planned in advance. Even though we are reflecting over a specific local reality, its analysis implies (fore) seeing in a wider context. Consequently, future insights on this reality will include a multiscale and global approach, so the the local strategic positioning can always be correctly contextualized.

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## **Bringing the City to the People. Urban and Territorial Regeneration Challenges in the Outskirts of Guimarães**

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**ABSTRACT**

This paper aims to contribute with a new commitment to the concept of urban regeneration, which assumes diffuse/transgenic territories as new forms of city life, using the continuous (sub)urbanization we find in the outskirts of Guimarães as case study.

Along the national roads N101, N105, N206 and N207 a set of clusters have emerged, slowly, linearly and apparently disconnected, establishing a set of extensions of the urban core. We believe that these are not mere links between different cities; they prolong urban life outside the recognizable limit of the urban form, although their appearance does not present itself according to the mental image we associate to a city.

Therefore, we propose that the concept of urban regeneration should be applied to these territories, but it should be considered with a particular approach, different from traditional solutions: little improvements in the basic structure of these axes can help to bring the city to the people instead of bringing the people to the city.

**KEYWORDS**

Guimarães; Territory; Urban; Suburban; Transgenic

**1. FORM**

Western civilization has a tradition of more than two thousand years thinking the city as form; in *De Architectura Libri Decem*, Vitruvius (33–14 BC) already applied to the city the same principles advocated for architecture: Venustas, Firmitas and Utilitas.

Since the fifteenth century, the classical treaties on architecture applied these principles of beauty, constructive stability and usefulness in search for an ideal city, expressed as an ideal form; it is the result of a plan, which establishes the limits and the structure of the urban spaces.

The importance of form, defined by limit and structure is evident in the plan for the ideal city of *Sforzinda*, designed by Antonio Averlino, known as Filarete, in his *Trattato d'Architettura* (1461–4); this is one of the first proposals of Renaissance urban design, and can be read as an attempt to geometrize the traditional form of the medieval town: his drawing overlaps two squares to create a regular star with its eight vertices (which defines the wall), enclosed in a circle (the moat), crossed by eight concentric streets that start from a central square and pierce the wall in its eight doors, protected by eight towers.

This idea of geometric and centralized design can be related to an anthropomorphic concept of composition presented by Vitruvius (illustrated by the famous 1490 drawing from Leonardo Da Vinci, "The Vitruvian Man"), which can also be found in most of the architecture treaties written in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, such as *I quattro primi libri di Architettura*, by Pietro Cataneo (1554) or *L'Idée dell'Architettura Universal* by Vincenzo Scamozzi, often related to the planning of Palmanova, an Italian town founded in 1593 [Morris, 1979, pp.186–194].

Throughout the centuries, with the pacification of the European territories (which made the walls useless) and the industrial revolution, the uncontrolled growth of some cities shifted the focus of attention from the center to the periphery.

This shift implies that the form of the urban spaces has to be considered in a different way: it is the structure (radi-



al, linear or defined by a grid] that defines an abstract idea of form, since it defines the rule to an expansion that can be continued outside the limits of the original plan. In the mid-nineteenth century, two paradigmatic interventions emerge in Europe, simultaneously: while in Paris Haussmann defines a new structure for the existing city, in Barcelona the Grid of Cerdà allows an almost unlimited growth of the city [Benevolo, 2001, pp.589–608].

But in most European cities, the urban form outgrew the existing plans; beyond the traditional dichotomy city/country (in which the definition of each concept can be done in opposition to the other) a third reality emerges threatening the definition of urbanity as form: the suburbs.

Reacting to this new circumstance, the disciplinary discourse of the twentieth century continued to propose alternative solutions in form, structure and functional management, applicable to cities and their expansion areas: the Linear City [Soria y Mata, 1882], the Garden City [Ebenezer Howard, 1898], la Ville Radieuse [Corbusier, 1933], Broadacre City [Frank Lloyd Wright, 1931–5], etc.

But despite all these new ideas, suburban areas continued to grow uncontrollably in most European cities; and even if, in some cases, we could identify the presence of a more or less recognizable structure, suburbs tend to lose density as they grow away from the urban center. The lack of a clear boundary leads to a gradual dilution of the urban form in the [ancient] rural areas.

These complex interconnections between country, city and suburb imply that the city can no longer be mainly defined in terms of form.

The Linear City was proposed by the Spanish road engineer Soria y Mata and never fully realized; the only experience based directly on his ideas was constructed in the outskirts of Madrid, by the “Compania Madrileña de Urbanization” – but only a small part of the 55 km plan projected by Soria y Mata was accomplished. It represented the opposite of the traditional concentric idea of urban space: “a single street, of [...] the length that may be necessary” [Frampton, 1985, pp.27–8], designed to link two preexistent cities. It was or-

ganized along the tracks of the railroad, with a central axe that incorporated the mechanic transportation (and all the infrastructures) and provided access to both housing and industry [Giedion, 1941, p.809].

Although the principles of the linear city suggest the natural development of the urban sprawl, it was not considered as an effective solution; neither in the Soria y Mata approach nor in the version of the Russian disurbanists (for example, see Ivan Leonidov’s plan for Magnitogorsk, in 1930), which anticipated most of the schemes that Corbusier (and the ASCORAL group) presented in “Les Trois Établissements Humains” (1945), proposing the same territorial layout with a different type of housing. Corbusier also proposed a linear form in his Plan for the City of Algiers (never implemented), where “an expressway running at a height of 100 m [...] will be supported on a concrete structure [...] which will contain housing for 180.000 people” [Boesiger, 1972, p.174].

In the 60s, the idea of the Metabolist city expressed by Kenzo Tange in his plan for the Tokyo Bay (1960) presented a new approach to the concept of the linear city.

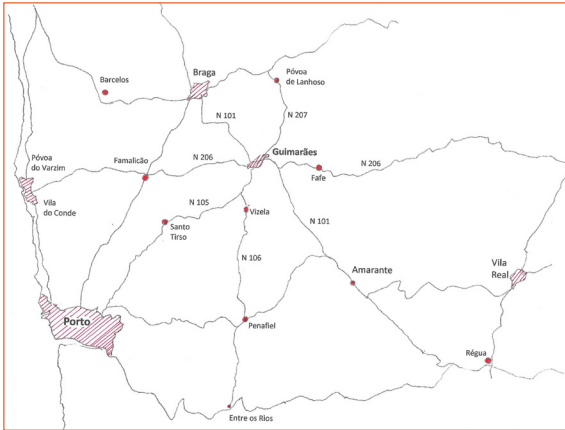
The metabolists believed that design and technology should express human vitality and the architect or urban planner should foster the metabolic development of society [Kurokawa, 1977, p.691].

In the Tokyo Bay plan, Tange justifies his linear approach with an analogy between the growth process of an organic body and the urban sprawl of a city.

In the initial development phase a city, like an egg, must have a central core; but later, in a natural process, the core developed into a spine and breaks the egg shell. The spine becomes an essential element to the city, as it does to vertebrate animals: it is an important element in the nervous system, responsible for transmitting nerve signals loaded with information that make the connection between the brain (the political center) and the rest of the body [Ferreira, 2016, p.37–38].

This metabolic approach interests us, because it provides a model for understanding the reality of the territory of the outskirts of Guimarães; but in the valley of the river Ave we

can't speak of a unique spine emerging from the egg: we have the road N101 to the northwest (from Guimarães to Braga) and to the southeast (to Amarante), the N105 to the southwest (Santo Tirso), the N206 to the west (Famalicão) and to the east (Fafe), and the N207 to the north (Póvoa de Lanhoso).



**Fig. 1.** Schematic map of the northwest of Portugal, showing the ancient connections between Guimarães and the surrounding cities.

Source: Drawing by Eduardo Fernandes, based on Távora (1982).

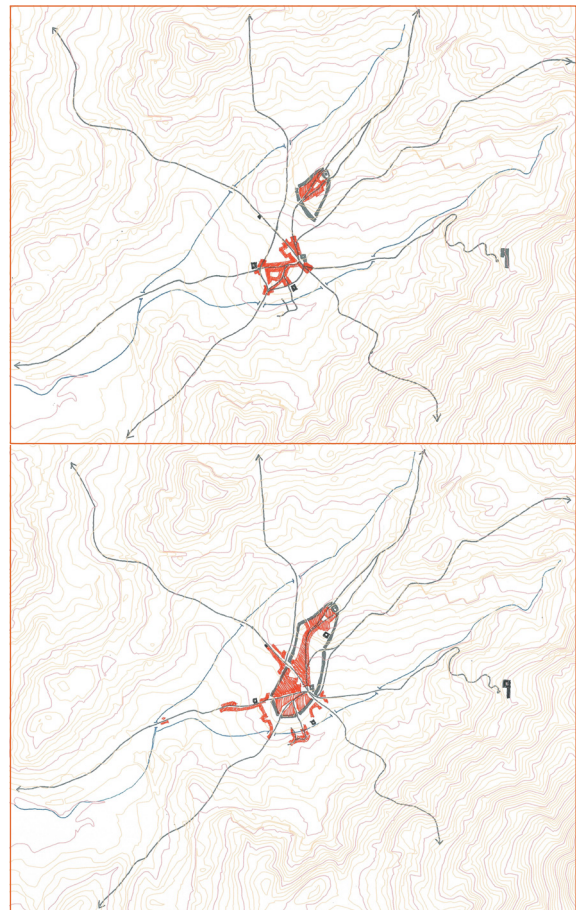
In each one of these axes a set of clusters have emerged, slowly, linearly and (apparently) disconnected, establishing a set of extensions of the urban core. These are not mere links between different cities, they prolong urban life outside the recognizable limit of the urban form. Like the tentacles of an octopus, they are part of the same body, but assume a different shape.

## 2. GROWTH

In Guimarães, the form of the city is easily recognizable since the fourteenth century: the design of the medieval wall that unified both the initial urban nucleus ("Vila Alta" and "Vila Baixa" – Upper and Lower Town) established a clear differentiation between the defined shape of the enclosed within and the outskirts, organized in a much less defined way. Even after the partial demolition of this wall, the ancient layout is still very clear and designs the form of the old town.

Inside and outside the walls, the territory was organized by the main roads.

The Upper Town's urbanization was organized along the Castle Street ("rua do Castelo") and Infesta Street ("rua de Infesta"), connecting the city to the north, by roads leading to Póvoa de Lanhoso and Chaves. This nucleus was linked by St. Mary Street ("rua de Santa Maria") to the monastery of Nossa Senhora da Oliveira, in the center of the Lower Town, joining with the crossroads that connect Braga (in the northwest) to Amarante (in the southeast) with the road to Vila do Conde (to the west) and the track to the south, in direction to Santo Tirso and Porto (Fernandes and Jorge, 2011, p.17–19).



**Fig. 2.** Schemes of the medieval nucleus of Guimarães before and after the construction of the second wall.

Source: Drawings by Eduardo Fernandes, based on Afonso and Ferrão (2002) and Távora (1982).

Outside the recognizable limits of the wall, urban growth began in the Middle Ages (Afonso and Ferrão, 2002), along

these paths that started inside the city and continued, through the doors of the wall, heading for the nearest towns.

Over the centuries, the urban form began to outgrow the limits of the ancient wall.



**Fig. 3.** Scheme of the 1982 Plan of Guimarães, by Fernando Távora.

Source: Drawing by Eduardo Fernandes, based on Távora [1982].

In the end of the twentieth century, the General Plan of Urbanization designed by Fernando Távora (1979–82) sets new limits to the consolidated city with a clear border: the half-ring of the new Freeway sets the boundaries in the southwest, west and north; to the south and east the city growth is naturally limited by the topography [the Penha mountain is a natural barrier that complements the design of the highway].

The new limits are clearly noticeable for those traveling on this new route: on one side there is the city, on the other is a rural landscape; the exception happens only on the nodes of the highway, new doors through which the old roads can cross the new wall and continue its route.

In the region of the River Ave valley, outside the new city limits, new questions arise, very different from the ones that concern the old city. Although the use of this ancient rural territory is also secular, it has undergone transformation processes in the last forty years that profoundly changed its image, dynamics and identity.

This rapid development has created a reality, in which the rural identity is lost but not yet replaced; a reality where

a hidden identity is still under construction, but is still too young to present a clear image or to be defined by a precise word.

### 3. NAME

'Images' and 'words' are forms of communication that allow a common definition of a particular object, providing the possibility of sharing ideas from different individuals on the same reality.

It is a way to catalog and organize the complex world around us, making it simpler to the perception of the human being.

However, as words are related to a pre-designed image of reality, sometimes the object does not comply with the lexicon of the predefined language.

The outskirts of Guimarães are an example of a new reality that does not fit the existent vocabulary:

*[...] neither city nor countryside, neither urban nor rural...  
[...] the first question is to find an encoding, a word [...] to identify any assignable identity that can be shared. The most common approach is to see here a 'non-thing.' [...] an identity built in the negative, without qualities, repeatedly referencing the list of malfunctions, deviations and losses.*  
(Domingues, 2008, p.27)

In the past, these roads (N101, N105, N206 and N207) were limited to connect cities, but nowadays they are the anchors of the transgenic process that has created this diffuse territory, where the city genes are slowly invading the countryside, in a constant cycle of mutation.

Facing this new form of habitat, new questions arise. For urbanists and decision makers, to act in this territory is a difficult task, because the same old solutions can't be used in a completely new problem.

When acting on these roads, even if we are aware of their peculiar characteristics, the temptation is to still consider them under the concept of countryside (a non-urban real-

ity). So, the inability to understand these territories leads to the temptation of doing nothing, abandoning these realities to their own impulses of change.

To outdo the passive posture towards these new landscapes, Álvaro Domingues (2008) proposes the designation 'transgenic', implying its formation through mutation processes between the qualities of the city and the countryside.

If we assume that both city and countryside are defined by several properties which we can designate as 'genes' (components of a characteristic 'gene string'), when we introduce a city 'gene' (collective housing, for example) into a landscape with 'rural' genetic background, we have a process of transgenesis (Teixeira, 2014). Because the number of combinations is almost infinite, the plurality of morphological results creates a set of images so diverse that the whole seems chaotic, with no apparent rules, no limits...

However, 'transgenic' is a quality, not a noun.

To name it, we must try to understand this transgenic territory.

We know what it is not: not a road, not a street, not a city, not countryside, not urban, not rural, not industry, and much less can it be called 'nature'.

However, it is not 'nothing'.

The term 'nothing' presupposes an absence, and the 'thing' exists: it appears to be a little of everything, mutated into something new. On these national roads, an identity is being built over time by its population; the character of a 'passing through' space was gradually cloaked by the present use, emphasized by the desire for attention of some of the inhabitants.

The term 'diffuse' (Portas, 2009) is appropriate to define this new reality, but still doesn't imply a new direction to practical action on this territory. It assumes the process of transgenesis, but does not offer a principle of identity or an organization rule. However, the word 'diffuse' suggests the main dif-

ficulty in defining this territory, where the genes of the city and the rural are mixed: it has no recognizable urban form.

And, yet, it is urban.

#### 4. URBANITY

It may seem odd to call 'urban' these (apparently) suburban (or rural) territories of the valley of the river Ave, organized along the national roads, with linear expansions that articulate the urban centers of this region.

If we assume that cities are defined by the built physical reality (streets, squares, buildings, etc.) and therefore should be understood, analyzed and classified by their form, the continuous (sub)urbanization we find along the N101, the N105, the N207 or the N206 is far from the mental image we associate to this concept.

But we believe that cities are also defined by people, and that is mainly in the way people interact that a territory can be more or less urban (Jacobs, 1961; Cullen, 1961; Rossi, 1966; Gehl, 2011).

After all, what defines urbanity, for common people, is not the shape of the urban tissue, or the administrative division of the territory. Traditionally, we call city (our city) to the set of places that meet the practical needs of our everyday life (supply, consumption, employment, security, mobility, housing, sports, education, leisure, culture, etc.) and, simultaneously, allow us a social identification, an identity (Fernandes, 2003).

Today, this identification is done in a network of more or less fragile links that indicate different relationships: kinship, exchanges, authority, representation...

In the case of Guimarães, about fifty thousand people live in the ten most central parishes (those that will be consensually considered urban), while more than one hundred thousand live in the remaining territories of the county (INE, 2011).

These one hundred thousand inhabitants are scattered in a seemingly chaotic manner.

However, studying the evolution of the territory, it is possible to realize that the apparent randomness is structured: first, by the main connections between cities (the aforementioned N101, N105, N207 and N206, old roads that today have the character of an urban street), then by the pathways that connect those roads to smaller urban clusters and finally by a networked of smaller paths, forming a web that is constantly sprawling through the urbanization of old farmhouses properties (Brandão, 2014).

But this structure is not only composed by housing. This region is not the dormitory of the cities that surround it; on the contrary, it articulates a persistent connection to agriculture (inside this network there are considerable areas where we can still find a rural character), with industrial activities of various scales (widely spread along the territory) and a very representative incidence of commercial and service facilities.

Each of the sectors (of undefined limits) of this territory is fairly autonomous from the nearby cities. For many of these hundred thousand inhabitants, the interactions of the day-to-day are made within these diffuse areas. So, can we consider this territory their urban reality?

Yes, we believe it is a city, but still a very young one; we propose to call it 'emergent city'.

## 5. NETWORK

The exponential increase in the speed of the evolution of the world that surrounds us tends to influence an acceleration of change in our lives: we move to another city or country to study, to find a job, to change jobs (or because our job was dislocated); we change our house because we married, had children, divorced, got married again; or because we have more money, or less (we can no longer afford the loan); or because it seems like a good deal; or just because we suddenly felt we need to change something in our life...

Our connection to the territory is ephemeral; we do not stabilize the relationship with the places where we live long enough to grow roots, to establish ties, to feel an

identification. At the same time, from our home we can connect virtually to anywhere in the world, which also contributes to weaken the real relationship to where we are (Fernandes, 2015, p.53). So, the spaces where we spend our everyday life can no longer be restricted to a distinguishable area. It is a network system, constantly changing, which articulates different points, more or less close, more or less virtual.

From the city that represents our identity reference, we preserve the name, which still magnetizes the memories even if we no longer feel the need to go there... (Calvino, 1990, p.127).

The territories of the Ave valley work in a network: but it is not just a physical network of roads and paths, it is also a complex network of human activities that respond to the requirements of a very rich urban system, when analyzed in conjunction with the cities that it articulates and complements (Teixeira, 2014). Analyzed separately, this system is incomplete, but so are the cities in its vicinity.

But they should not be considered separately, because they form a whole, like the head and the tentacles of an octopus.

## 6. PROPOSALS

This new transgenic reality that we call emergent city is often considered negatively and interpreted as a chaotic territory which, apparently, does not follow any rules. However, what distinguishes it from the traditional urban forms is, precisely, the particular set of rules it possesses (Portas, 1986).

Although it has been a case study for urbanists, architects and politicians in the last forty years, the actual planning of these territories was not effective.

Although these new landscapes cannot be recognized as rural in the traditional sense, its characteristics do not allow them to be understood as cities, also. So, the implementation of the traditional regulations and strategies to this new reality is not adequate to its peculiar character.

We need to improve the study of this emergent city, to better understand its mechanisms and necessities and to be able to define new and appropriated tools to intervene.

A city is "as an architectonic work, [...] a construction in space, but it's a construction of large scale, something only perceptible through long periods of time" (Lynch, 2011, p.9).

So, as with every city type, the basic ingredient in the construction of transgenic cities is time.

These are emergent cities – cities yet to come –, whose identity is being shaped by diverse mutations through time, by multiple social dynamics and new appropriation processes. Its form is not yet defined nor its final definition entirely certain; therefore, incertitude is the main tool we have to work with. So, global regeneration plans for these territories should be structured by two key words: versatility and immateriality.

Versatility because the evolution of transgenic territories is controlled by rules we don't fully understand at the moment; thus, each global proposal should assume multiple possible results, instead of imposing itself to the natural mutation course.

Immateriality because, in such a large territorial scale, the best approach are solutions that don't imply a predefined image as a desired result.

The proposals presented on this paper, in the following subchapters (Sidewalks, Transportation, Public equipment, Culture) are not global solutions, but small and precise interventions that could improve the life in these emergent cities, providing better conditions to its inhabitants.

They are based on the analysis of the necessities of these spaces, considering the essential elements of urban life:

*Libraries have been written about why humans ever built cities in the first place, but most historians agree that for the last eight thousand years, cities have been shaped by seven purposes: industry, governance, commerce, safety, culture, companionship, religion* (Garreau, 1991, p. 6).

## 6.1. Sidewalks

In these territories, the question of security does not reside in the usual aspects that we tend to consider in urban life. This is a territory where crime in the public space is not a concern neither to the municipality nor to the population. In the outskirts of Guimarães, we can still find private houses where the front door is always open, and is only locked at night.

When we walk the road, we sense no traces of violence, robbery or vandalism, but there is a great danger: the traffic of motor vehicles.

Since the national roads were initially only considered as links between cities, they are designed for cars and not to serve the pedestrians. Although the speed limits in most parts of the roads are low (50 Km/h), the width of the lanes invites the drivers to move faster. On the other hand, there are no sidewalks in vast areas of the road, and the ones that exist are very narrow (no more than sixty centimeters).

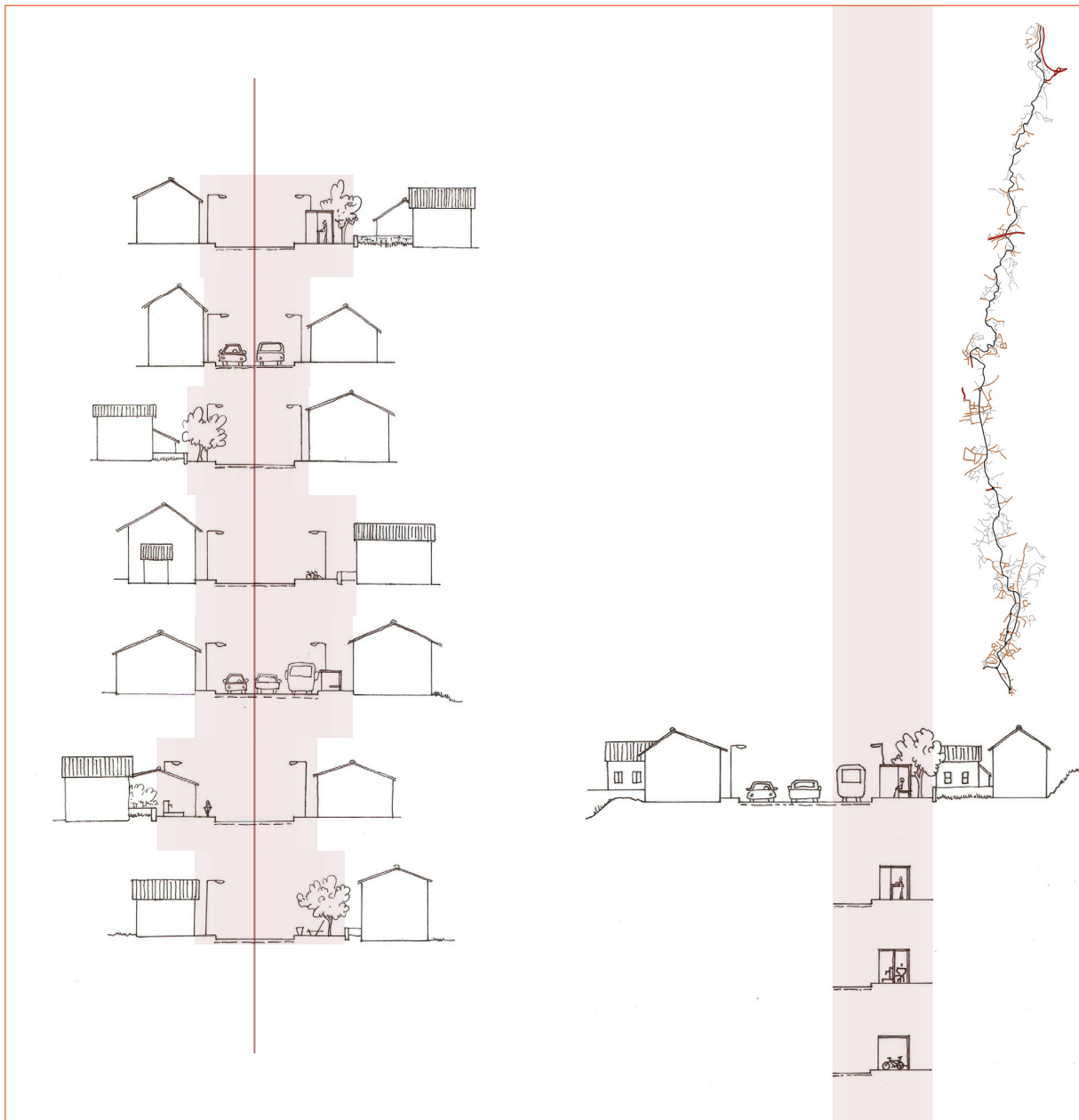
However, although these axes present the form of a road, today it functions like a city street; every day, when we drive along the N101, the N105, the N206 or the N207, we find men, women and children walking along the side of the road.

It is vital, for the security of these streets, to build sidewalks; they should be large enough to permit two pedestrians to cross, or walk side by side. By doing this, we will also narrow the traffic lanes, reducing the potential speed of the cars and increasing the security of the pedestrians.

## 6.2. Transportation

It's important to find a way to improve mobility in these territories. Today, we have a public transportation system based on a fleet of large buses, in a low frequency timetable; as the full capacity of the buses is never used, tickets are expensive.

Therefore, to improve mobility, we should consider the use of smaller buses, in larger number, to improve the service. With smaller buses, its full capacity would certain-



**Fig. 4. Sidewalks, transportation and public equipment.**

Source: Drawings by Carolina Teixeira.

ly be achieved more often and tickets would be cheaper. Since it would be less expensive to travel, and the buses more frequent, people would use this public transportation more often, instead of the private car. Then, traveling in the transgenic city would be easier and nicer for everybody: cars, buses and pedestrians.

### 6.3. Public equipment

The mixture of agriculture, industrial activity, commercial and service facilities, along a territory largely occupied with low density housing allows a proximity between the inhabitants and a large amount of potential employment that diminishes the necessity of private car traffic.

With adequate sidewalks, the national roads could be agreeable to pedestrian use; if the traffic lanes included a bicycle path, this mode of transportation would also be an interesting alternative.

With low economic investment, some very simple artifacts could be introduced along the streets: garbage cans, trees, bicycle parking, water fountains and benches.

Covered bus stops should also be provided, designed as a multifunctional unit which aggregates all the aforementioned equipment; it could even include small commercial areas and public bathrooms. These commercial facilities could be offered to local farmers, allowing agricultural products to be sold directly from the producer.

All this public equipment, properly organized along the sidewalk, would change the character of the road, which would become a real urban street, more adequate and enjoyable to pedestrians.

#### 6.4. Culture

When we think of these spaces as an emergent city, we should consider the lack of cultural events and initiatives a problem, due to the lack of cultural structures.

To improve the cultural interactivity, simple and light structures could be introduced in empty spaces – those so called ‘leftover spaces’ – or in unused fields.

If we remember the Archigram Studies for the Instant City (1969), it becomes clear that cultural events can happen in low cost ephemeral structures: outside cinemas, exhibitions, workshops, fairs, etc. Recently, the proliferation of music festivals that happen in the summer, all over Portugal, demonstrates how this type of instant city can easily be assembled and dismantled.

The creation of an adequate public transportation system, complemented with adequate sidewalks and public equipment would bring more people to the streets, providing public for the cultural events.

#### 7. MANIFESTO

All the proposals presented in the last chapter are quite realistic and could be realized with little cost. But, in the end of this paper, we felt we should present an utopian proposal.

The term “Utopia” is used here considering the seven “discriminatory features” presented by Françoise Choay in her famous definition (Choay, 2007, p.44); so, the images presented in the figures 5 and 6 do not represent a concrete territory, but a space-time abstraction based on the territories we are studying.

This idea of a suspended monorail, connecting the cities of the River Ave valley, although impossible to realize due to the economic reality of the country and the region, is useful as a manifesto, to present a strong image of transport efficiency, a fast public transportation system sustained by pillars, with little interfering in the morphology of the landscape.

Nowadays, we can see this system implemented in China and Japan, serving, simultaneously the concentrated city and the rural areas, providing an efficient and low cost solution of mobility.

If we considered the possibility of using the monorail as a complement in the mobility system of national roads, its structure would have great potential to aggregate the other solutions we propose for these territories. The path of the pillars could organize an alternative sidewalk, crossing the fields and joining the road from time to time.

This path could be designed as a continuous infrastructure of electricity, gas, water underground, providing these territories with the essential tools to improve security and comfort.

Being utopian, this proposal is intended as a manifest: not only to reinforce the idea of the necessity of the transformation of these territories but also, mainly, to propose an image of unity to this emergent city. Because this image of unity, which today lies unseen underneath the complex organization of this territory, is necessary to its future, so it can be understood and managed as an urban space.

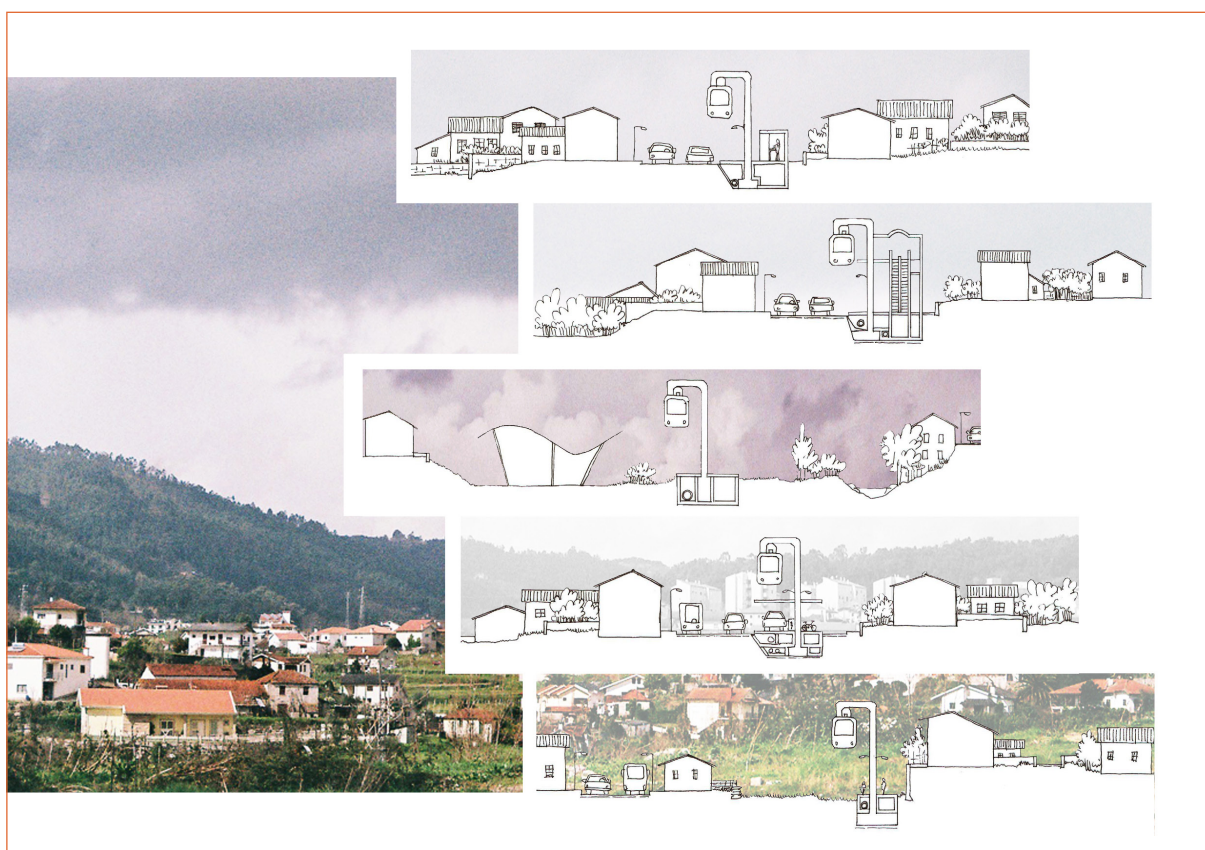


## 8. CONCLUSION

When we speak of urban regeneration, generally we talk about traditional cities, where the concept of urbanity can be easily applied. However, city and country, urban and rural, are no longer clear dichotomies, although these concepts still prevail in urbanism speeches and territorial policies.

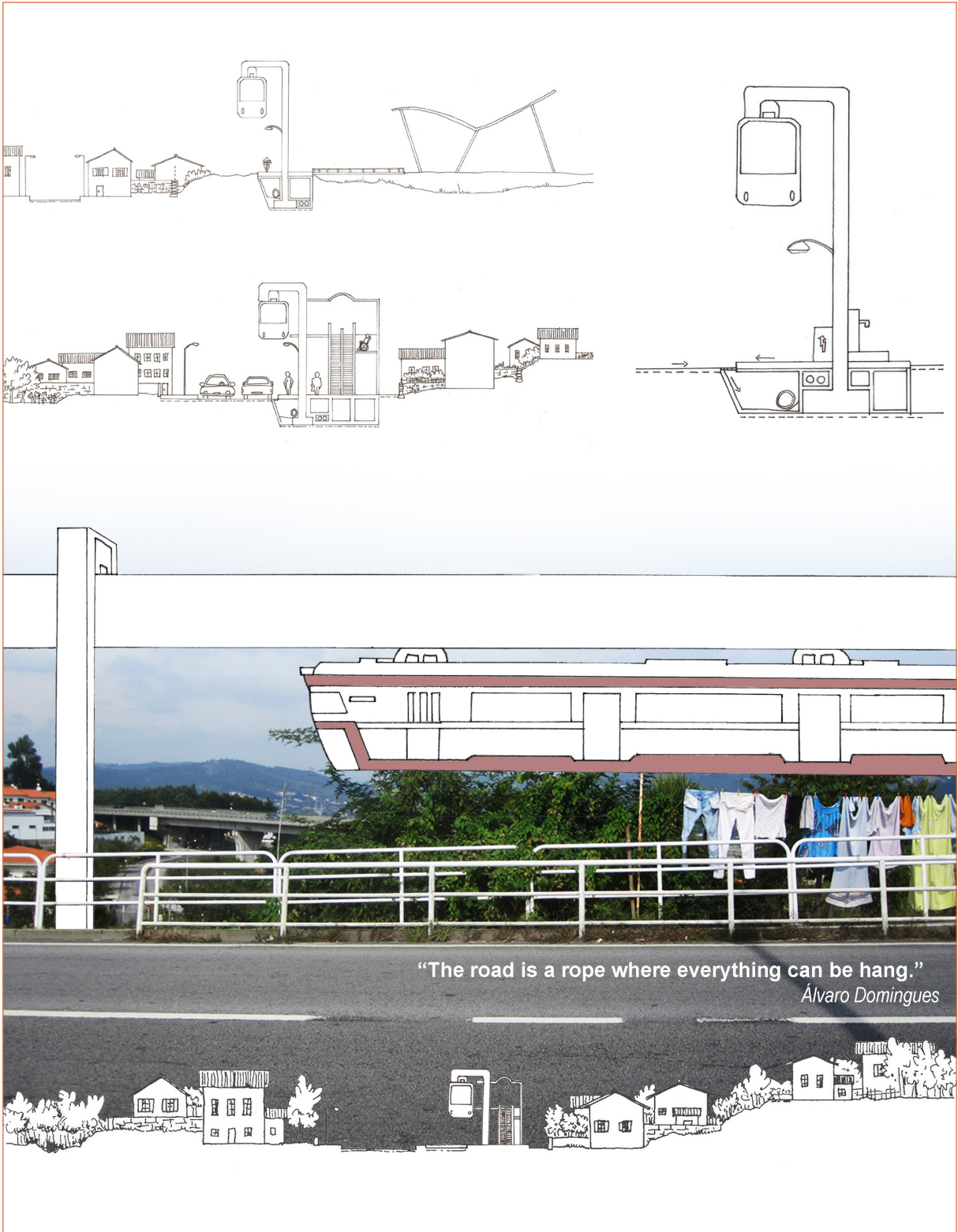
Thus, regeneration plans should not limit its concerns to the cities in its traditional sense.

The goal of this paper is to consider and reinforce the urbanity of the emergent cities which are being born along the national roads that expand the urban core of Guimarães: little improvements in the basic structure of these axes can help to bring the city to the people, instead of bringing the people to the city.



**Fig. 5.** Manifesto: the suspended monorail.

Source: Photo, drawings and collage by Carolina Teixeira.



**Fig. 6.** Manifesto: the suspended monorail.

Source: Photo, drawings and collage by Carolina Teixeira.

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# Regeneration of Vloa Waterfront Promenade

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### ABSTRACT

This paper's focus is the regeneration of the urban waterfront promenade, strengthening its role in the resolution of specific seaside cities' spatial and economic problematic. It is a descriptive and analytical study of the winner proposal for Vloa waterfront promenade, which aims to turn the city into a significant urban coastal area for regional recreation and tourism. It also strives to rely on a theoretical background on waterfront space redesigning, based on the European experiences in urban waterfront redevelopment and on the potential of their regeneration, as an instrument of economic development.

It concludes that since the waterfront redevelopment scheme is a complex, multi-actor and long-term program that has to cope with changing economic and political conditions, the planners should be very cautious of adopting elements of successful international examples, for reasons of uniqueness of local environmental, physical, economic and political preconditions.

### KEYWORDS

Promenade; Waterfront Regeneration; Urban Development; Public Private Partnership

## 1. INTRODUCTION

The second largest port city of Albania, Vlorë<sup>1</sup>, is positioned in a strategic location of south-western Albania, right where two seas, Adriatic and Ionian, meet. Considered as the jewel of Albanian Tourist places, Vlorë is the portal of Albanian Riviera<sup>2</sup>. The city, surrounded by gardens, vineyards, and olive groves, giving the real southern Mediterranean sensation, stands in front of Karaburun Peninsula, 130 km from Salento's coasts, in proximity to the port of Bari, Italy (Hutchins, 1974, p.474). Its Bay is strategically located in the axis of Sazan Island, near diverse sandy and rocky beaches and mountains of a scenic beauty. It is part of "Corridor 8", imminent to the Adriatic-Ionian Highway and has a direct exchange with SH8 Highway. Vlorë is located in a flat, saline land, partially covered by "Soda" pine forest. The economic development is based in different activities like industrial, processing, commercial, goods storage, light industry, electronics, auto parts manufacturing and port related ones (TEDA, 2015).

In ancient times, Aulón was born as a port, being at the same time famous for the trees it cultivated. It became an important waypoint between Apollonia and Butrint during the 4<sup>th</sup> century A.D., being mentioned progressively as a landing port for ships of goods, coming from Otranto and Brindisi. The city was an important port of the Roman Empire, during the period of Epirus Nova. It became an Episcopal center on the 5<sup>th</sup> century (Farlati and Coleti, 1817).

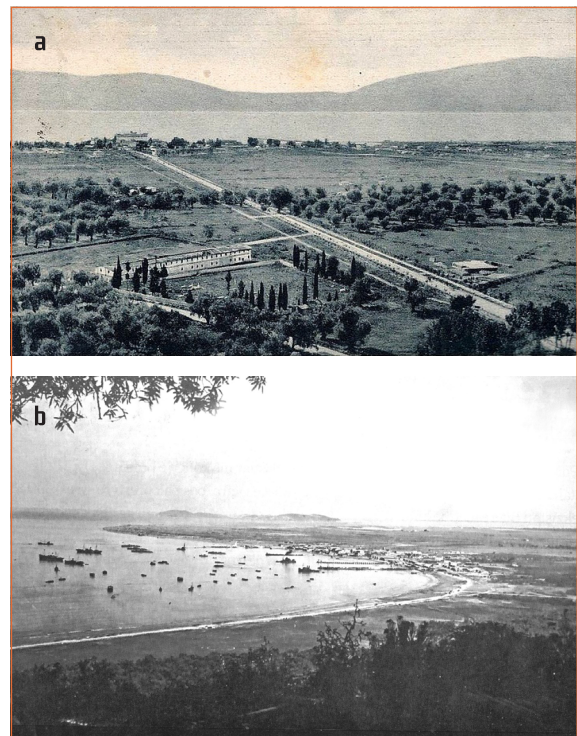
During the Middle Ages, the city was merged with Kanina fortress. Whereas during the 14<sup>th</sup> century, it became a substantial trading and handicraft center acknowledged for wines, salt, swords, ships, and silk. After the Turkish invasion<sup>3</sup>, Vlorë regained its status as an important economic center and port by the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries (Vlorë Municipality, 2015).

<sup>1</sup> It was created in antiquity as a Greek colony in the territory of Illyria. Its first name was Aulón (Wikipedia, 2015). Italian Valona (Room, 2005).

<sup>2</sup> Traveling in Albania, Tourism, Vlorë. [online] Available: [http://www.infoalb.net/02conavstivit/con\\_vlorë.html](http://www.infoalb.net/02conavstivit/con_vlorë.html) (10/11/2015).

<sup>3</sup> 1417.

However, during the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century the city was only an intern urban center linked to the trade harbor (Skela) by a road exceeding through the fields. The harbor was connected with the salt production sites of Panaja by different railway tracks, vanished nowadays. These facts show that the city of Vlorë was not faced to the sea since the beginning (Fig.1.a, b).



**Fig. 1. (a) Road of 'Skela' (b) Seaside and the harbor of Vlorë.**

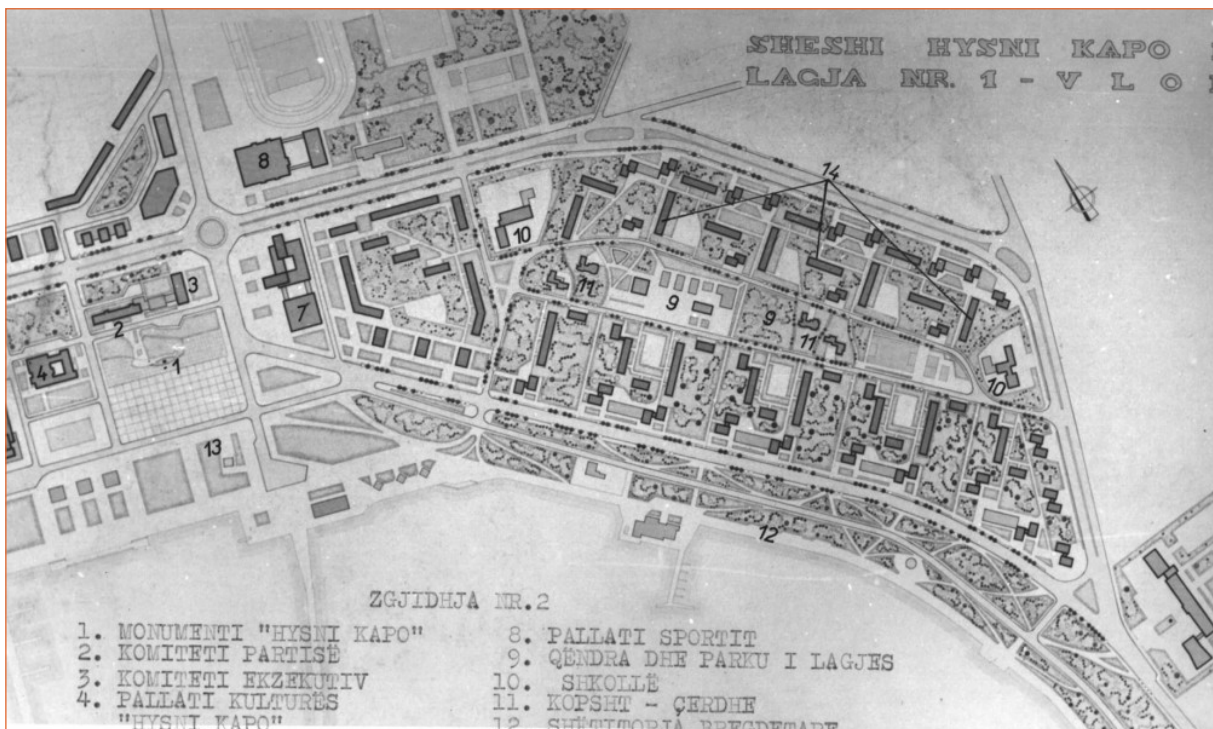
Source: Private postcards

After the Italian occupation, in 1939, Italian architects reviewed and designed many urban plans of Albanian cities. Gerardo Bosio and Ferdinando Poggi, in 1941, have designed the regulatory plan of Vlorë (Vokshi, 2014, p. 268) to be an extensive city facing the sea front and connecting with the historic city (Fig.2). Regulatory Plan of Vlorë includes the road network and construction areas throughout the space from the existing city to the "Uji i Ftohtë". In this area it was foreseen urban space with a capacity of 40.000 people, with the multi-storey residential buildings, with a rectangular road network and developed infrastructure. Also, the study provides the construction of new harbor and some quays along the bay of Vlorë, which would have a mainly tourist functions.



**Fig. 2.** Vlorë Regulatory Plan of 1941 [G. Bosio and F. Poggi].

Source: AQTN



**Fig. 3.** The regulatory plan of Center and "Lagja Nr. 1", 1973.

Source: AQTN

During the communism period, the seafront took its shape with the growth process of "Skela" quarter so called "Lagja Nr. 1" and beach resorts in "Old Beach", especially in the north coast. The later development of the south coast led to a waterfront promenade. So in the '80s, with a voluntary contribution of some enterprises of the city, it was rehabilitated a part of the coastline in the area of "Belvedere" near the tunnel and the New Beach at "Uji i Ftohtë".

Project of the promenade along the seacoast of Vlorë, have a long story. It starts with the vision of planners at the time of the fascist occupation of 1941 and start the implementation later in the period of communism with the plans of 1973 (Fig.3) and 1996.

During the transition period the waterfront development lied in a context of formal and informal development. New

developments occurring after '90 have increased the informal constructions without complying with any kind of regulation or urban planning (Nepravishta et al., 2014, p.59).

The regulatory plan of 1996 was elaborated in 2002 by the municipality planning office with a proposal for shifting the promenade toward the sea<sup>4</sup>. In 2004 the master plan of the center, dealing with the Vlorë waterfront, was approved by Territorial Adjustment Council (K.RR.T.R.S.H.). This study determined that the road Skelë-Uji i Ftohtë along the sea will be 38m wide, proposes the creation of the promenade by filling the seaside and the return existing harbor, in yacht port.

In 2011, preparing for "100<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of National Independence", the Project for the sea promenade was presented by the Mayor Gjika. In May 2012, work starts for the realization of the project, a modest project, dependent on municipality budget. The first stage starts from the hotel "Bologna" to the former "Aulona" and the second phase of the former "Aulona" to "Uji i Ftohtë". But this project doesn't get the support and approval by the central government.

The Minister of Urban Development and Tourism organized, in 2014, the international one-stage urban design competition for the regeneration of Vlorë Waterfront Promenade bracing the Albanian government's and Prime Minister Edi Rama vision for its development, aiming specifically the rehabilitation of public spaces. The expected result was to demonstrate how urban regeneration projects could have a huge impact on the entire city life. The objective was to create space that improved tourism potentials but also created opportunities for small and medium economic enterprises that could re-establish public investments in the city; trying to be low cost and large influencing at the same time (MZHUT, 2014).

The winner proposal for the Vlorë waterfront competition was Xaveer De Geyter Architects (XDGA), in collaboration with the local MetroPOLIS Studio<sup>5</sup> and Italian Engineering

Studio IRD<sup>6</sup>. Although being the oldest touristic attraction of the city, the Waterfront Promenade is visualized as a reverberant pedestrian area with recreational spaces facing some of the newly inhabited parts of the city. The waterfront development as a whole was tightly linked to the future of the two main infrastructures: The port and the road to the south of Albania.

## 2. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND: REGENERATION OF URBAN WATERFRONTS

The earliest forms of waterfront development occurred where relief was conducive to harborage and shelter. For example, the Roman settlement of Londinium was established in 50 A.D. at the last bridgeable point on the River Thames. Subsequently, many more urban settlements have been established along waterfront areas, such as Falmouth, UK; Bahia, Brazil; and Mumbai, India; where particular sections of riverside and coastline have provided natural harbors, adaptable for marine activities.

The whole history of European cities shows that promenades became strategic tools that provided better living conditions. They turned into a place where people, other than walking, met other people and socialized with each other. From the 16<sup>th</sup> century Napoli and Palermo to 20<sup>th</sup> century Barcelona, that became an icon for Mediterranean cities, waterfront regeneration consists on a complex task, comprising a change of use, resuscitation and revival, rearrangement and redesign. It is part of:

- > Port planning: Inner development of the port (e.g.: reorganization and innovation);
- > Town Planning: Change of use, a stroll from formerly port economic use to service, tourism, and living uses.

Urban waterfront redevelopment has become a well-established phenomenon in western countries since the de-

<sup>4</sup> The plan hasn't been approved by the authorities.

<sup>5</sup> Local studio prepared an analysis and in-depth report on the social, economic and urban development of the city of Vlorë.

<sup>6</sup> IRD Engineering has studied the traffic and the impact that the new road will have on the promenade.



cline of old industrial harbors, returning them to the urban property market and also offering a great potential to boost the postindustrial transformation (Bender, 1993; Meyer, et al., 1996; Wang, 2003). Therefore, to some degree, waterfront regeneration was seen as an urban panacea, a cure-all for ailing cities in search of new self-images or ways of dealing with issues of competition for capital development or tourist dollars (Marshall, 2001a, p.6)

Since the 1960s, waterfront redevelopment as a planning tool has consisted of different processes aimed at transforming. According to Shaw (2001), the evolution of this transformation can be seen in the light of four different generations of urban waterfront redevelopment. The first three generations cover what Marshall (2001) terms the 'top 10 list' in the waterfront literature, which comprises cases that have already become emblematic. The city of Baltimore with its inner harbor renewal plan is representative of the first generation along with other North American cities that pioneered waterfront revitalization efforts in the 1960s and 1970s (Millspaugh, 2001). The second generation consists of cities where organizations were set up specifically to plan, manage, and implement redevelopment projects during the 1980s. The cases of Boston (Gordon, 1999; Krieger, 2001) and Toronto (Desfor et al., 1989) are representative of such generation, which adopted and expanded Baltimore's redevelopment measures. Correspondingly, the cases of London (Gordon, 1996) and Barcelona (Marshall, 2001) featured urban renewal projects of considerable magnitude undertaken through distinctive market-driven planning processes and capacities. The third generation was marked by cities that assumed the measures developed by the first two generations, as the accepted mainstream waterfront redevelopment practice also during the 1980s. The Waterfronts of Vancouver, Sydney and Liverpool stand out as important examples (Shaw, 2001). The fourth and more recent wave of waterfront redevelopment is characterized by cities that started their developments after the 90s' worldwide economic recession. The case of Bilbao is perhaps an illustrative example of this generation (Vergara, 2001) which portrays a synergy of spatial planning instruments, pilot projects, political will and public-private partnerships. All these factors have contributed in transforming radically the essence of the city.

Breen and Rigby (1996) assort redeveloped waterfronts into six groups: commercial; cultural, educational and environmental; historical; recreational; residential and working waterfronts. It is a "sometimes arbitrary grouping"; no waterfront is exclusively commercial, educational, residential or working in nature. Many are "home" for a large variety of urban functions, flagship projects and commercial enterprises. Balanced complementarity of functions and projects, including hi-level housing and services, cultural and creative industries, fun shopping plazas and flagships of entertainment, appears a prerequisite for successful waterfront redevelopment. These formerly abandoned sites will be turned into dynamic nodes of postindustrial urban economies (Bender, 1993; Breen and Rigby, 1996; Boer, 2005).

To make this happen nowadays, redevelopment plans should include not only residential projects and advanced economic activities, but also appealing leisure and entertainment functions in eye-catching 'packaged landscapes', including: "museums of urban and industrial history, the kitsch historical adornments of many packaged landscapes and new developments such as industrial hardware recycled as forms of street furniture, the renovation of old buildings or districts providing commercial, industrial, recreational or residential property and the do-it yourself renovations of inner-city gentrifies" (Hall, 2001 p.115).

Sometimes they remain underdeveloped, due to lack of long-term planning. According to Jauhiainen (1995, p.19), the contemporary objectives are "to create an image of a thriving city, to shift the city's international rank and to get a larger piece of the 'floating' international investment for the city". It is no question that leisure and entertainment in its broad definition, including for instance catering, museums, entertainment, fun shops, parks and historical heritage, are key functions in successful waterfront development (Breen and Rigby, 1996; Fagence, 1995; Groen and Oosterman, 2004).

The winning project of Vloera waterfront competition seemed to try accomplishing the design principles that have proven to be critical components of successful waterfront projects. As part of the existing urban fabric, it needed to secure the quality of water and the environment, let the historic identity



**Fig. 4.** [a] Area of intervention – Vlorë Waterfront (yellow) and Bypass (red); [b] [c] [d] The existing situation of Vlorë Waterfront.

Source: XDGA and Author

give character, make mixed-use a priority, make public access a prerequisite, speeding the process by planning in public-private partnerships, enhancing public participation as an element of sustainability, treating the intervention as a long term project, taking into consideration that revitalization is an ongoing process, profiting from international networking.

### 3. WATERFRONT CONTEXT

Vlorë waterfront promenade is a segment of the long coastline<sup>7</sup>, including "Soda" forest area from west, till the Tunnel area north direction with these main characteristics:

- > 5 km long, which makes it one of the longest urban waterfronts in Albania (Fig.3.a);
- > Proximity to the city center;
- > A variety of development levels, ranging from well developed; contemporary housing quarters, to devastated areas (Fig.4.b,c,d);
- > Gloomy coastline, far from public use appreciated in cities with a similar waterfront on the Mediterranean Sea;
- > Scenic views and sunsets similar to Naples, Capri, Marseille, etc.;
- > Need to redefine its importance in the Mediterranean context;

<sup>7</sup> From Narta lagoon to the rocky shores on south, being visually connected to Sazan Island in the west.

- > The lack of proper infrastructure<sup>8</sup>;
- > The nearness with the road<sup>9</sup>;
- > Uncontrolled Urbanization<sup>10</sup>;
- > Closeness of the Port toward the city;

Inappropriate interventions on the coast line, with private businesses, such as informal buildings, kiosks and bars, which are obviously an obstacle to the public areas and views to the sea.

#### 4. THE COOPERATION CLIMATE AND PUBLIC PRIVATE PARTNERSHIPS

The waterfront area provides a range of opportunities for public and private investments. Nevertheless, the relation and access level of these properties are limited, due to legal and formal ownership, damaged infrastructure, etc. The waterfront contains two types of public ownership areas: the plots dedicated to public institutions and the area where public services are provided. There are 50 public lots located along the seaside, which belong to the public domain. They vary from 100–500 m<sup>2</sup> and have good access to the main road. The total surface of the public space is 1.100 ha, almost 30% of the whole waterfront area (MetroPOLIS, 2014). The pedestrian road and beach area are public. Therefore, they are under the administration of the municipality. 'Soda' forest is under the administration of the Environment Ministry, but is managed by the local government. The area of Marina School, the Regional Directory, the Orphanage, the Harbor, the Social Houses and the Tourist Camp are state properties,

<sup>8</sup> The site area is fractionated in 3 main areas: The "Old Beach" area, the "Skela" area and the "New Beach" area; being without any organic connection with each other.

<sup>9</sup> This can be noticed more in the "New Beach" area, which has not a wide line for public beaches. It brings a lot of problems like acoustic and air pollution for the pedestrian promenade and for the public beach nearby.

<sup>10</sup> This can be noticed in the "Old Beach" area, where residential buildings are found without correct height regularity, positioned without a proper logic unifying them. There are also 1–2 floor buildings, which have accessibility difficulties.

therefore they are managed by the respective ministries or public institutions. Nevertheless, collaborations with these sectors are also possible, in terms of securing higher value for both, these institutions, and the promenade. In terms of use, some parts of the public beach are privately used (regarded as semi-public), but not widespread, because most of the beach area is still public.

The real estate values along the waterfront vary according to the location, the access to the road and main public services, as well as the site typology<sup>11</sup>.

Nevertheless, many possibilities laid in unoccupied spaces, such as the ex-Trade Camp, parts of the "New Beach", "Rrape" and "Tunnel" area. It was also important intervening in the restructuring process of existing urban blocks, which were included in areas of low value. At this point, it was important establishing some instruments to control and benefit from the increase of existing land value.

Most of the businesses were willing to cooperate with each other through a financial partnership, mostly with recreational services, hotels, bars and restaurants, commercial services and business centers.

<sup>11</sup> According to some data collected by the survey (MetroPOLIS, 2014) areas of lower value were respectively: "Topana" area near the hospital, hilly landscape, lack of accessibility, general old typology of housing, long distance from the sea (prices: 21.000 Euro/apartment and rent about 45 Euro/month), "Aviation Field" (least preferred area to live, real estate prices are really cheap), "Çole"/"Kume" (individual houses, renting for 75 Euro/month, close to "Skela" and the center), "Old Beach" (unoccupied space with the lowest value in the waterfront, buildings sold for about 450 Euro/m<sup>2</sup> and the renting prices vary from 85–100 Euros, office spaces sold for 800–900 Euro/m<sup>2</sup>, presence of a large surface of unoccupied space with a small value of 75 Euro/m<sup>2</sup>) and the historical center of the city and "Kushtrim"/"Lirim" (low prices due to new centralities shifting to the waterfront, selling prices: 38 000 Euro/apartment and renting prices: 98 Euro/month).

Areas of higher value were respectively: "Skela", "Stadiumi", "Centrale" and "Transballkanike" road (prices range from 42 000 Euros for selling to 85 Euro/month for renting); the areas of "Marina" (high urban density, no possibility to build new residences), "New Beach" (residencies sold for 650–700 Euro/m<sup>2</sup> and offices for 2500 Euro/m<sup>2</sup>, potential for future residential centralities of highest value, since there is still a lot of unoccupied land to develop) and "Tunnel" (Preferred for new residences, varying from 600–650 Euro/m<sup>2</sup>, with office spaces of about 2000 Euro/m<sup>2</sup> and renting prices the highest in the area 550 Euro/month).

Their average prices (as suggested by the business survey), are as follows:

- > Hotels have a value of 550.000 Euros and can be rented for 10.000 Euro/month;
- > Bars and restaurants are sold for averagely 210.000 Euros and rented for 2.000 Euro/month;
- > Stores have a selling value of 58.000 Euros and can be rented for 450 Euro/month.

This means that hotels are the businesses which would profit, so should contribute more in terms of providing facilities for public use. It is expected a raise in land value and unoccupied land prices, due to the impact of the waterfront project, which will emphasize the need to find the instruments to control and benefit from this fact.

The cooperation climate was tested among businesses and inhabitants, the results are as follows:

- > 19% of the inhabitants were willing to co-finance the waterfront project, in one way or another. Most of these people were residents of the area itself, especially from the Tunnel and Cold Water area, as well as the New Beach area.
- > 40% of businesses were willing to participate financially in the waterfront design and implementation project, especially hotels. The way they want to cooperate is through a public private partnership, or some planning instruments. Most of businesses are willing to cooperate with each other, through a financial partnership, mostly with recreational services, hotels, bars and restaurants, commercial services and business centers.

Given this cooperation climate, these forms of partnerships and agreements are possible:

### 1. Use of the conditioned intensity as a development instrument

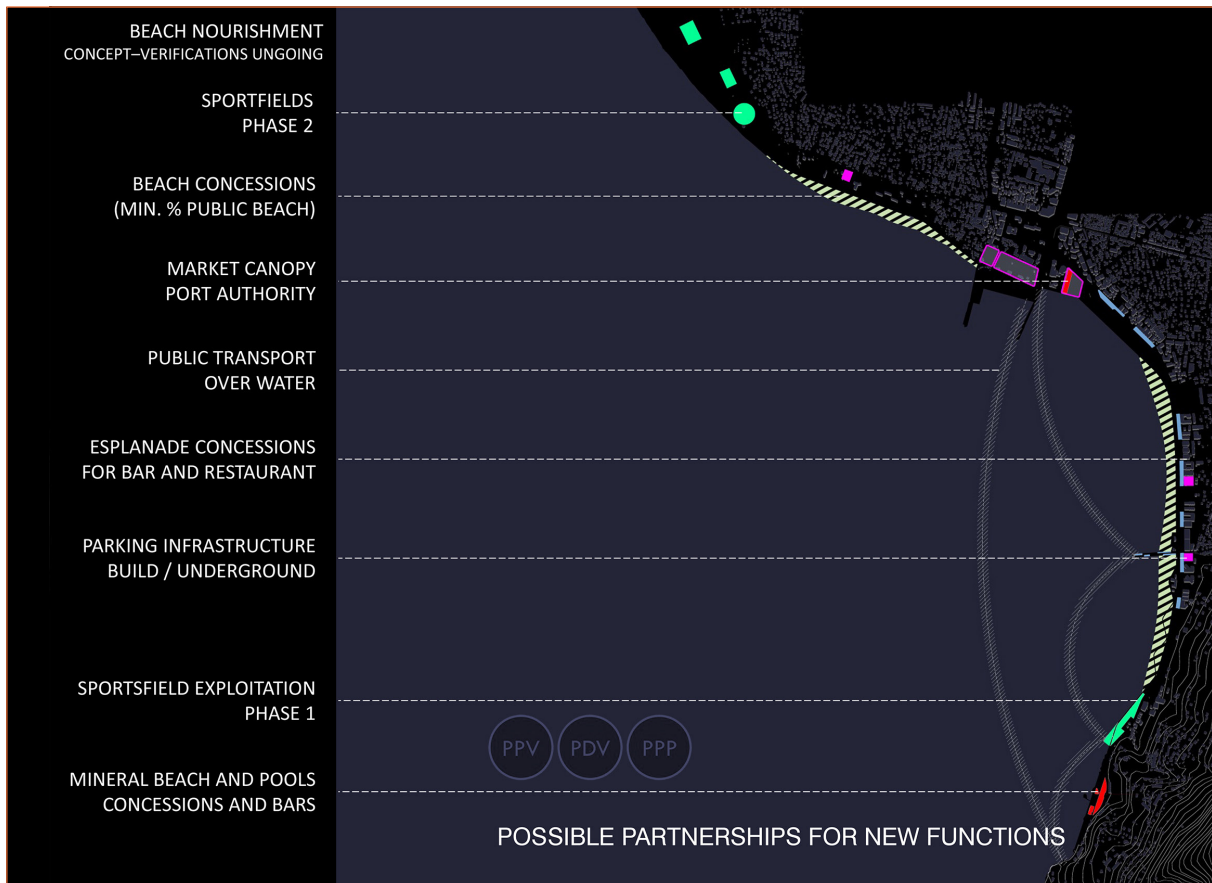
This instrument can be used by the municipality in all newly developed areas, especially in the "Aulona" area, to have a possibility to increase number of floors or density, in exchange of the financing of green areas, parks and recreational areas in the entrance of the waterfront.

### 2. Use of taxation as a regulatory instrument

- > Betterment fees along the whole waterfront (The land owners pay according to the percentage of increased value they will acquire, and the payment is made during the implementation process of the project. This fee can cover a considerable percentage of the cost of the project).
- > Lower taxation for hotels in the "New Beach" and "Tunnel" area.
- > Reduced taxation for small stores.

### 3. Public Private Partnerships (PPP)

- > A public private partnership can be established with hotels and resorts near the beach, in order to manage, maintain and create diverse services for organized beaches of a higher standard. These partnerships are suitable for possible resorts of the Old Beach Area and for small hotels in the Cold Water and Tunnel Area.
- > PPP for the development of business improvement districts (BID). The partners agree to open businesses related to cultural, traditional elements, etc. to create or enhance the identity of the city. Currently the only area that can be developed in this way in Vlora is the "Transballkanike" road, if another transitory axis is created through the Aviation Field in the future and a possible extension toward the old beach and soda forest should be foreseen in a next phase (Fig.5).



**Fig. 5.** Possible partnerships for new functions.

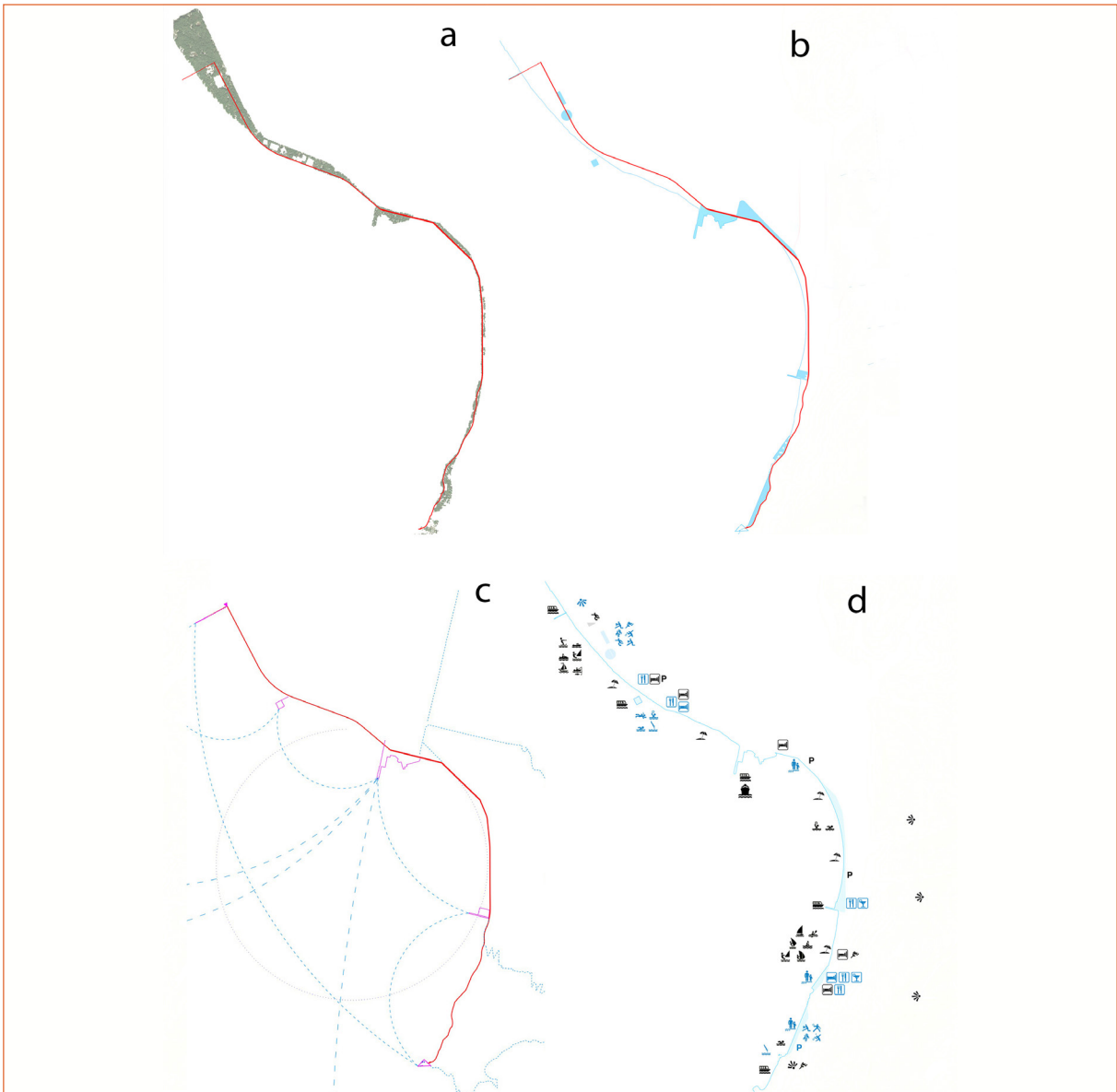
Source: XDGA

- > PPP with the Harbor Authority (the purpose is to move the walls of the Harbor and creating a stripe of diverse activities, as an integrating point of the boulevard and the promenade. The cases of integration of Harbors with recreational activities, even cultural ones, are proven to be successful, as is the case of Barcelona Harbor. These services can either be organized as a stripe along the displaced walls of the Harbor, or can be integrated inside the Harbor, in an identifying design. The profit of private businesses would be transferred to the Portual Authority and the municipality would serve as a regulator.
- > PPP in management of parking facilities.

## 5. REGENERATION OF VLORA WATERFRONT PROMENADE

The winning proposal of XDGA architecture studio consisted of different phases of conceptualization, as it was extremely flexible in implementation and open to interpretation. These turned it into a valid instrument of urban intervention in the Albanian coastal area, serving as a potential pattern for other cities too. It was adaptable depending on financial capacity, timing and expectations of the Ministry of Urban Development, Municipality of Vlora and collective public opinion. The proposal tried to find a balanced solution for the road and waterfront of Vlora, taking into account the bypass for a viable traffic flow<sup>12</sup>, incorporating it in the de-

<sup>12</sup> Starting from the most recent traffic counts.



**Fig. 6.** [a] Promenade and trees; [b] Waterfront and points of interest; [c] Proposed new links in water and land; [d] Programs.

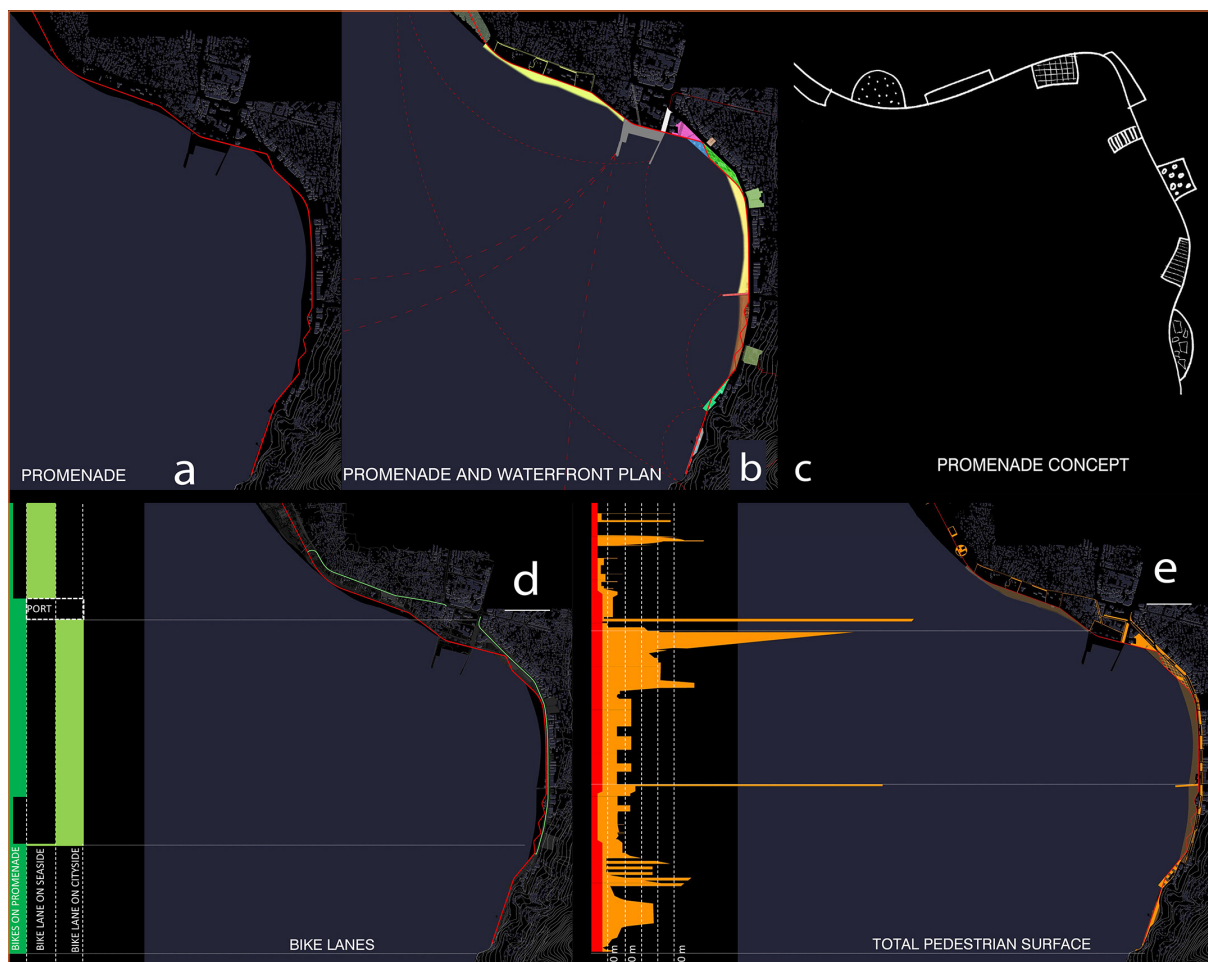
Source: XODGA

sign proposal. The decisions regarding the accessibility of the coast by car didn't influence the current design proposal. Informal houses and hotels along the existing highway could be largely maintained, possibly being legalized according to the wishes of the competent authorities, not being an obstacle for the project (XODGA AS, 2014; XODGA, 2014).

The project proposal reflected that specific reality of Vlorë by implementing a mix of small and large scale interven-

tions, functioning well individually and together. The project was a framework for future urban growth, a solid structure where development could take place at a rate defined by economic and social conditions.

The developing plan included four different phases: Promenade and trees; Waterfront and points of interest; New links proposed in water and land; Different programs (Fig.6).



**Fig. 7.** (a) (b) (c) (d) Promenade – pedestrian surfaces, bicycles and public space.

Source: XDGA

The stages were tackled in a more focused way, for example through the creation of new white beach areas, sports grounds, swimming areas and water parks, a pier and a marina, new hotels, a floating island, etc. This design proposal was open to interpretation and extremely flexible in sequencing and implementation: an instrument of urban intervention in the urban coastal area of Vlorë, in order to serve as a model.

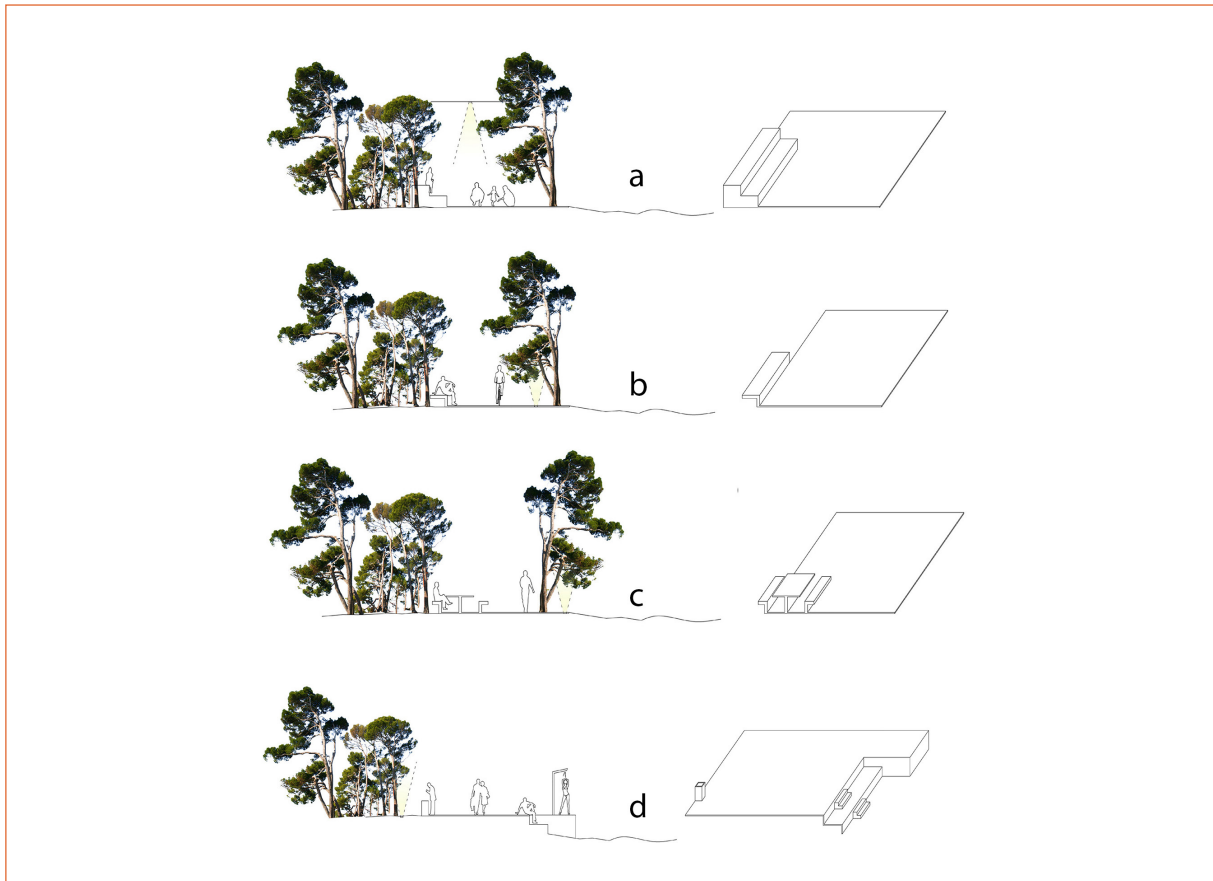
### 5.1. First phase: Promenade and Trees (preserving and amplifying the existing)

The first implementation phase, which led to an immediate beautification of coastal land, was that of expanding the existing boardwalk and widening the typical vegetation

areas of the city<sup>13</sup> along the promenade, over the full 5 km long coastline (Fig.7).

These created not only a harmonious whole, but also a unique and specific identity for the coastal town, typical of Albania's Mediterranean landscape. The boardwalk was a proposed construction in concrete, which varied in width along the way. It would achieve the widest dimension in urban areas, and the narrowest (4 meters) in the natural areas, minimizing the impact of the intervention.

<sup>13</sup> Trees of "Soda" Forest.



**Fig. 8.** [a] [b] White concrete path and bench, hanging and in-ground lights; [c] [d] Concrete path, picnic table and bin, metal shower.

Source: XDGA

This phase (important for the rapid improvement of the coastal strip's quality) involved the implementation of urban furniture elements and improvement of infrastructure, such as resourceful positioning of benches, showers, garbage bins, signs and lighting (located in the pavements or hung up in trees [Fig.8]).

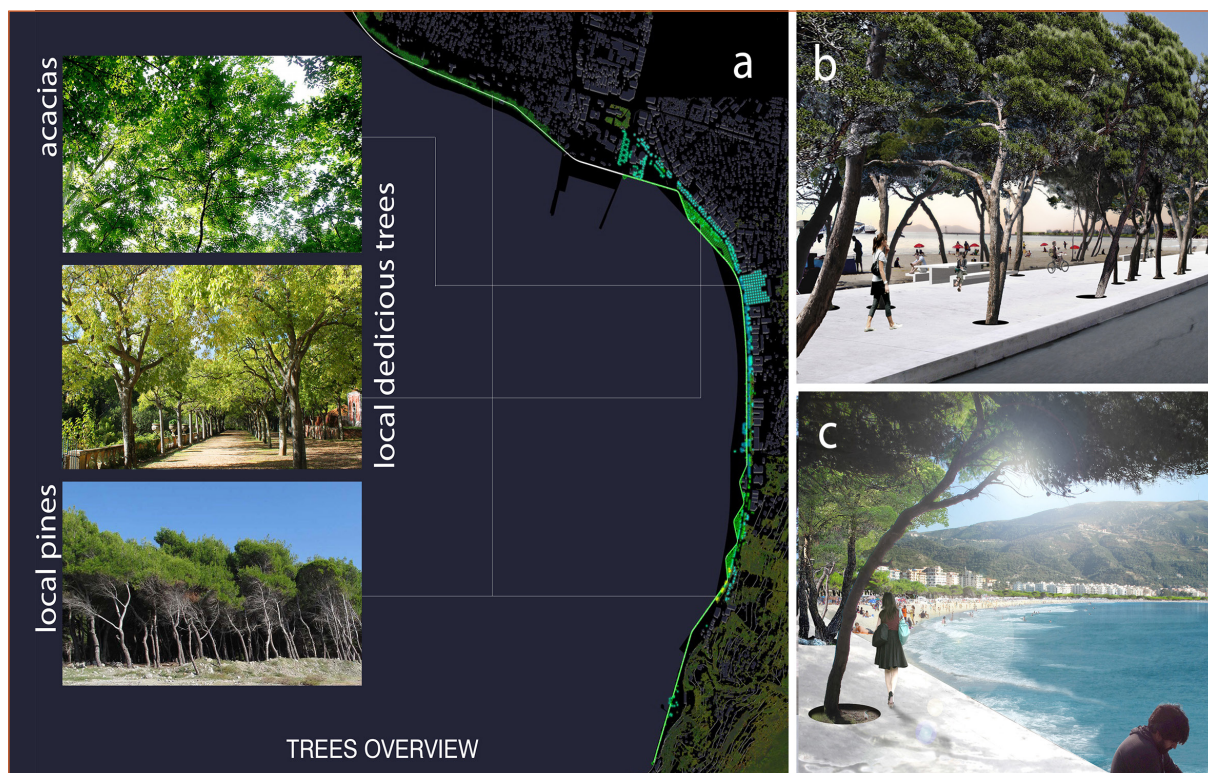
The 3–4 meters walkway was accessible by pedestrians and bicycles only. It concluded in a triangular shaped platform near the water, continuing into stairs that led over the tunnel to the mountains behind. It also accedes a diving board, a mooring place for boats, a viewing point and a gateway to the hiking trail in the mountains. It was a launching platform to both the sea and mountains (XDGA AS, 2014; XDGA, 2014).

The trees along the promenade provided a special character and identity to the coastal town, unifying the Medi-

terranean landscape. Local trees such as "Aleppo Pine" [a pine native in the Mediterranean region], formed a visual and acoustic barrier along the highway, retaining the view onto the sea and offering shade underneath. This enabled the sheltering of different activities during almost all the year, due to their thin stems and broad, flattened crowns. They created a structure that effortlessly boosted the spatial quality of the waterfront. The extension of the existing tree line of the Soda Woods was planned along the entire coastline, harmoniously creating a unique image for the Albanian coastal city [Fig.9].

The plantation was done alternately along, sometimes closer to the beach, sometimes into large quantities and sometimes widely spread, depending on the specificity of the area of the coastal widely area.





**Fig. 9.** [a] Trees overview; [b] [c] Intervention – preserving and amplifying the existing vegetation along the promenade.

Source: XDGA

## 5.2. Second Phase: Waterfront and Points of Interest

The second stages included an integrating and upgrading implementation, handling the charge of certain areas in a more detailed manner. This stage went through the creation of new white beach areas, central parking along the roads, sports grounds, swimming areas and water parks, a pier and a marina, new hotels, a floating island, etc. It was really important to educate a cooperative climate and collaboration with the private sectors in different types of partnerships (Nepavishta et al., 2014, p.3). The main reason this could be achieved, was the raised value that each private business or owner would gain, due to the new developments. Despite the unity provided by typical vegetation and extension of the promenade, some areas can be addressed in very different ways to create a variety of sections and experiences. Most of the proposed sequences are transformations, or improvement of existing situations. From North to South, the following sections offer a different tourist/user attraction operator [XDGA, 2014] (Fig.10).

– *Soda “Sports” Woods*: This area includes the existing forest and existing football field. It incorporates new sports grounds and fields among the trees, standing somehow isolated from the public sand area. The promenade slips through it, dividing the fields into two sides (Fig.11).

– *Amenities Campus*: The zone with existing formal infrastructures retains the structure of a campus with buildings looking out onto the beach. The sea provides a floating island, a platform for swimmers and a dock for boats used by the tourists or locals for fun and leisure (Fig.12).

– *Urban Renewal Area*: The plantation of conifers is narrower in this area. It allows the development of the urban hinterland and the wide beach for sunbathers.

– *Port*: The port occupies a pivotal role in the intervention project. It is a tourist harbor for boats and cruise ships. Tourists are welcomed onto a grand square of marble tiles beneath a canopy, formed by the tops of planted trees.

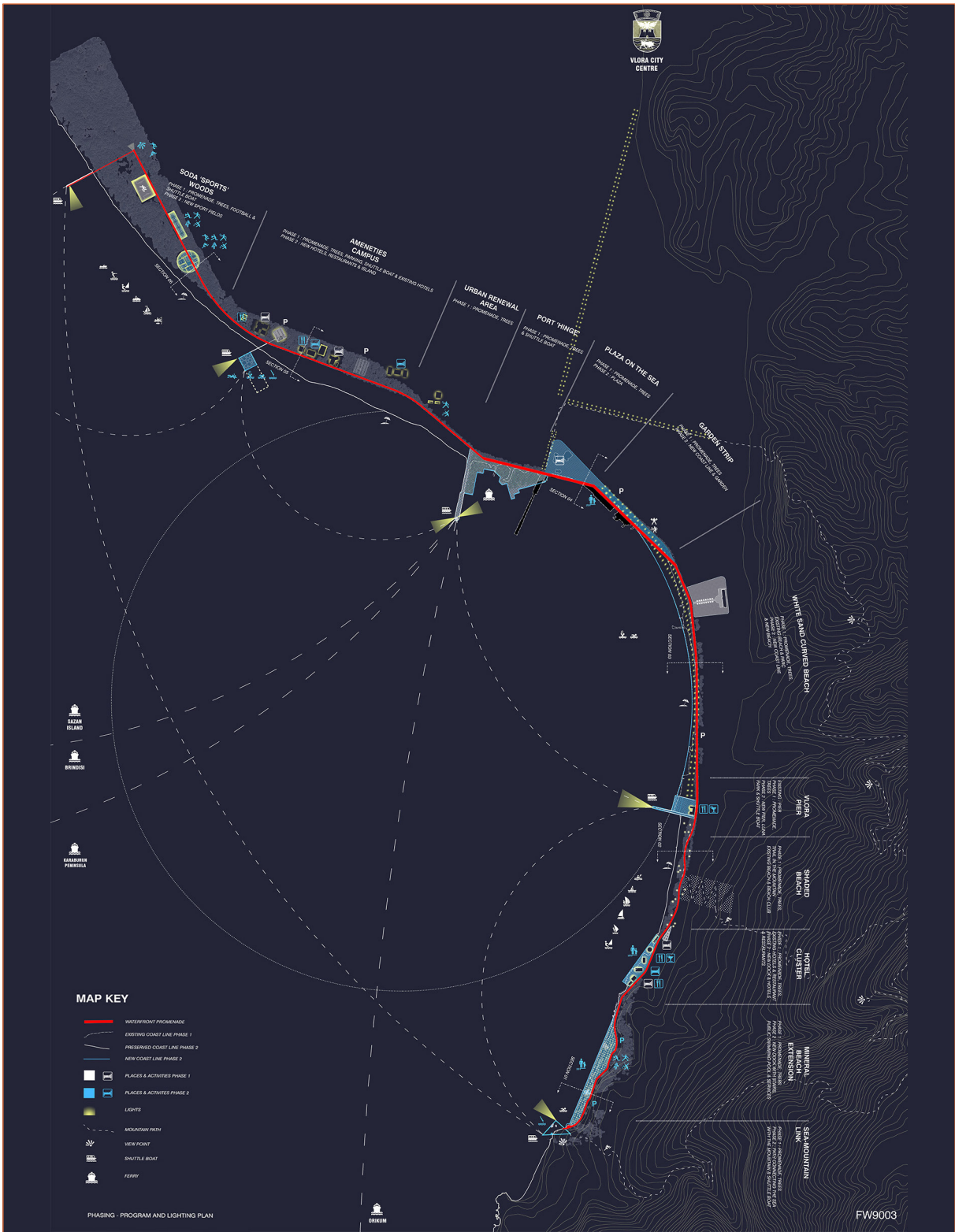


Fig. 10. Phasing, programming, and lighting plan.

Source: XDGA



**Fig. 11.** (a) Section of the Soda "Sports" Woods; (b) Soda "Sports" Woods detailed plan; (c) In the existing forest with the existing football field, new sports grounds and fields are created.

Source: XDGA



**Fig. 12.** (a) Section of amenities Campus; (b) Amenities campus detailed plan; (c) The existing infrastructure as a campus with buildings.

Source: XDGA



**Fig. 13.** (a) Section of the plaza; (b) Plaza on the sea detailed plan; (c) The open square to the quay provided with trees.

Source: XDGA

– *Plaza on the sea*: This is an open square to the quay, full of trees. It offers a superb view onto the water and leads to a zone with large shaded gardens, providing space for different functions<sup>14</sup> [Fig.13].

– *Garden Strip and Sunken Square*: The area of large shaded gardens and Sunken Square are close to each other. Their morphological space modulation met there a playful geometry in plan and elevation [Fig.14]. It makes this area very special due to the experience of the tourist/user.

– *White Sand Curved Beach*: This covered a zone for the construction of a new, white 'Copacabana' style beach, with a beautiful view over the sea. This section was the most classic stretch of beach and coincides with an already established urban seafront, regarding to the buildings along the promenade, which continued at around 10 meters wide

at this section was the widest it could get along the coastline [Fig.15].

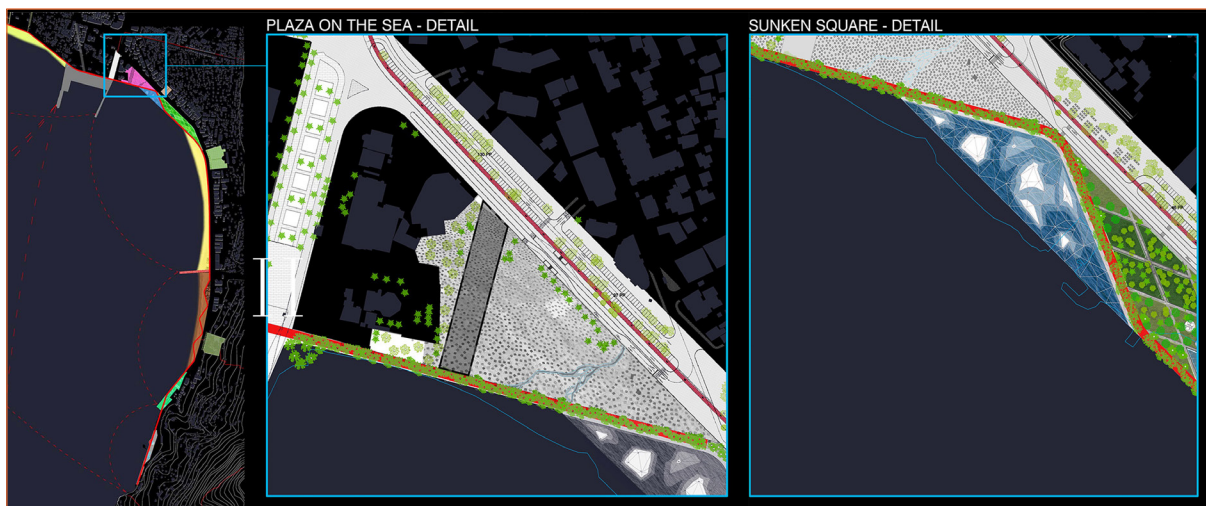
An important factor for this area development was the beach nourishment, which included improvement of the relation to the sea, safe access and water quality across the waterfront.

– *Vlora Pier*: This includes the existing pier that was renovated and expanded with various activities such as pubs, restaurants, jetties, etc. [Fig.16].

– *Shaded Beach*: This was a more natural, wilder and greener stretch of the beach. Trees stayed closer to the water. On the other side of the road, naturally landscaped stairs led the way into the mountains scenery [Fig.17].

– *Hotel and Sports Clusters*: The expansion of the existing zone with hotels and restaurants needed to be structured and clearly defined by constructing a rectilinear square in the water as a public leisure and swimming area, which

<sup>14</sup> Sports, recreation, etc.



**Fig. 14.** Plaza on the sea and Sunken Square detail.

Source: XDGA



**Fig. 15.** (a) Section of the white sand curved beach; (b) White sand curved beach detailed plan; (c) White 'Copacabana-ish' beach.

Source: XDGA

served to additional hotels, behind which, the row of trees continued (Fig.18). The sports cluster offered service to the whole area, but mostly to the hotels occupied by tourists.

– *Mineral Beach Extension*: Due to proximity to the existing highway, the beach was very narrow at this point and went nearer to the rocks. This area was extended by a staircase

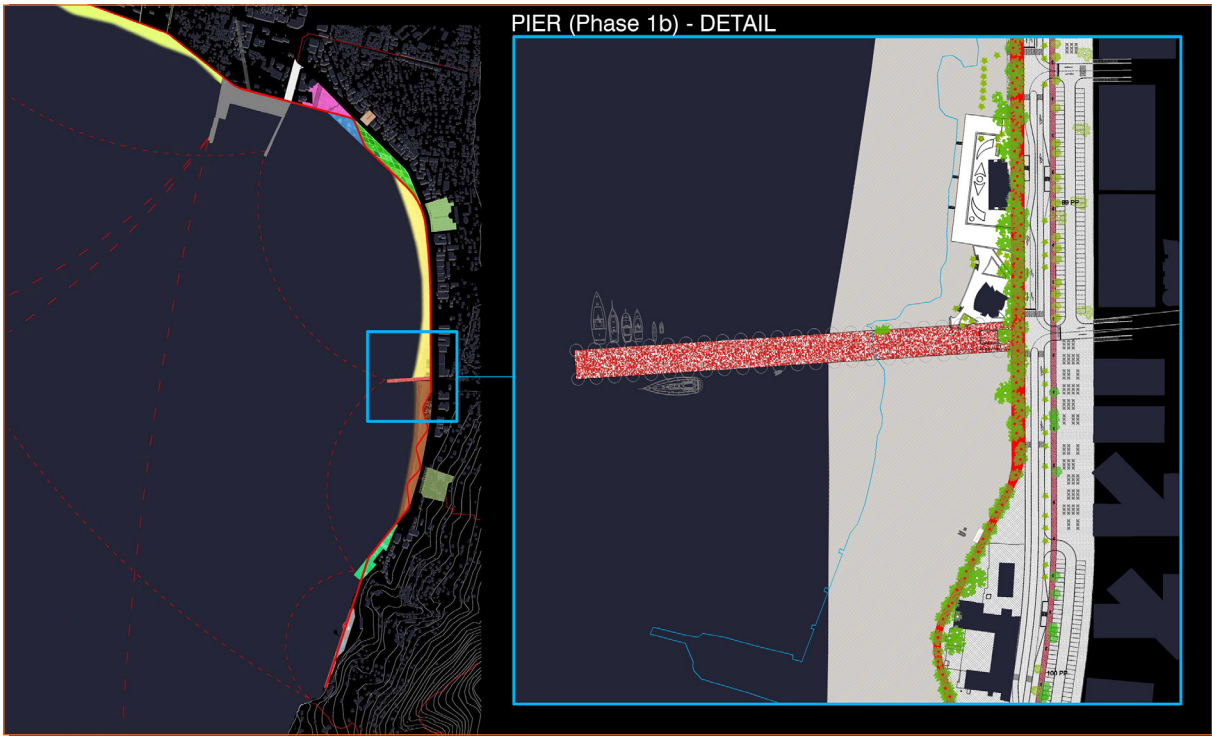


Fig. 16. Vlora Pier – renovated and expanded with activities.

Source: XDGA

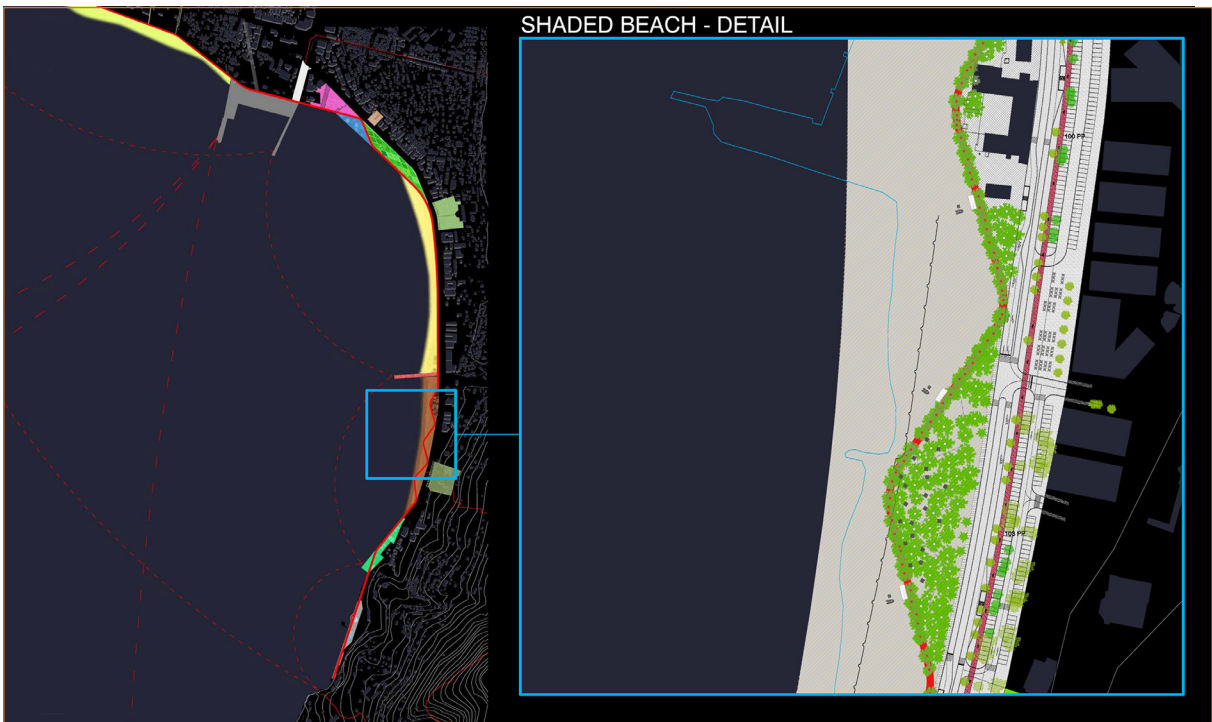
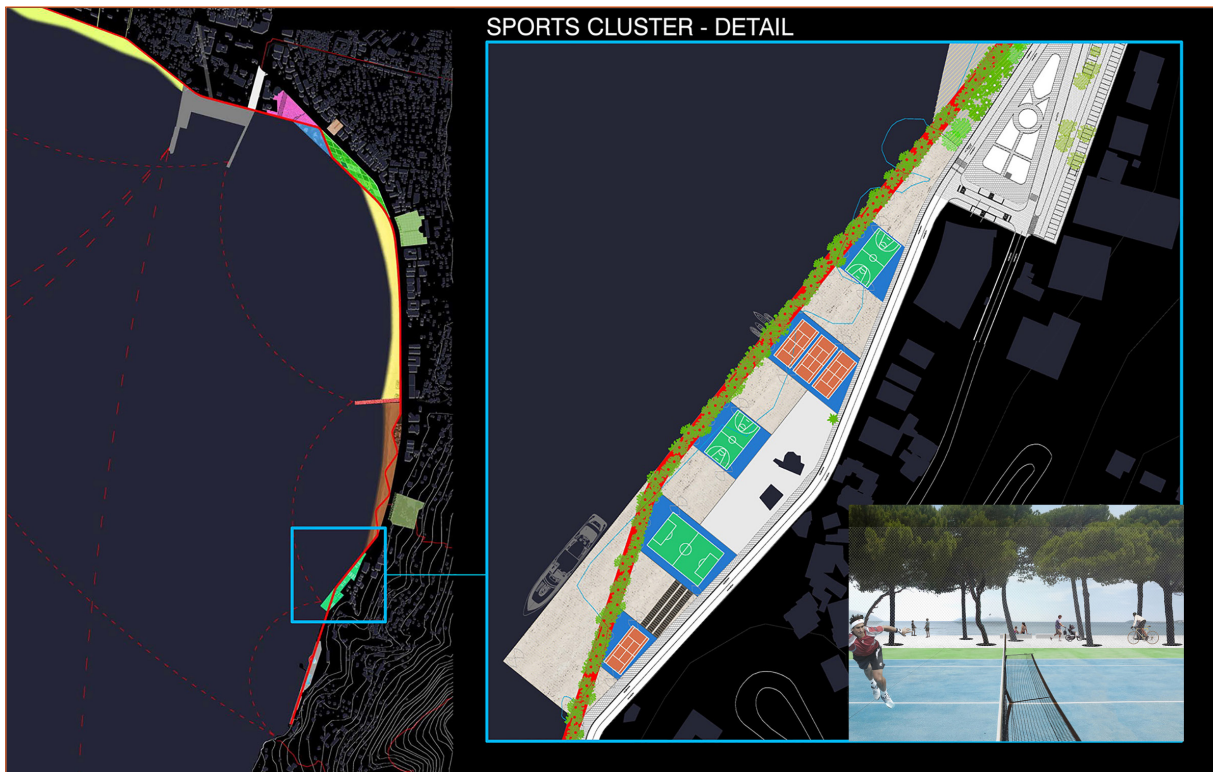


Fig. 17. Shaded beach detailed plan – natural beach and trees near the water.

Source: XDGA



**Fig. 18.** Sports cluster detail.

Source: XOGA

structure, directly into the sea. The platform at the top of the stairs offers a municipal swimming pool, sports grounds, and parking (Fig.19).

– *Sea – Mountain link*: A triangular walkway (3m), accessible for pedestrians, was partly on water and partly on land. The part in the water was a Pantone that could be used as a diving board and as a mooring area for boats. This simple and light construction served both, as a viewing point and a gateway to the hiking trail in the mountains (Fig.20).

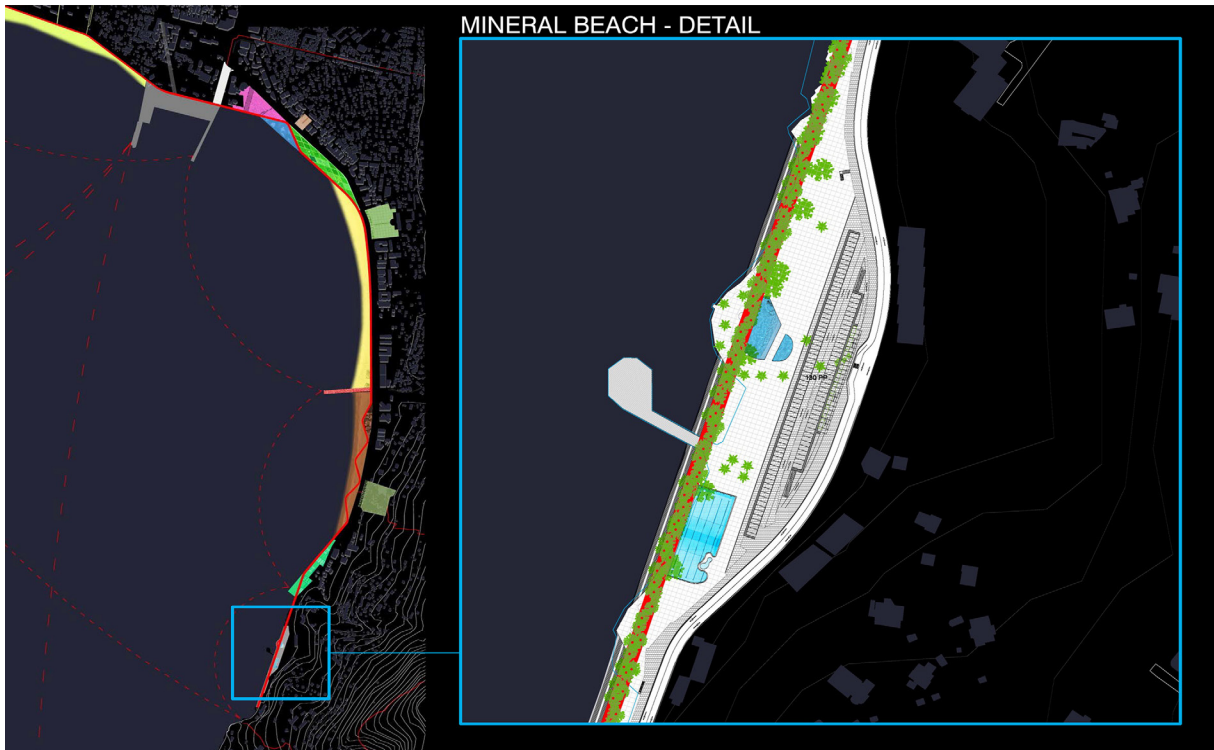
By deterring the different zones on the coast, the use of the water was also more defined and intensified. Demarcations in the water allowed for diversification of use: swimmers, divers, boats, ferries, floating islands, jetties, diving boards, mooring areas and viewpoints. These various points of interest gave structure, sequence and rhythm to the entire coastline (Fig.21).

Important factors for development were also the beach nourishment, improved relation to the sea, safe access and improvement of the water quality across the waterfront.

### 5.3. Third Phase: Traffic Proposal (land and sea)

The various “points of interest” identified in the second phase, should be linked by the water ferry system. Light electric shuttle ferries enabled visitors to reach the differentiated sections of the waterfront easily while enjoying the view of nature: beachfront or mountainous. Traffic was planned to be controlled and fluid<sup>15</sup> (XOGA AS, 2014) (Fig.22).

<sup>15</sup> For example, by no parking directly on the main road; left-turn reservation lane; separated bus stops; no capacity change at the triangle junction.



**Fig. 19.** Mineral beach detail.

Source: XDGA

This system also allowed an intelligent approach to parking, since Vlorë topography and the existing highways made the available space reserved for parking: limited. The system linked these areas with zones where parking space could be easily organized. In fact, most parking could be organized in the amenities campus, from where the tourists could get on the jetty, shuttle ferry and choose the beach experience they desired. In the second phase a car park building could be organized in the amenities campus. Smaller parking areas were created along the coast, remaining consistent with the promenade, programming and topography (Fig.23).

The design proposal was open to interpretation and extremely flexible. It was an instrument of urban intervention in the coastal area of Albania in order to serve as a model. It was adaptable depending on financial capacity, timing, and needs of the Ministry of Urban Development, the Municipality of Vlorë and the collective public opinion. 'Ad hoc' decisions could be made regarding whether and when certain areas were being tackled.

## 6. THE IMPLEMENTATION PHASE

The implementation phase, still under construction, went under re-evaluation and small changes of the design proposal with the aim of improving the relationship of the residential area with the coast. It is ready to give the waterfront viability, life and activities it needs (Fig.24).

The project construction and management has created many problems like:

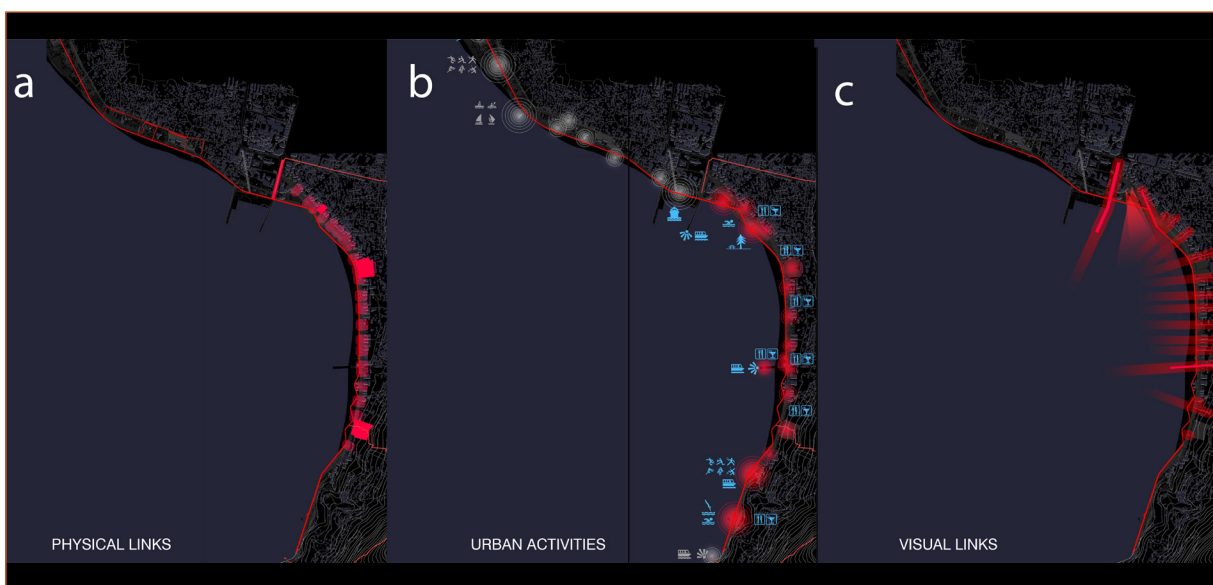
- > Project changes and unfinished technical design;
- > Long lasting of construction works (first phase has to finish in 2015);
- > The use of inland materials used (tuff and pumice) by the construction company for the beach nourishment (instead of white sand proposed in the project);





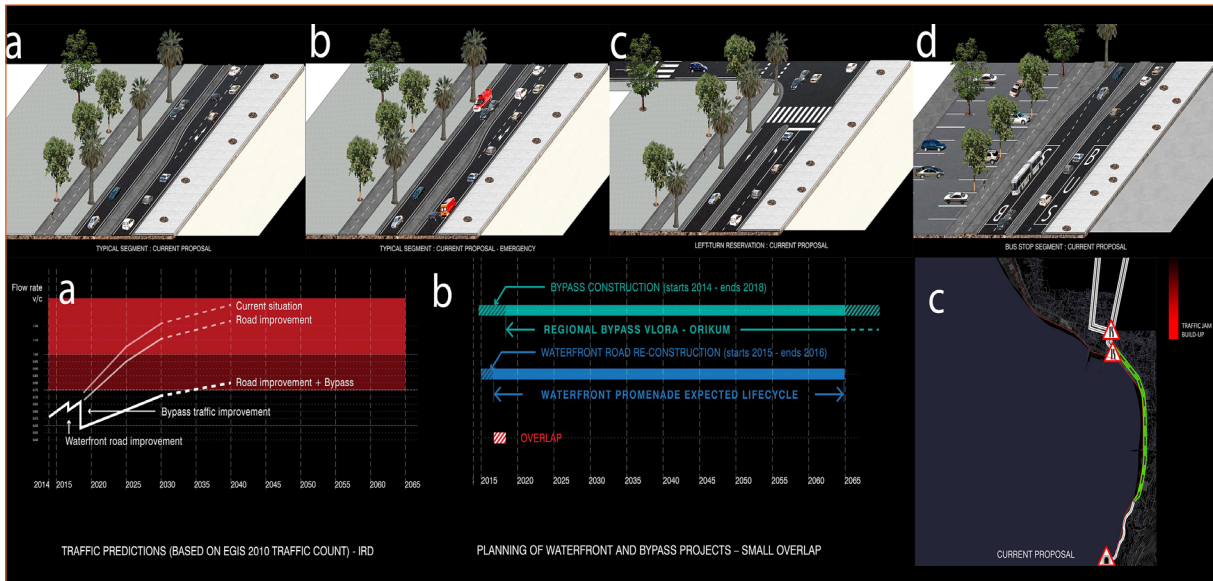
**Fig. 20.** (a) Section of the mineral beach; (b) Mineral beach extension and sea-mountain link; (c) Views of the stairway structure between the sea and the mountains.

Source: XDGA



**Fig. 21.** (a) Physical links; (b) Urban activities; (c) Visual links.

Source: XDGA



**Fig. 22.** (a) (b) (c) (d) Traffic predictions and solutions, propositions in typical segments of streets.

Source: XDGA

- > Environmental pollution during the construction works;
- > Traffic congestion during the implementation phase. In this respect, the decisions made regarding the accessibility of the coast by car did not have a great impact on the current design proposal: both the plans for a national bypass to avoid traffic in this segment and the plans for an alternative municipal street that will make a traffic-free area in the South Segment possible, have to be implemented before the start of this project.

As a result of the lack of managerial skills for the implementation of Vlorë waterfront regeneration project, since 2013, when demolition began paving the way for the project being implemented, the tourism in Vlorë has been reduced. This has created depletions of revenue for the city and unemployment.

## 7. CONCLUSIONS

In conclusion, there are a few approaches to be considered:

- > It can be a challenge to largely improve the quality of a built environment in the heart of Vlorë city, while building simultaneously between the sea and the center.
- > Eventually, there is a vision for an urban tourism development in Albanian cities, which places them on the European urban map, as a distinct group of cities.
- > Since the waterfront redevelopment scheme is a complex, multi-actor and long-term program that has to cope with changing economic and political conditions, the planners should be very cautious in adopting elements from successful examples (e.g. Baltimore or Barcelona), for reasons of protecting the uniqueness of local, physical, economic and political preconditions.
- > Improvement of managerial skills is very important tool for the success of the project. Construction of auxiliary traffic infrastructure as Vlorë Bypass and the new ring road of the city that will pass behind of the new housing blocks in parallel with the existing coastline would help to avoid traffic in the waterfront area, making feasible the proposal for transforming it in a promenade that will be used mainly by pedestrians.
- > The regeneration of this area is an important investment opportunity for the municipality in the future; as it will generate high income from taxes, land trans-



**Fig. 23.** (a) Parking - short time solutions; (b) Parking - long time solutions.

Source: XDGA



**Fig. 24.** Photographs of the implementation phase.

Source: Author

ferring fees and employment rates for residents. It will bring the need for determination of a specific procedure for Albania conditions, based on negative and positive international Public Private Partnership experiences for the development of business improvement districts (BID).

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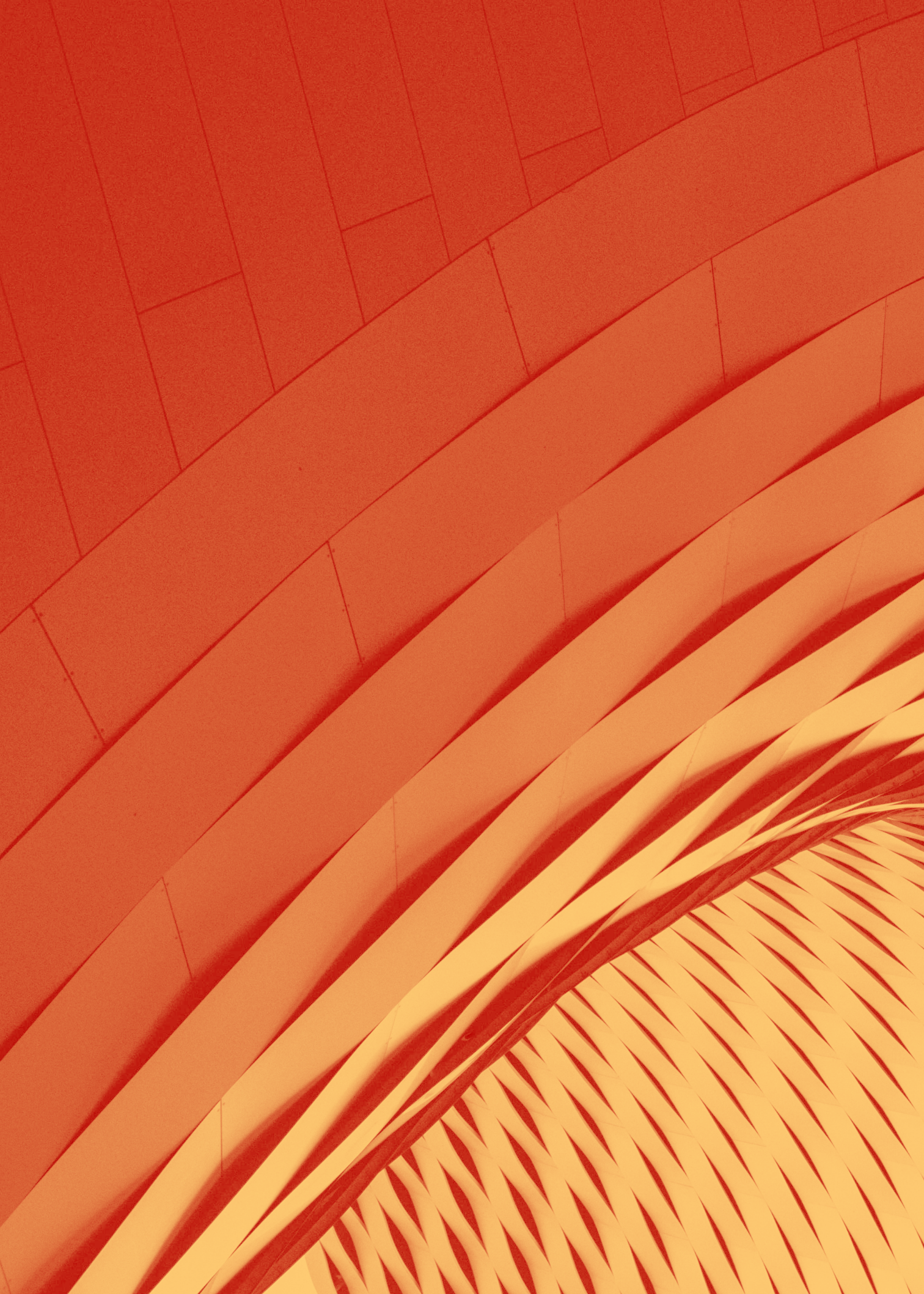
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# Territories in Transition: the Uruguayan–Brazilian Border

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## **ABSTRACT**

This essay examines the process of territorial restructuring in the Uruguayan–Brazilian borderland with a focus on the Mirim Lagoon Basin, in the context of two main driving forces, regional integration and decentralizing reforms. The analysis considers three different scales: the integration blocs in South America, the concerted programs of Brazil and Uruguay for integration and development of the bi-national borderlands, and the sub-regional level where projects of infrastructure are carried out. The results of research reveal that the role of institutions has been crucial in identity formation, increase in exchanges and interactions of cross-border scope, and in the design of proposals of endogenous development, although there is still incipient connection between innovation and local initiatives. The essay concludes that there are contradicting goals among restructuring projects and challenges to be addressed particularly in terms of risks for the environment, management of natural resources, and processes of decision-making relative to the borderlands agenda.

## **KEYWORDS**

Mirim Lagoon Basin; Territorial Restructuring; Regional Integration; Institutions; Development

## INTRODUCTION

Territorial restructuring in Latin American borderlands is closely associated to regional integration and decentralization policies. This essay examines the process of territorial restructuring in the Uruguayan–Brazilian borderland. Based on theoretical contributions of studies on regional integration and endogenous development, territorial studies, analysis of identity formation, and role of institutions, it intends to explore the connections between restructuring through renewal of infrastructure and dynamics of regional integration and development.

In so doing, it considers three different scales: the regional integration blocs Mercosur and UNASUR, the Uruguayan–Brazilian borderlands, and a sub–regional trans–boundary area which is the focus of the analysis: the case of the Mirim Lagoon basin, a land especially affected by programs of territorial restructuring resulting from local demands as well as transcontinental projects framed in UNASUR's initiatives.

This essay is divided into five parts plus this introduction and the conclusions. The first section discusses the theoretical perspective of the research. The following section presents a general description of the borderland territory and the area of the Mirim Lagoon Basin. The third section considers the institutional dimension. Section four examines the proposals for development of infrastructure of IIR–SA and the Uruguayan–Brazilian New Agenda. The last section deals with the territorial restructuring projects in the Mirim Lagoon Basin.

## 1. THEORETICAL APPROACH

The territorial dimension is central in any attempt to understand the international economy. Paul Krugman (1994) argues that international economics could be treated as a

*[...] special case of economic geography, one in which borders and the actions of sovereign governments play a special role in shaping the location of production ... countries both occupy and exist in space ... and if we want to understand differences in national growth rates, a good place to start is*

*by examining differences in regional growth; if we want to understand international specialization, a good place to start is with local specialization* (Krugman, 1994, pp.1–3).

Therefore, spatial issues are crucial to understand market structures. This fact, overlooked by most international economists, is particularly important in the study of international trade. A second reason in Krugman's view, is that “the lines between international economics and regional economics are becoming blurred in some important cases” such as the EU.

In the discipline of International Relations, traditional Geopolitics made of territory the central issue of analysis of power politics and security challenges. Globalization introduced a different approach to the territorial dimension of international politics: the focus on market economy gave priority to the expansion of free trade. In the global age, territories have emerged as important actors in national and global politics (Keating, 2001, p.371). The conjunction of regionalism and decentralization introduced new dynamics in international relations with local powers and civil society actively involved in new spatial configurations. Territorial restructuring is a complex process taking place at different scales from global to local, as a response to economic, technological, political, and intellectual challenges. Regional development policy has been refocused and, consistently with a decentralized approach, it has emphasized the role of the regional or local levels, on the grounds that there is greater capacity for horizontal integration and better knowledge of the relevant problems. Keating remarks that there is a strong emphasis on institution building, particularly at the regional level in order to establish networks of cooperation and partnership (Keating, 2001, p.374).

From this approach, regions are more than topographical constructions: economic changes, demographic movements, political competition, and culture, are powerful factors of region–building and territorial identity. On the other hand, territorial identity is recognized as a precondition of territorial development within the framework of decentralization. Local development became an attractive prospect for the economic recovery of communities badly affected by the collapse of the model inherited from the industrial revo-



lution (Arocena, 2002, pp.6–11). A new emphasis on the “local initiative” as a means of creating social relations emerged. Arocena proposes a definition of “local” considering two main levels corresponding to a set of key elements: the socio-economic level is characterized by the fact that relations among groups are mainly of local nature, and systems of production and wealth are locally generated; the cultural level includes feelings of belonging, shared values, internalized norms, and collective identity. In local identity formation, territory is a most important factor, together with cultural accumulation. According to Arocena, (2002, pp.28–30), there is no successful process of local development without a strong component of identity which articulates and stimulates the potential for initiative of human groups.

The model of endogenous economic development has been most influential in Latin American territorial studies as well as on economic policy design. The central question it aims to address is the right way to autonomous local growth by means of increasing the number of enterprises and jobs, improving the access to external markets with better infrastructure and education, and broadening the opportunities to get financial support. Studies on regional and local development highlight the role of place and the interface local-global: place becomes a factor of production of public goods, following patterns of social relationships that allow a balance of competition and cooperation (Keating, 2001, p.373). However, location is not enough to qualify every undertaking as development projects: Keating points to the example of the growing business services sector which is often the result of large firms outsourcing these services rather than experiences of endogenous development.

Adrián Rodríguez (2010) explores the economic development of the Uruguayan borderlands with Brazil from the perspective of endogenous development: according to this approach, territory is not only a geographical space but the result of interactions among individuals, institutions, capacities and traditions. In this respect, the research agenda should focus on the organization of production within the territory, the interactions between urban and rural areas, and the economic interrelations between dynamics of innovation and competitiveness, and local economies. Spillover effects are the main evidence to identify endogenous development.

Keating admits that “public expenditure and employment are often the key factors in regional development” and that regional politics are still alive in the age of globalization. A “development coalition”, defined as an interclass alliance supporting economic development in a specific location, is one important condition for the success of development policies, although external factors are of vital importance as well (Keating, 2001, p.379).

In the construction of development coalitions, five factors are crucial: culture, institutions, leadership, social recruitment, and external relations. Cultural facts such as social norms and practices, territorial identity, and shared understandings may provide the basis for social consensus on development. However, identities change constantly as a result of both global and local factors (Lima and Moreira, 2009, p.6). Territorial identity understood as a system of ideas, images, memories and feelings shared by individuals and societies, is created in the collective process of uses and production (Linck, 2006, pp.135–139). However, local identity admits contradictory meanings, from idyllic narratives of the past to egalitarian visions of communities based on solidarity. Whereas the theory of modernization construed identity-based resistance as rejection of progress, projects for local development include the socio-cultural identity dimension as a condition for consensus (Gehlen, 2006, pp.269–271).

Institutions shape behavior and set the frame for choice between alternative courses of action. Furthermore, institutions are also arenas for debating policy preferences. Two aspects of the institutional structure of regions are important for the analysis in this essay: public-private relationships, and intergovernmental relations, particularly those resulting from the process of decentralization. Leadership is an important factor in development coalitions because it may produce “the discursive element in constructing the ‘imagined’ city or region, a symbolic realm in which identities can be formed” (Keating, 2001, p.14).

The social base of the development coalition is vital in definitions about the content of policies: the representation of social interests plays a decisive influence on policy-making: territorially-rooted business elites and workers organizations may prove to have a strong commitment to territorial

regeneration and environmental issues. Finally, external relations are increasingly involving regions and cities as actors.

Borders represent a specific case in territorial analysis. The fact that boundary definition is a result of state power, and borders became areas of conflict and construction of hegemony since the early stages of the nation state, settling the borderland and building roads to connect them to the center have been traditionally associated with ideas of "national interest", either to assert sovereign control or to expand the national territory (Lima and Moreira, 2009, p.10). In the case of the Uruguayan–Brazilian borderland, to trace the history of boundary conflicts requires to go back to the Portuguese–Spanish rivalry in South America from the 16<sup>th</sup> century to Independence, followed by a succession of wars and negotiations up to the definite arrangement of limits in 1909.

In Latin America, borderland identities formation is multifarious. With the emergence of the nation state, the association of territory and sovereignty meant that frontier defense, and preventing conflicts in the neighboring areas were goals of the utmost importance. However, this fact was coupled with poor enforcement of law. Additionally, the low priority assigned to borderlands in economic policies contributed to the collective assumption of borderlands as neglected territories. In fact, borders were perceived as peripheral areas in national economies in Latin American countries, except for Chile and the Caribbean, where the national territory is a border on the whole, and peripheral areas in public policies design, especially in the field of foreign policy (Kerr and Marques, 2015, p.110). However, once regional integration gained strength, borders became central, particularly for infrastructure planning.

On the other hand, the conjunction of global and local factors made possible a variety of cultural, social and economic interactions which explain the emergence of border identities transcending national boundaries. Historically, frontiers had been spaces of interactions, exchanges and conviviality. In porous frontiers, the intensity of exchanges gives way to identities of cross–border scope: the economy, culture, transport systems and communications are the basis for social units that develop a specific regional identity attached to the frontier territory, without contra-

dicting the respective national identities. Nevertheless, differences in legal systems, transit regulations, and ID cards, may cause identity problems, as it happens in the Uruguayan–Brazilian borderlands (Souza, 2014, p.39).

Two interrelated processes, regional integration and territorial decentralization, changed the significance of borders and led to new approaches to the design of policies for borderlands. As to the process of regional integration, neo–functionalist theories have strong explanatory value in the analysis of the Latin American experience, especially the works written by Joseph Nye (1987) who studied the case of Central American integration. Nye argues that the original neo–functionalist paradigm, elaborated by Haas and Schmitter in 1964, identified four process mechanisms of regional integration: inherent functional linkages of tasks, central to the notion of "spillover", and defining integration facts such as reduction of tariff barriers and coordination of road transport; rising transactions in trade, capital movement, communication; deliberate linkages and coalition formation; and elite socialization.

Subsequent work by various scholars (Linberg and Scheingold, 1970; Robson, 1968; Hazelwood, 1967) added three mechanisms that may arise from the creation of regional economic organizations: regional group formation, regional ideology and intensification of regional identity, and involvement of external actors in the process. According to Nye, the "ideological and identitive appeal" is an important force in the creation of regional economic organizations, and it explains why governments and social groups are ready to tolerate short–term losses (Nye, 1987, pp.64–75). Political responses to these seven mechanisms partly depend on a set of conditions that Nye refers to as the integrative potential. These conditions, which determine the strength of the ensuing process mechanisms are: symmetry or economic equality of units, elite value complementarity, existence of pluralism in modern associational groups, capacity of member states to adapt and respond, perceived equity of distribution of benefits, perceived external cogency, and low (or exportable) visible costs (Nye, 1987, pp.75–86).

The Latin American integration process from the 1960s onwards accorded a growing attention to borderlands. Fol-

Following the creation of Mercosur in 1991, borders were included in the agenda of the regional bloc leading to the creation in 2002 of a special work group: the *ad hoc group for borderland integration* (GAHIF). As a demonstration of spillover effects, integration policies gradually changed the role of borders, which received increasing attention, partly as a consequence of the emergence of infrastructure as priority in the agenda of integration following the foundation of UNASUR in 2008.

However, the intergovernmental character of Latin American integration implies the absence of supranational institutions, and consequently, the need of complex negotiations to get the agreements concluded in regional organisms, finally approved by the parliaments of the member states. Regional integration may conflict with national territorial policies, urban planning and regional or local development. In the case of IIRSA, several projects have been at the center of conflicts with civil society organizations as well as with state bodies involved in territorial restructuring.

## 2. A DESCRIPTION OF THE TERRITORY AND THE CASE OF THE MIRIM LAGOON BASIN

The Uruguayan–Brazilian borderland is a highly homogeneous territory which is a part of what is called the *Campanha gaucha* or *Pampa* in Brazil, and the neighboring Uruguayan area, characterized by similar conditions of soil, climate and natural resources and a common economic history. Regular interactions between peoples residing in the two countries have existed since the beginning of the colonial settlement. The absence of geographical obstacles to transit across this area made possible multiple social and economic exchanges and the existence of mixed families. Portuguese attempts to expand the sphere of influence up to the River Plate were resisted by Spain. Successive agreements on boundary definition were later carried out by Brazil and Uruguay, with a treaty of limits signed in 1851, later adjusted in 1909 (Kleinpenning, 1995, pp.108–110).

All the cities on the borderline are easily connected by means of bridges (Artigas and Quaraí, on the river Quaraí, and Rio Branco and Jaguarão, on the river Jaguarão) and

roads. In the cases of Rivera–Santana do Livramento, and Chuy–Chuí, there are in fact integrated cities divided by roads marking the bi–national borderline. Rural areas present a uniform landscape: it is the *pampa* extending from the South of Brazil to the South of Argentina, characterized by plains where horizons are occasionally cut by low hills (Marques and Oliveira, 2015, p.121).

Interactions between Brazilian and Uruguayan societies were made feasible by easy communication, despite the differences between Spanish and Portuguese languages: in the areas close to the borderline, “*portuñol*” is the *lingua franca*. Marriages and mixed families, and a common symbolic universe based on music, oral literature, food, *mate* and horse riding are the main elements of the borderland identity. In the Uruguayan–Brazilian borderland, twin–cities play a key role in the emergence of this kind of identity (Souza, 2014, p.39).

The notion of borders as *loci* of both integration and conflict is generally assumed in Latin American scholarship. Contradicting narratives on the legacy of slavery and the extinction of indigenous people coexist with shared values and habits. Identity in borderlands is an outcome of the social process, mental representations of reality, and symbolic materials. However, it is not a homogenous creation: there are in fact many local different profiles making borderland identity a heterogeneous reality in a context of geographic specificities even if the *Gaúcho* is recognized as the common mythical ancestor (Lima and Moreira, 2009, pp.52–53). Furthermore, in borderlands, identities are unstable. Facts as migrations, political and economic changes, affect social networks and feelings of belonging. Being borders “hybrid zones,” possibilities for cultural creation and identification are immense.

The economy, based on livestock rearing under colonial rule, has experienced since the last quarter of the 20<sup>th</sup> century the expansion of forestry and industrial agriculture, and the renewal of mining prospects: several decades after the momentum of gold mining had passed, a new interest for iron ore has been the object of a project led by Indian businessmen, however later abandoned in 2015.

Rodríguez’s studies (2010; 2013) find that the Uruguayan territory bordering Brazil is characterized by complex in–

teractions between rural and urban economies. Nevertheless, it shows a “fragmented development” because most of the non-competitive sectors have little capacity to generate local economic interrelations, and the few competitive sectors operate without connections with the local economy. There are three main production chains based on: rice, meat and wool, and forestry and wood. Other economic sectors in the rural area are: horticulture, small scale livestock rearing, beekeeping, and milk and dairy production. The main urban economic sectors are services and retailing. Biotechnology is the leading innovation sector but its impact in terms of spillover effects is still negligible.

As to the Brazilian bordering territory, there are analogies with the Uruguayan side. Even though the state of Rio Grande do Sul is considered one of the wealthiest states of Brazil, there is a sharp contrast between the northern and southern areas. According to the *Atlas Socioeconômico do Rio Grande do Sul*, in 2008 the state was the fourth economy in the country and it ranked third in terms of HDI (human development index). However, the southern territory bordering Uruguay presents several signs of stagnation (Menezes and Feijóo, 2011, p.175).

The economy of the South of Rio Grande suffered from the reduction of the industrial sector (which accounted for half of the state's total industrial production in the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century). In the first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century the economy was mainly based on livestock rearing and agriculture, with cattle and pig farming and irrigated rice production as the leading activities. Menezes and Feijóo point to the economic specialization in the primary sector, the low population density, the reduced size of the sub-regional market, and the absence of economies of agglomeration as the determinants of backwardness of the south of the state.

The goal of sustainable development inspired new initiatives which were intended to overcome economic stagnation in the South of Rio Grande. Two innovative projects, framed into the Clean Development Mechanism of the Kyoto Protocol, were related to promising economic sectors: electric power generation from biomass, and pig farming. Both sectors were firmly rooted in the traditional economy:

agriculture and livestock rearing. The first project, effected by the Camil Rice Mill Company in Rio Grande, helped reduce 28.53 emission of CO<sub>2</sub> using a method consisting of generating electric energy in the combustion of the rice chaff, so eliminating the potential effects of release of methane gas, which has a high global warming potential, resulting from decomposition of rice chaff. The second project, carried out by Master Agropecuaria had the aim of reducing greenhouse effect gases generally associated to pig farming, by means of the installation of an anaerobic biodigester in order to convert organic acids into biogas (Souza, Alvim and Santin, 2011, pp.310–315). The two projects successfully conciliated continuity in production and reduction of impacts on the environment through technological innovation. Their potential for territorial regeneration may be estimated in terms of jobs creation, retaining population in the area, improving environmental quality, and spillover effects as in the case of rice agriculture and generation of biomass energy. In the Uruguayan borderland, the expansion of wind power parks is the best examples of innovation.

Both sides of the border exhibit little advancement in endogenous development: interactions between rural and urban areas are very rare, and experiences of economic innovation have little impact on the local economy, except for the two cases in Rio Grande do Sul, previously discussed. There are new sectors as biotechnology in the Uruguayan department of Cerro Largo, and energy generation from alternative sources such as biomass or wind power which have great potential for the future but the effects have not yet been evaluated. The energy sector can play a leading role in projects of cross-border cooperation, in territories where there is an increasing demand of energy services. On the other hand, the expansion of forestry and industrial agriculture is a major disincentive to innovation and a powerful factor that favors the traditional economic sectors.

The Mirim Lagoon basin is a distinct unit in the borderland. Extending over Brazilian and Uruguayan territories united by a system of rivers and coastal lagoons, the Mirim Lagoon is the center of a territory situated between 31°54'18" and 34°24'51" South latitude, and between 53°02'27" and 55°22'10" West Longitude. The Gonzalo canal unites this lagoon with the Brazilian Dos Patos Lagoon which is linked to

the Atlantic Ocean by the Rio Grande (Achkar, Domínguez and Pesce, 2013, p.119). According to a FAO report, this is the second most important source of fresh water in South America, after Lake Titicaca (INIA, 2010).

Before the arrival of European colonizers, native inhabitants established a community of fishermen in the area, and were the first people to navigate from the Western coast of the Mirim lagoon toward the coast on the Atlantic Ocean, sailing along the route connecting both lagoons and the sea, as shown in maps of the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

The Mirim lagoon is made up of waters from the rivers Jaguarão, which marks the boundary between Brazil and Uruguay, Parao, San Luis, Tacuari and Cebollatí and its tributaries. Livestock rearing, mainly in the form of cattle farming, was the first economic activity organized in the territory. Farmers of Portuguese and Brazilian origin, as well as Uruguayan landowners settled on the area, on both sides of the borderline. The traditional condition of the farming business up to the mid-1900s was evidenced in the little interest shown in crossbreeding and techniques for increasing output: “less progressive entrepreneurial mentality” was the accepted explanation among local observers and academics (Kleinpennig, 1995, p.146).

In the 1970s rice agriculture became the main productive sector, based on Brazilian investment and technological transfers. Brazil is also the main market for exports. In the 1990s, forestry began to expand, and during the first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century, soy agriculture coupled with agribusiness made its appearance in the area. Finally, urbanization with tourism purposes on the beaches of the Mirim Lagoon completes the picture of the regional economy.

The expansion of forestry, mainly in the shape of eucalyptus plantations, after the approval of the 1987 Forestry Promotion Law in Uruguay, was planned to secure the production of wood pulp for export and, eventually for a local paper industry. The area dedicated to forestry has expanded to the detriment of native woodland, with serious consequences in biodiversity decrease. Additionally, massive cutting down of native woodlands has caused fluvial erosion and severe impacts on the courses of several streams.

High degrees of air pollution in the twin cities of Rio Branco and Jaguarão, and the inland cities of Melo and Treinta y Tres are mainly originated in rice agro-industry as shown in a report dated 2008 (PNUMA/CLAES/DINAMA, 2008).

### 3. THE INSTITUTIONAL DIMENSION

Unlike Uruguay, Brazilian established a conceptual framework for policy formulation concerning the borderlands: this is the concept of *faixa de fronteira* included in Brazilian constitutions as early as 1934, even though this notion was already implicit in several projects from the 1850s on (Pucci, 2010, p.31). Subsequent constitutional reforms changed the extension of that area but the original criteria of measurement remained: a strip of land some kilometers wide from the borderline.

In consistency with the constitutional definition, a series of laws have established precise regulations on uses of land, property rights, industrial activities, trade, and residence rights, based on the idea of borders as priority areas for national security. The 6634 law of 1979 imposed the requirement of previous authorization from the National Security Council over activities in the *faixa de fronteira* such as construction of bridges, international roads, and airports, surveys on, and extraction of, mineral resources; colonization of territories; acquisition of property rights by foreigners in rural areas. However, some of these regulations have not been completely implemented (Pucci, 2010, pp.35–36). Additionally, several attempts to introduce a degree of flexibility in order to stimulate foreign investment have led to proposals to reform this law.

Differences between Brazilian federal system (Kugelmas, 2003) and Uruguayan centralism are frequently the cause of delays in decision-making. This fact explains the inter-governmental character of the institutional design for the management of border issues and cross-border cooperation. Regional and local governments of both countries form the network of organisms involved in proposals for the region.

The regional integration process in the 1960s set the foundations of the first efforts of bi-national cooperation for

the management of the Mirim Lagoon basin. In 1963, the governments of Brazil and Uruguay agreed to create the Bi-national Technical Commission of the Mirim Lagoon Basin. It was made up of delegates from various national states-bodies and representatives of local governments. This organism established from the beginning solid ties with the private sector, one of which most influential members was the Association of rice agriculturalists, whose representatives have been very pro-active as shown in the records of the Commission, held at the Ministry of Foreign Relations of Uruguay. In 1977, Brazil and Uruguay concluded a treaty for the development of the Mirim Lagoon Basin.

The institutional design laid in 1963 has lasted to the present. Its main bases have been: bi-national participation, multilevel representation (with representatives of national, regional and local authorities: the governor of the state of Rio Grande do Sul, the *intendentes* of the Uruguayan *departamentos*, heads of local councils), attendance of members of several governmental departments or ministries (foreign relations, economy, industry, energy, mining, social development, food and agriculture), and inclusion of members of civil society organizations, and the private sector. Participation of universities has steadily grown after 2002. Far from being in retreat, the State has been the leading protagonist in the institutional design and agenda setting, confirming Keating's argument on the strength of state power over public policies.

In the mid-1980s the Borders Committees emerged as new institutional actors. At first, they met rarely but their activities gradually increased and were channeled through a regular schedule of meetings. Their membership includes local authorities, social organizations and citizens to discuss a variety of problems including sewage, water resources management, air and water pollution, tourism and track traffic. Since 2002, with the approval of the New Agenda of Cooperation and Borderlands development by the governments of Brazil and Uruguay, regular meetings of six Borders Committees are held before the High Level Meeting (RAN) celebrated twice a year. In the period following 2002, the committee integrating the twin cities of Rio Branco (in Uruguay) and Jaguarão (in Brazil) actively involved themselves in debates and projects over issues concerning the Mirim Lagoon Basin.

Regional and local governments, the governor of the State of Rio Grande do Sul, *intendentes* of Uruguayan departments, the heads of municipal governments (*prefeitos* in Brazil, and *alcaldes* in Uruguay, after the decentralizing reform of 2010), the Legislative Assembly of the State of Rio Grande do Sul, and departmental *juntas* and local councils in Uruguay, form the institutional network involved in decision and implementation of measures for the region.

Although the agendas of the organisms described in above sometimes overlap, this institutional network offers room for participation of a number of social and state actors in demands and proposals, acting as the public arena. In fact, projects for territorial restructuring together with policies of identity and culture have been the most relevant issues in debates (MIDES, 2007, p.7).

The Uruguayan law of political decentralization and citizen participation, approved in February 2010, established elected municipal governments, and provided for the transfer of government competences and financial resources to the local authorities. Although the degree of municipal autonomy is limited, and the law incurs in several imprecisions and contradictions (Alvarado, 2014, pp.54-58) it has been considered as a step toward empowerment of local citizenship. Participation of local governments in bi-national institutions and their involvement in cross-border coordination of proposals and activities with their Brazilian counterparts are evidence of increasing autonomy and agency.

From the start, universities took a leading role in the process. The Uruguayan national Institution for Agricultural Research (INIA), participated together with FAO in a first scientific survey of the Mirim Lagoon Basin starting in 1967. It was framed into a project for sub-regional development which was jointly presented by Brazil, Uruguay and FAO. It included experimental agriculture with varieties of rice, fodder, and pasture (INIA, 2010).

In Brazil, the Federal University of Pelotas participated in relevant territorial restructuring projects and development studies. The *Agência de Desenvolvimento da Lagoa Mirim*, (ALM), created by decree of 26<sup>th</sup> of May 1994 as a center of reference linked to the University of Pelotas, is responsible

for the management of the works in the Lagoon, particularly the locks and dam of São Gonzalo and the *Distrito de Irrigação do Chasqueiro*. ALM also acts as an advisory body of the Brazilian delegation in the bi-national Commission. During the second Lula administration, (2006–2010) a newly founded state university UNIPAMPA settled in various cities near the borderline, one of which is Jaguarão. Soon after, the Uruguayan president José Mujica promoted a program for decentralization of university studies with the creation of a Center of Border Studies established in Melo.

#### 4. SOUTH AMERICAN INTEGRATION AND NEW AGENDA OF BRAZIL AND URUGUAY

Latin American integration brought about a change of focus in public policies for borderlands with the adoption of new programs of territorial restructuring: Brazil approved of the national policy on territorial restructuring (PNOT), the national policy of regional development (PNDR), the Program for sustainable regional spaces (PROMESO), and the Program for the development of the borderland strip (PDDF) (Ker and Marques, 2015, p.111). In 2006, Uruguay and Brazil concluded an agreement for deeper integration in the energy sector, resulting in a line for hydroelectric energy transmission between Candiota in Rio Grande, and Melo in Uruguay. After 2010, both governments accorded strong support to programs of renewal energy: Wind power parks began to expand in the borderlands.

Development of infrastructure to strengthen regional integration was a concern in the early years of Mercosur but it was after the creation of a South American bloc when infrastructure became a top priority in integration policy. IIRSA was created in 2000, at a South American summit convened by the Brazilian president Fernando Henrique Cardoso in Brasilia, to discuss an ambitious program of construction of new roads connecting isolated regions with ports mainly on the Pacific, but also on the Caribbean coast. The Brazilian initiative was based on the joint effort of government agencies and financial international institutions.

Despite the presidential agreement on the initiative general goals, to reach a consensus about the specific projects, and

the means to implement them, was not easy. The presidential summit in Cuzco in 2004 approved the implementation agenda of a list of 31 projects, together with the creation of a South American Community of Nations. The plan for implementing the agenda in the period 2005–2010 was based on the category of “axes of integration and development” defined as transnational territorial strips of land encompassing natural spaces, human settlements, productive areas, and trade movement, where investment in infrastructure could help create better opportunities for sustainable development (Mellado and Alí, 2011, p.57).

The Mirim Lagoon Basin was included in the axis “Mercosur–Chile” which contained several Brazilian states, the Republic of Uruguay, Argentinian provinces, and the center of Chile: the inter-oceanic route was expected to make feasible linking the Brazilian ports on the Atlantic and Valparaiso.

The Mercosur–Chile Axis comprehends several projects concerning the Mirim Lagoon Basin: improvement of the way Rio Branco–Montevideo–Colonia–Nueva Palmira, construction of an international bridge over the river Jaguarão, rehabilitation of the Rio Branco–Montevideo railway, and reconditioning of the section of road nº 26 from Rio Branco to the border with Argentina.

After the foundation of UNASUR the 23<sup>rd</sup> of May, 2008, IIRSA was reformulated under the supervision of the South American Council for Infrastructure and Planning (COSIPLAN), a body presided over by the ministers of infrastructure of the twelve state members, and created at the presidential summit of August 2009 in Quito. Roads, harbors and hydroelectric plants became the object of most of the ongoing projects. Under the direction of COSIPLAN, the financial support from CAF, BID and FONPLATA diminished while that of BNDES increased. Later on, Chinese capitals entered the South American scene, attracted by projects designed for regions rich in copper.

**Table 1. IIRSA Projects from 2004 to 2015**

Year	2004	2014	2015
N° of projects	335	579	593
Budget in US\$	37.000.000	163.000.000	182.000.000

Source: Own elaboration based on data from COSIPLAN, Cartera de Proyectos, in: [www.iirsa.org/Page/Detail?menultemId=32](http://www.iirsa.org/Page/Detail?menultemId=32)

By the end of 2015, IIRSA showed an impressive result of 106 projects concluded amounting to US\$ 20.000.000 and 176 projects at work amounting to US\$ 74.000.000. A third of the investment was destined to hydroelectric energy with new plants and dams.

Some IIRSA projects (particularly hydroelectric plants and roads) encountered resistance from several civil society organizations in South America. Indigenous movements and peasant organizations were particularly decided to defend their property rights of land against the construction of dams required by the construction of hydroelectric plants; environmentalist associations denounced the risks for biodiversity and the quality of water resources; other protests were originated in the defense of particular productive sectors as in the case of fishermen who alerted against the possible extinction of fisheries in rivers and lagoons.

Soon after the launching of IIRSA, the governments of Brazil and Uruguay reached a bilateral agreement on the issues to be included in what they called "The New Agenda of Cooperation and Borderland's Development." The first result of these efforts was the approval in 2002 of an agreement of permission of residence, study and work for borderlands inhabitants. This measure helped strengthen economic and social relations between the communities residing on the frontier area. The creation of the Structural Convergence Fund of Mercosur (FOCEM) at the summit held in December 2005 was an important measure because it secured financial support for projects dealing with issues of cross-border cooperation.

In the period 2010–2015, the workings of the Ministries of Foreign Relations of Brazil and Uruguay gained dynamism. In successive meetings Presidents José Mujica and Dilma Rousseff agreed on the creation of a bilateral commission on strategic planning and integration of productive sectors (Brazil, 2010).

The projects of high priority for the strategic association between Brazil and Uruguay were: a deep sea port to be built on the Atlantic coast of Uruguay, the waterway across the lagoons Mirim and Dos Patos, and two bridges on river Jaguarão. In the area of energy, priority was given to a project for electric inter-connection which would be car-

ried out by the state-owned companies UTE (in Uruguay) and ELECTROBRAS (in Brazil). A project for sanitation in the twin towns of Aceguá (in Brazil) and Aceguá (in Uruguay) confronted an old problem affecting people's lives. Works to implement this project started in 2012 and were carried out by the state-owned companies OSE (in Uruguay) and CORSAN (in Brazil).

The projected waterway of Mirim and Dos Patos lagoons included a system of navigation for transport of goods and passengers, and works for improvement of port *La Charqueada*, near the mouth of river Cebollati in the Mirim lagoon. The agreement to start surveys on the feasibility of this plan was signed by the presidents in July 2010 (Uruguay, 2010). A Technical Secretariat was created to coordinate works and activities such as dredging the bed of rivers and canals, set the rules of navigation and carry out surveys.

Additionally, two projects for the neighboring area were the construction of a new bridge over the river Jaguarão and restoration works of the bridge Mauá, inaugurated in 1930 and connecting the twin cities of Rio Branco and Jaguarão. Several projects in the New Agenda are part of the IIRSA portfolio as shown in Table 2. (estava in the table below:)

However, some projects emerged from initiatives advanced long time before, as in the cases of the railway connecting Montevideo–Rivera, pending from the times of the old British Company of North Eastern Railways (nationalized in 1947), or the system of navigation of the lagoons whose first precedent goes back to the pre-Columbian period.

## 5. TERRITORIAL RESTRUCTURING IN THE MIRIM LAGOON BASIN

The institutional framework already described made easy bi-national coordination. The growing links among universities of both countries have added applied knowledge and informed advisory to government agencies as it happened with ALM–UFPEL.

The Uruguayan strategy was based on a diagnosis that identified several critical situations such as reduction of



**Table 2.** New Agenda and IIRSA-COSIPLAN portfolios compared

Projects	IIRSA-COSIPLAN	NEW AGENDA 2002
<b>Ports</b>	La Charqueada Tacuarí Atlantic coast	La Charqueada Tacuarí Atlantic coast
<b>Bridges</b>	New bridge on the river Jaguarão	New bridge on the river Jaguarão Restoration of bridge Mauá
<b>Routes</b>	Route 26 (axis Chile-Mercosur)	
<b>Railways</b>	Rivera-Livramento junction Rio Branco	Rivera-Livramento Junction
<b>Sanitation</b>	Aceguá-Aceguá	Aceguá-Aceguá
<b>Energy</b>	Two small hydroelectric plants on river Jaguarão	

Source: Own elaboration based on data from COSIPLAN and the Brazil-Uruguay Joint Communiqué (2010), available in: Brazil, Ministério das Relações Exteriores, Atos assinados por ocasião da visita do Presidente do Uruguai José Mujica 29 de março.

horticultural production and family-run farms, soil erosion caused by technology associated with soy agriculture, expansion of forestry at the expense of agriculture, loss in the output of fresh water fishery, and roads deteriorated by heavy transport mainly due to export of wood.

The main guidelines for territorial regeneration in the government strategy recommended to establish areas of preferential use for productive activities according to criteria of sustainable development and by means of specific incentives; promote and protect family-run production units; encourage soil and water conservation preventing erosion, desertification, and pollution, considering the vulnerability of ecosystems of the area; adopt different territorial scales for the coexistence of transgenic, conventional, and organic cultures, establish clearly defined areas apt for forestry, to minimize undesirable impacts of infrastructure projects (such as bridges and ports for the waterway) in order to protect agricultural production, tourism, and quality of life (MVOTMA, 2013, pp.38-45).

The rationale behind each project refers to a set of different priorities. While the two ports projected on the Uruguayan coast of the Mirim Lagoon are integral to the waterway design, which in turn is firmly rooted in the sub-regional economy, the project of deep sea port is aimed at creating a maritime hub for big shipping companies with facilities for container transport and also for passenger traffic: the new port would make part of the transcontinental corridor

Mercosur-Chile uniting the Atlantic and the Pacific oceans. The second bridge over the river Jaguarão is necessary to link route 26 in Uruguay with Brazilian routes thus completing another section of the Mercosur-Chile axis. The projected railways connection in Rivera-Santana do Livramento and Rio Branco is mainly related to the needs of local and cross-border transport of goods. The same logic lies behind the proposal of hydroelectric plants near the Mirim Lagoon. Finally, sanitation of Aceguá-Aceguá responds to a long-lasting social demand in one of the poorest areas in the bi-national borderland: in this case, the main goal is social inclusion improving life conditions and health. As to the projected works of restoration of the bridge Mauá over the river Jaguarão, they address a question of deep identitive appeal for the population of the twin cities.

The expected results of the waterway, and to a lesser scale, that of the railways junctions, would be a reduction in costs of maintenance and repairing of roads presently used for transport of heavy goods as wood. Also an increase of regional exchanges could stimulate endogenous development.

As to feasibility, there are sharp contrasts among projects. The case of the deep sea port is the most problematic: plans for expanding Argentinean and Brazilian ports on the Atlantic coast would cause the projected new port to become superfluous. Additionally, funding depends heavily on IIRSA and its investment priorities.

Social reception of projects for the Mirim Lagoon Basin has been a mix of resistance and agreement. Some measures are acceptable for local societies because they respond to previous common expectations as easy transit across the borderline, facilities for trade, permissions of work and study. The necessary role of the state in promoting family-run agriculture, preserving environment, providing services, and offering education is generally agreed with. Nevertheless, projects as the second bridge over the river Jaguarão and the port in the mouth of river Tacuarí have raised several protests and demonstrations. A local group, *Amigos de la Laguna Merín*, carried out a campaign against both initiatives on the grounds of alleged negative environmental impacts. As for the projected deep sea port, it confronted strong opposition both from local communities and businessmen investing in tourism, so that the Uruguayan government decided in 2015 to withdraw the idea.

## 6. CONCLUDING REMARKS

The case examined in this essay illustrates the complexities of territorial restructuring in borderlands, partly resulting from the specific condition of borders as territories whose definition is strictly dependent on the action of the State, and as areas of conflict and unstable identity. Furthermore, the interrelation of territorial decentralization and regional integration has added a new significance to borderlands that transcends the traditional idea of boundary or borderline, and changed the approach in policy-design with a new focus on regional identity. This essay explains this transition examining a section of the Uruguayan-Brazilian frontier, the Mirim Lagoon basin, as the result of a combination of internal and external factors: while decentralizing reforms have introduced dynamics of participation in local politics, the process of integration leading to the organization of regional blocs as Mercosur and Unasur has increased the demand for the renewal of infrastructure, new spatial configurations, and local economic growth with strategies of endogenous development. However, in the international perspective, globalization, in Krugman's words, has blurred the lines between international and regional economies so that international financial flows and investments are intended to expanding free trade and opening transocean-

ic and transcontinental routes toward a different spatial configuration.

The analysis of the interplay among territorial identities, local demands, and intergovernmental relations set the framework for understanding the role of decentralization, participation of civil society, proposals for local development, and development coalitions. In this process, institutions emerge as public arenas where public-private relations take place. The converging processes of regional integration and decentralizing reforms have been determinant in the construction of an institutional architecture based upon local governments and bi-national organisms, as well as in an agenda of cross-border cooperation.

Besides, regional integration and decentralization have been crucial for the transition of borderlands from neglect and isolation to high priority in projects for sub-regional development and territorial restructuring. The system of bi-national institutions created the framework for the emergence of local leadership and agency. The main challenges are associated with the low degree of connection between innovation and local economies, as well as the negative impacts on the environment, biodiversity and management of natural resources. Additionally, shortcomings in the construction of development coalitions may cause the failure of the model of local development.

Finally, dilemmas between endogenous development and insertion in global circuits of trade and investment lie behind contradictions among projects of new infrastructure as seen in the case of the deep sea port, finally abandoned, and projects intended to respond to local demands.

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## ACRONYMS

**ALM** – Agência da Lagoa Mirim

**BID** – Banco Interamericano de Desarrollo

**BNDES** – Banco Nacional do Desenvolvimento

**CAF** – Corporación Andina de Fomento

**COSIPLAN** – Consejo Sudamericano para Infraestructura y Planeación

**FAO** – Food and Agriculture Organization (ONU)

**FONPLATA** – Fondo Financiero para el Desarrollo de la Cuenca del Plata

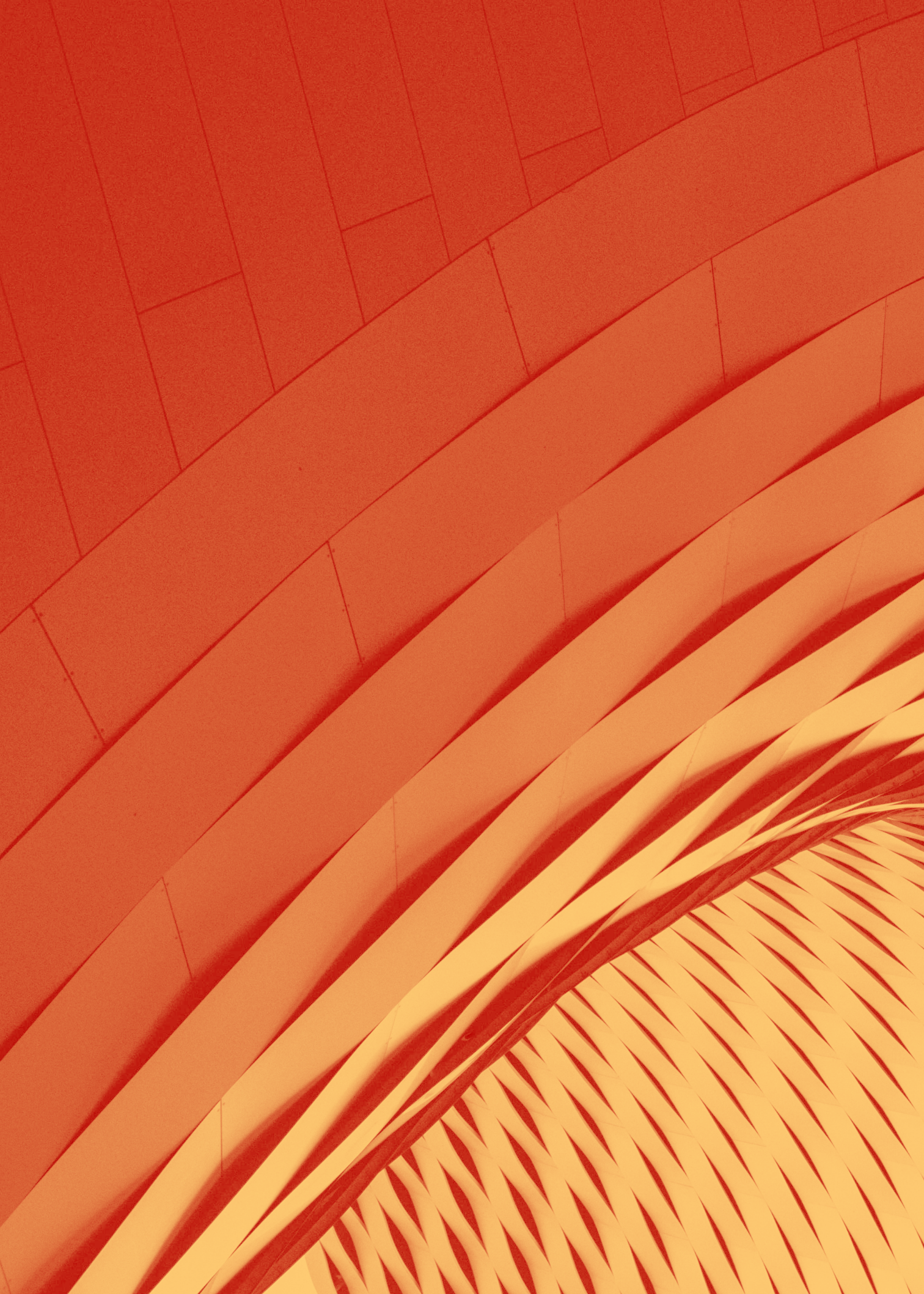
**GAHIF** – Grupo Ad Hoc de Integración Fronteriza

**IIRSA** – Iniciativa para la Integración de la infraestructura Regional Sudamericana

**MIDES** – Ministerio de Desarrollo Social

**RAN** – Reunión de Alto Nivel

**UNASUR** – Unión de Naciones Suramericanas



## **Reabilitação Urbana: Novo Paradigma das Políticas Urbanas na Cidade do Porto**

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**RESUMO**

São expostas razões da importância crescente da reabilitação urbana, dando-se particular destaque ao âmbito político, jurídico e legislativo português.

Analisam-se alguns indicadores estatísticos sobre a reabilitação urbana em Portugal, que apontam uma aproximação aos parâmetros médios da União Europeia.

É dada ênfase à reabilitação urbana da cidade do Porto, onde são já visíveis as transformações espaciais, o aumento da atividade económica e as melhorias na qualidade de vida da população. Salienta-se o papel impulsionador dos poderes públicos, designadamente da Sociedade de Reabilitação Urbana – Porto Vivo, bem como a progressiva participação e empenho da sociedade civil.

Considera-se a reabilitação urbana protagonista de um novo paradigma do desenvolvimento, e concluiu-se apresentando novas políticas públicas para a reabilitação assentes em 3 dimensões: dimensão estratégica, dimensão legislativa e dimensão financeira.

Estas dimensões, alicerçadas em medidas e instrumentos já desenhados ou a desenvolver, são essenciais para consolidar o processo de reabilitação urbana, proporcionando tecidos urbanos mais coesos e sustentáveis.

**PALAVRAS CHAVE**

Políticas Públicas; Reabilitação Urbana, Indicadores da Reabilitação.

**ABSTRACT**

The chapter sets out the main reasons for the growing importance of urban regeneration, with particular emphasis on the political, legal and Portuguese legislative framework. They are presented and analyzed some recent statistical indicators on urban renewal in Portugal, which show an approximation to the average parameters of the European Union.

It is given emphasis to the urban renewal of the city of Porto, where are visible the spatial transformations, increased economic activity and improvements in people's quality of life. It emphasizes the leading role of public authorities, namely the Urban Rehabilitation Society – Porto Vivo, as well as the progressive participation and involvement of civil society.

Urban regeneration is considered protagonist of a new development paradigm, and conclusions are drawn by presenting new public policies for rehabilitation based on three dimensions: strategic, legislative and financial dimensions. These dimensions, founded on measures and instruments already designed or developed, are essential to consolidate the process of urban regeneration, providing more cohesive and sustainable urban fabric.

**KEYWORDS**

Public Policies; Urban Renewal; Rehabilitation Indicators.

**1. A RELEVÂNCIA DA REABILITAÇÃO URBANA**

Ao longo das últimas décadas assistiu-se a uma intensa degradação dos centros urbanos das cidades portuguesas. Possuindo geralmente uma localização geográfica privilegiada e um património arquitetónico riquíssimo, os centros urbanos foram progressivamente votados ao abandono e à degradação.

Muitos fatores contribuíram para a degradação dos centros das cidades. O seu declínio esteve fortemente relacionado com as mudanças políticas, funcionais e tecnológicas que alteraram os equilíbrios espaciais. Como resultado, assistiu-se nos centros urbanos a uma excessiva concentração

do sector terciário, ao êxodo da população residente para as periferias (gerando-se diariamente enormes fluxos de tráfego), bem como à diminuição da diversidade funcional que caracterizava as velhas centralidades. Gradualmente, foi-se observando a substituição de atividades tradicionais próximas da população por novas atividades, muitas vezes, desconectadas da sua envolvente. Deste modo, os cafés deram lugar aos bancos e às lojas informáticas e as habitações aos escritórios.

Os centros das cidades tornaram-se densos e intransitáveis durante o dia e, em muitos casos, espaços desertos e



desagradáveis, entregues a turistas e a excluídos a partir do final da tarde.

Salvo honrosas exceções, os Governos esqueceram-se dos centros urbanos e os privados deixaram de investir em áreas pouco apelativas em termos comerciais e socialmente problemáticas (Branco-Teixeira, 2010).

Este processo de degradação urbana cresceu em espiral, estendendo-se rapidamente à envolvente dos centros, afastando a população jovem e dinâmica das zonas centrais, progressivamente menos atrativas para o investimento e a vivência urbana.

O reconhecimento desta grave situação de degradação dos centros urbanos, cuja continuidade punha em causa a própria sustentabilidade económica e social dos países, ocorreu tanto a nível europeu como nacional, e permitiu a criação de políticas e instrumentos tendentes a inverter a degradação do parque habitacional português.

A reabilitação dos centros urbanos começou a ser considerada pelos técnicos e pelos decisores políticos como um vetor imprescindível para o desenvolvimento sustentável das cidades e a melhoria das condições de vida das populações. Com efeito, e apesar do seu declínio, as zonas centrais possuem um enorme potencial, continuando a manter atividades de elevado valor, sobretudo relacionadas com as funções institucionais, culturais, económicas e turísticas. A grande visibilidade e simbolismo que encerram, aliada à enorme carga afetiva que inegavelmente transportam, tornam incompreensível o estado de decadência a que chegaram muitos centros urbanos.

A reabilitação urbana tornou-se assim uma prioridade na resposta a esta espiral do declínio urbano, permitindo desenvolver novas atividades económicas e novos empregos, reduzindo os problemas sociais e promovendo a inclusão social. No entanto, para atingirem estes objetivos, é necessário sustentar a reabilitação urbana em instituições estáveis económica e politicamente, e em políticas de incentivos fortes e de legislação favorável à dinamização do mercado da reabilitação urbana (Breda-Vázquez et al., 2002).

Em toda a Europa, nas últimas décadas, foram criados novos programas, dinamizadas novas instituições e publicada nova legislação para fomentar a regeneração urbana. A regeneração urbana em países como a Alemanha, a Itália, o Reino Unido ou a França representa um bom exemplo das reformas implementadas (Couch, C. et al., 2011). A aposta passou por uma abordagem integrada dos centros urbanos e por uma intervenção determinada dos decisores públicos em favor da promoção do investimento e da sedução de empresas e pessoas para a causa da reabilitação. No caso português, e em particular no Porto, serão apresentados nos pontos seguintes do artigo dados estatísticos (IHRU, 2015; INE, 2015; Porto Vivo, SRU, 2016) que permitem sustentar a relevância crescente da reabilitação urbana.

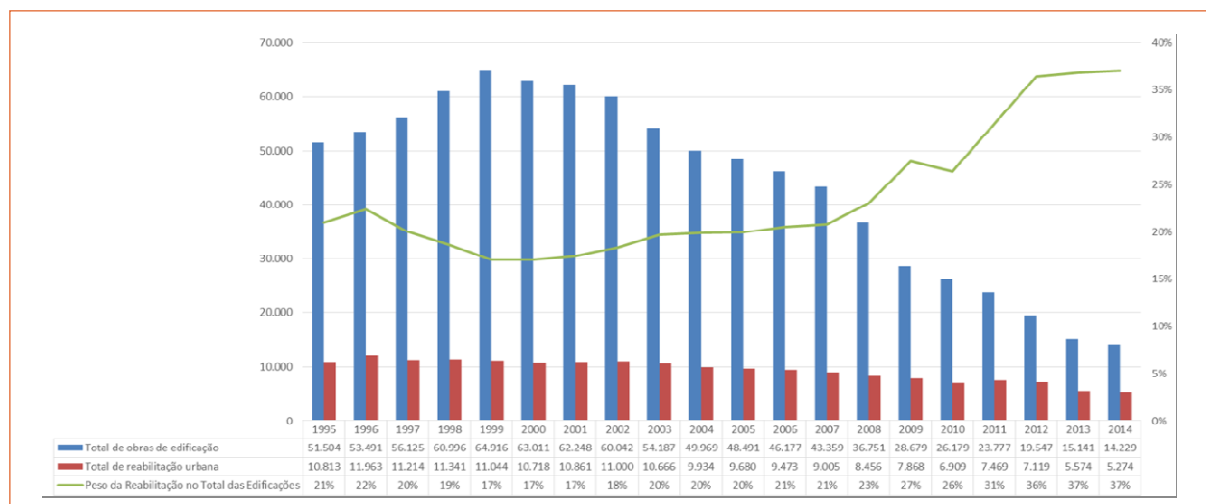
Deve, contudo, reconhecer-se que a reabilitação urbana se afigura como uma operação extremamente complexa, que implica muitas vezes a mobilização de recursos materiais e financeiros consideráveis e o envolvimento de numerosos intervenientes (PTPC, 2015). As ações de coordenação destas operações apresentam um grau de dificuldade muito elevado, exigindo de todos os intervenientes um grande esforço de compatibilização de interesses e de métodos de trabalho para que as operações de reabilitação tenham sucesso.

## 2. A REABILITAÇÃO URBANA EM PORTUGAL

Importa agora compreender de que forma a importância crescente que a reabilitação urbana, abordada no ponto anterior, se tem vindo a fazer sentir em Portugal. Para o efeito, são analisados alguns indicadores do Instituto Nacional de Estatísticas (INE) e do Instituto da Habitação e da Reabilitação Urbana (IHRU).

Assim, e de acordo com a Figura 1, relativa ao volume de produção do setor da construção e do setor da reabilitação urbana no PIB nacional (IHRU, 2015), constata-se que, no ano 2000, o peso da reabilitação urbana representava 1,1% do sector da construção, tendo, desde então, aumentado significativamente, passando a representar 10,3%, em 2013.

**Fig. 1. Volume de produção do setor da construção e do setor da reabilitação urbana no PIB, em Portugal, entre 2000 e 2013**



Fonte: IHRU

Este facto é relevante, tendo em consideração que o sector da construção sofreu um acentuada quebra em igual período, passando de 23,4% do PIB, em 2000, para 9,4%, em 2013. Ou seja, assistiu-se a uma redução considerável do peso do sector da construção no PIB nacional, que não foi contudo acompanhada pela reabilitação urbana, a qual ganhou assim relevância no sector da construção.

Também através da análise do número de edifícios licenciados entre 1995 e 2014 (INE, 2015), quer em processos de construção nova, quer em processos de reabilitação, se observa o peso crescente da reabilitação urbana no sector da construção.

Como evidencia a Figura 2, nos últimos vinte anos em Portugal, o número total de edifícios licenciados atingiu o seu valor máximo em 1999, com cerca de 65 mil edifícios. Desde essa data, esse valor tem vindo a diminuir progressivamente, ano após ano, registando um valor de cerca de 14 mil edifícios, em 2014. Por sua vez, em termos do número de edifícios licenciados para obras de reabilitação, o valor máximo foi atingido em 1996, com quase 12 mil edifícios, tendo vindo a diminuir progressivamente até a um valor ligeiramente superior a 5 mil licenciamentos, em 2014. Ou seja, observa-se que, tanto em termos do número total de edifícios licenciados, como em termos de edifícios licenciados para obras de reabilitação, regista-se uma tendência de decréscimo nos últimos quinze anos, mas muito mais acentuada no primeiro caso.

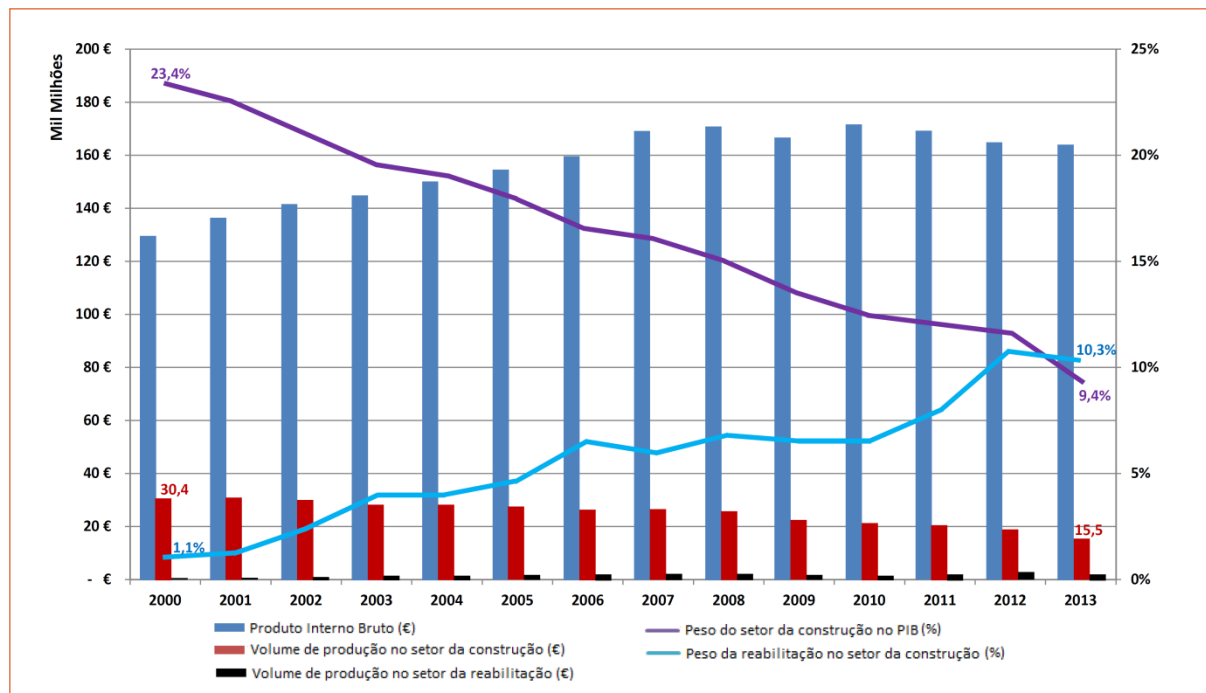
Com efeito, nos últimos quinze anos, verifica-se que o peso da reabilitação, no número total de edifícios licenciados, tem vindo a assumir um valor cada vez mais significativo, designadamente, passando de 17%, em 1999 (o valor mais baixo), para 37%, em 2014. Tal facto, justifica-se pelo decréscimo ser bastante mais acentuado no número total de edifícios licenciados do que no número de edifícios licenciados para obras de reabilitação.

Ou seja, os dados confirmam a diminuição da atividade no sector da construção verificada nos últimos anos, incluindo o subsector da reabilitação. Contudo, confirma-se igualmente que o peso relativo da reabilitação no sector da construção tem vindo a aumentar, o que constitui um sinal evidente não só da importância da reabilitação urbana no sector, mas também da importância económica que representa presentemente para Portugal.

De igual modo, a análise do número de fogos concluídos em processos de construção nova ou de reabilitação entre 2002 e 2014 (INE, 2015), permite obter conclusões semelhantes.

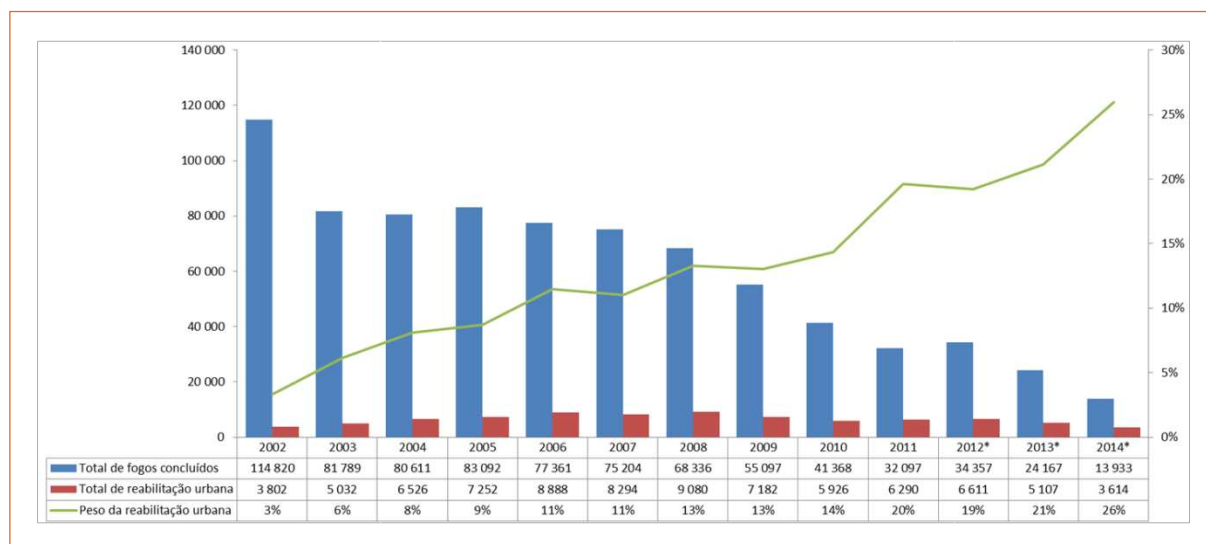
Como mostra a Figura 3, dentro do período de análise, pode-se constatar que o número total de fogos concluídos tem vindo a diminuir acentuadamente, passando de quase 115 mil fogos concluídos, em 2002, para menos de 14 mil, em 2014. Por sua vez, em termos do número de fogos concluídos para obras

Fig. 2. Total de edifícios licenciados e peso da reabilitação urbana, em Portugal, entre 1995 e 2014



Fonte: INE

Fig. 3. Total de fogos concluídos e peso da reabilitação urbana, em Portugal, entre 2002 e 2014



[\*] – Informação com base das estimativas de Obras Concluídas

Fonte: INE

de reabilitação, pode-se observar duas fases distintas. Uma primeira, entre 2002 e 2008, que se caracteriza por uma evolução positiva, atingindo um valor máximo de cerca de 9 mil fo-

gos reabilitados, nesse último ano. Uma segunda fase, após o ano de 2008, onde se regista uma diminuição progressiva até a um valor inferior a 4 mil fogos reabilitados, em 2014.

No entanto, em termos relativos, regista-se uma tendência crescente do peso de fogos rehabilitados relativamente ao número total de fogos concluídos, passando esse valor de 3%, em 2002, para uns expressivos 26%, em 2014.

À semelhança da conclusão anterior, este indicador permite confirmar a diminuição da atividade no setor da construção ocorrida nos últimos anos, incluindo o subsetor da reabilitação, embora este de forma menos acentuada. Todavia, e como se comprova pela análise efetuada, o peso da reabilitação tem vindo a assumir um significado acrescido, registando tendências que se podem considerar consistentes.

Por fim, uma última referência para os dados recentes constantes no Anuário Imobiliário e Energético<sup>1</sup> (Imoestatística, 2015) que refere que, de acordo com a informação relativa ao licenciamento municipal de obras prestadas pelas autarquias aderentes<sup>2</sup>, foram emitidas licenças para 4.600 fogos, entre 2012 e 2014, em Portugal Continental. De entre esses fogos, 55% eram relativos a construção nova e os restantes 45% eram referentes a obras de reabilitação.

Ainda de acordo com a mesma fonte, os municípios localizados na região de Lisboa e do Grande Porto emitiram, em 2014, um maior número de licenças para obras de reabilitação do que para obras de construção nova. Estes dados, representam mais um forte sinal do dinamismo atual da reabilitação urbana, e da grande dependência que o sector da construção tem da mesma.

Em suma, os vários indicadores analisados permitem constatar que reabilitação urbana tem presentemente uma grande relevância no contexto económico nacional, como também refere Ribeiro, F. (2008), sendo seguidamente es-

<sup>1</sup> O Anuário Imobiliário e Energético é uma publicação que visa apresentar os novos investimentos imobiliários lançados em cada ano, ou seja, objeto de alvará de construção ou comunicação prévia. Assenta na informação pública e administrativa relativa ao licenciamento municipal de obras, prestada pelos municípios aderentes e à certificação energética dos projetos imobiliários, concedida pela ADENE, assim como na interação com os agentes do mercado.

<sup>2</sup> São 24 os municípios aderentes, estando sobretudo localizados na região de Lisboa, Grande Porto e Algarve.

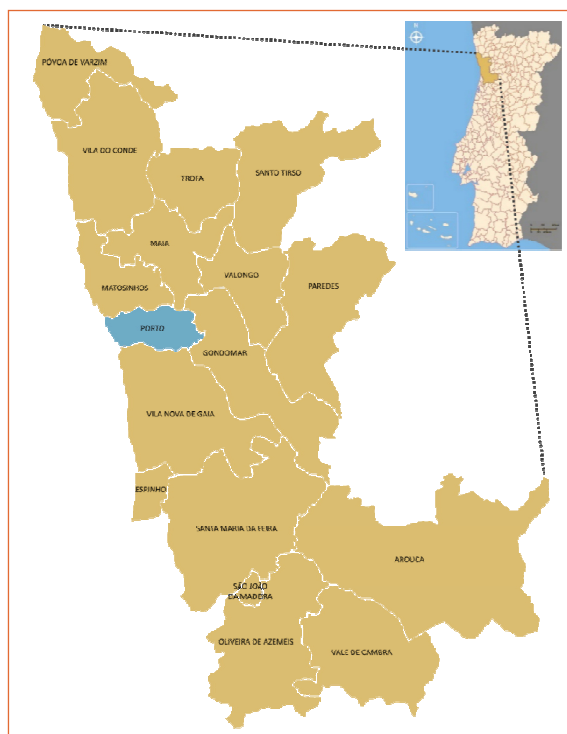
tudado com mais detalhe o que está a acontecer no caso da reabilitação urbana da cidade do Porto.

### 3. O IMPACTO FÍSICO DA REABILITAÇÃO URBANA NA CIDADE DO PORTO

#### 3.1. Breve enquadramento da cidade do Porto

A cidade do Porto está localizada no centro de uma área metropolitana com aproximadamente de 1,7 milhões de habitantes, distribuídos por 17 municípios (ver Figura 4), sendo também o centro económico de uma vasta região que se estende por todo o noroeste peninsular, abarcando um universo de cerca de 7 milhões de habitantes (INE, 2015).

**Fig. 4.** Localização da Área Metropolitana no Porto no contexto metropolitano



Fonte: Porto Vivo, SRU

A prosperidade económica e cultural do Porto dá-se principalmente durante o século XIX, fruto de uma considerável dinâmica territorial baseada na elevada concentração industrial, na forte atividade comercial e na abertura da cidade ao

mundo, o que contribuiu para o seu enriquecimento e para a afirmação do seu carácter cosmopolita. Esta época áurea reflete-se na qualidade do edificado do centro da cidade, nele delimitando-se a designada Baixa e o Centro Histórico classificado, desde 1996, Património da Humanidade pela UNESCO [ver Figura 5].

**Fig. 5. O Centro Histórico do Porto – Património Mundial da Humanidade**



Fonte: Porto Vivo, SRU

De acordo com o último período censitário, em 2011, a cidade do Porto albergava cerca de 237 mil habitantes, o que representa um decréscimo de quase 90 mil habitantes nas últimas três décadas [ver Tabela 1]. Aliás, neste período de tempo, a cidade apresentava parâmetros socioeconómicos com fortes tendências negativas: a população mais jovem emigrou, essencialmente, para os concelhos vizinhos; muitas empresas mudaram as suas sedes para outros municípios e o comércio tradicional perdeu vitalidade e clientes, principalmente, para os centros comerciais localizados na coroa metropolitana e servidos por novas e estruturantes vias rodoviárias [CMP, 2014 e Ferrão, 2003].

**Tabela 1. Variação da população na cidade do Porto, entre 1981 e 2011**

Anos	População Residente	
	N.º	Variação
1981	327.368	–
1991	302.472	–8%
2001	263.131	–13%
2011	237.591	–10%
Variação entre 1981 – 2011	89.777	–27%

Fonte: INE

Nesse período de tempo, a forte perda demográfica, o abandono e degradação de edifícios, o envelhecimento da população, principalmente, daqueles com baixo rendimento e mais baixas qualificações e, ainda, o decréscimo considerável dos níveis de conforto das próprias habitações, resultaram, inevitavelmente, na acentuada desertificação da baixa da cidade e do centro histórico. De acordo com os dados do Censo de 2001, 19% dos edifícios estavam altamente degradados, necessitando de profunda reabilitação e 45% teriam necessidade de pequenas ou médias reparações.

Para além disso, registavam-se outros fenómenos como exclusão social, insegurança e delinquência, sobretudo nas zonas mais centrais da cidade.

Em suma, nas últimas décadas, o edificado degradou-se e a cidade do Porto perdeu competitividade económica e coesão social. Algo tinha de ser feito para mudar este cenário, dado que a cidade do Porto encerra um passado importante e um potencial de desenvolvimento que é garantia e fator de esperança. Pelo que, como refere Santos (2014), se assumiu a reabilitação urbana como uma aposta essencial para dar ao Porto a relevância e prestígio que teve no passado e que merece por direito próprio.

### 3.2. A reabilitação urbana na cidade do Porto

Foi a partir do início do século XXI, que a orientação estratégica para a reabilitação urbana do município adquiriu maior dimensão e significado, assistindo-se a um fenómeno de transformação urbana muito expressivo, em particular liderado pela Baixa e pelo Centro Histórico da cidade.

Até então, as intervenções de reabilitação urbana na cidade do Porto estiveram a cargo essencialmente do CRUAR (Comissariado para a Renovação Urbana da Área de Ribeira-Barredo) e da sociedade Casa da Música/Porto 2001, S.A., e focalizaram-se no quase exclusivamente no Centro Histórico<sup>3</sup>. Embora tivessem tido uma importância assinalá-

<sup>3</sup> De referir igualmente o papel da Fundação para o Desenvolvimento da Zona Histórica do Porto (FDZHP).

vel, serviram sobretudo de referência para as intervenções que viriam a ser planeadas e desenvolvidas posteriormente [CMP, 2000].

A filosofia subjacente à reabilitação urbana adquiriu novos contornos, passando a englobar um território mais vasto, a Baixa do Porto, para onde entretanto se tinham expandido os fatores de degradação urbana que antes contaminaram sobretudo o Centro Histórico do Porto. De uma intervenção limitada no território e suportada quase exclusivamente no investimento público, delineou-se uma outra forma de atuação em que o cerne do processo se deslocou para a intervenção privada, remetendo-se o papel da entidade pública ao incentivo desse processo e ao cumprimento, no domínio público, das suas responsabilidades tradicionais.

Marco importante para a mudança ocorrida, foi a entrada em vigor do Regime Jurídico Excepcional de Reabilitação Urbana, Decreto-Lei n.º 104/2004, de 7 de Maio, através do qual o Governo autorizou que o Instituto Nacional de Habitação (atualmente, IHRU – Instituto da Habitação e da Reabilitação Urbana) participasse no capital social da Porto Vivo, SRU – Sociedade de Reabilitação Urbana da Baixa Portuense S.A., com a missão de promover a reabilitação urbana na cidade do Porto.

Assim, foi criada a Porto Vivo, SRU empresa de capitais exclusivamente públicos, cujos acionistas são o Estado, representado pelo IHRU – Instituto da Habitação e da Reabilitação Urbana, IP, e a Câmara Municipal do Porto.

À Porto Vivo, SRU cabe a função de impulsionar a reabilitação urbana na respetiva zona de intervenção, designadamente, elaborando a estratégia de intervenção e atuando como mediadora entre proprietários e investidores, entre proprietários e arrendatários e, em caso de necessidade, tomando a seu cargo as operações de reabilitação, com os meios legais de que dispõe.

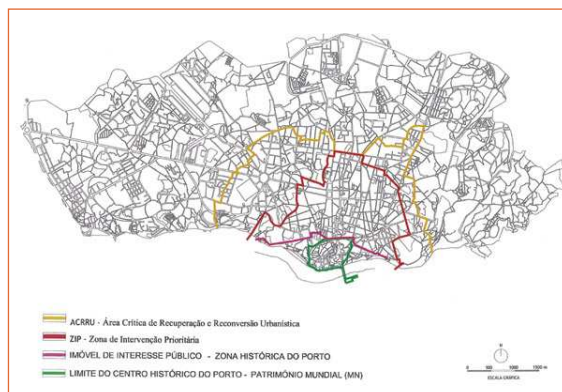
Nas zonas de intervenção das sociedades de reabilitação urbana, constituídas ao abrigo do Decreto-Lei n.º 104/2004, de 7 de Maio, são elas próprias que assumem a qualidade de entidade gestora, sendo que a reabilitação continua a ser enquadrada pelos instrumentos de programação e exe-

cução aprovados de acordo com o referido nesse mesmo diploma.

A Porto Vivo, SRU começou por ter, estatutariamente, como área de intervenção, a Área Crítica de Recuperação e Re-conversão Urbanística (ACRRU)<sup>4</sup>, com cerca de 1.000 hectares, ou seja, cerca de um quarto do concelho do Porto. Por razões operacionais, foi delimitada uma área menor, denominada Zona de Intervenção Prioritária (Z.I.P.), onde se concentrou o principal esforço de reabilitação urbana.

Como se observa na Figura 6, a Zona de Intervenção Prioritária compreendia uma área com cerca de 500 hectares, englobando o Centro Histórico do Porto (classificado como Património da Humanidade) a baixa tradicional e áreas substanciais das freguesias do Bonfim, Santo Ildefonso, Massarelos e Cedofeita, correspondendo essencialmente às zonas de crescimento da cidade nos séculos XVIII e XIX.

Fig. 6. ACRRU e Centro Histórico do Porto



Fonte: Porto Vivo, SRU

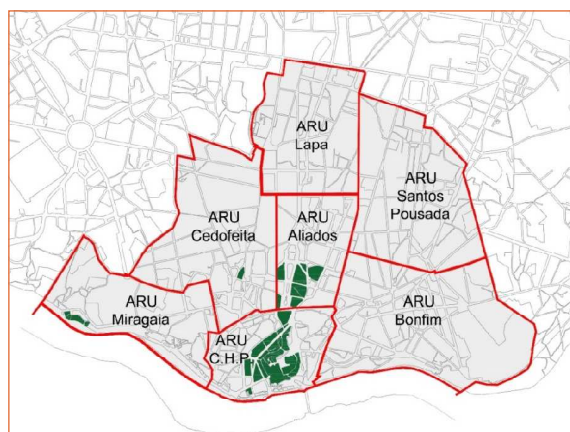
Com a aprovação da delimitação da Área de Reabilitação Urbana do Centro Histórico do Porto (ARU-CHP), a Porto Vivo, SRU tornou-se a entidade gestora do processo de reabilitação urbana conduzido na primeira Área de Reabilitação Urbana, em termos nacionais, criada ao abrigo do Decreto-Lei n.º 307/2009, de 23 de Outubro.

<sup>4</sup> Decreto Regulamentar n.º 11/2000, de 24 de Agosto.

Entretanto, no âmbito do processo de revisão e atualização da estratégia definida para a ZIP, no final de ano de 2014, foram criadas outras seis novas áreas de reabilitação urbana (Aliados, Cedofeita, Bonfim, Miragaia, Lapa e Santos Pousada), embora ainda sem entidade gestora definida (ver Figura. 7).

A estratégia definida pela SRU para a operação de revitalização urbana da Baixa do Porto, devidamente incorporada no Masterplan (Porto Vivo, SRU, 2005a), considera que, para além do tradicional planeamento físico, o planeamento das vertentes social e económica é fundamental, pelo que foi tido em atenção no contexto do desenvolvimento estratégico da cidade do Porto. Outro fator, especialmente importante, refere-se à necessidade de promover intervenções que garantam a sustentabilidade nos seus mais diversos domínios, nomeadamente que respeitem a identidade dos locais objeto de transformações e que apostem na criatividade, no conhecimento e na inovação, de forma assegurar o sucesso das mesmas a longo prazo.

**Fig. 7. Áreas de Reabilitação Urbana**



Fonte: Porto Vivo, SRU

No âmbito do desenvolvimento dos projetos de execução preconiza-se que sejam atendidos os princípios e objetivos do desenvolvimento sustentável: qualificação ambiental, valorização e racionalização do consumo energético e inovação tecnológica, pugnando assim pela melhoria e modernização das condições de habitabilidade.

Em muitos aspetos, a Porto Vivo, SRU foi pioneira na política de reabilitação urbana em Portugal.

Segundo Santos (2014), desde o seu início, a Porto Vivo, SRU procurou adotar uma postura inovadora na condução do processo de reabilitação, colocando em prática metodologias de simplificação dos processos de planeamento, licenciamento e execução de obras, mas, principalmente, implementando uma gestão territorial mais próxima dos interessados e mais integrada nas suas diferentes componentes, contribuindo assim para reduzir os conflitos, por vezes inevitáveis em processos tão complexos.

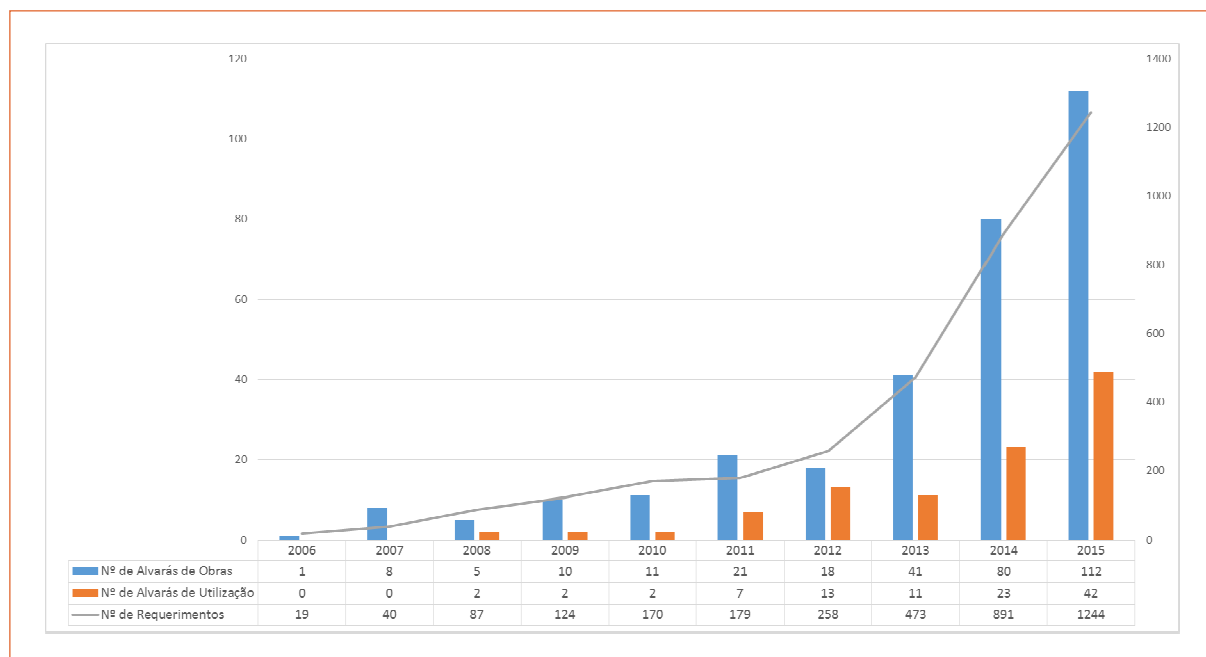
Na sua ação, a Porto Vivo, SRU, procurou que a reabilitação dos edifícios fosse concretizada pelos respetivos proprietários, através da celebração de acordos de reabilitação. Estes acordos traduzem-se em contratos que vinculam as partes, tendo em vista o propósito de promover a reabilitação de edifícios, assumindo o privado o investimento necessário, mas comprometendo-se a entidade pública a disponibilizar todo o acompanhamento inerente ao processo de licenciamento, apoio, orientação técnica e financeira, nomeadamente, com a disponibilização de incentivos fiscais para desonerar a respetiva equação financeira necessária à intervenção.

Enquanto entidade gestora do processo urbanístico no Centro Histórico do Porto e das unidades de intervenção com documento estratégico aprovado, a Porto Vivo, SRU tem vindo a registar um incremento muito significativo de requerimentos e emissão de alvarás para operações de reabilitação urbana de iniciativa privada, como se pode verificar na Figura 8.

Na área de intervenção da Porto Vivo, SRU, que engloba a Área de Reabilitação Urbana do Centro Histórico do Porto e os restantes quarteirões com documento estratégico aprovado, registava-se, no final de 2015, um valor acumulado de 307 alvarás de obra (112 dos quais em 2015) e 102 alvarás de utilização (42 dos quais em 2015). Só em 2015, foram rececionados 1.244 requerimentos, face a um total acumulado de 3.485, entre 2006 e 2015 (Porto Vivo, SRU, 2016).

Esta análise permite constatar um forte crescimento tanto ao nível do número de requerimentos como ao nível de emissão de alvarás de obras e/ou de utilização ocorrido nos últimos anos, o que atesta bem o dinamismo já induzido no processo de reabilitação urbana em curso na cidade do Porto.

Fig. 8. N.º de Requerimentos e de Alvarás de Obras e de Utilização, entre 2006 e 2015



Fonte: Porto Vivo, SRU

Tabela 2. Distribuição do Número e Valor de Transações por Localização (antiga ACCRU e ARU CHP), em 2015, Variação Homóloga e Total 2007-2015

Localização	2014		2015		Variação Homóloga		Total 2007-2015	
	N.º	Valor [€]	N.º	Valor [€]	N.º	Valor [€]	N.º	Valor [€]
Antiga ACCRU	244	67.202.497	449	100.010.212	84%	49%	1387	350.027.334
ARU CHP	169	32.668.770	241	43.142.869	43%	32%	868	175.284.599
Peso da ARU CHP	69%	49%	54%	43%			63%	50%

Fonte: Porto Vivo, SRU. (2016)

De igual modo, da análise da Tabela 2, relativa à distribuição do número e valor de transações por localização, salienta-se o conjunto de 449 transações realizadas em 2015, no território da antiga ACCRU, representando um valor de mais de 100 milhões de Euros. Por sua vez, a Área de Reabilitação Urbana do Centro Histórico do Porto (ARU CHP), representa 54% do número total de transações (241 no total) e 43% do valor transacionado (43,1 milhões de Euros).

Face ao período homólogo, é de realçar o incremento de 84% no número de transações e de 49% no valor transacionado na antiga ACCRU, assim como a variação positiva de 43% no número de transações e de 32% no valor transacionado na ARU do Centro Histórico do Porto.

No total acumulado do período 2007 a 2015, foram registados 1.387 transações na antiga ACCRU, constituindo um valor total de 350 milhões de Euros. O peso da ARU do Centro Histórico do Porto é de 63% do número de transações (868 no total) e de 50% do valor transacionado (175 milhões de Euros). Ou seja, também através da análise do número e do valor de transações se comprova o peso e a relevância crescente da reabilitação urbana no tecido urbano da cidade do Porto.

Os dados analisados evidenciam que, no que concerne essencialmente à vertente física da reabilitação, os resultados que estão a ser obtidos são consideráveis. Conviria, igualmente, analisarem-se os dados relacionados com a vertente humana e social da reabilitação. Infelizmente isso não é possível, dado que não existe ainda essa informação disponível.



No entanto, e face aos dados estatísticos apresentados, é possível antever que a reabilitação urbana será certamente protagonista de um novo paradigma urbano, pelo que, consequentemente, ela deverá ser motivo de forte atenção em termos da definição das políticas públicas para o futuro. Esta questão é merecedora de uma análise mais detalhada no ponto seguinte do capítulo.

#### 4. AS NOVAS REFORMAS DE POLÍTICA PÚBLICA NA REABILITAÇÃO

Depois de analisado o relevante papel que reabilitação está a desempenhar na evolução urbanística das cidades portuguesas, e, em particular, no Porto, importa agora refletir sobre as principais e mais recentes políticas públicas relacionadas com a temática da reabilitação urbana, as quais assentam em três dimensões fundamentais:

- a) a dimensão estratégica;
- b) a dimensão legislativa;
- c) a dimensão financeira.

##### 4 a) A Dimensão Estratégica

Três dos mais importantes documentos de política pública publicados recentemente elegem a reabilitação urbana como um ponto central da sua atenção. De facto, o *Compromisso para o Crescimento Verde*, a estratégia *Cidades Sustentáveis 2020* e a *Estratégia Nacional para a Habitação*, são unânimes no reconhecimento da aposta na reabilitação como estratégica essencial para o progresso de Portugal.

O *Compromisso para o Crescimento Verde* (MAOTE, 2014) visa estabelecer as bases para um compromisso em torno de políticas, objetivos e metas que impulsionem um modelo de desenvolvimento que compatibilize as vertentes económica, social e ambiental, no qual diferentes setores desempenhem o seu papel de uma forma integrada, fomentando sinergias no sentido de ultrapassar os importantes desafios que se colocam atualmente a Portugal.

Apresentando iniciativas novas e retomando outras já existentes, o *Compromisso para o Crescimento Verde* preconiza o estabelecimento de um compromisso de longo prazo multisectorial que contribua para a estabilidade nas ambições e nos objetivos estratégicos, sem comprometer as diferentes opções ao nível dos modelos de gestão. Partindo, necessariamente, da indispensabilidade de um exercício duradouro e inteligente de responsabilidade orçamental, o foco é direcionado para a resolução de outros constrangimentos estruturais que têm impedido, nas últimas décadas, um padrão de crescimento – financeira, social, económica e ambientalmente – sustentável, da economia portuguesa.

Dentro deste compromisso, a reabilitação urbana é um dos 14 objetivos quantificados para o horizonte de 2020 e 2030, designadamente, através da fixação do alargamento do peso da reabilitação urbana no volume da construção civil no país, passando de 10%, em 2013, para 17%, em 2020, e 23%, em 2030.

A aposta estratégica na reabilitação urbana é ainda complementada com a identificação de duas iniciativas setoriais, no domínio das Cidades e Território:

CT3 – Aplicação do Regime Excepcional de Reabilitação Urbana que altera as regras de conservação, alteração, reconstrução e ampliação de edifícios antigos;

CT5 – Criação e implementação de um instrumento financeiro de apoio à regeneração urbana.

No que diz respeito à iniciativa CT3, o indicador de sucesso definido é o peso relativo da reabilitação do edificado habitacional nas atividades da construção civil, de modo a convergir com a média europeia que, atualmente, se situa nos 37%. Já a iniciativa CT5, estabelece como indicador de sucesso o aumento do número de arrendamentos nos centros históricos em 10%, até 2020, e 25%, até 2030.

Da análise global do *Compromisso para o Crescimento Verde* e da aposta, em particular, na reabilitação urbana, torna-se claro uma forte preocupação dos poderes públicos em encontrar respostas e definir metas para: por um lado, contrariar a tendência registada, nas últimas décadas, de

expansão das periferias urbanas, com todas as consequentes ameaças à sustentabilidade ambiental, à organização equilibrada do território e à componente económica e social das pessoas e das famílias; por outro lado, e de modo a assegurar uma desejável contenção dos aglomerados urbanos, dinamizar de forma urgente o mercado de arrendamento, cujo congelamento das rendas desde a primeira metade do século passado até ao 25 de Abril de 1974, provocou um afastamento do investimento na reabilitação do parque habitacional antigo que se foi degradando até níveis insustentáveis no presente.

A resposta dos poderes públicos preconizada no *Compromisso para o Crescimento Verde* passa por um quadro abrangente e integrado de intervenções que incluem: o novo regime jurídico de reabilitação urbana, simplificando os procedimentos municipais de licenciamento e de intervenção em amplas áreas de reabilitação, com especial incidência nas áreas mais degradadas e nos fogos devolutos; a dinamização do mercado do arrendamento urbano, impulsionado pela reforma da legislação que pôs fim a décadas de congelamento de algumas rendas mais antigas, atraindo aos centros urbanos a população mais jovem e as famílias; a adoção do Regime Excepcional de Reabilitação Urbana (RERU) que dispensa, durante 7 anos, para as intervenções em edifícios com mais de 30 anos, o cumprimento de algumas normas que, tornando a reabilitação urbana tão exigente como a nova construção, na prática, inviabilizavam, técnica e financeiramente, aquelas operações; o apoio público, através dos novos fundos europeus enquadrados no Portugal 2020, às intervenções de reabilitação e regeneração urbanas nas áreas carenciadas, nas áreas industriais abandonadas, na habitação social, nos edifícios públicos e na eficiência energética na habitação privada.

Na dimensão estratégica, destaque-se também a estratégia *Cidades Sustentáveis 2020*<sup>5</sup> que, fundamentalmente, pretende evidenciar um caminho para o desenvolvimento territorial, centrado nas cidades e no papel crítico que estas

desempenham na estruturação dos territórios, no seu desenvolvimento e coesão.

Este documento está muito focado no desenvolvimento urbano sustentável e alicerça-se nas opções estratégicas de base territorial estabelecidas no quadro da política de ordenamento do território e urbanismo e seus instrumentos de referência, designadamente o modelo territorial e o sistema urbano vertidos, respetivamente à escala nacional e à escala regional, no Programa Nacional da Política de Ordenamento do Território (PNPOT) e nos Planos Regionais de Ordenamento do Território (PROT), assim como as opções próprias de desenvolvimento estratégico local dos planos territoriais de âmbito municipal e intermunicipal.

A estratégia *Cidades Sustentáveis 2020* procura reforçar a dimensão estratégica do papel das cidades em vários domínios, como o desenvolvimento económico, a inclusão social, a educação, a participação e a proteção do ambiente. Ambiciona, de igual modo, responder às debilidades e necessidades de estruturação urbana do território e atuar no sentido de fortalecer e consolidar a visão de desenvolvimento urbano sustentável partilhada entre os agentes do território, contribuindo assim para a promoção das condições necessárias à competitividade, sustentabilidade e coesão nacional.

A estratégia *Cidades Sustentáveis 2020* configura-se como uma estratégia de âmbito nacional, aplicável ao nível local, para um futuro mais sustentável das cidades, articulando uma Visão com um conjunto de Princípios Orientadores e quatro propostas de Eixos Estratégicos de intervenção: (i) inteligência e competitividade; (ii) sustentabilidade e eficiência; (iii) inclusão social e capital humano; (iv) territorialização e governação, garantindo a sua articulação com o novo período de programação 2014–2020 dos fundos europeus estruturais e de investimento (FEEI).

Concretamente a aposta estratégica na regeneração e reabilitação urbana fica sobretudo evidenciada no eixo 2, referente à sustentabilidade e eficiência, designadamente, através de três medidas sugeridas como orientadoras para alcançar os objetivos globais já referidos, a saber:

<sup>5</sup> Ver Resolução do Conselho de Ministros n.º 61/2015, de 11 de Agosto.

- > Conter a expansão dos perímetros urbanos, estruturando e requalificando as frentes urbanas e protegendo os terrenos rústicos envolventes da urbanização avulsa e discriminando positivamente a ocupação dos vazios urbanos existentes, sem prejuízo da possibilidade de eventuais e excecionais necessidades de crescimento, devidamente enquadradas e programadas;
- > Promover ações de reabilitação urbana nos centros históricos e em áreas urbanas e periurbanas com carências multidimensionais, fomentando a recuperação, beneficiação e reconstrução do edificado, a requalificação e reconversão de zonas industriais abandonadas e a qualificação do espaço público e das infraestruturas, garantindo condições de conservação, segurança, salubridade, estética, paisagem e ambiente;
- > Fomentar a regeneração urbana na perspetiva da valorização integrada do território, incluindo, não apenas a valorização física e a diversificação funcional, mas ações materiais e imateriais complementares de revitalização económica, social, cultural e ambiental, em especial em territórios urbanos desfavorecidos.

Sublinha-se que estas medidas preconizadas no domínio da reabilitação urbana estão intimamente associadas e devidamente articuladas com outras de igual importância, por exemplo, nos domínios da habitação, do ambiente urbano, do baixo carbono ou das alterações climáticas e, por isso, devem ser entendidas como parte integrante de um quadro de referência orientador para a intervenção nos territórios urbanos, de acordo com as suas especificidades próprias, as opções políticas locais e a estratégia de desenvolvimento urbano sustentável que se venha a consolidar.

Um outro aspeto que merece ser ressaltado prende-se com a respetiva articulação com o novo período de programação 2014–2020 dos FEEI. De facto, a estratégia *Cidades Sustentáveis 2020* promove a devida correspondência entre os eixos estratégicos de intervenção, e respetivas medidas, com as fontes de financiamento mobilizáveis, nomeadamente, as previstas nos programas operacionais temáticos e regionais do Portugal 2020, alimentados numa lógica de pluri-fundo, designadamente, pelo Fundo Europeu de Desenvol-

vimento Regional (FEDER), o Fundo Social Europeu (FSE) e o Fundo de Coesão (FC). Recorde-se que, dada a importância do FEDER neste domínio, foi estabelecido regulamentarmente, ao nível europeu, que pelo menos 5 % deste fundo terá de ser aplicado a ações de desenvolvimento urbano sustentável, facto este que constitui uma considerável garantia de financiamento para a política urbana, em geral, e a regeneração e reabilitação urbana, em particular.

Por último, na dimensão estratégica, e pela sua relevância, justifica-se igualmente analisar a *Estratégia Nacional para a Habitação*<sup>6</sup>.

Há muitos anos que se vinha sentindo a necessidade de aprovação e implementação de uma estratégia para a habitação em articulação com os objetivos de desenvolvimento dos aglomerados urbanos, da reabilitação urbana e da revitalização demográfica e económica, enquanto partes integrantes do universo da política de cidades. Em particular, as profundas alterações financeiras, económicas e sociais verificadas nos últimos anos não foram acompanhadas pela implementação de uma visão estratégica no domínio da habitação, suscetível de sustentar o distanciamento progressivo entre o quadro normativo e as políticas públicas nesse domínio e a mudança da realidade económica e social do País.

A necessidade de alargar o acesso a uma habitação e de melhorar a qualidade de vida dos cidadãos impõe medidas transversais perspetivadas a longo prazo e articuladas com soluções urbanas sustentáveis. Com esse propósito, foi elaborada a Estratégia Nacional para a Habitação (ENH) que tem como principal objetivo a criação de condições que facilitem o acesso das famílias à habitação. Facilidade de acesso no preço, na localização, na qualidade, no conforto, na segurança, nas acessibilidades, na tipologia, na forma de ocupação, na mobilidade, no meio ambiente que a envolve. Em suma, trata-se de conjugar as políticas públicas para atrair investimento privado, articular as políticas económica e fiscal para criar riqueza, poupança e gerar diversificação de oferta habitacional.

<sup>6</sup> Ver Resolução de Conselho de Ministros n.º 48/2015, 15 de Julho.

A ENH é composta por medidas concretas, específicas, elencando, também, as entidades competentes e os indicadores de monitorização e está estruturada em três pilares temáticos: (i) a Reabilitação Urbana; (ii) o Arrendamento Habitacional e (iii) a Qualificação dos Alojamentos.

A ENH assume claramente que a reabilitação e a regeneração urbana constituem um dos principais desafios para o futuro do desenvolvimento das políticas urbanas em Portugal, bem como uma oportunidade única para melhor conhecer as ocupações humanas mais antigas dos centros urbanos e capitalizá-los para a própria promoção desses centros urbanos e estimular as atividades turísticas.

Recuperar o papel competitivo das áreas antigas dos centros urbanos, promover o seu repovoamento e a recuperação do seu parque edificado, em especial o habitacional, são algumas das maiores ambições da presente estratégia e representam, indubitavelmente, uma viragem nos paradigmas que deram prioridade à expansão urbana e à construção nova.

#### 4 b) A Dimensão Legislativa

No plano legislativo, destacam-se três iniciativas que, em comum e de uma forma complementar, dão particular enfoque à reabilitação urbana: i) a Reforma do Arrendamento Urbano, ii) a Lei de Bases Gerais da Política Pública de Solos, de Ordenamento do Território e do Urbanismo e iii) o Regime Excepcional aplicável à Reabilitação de Edifícios ou de Frações.

##### i) A Reforma do Arrendamento Urbano

Muitas das dificuldades com que, hoje, Portugal se confronta no domínio da habitação, resultam do facto de ter adiado sucessivamente a reforma de fundo do arrendamento urbano. A contração do mercado de arrendamento, num processo que já se iniciara na primeira metade do século passado em resultado do congelamento das rendas, e que se manteve e até se alargou após o 25 de abril de 1974, afastou o investimento na reabilitação do parque habitacional anti-

go, contribuiu para o aumento das rendas e para a redução da oferta de casas para arrendar (MROTE, 2014).

Mais recentemente, a crescente procura de arrendamento em consequência da crise do mercado da construção e do imobiliário e a ausência de oferta de arrendamento a preços acessíveis determinaram que a reforma do arrendamento urbano fosse assumida como um objetivo prioritário no domínio da habitação.

De facto, a reforma do arrendamento urbano de 2006<sup>7</sup> não conseguiu dar uma resposta adequada aos principais problemas com que se debatia o arrendamento urbano, especialmente os relacionados com os contratos com rendas anteriores a 1990, com a dificuldade de realização de obras de reabilitação em imóveis arrendados e com um complexo e moroso procedimento de despejo.

Nesse sentido, foi aprovada a Lei n.º 31/2012, de 14 de Agosto, que procede à revisão do regime jurídico do arrendamento urbano, introduzindo várias medidas destinadas a dinamizar o mercado do arrendamento, nomeadamente:

- > Alteração do regime substantivo da locação, designadamente conferindo maior liberdade às partes na estipulação das regras relativas à duração dos contratos de arrendamento;
- > Alteração do regime transitório dos contratos de arrendamento celebrados antes da entrada em vigor da Lei n.º 6/2006, de 27 de fevereiro, reforçando a negociação entre as partes e facilitando a transição dos referidos contratos para o novo regime, num curto espaço de tempo;
- > Criação de um procedimento especial de despejo do local arrendado que permita a célere recolocação daquele no mercado de arrendamento.

<sup>7</sup> Ver Lei n.º 6/2006, de 27 de Fevereiro.

Com a concretização da reforma do regime do arrendamento urbano em 2012, começou-se a assistir à dinamização do mercado, permitindo que o arrendamento habitacional seja hoje a principal alternativa, quer para as famílias que procuram uma casa, quer para os promotores que não as conseguem escoar.

Pode-se mesmo afirmar que, o arrendamento habitacional é a alternativa à aquisição de habitação própria num contexto de diminuição das capacidades de financiamento da banca, de contração do rendimento disponível das famílias e de necessidade de redução do endividamento, emergindo como a principal via para desenvolver uma oferta habitacional a preços acessíveis e que corresponda às novas exigências de mobilidade das famílias (IHRU, 2015).

Neste quadro, e de acordo com o IHRU (2015), a reabilitação e a regeneração urbanas, com capacidade para promover habitação em termos competitivos por contraponto ao declínio da construção nova e à limitação da expansão urbana, são indissociáveis da dinamização do mercado de arrendamento, fornecendo resposta ao problema de acesso à habitação.

## ii) A nova Lei de Bases Gerais da Política Pública de Solos, de Ordenamento do Território e do Urbanismo<sup>8</sup>.

A nova Lei de Bases Gerais da Política Pública de Solos, de Ordenamento do Território e do Urbanismo dá um grande destaque ao domínio da reabilitação urbana. Assume-se com uma nova geração de programas e planos que procura responder de forma coordenada e transversal às necessidades do planeamento atual, adotando uma visão crítica e inconformista relativamente à expansão física dos aglomerados urbanos com a consequente degradação e despoivoamento dos centros urbanos, a sobreposição de planos e programas com fragilidades na coordenação dos valores a salvaguardar e a integração da resposta às alterações climáticas nos planos diretores municipais (MAOTE, 2014).

Nesse sentido, esta reforma desenvolve-se em torno dos seguintes eixos principais:

- > Clarificação do regime do solo. O solo passa a ser classificado, apenas, em duas classes – solo rústico ou urbano – sendo erradicada a classificação de solo urbanizável. Fica, assim, limitada a existência de terrenos expectantes, promovendo-se a contenção dos perímetros urbanos e a reabilitação das cidades, e gerando, consequentemente, ganhos de sustentabilidade energética e ambiental;
- > Concentração, nos Planos Diretores Municipais (PDM), de todas as regras vinculativas dos particulares. Os programas especiais deixarão de ser diretamente vinculativos aos particulares, tornando o PDM o plano central do processo de planeamento, integrando assim todas as normas dispersas pelos diferentes programas especiais;
- > Reforço da cooperação intermunicipal. O planeamento intermunicipal ganha novos instrumentos de gestão territorial, dando assim a oportunidade aos municípios de promoverem soluções integradas com partilha de infraestruturas e equipamentos. A forte aposta no planeamento intermunicipal é também consagrada pela criação dos planos diretores intermunicipais, apostando assim num modelo de desenvolvimento territorial sub-regional;
- > Atribuição aos municípios de novos mecanismos de gestão do território, tais como a transferência de edificabilidade, contribuindo para a regeneração e reabilitação urbanas;
- > Transformação do solo de rústico em urbano apenas através de planos de pormenor, condicionados à demonstração de viabilidade económico-financeira. Deixam de existir terrenos expectantes, inseridos em solos urbanizáveis, passíveis de edificação casuística e sem garantia de qualidade urbana. A opção da expansão física da cidade passa a ser excepcional e definida apenas aquando associada a uma opção de investimento integrada numa proposta assente em plano de pormenor.

<sup>8</sup> Lei nº 31/2014, de 30 de Maio.

Promovem-se, assim, os investimentos sustentáveis apostando na partilha de responsabilidade do desenvolvimento entre o Estado e os particulares;

- > Valorização da biodiversidade e dos ecossistemas. Está previsto o estabelecimento de mecanismos de distribuição de encargos e de benefícios destinados a compensar os custos decorrentes da proteção de interesses gerais, como a salvaguarda do património cultural, a valorização da biodiversidade ou da proteção de ecossistemas. Viver numa área protegida deverá ser encarado como uma oportunidade, devendo representar um benefício para as populações;
- > Aposta na reabilitação urbana. O foco do desenvolvimento do território deve estar na regeneração dos aglomerados urbanos já existentes. São regulamentados novos instrumentos de gestão do território e assegura-se que a expansão urbana apenas decorrerá quando o aglomerado urbano se encontre esgotado face a novas necessidades. A expectativa de urbanizar tem retirado capacidade para reabilitar.

Da breve apresentação desta nova lei de bases, resulta claro que a aposta na reabilitação urbana assume uma especial importância para o desenvolvimento sustentável das cidades portuguesas. No momento atual, de profundas mutações económicas e sociais – diminuição da dimensão das famílias, envelhecimento da população, desertificação do interior, necessidades de mobilidade devido às mudanças de mercado de trabalho, estagnação do rendimento disponível das famílias – a reabilitação urbana surge como uma opção estratégica fundamental para promover a qualificação dos centros urbanos, a revitalização das atividades económicas, em particular, do comércio tradicional, atrair novos residentes e, com isso, fomentar a redução dos movimentos pendulares casa-trabalho e, consequentemente, os consumos energéticos com os transportes e, de uma forma geral, promover a sustentabilidade ambiental e a qualidade de vida dos cidadãos. Cabe, pois, às entidades envolvidas nas operações de reabilitação urbana saber aproveitar as oportunidades que emergem das mesmas.

### iii) O Regime Excepcional aplicável à Reabilitação de Edifícios ou de Frações<sup>9</sup>

Na dimensão legislativa, merece ainda ser sublinhado o Regime Excepcional aplicável à Reabilitação de Edifícios ou de Frações, cuja construção tenha sido concluída há, pelo menos, 30 anos ou que estejam localizados em áreas de reabilitação urbana.

De salientar que o regime excepcional prevê a dispensa do cumprimento de algumas normas previstas, quer no Regulamento Geral das Edificações Urbanas, quer noutros regimes especiais aplicáveis à construção (acessibilidades, requisitos acústicos, eficiência energética e qualidade térmica, gás e telecomunicações), desde que a operação de reabilitação não origine desconformidades ou um agravamento das existentes ou que contribua para a melhoria das condições de segurança e salubridade existentes.

Porém, este regime tem um âmbito de aplicação restrito, uma vez que é apenas aplicável a edifícios ou frações que se destinem a ser afetos, total ou predominantemente, ao uso habitacional, e, por outro lado, é temporário, porque tem um período de vigência de apenas sete anos. Apesar destas restrições, este regime poderá ser um contributo muito importante para reduzir os custos de contexto inerentes ao processo de reabilitação do parque edificado antigo, através da adoção de soluções construtivas menos onerosas e mais rápidas e, como isso, contribuir decisivamente para a dinamização da reabilitação urbana em Portugal nos próximos anos.

### 4 c) A Dimensão Financeira

Por último, no que se refere à dimensão financeira das reformas de política pública relacionadas com a temática da reabilitação urbana, existem quatro instrumentos e/ou iniciativas que, pela sua importância, merecem ser analisados com algum detalhe: (i) Acordo de Parceria 2014–2020;

<sup>9</sup> Ver Decreto-Lei n.º 53/2014, de 8 de Abril.

(ii) IFRRU 2020 – Instrumento Financeiro para a Reabilitação e Revitalização Urbanas; (iii) IFE 2020 – Instrumento Financeiro para a Energia; e (iv) Programa “Reabilitar para Arrendar”.

O Acordo de Parceria 2014–2020 (Portugal 2020, 2014) define a estratégia e os princípios de programação que consagram a política de desenvolvimento económico, social e territorial de Portugal, entre 2014 e 2020, assim como, estabelece as prioridades de investimento necessárias para promover o Crescimento Inteligente, Sustentável e Inclusivo, em alinhamento com a Estratégia Europa 2020.

Da análise deste documento, resulta claro que o novo ciclo de programação financeira, para o período 2014–2020, reserva um conjunto significativo de oportunidades para as intervenções de reabilitação e regeneração urbanas, nomeadamente, nas áreas carenciadas, nas áreas industriais abandonadas, na habitação social, nos edifícios públicos e na eficiência energética da habitação privada. Estas ações estão previstas serem financiadas pelo Programa Operacional Temático de Sustentabilidade e Eficiência no Uso de Recursos e pelos Programas Operacionais Regionais, em alinhamento com o estabelecido regularmente de afetar pelo menos 5 % do FEDER a ações de desenvolvimento urbano sustentável.

De uma forma geral, pode-se afirmar que a importância da reabilitação urbana e das questões territoriais está esprelhada na centralidade acrescida que esta matéria alcançou nos documentos comunitários que enquadram e regulam os Fundos Estruturais para o período 2014–2020. O Acordo de Parceria 2014–2020 contém disposições que asseguram que a futura geração de intervenções estruturais contribuirão decisivamente para o desenvolvimento territorial integrado e sustentável. Quer por via dos Investimentos Territoriais Integrados (ITI) – que envolvem apoios cruzados de vários Fundos –, quer das Ações Integradas de Desenvolvimento Urbano Sustentável (AIDUS), quer ainda do Programa Operacional Temático Sustentabilidade e Eficiência no Uso de Recursos, a regeneração e revitalização dos centros urbanos é uma das prioridades.

Por sua vez, no quadro da melhoria da eficiência energética e da promoção de estratégias de baixo carbono em áreas urbanas, aponta-se o recurso a instrumentos financeiros que possibilitem apoios à reabilitação no setor da habitação, o que constitui uma significativa mudança de paradigma relativamente ao período de programação anterior que vigorou entre 2007 e 2013.

Foi neste contexto que foram criados dois instrumentos financeiros, um para a reabilitação urbana – o IFRRU 2020 – Instrumento Financeiro para a Reabilitação e Revitalização Urbanas<sup>10</sup> – e outro para a eficiência energética – o IFE 2020 – Instrumento Financeiro para a Energia<sup>11</sup> –, totalizando 600 milhões de euros de fundos reembolsáveis, e que se destinam a promover a melhoria da habitabilidade e a redução da fatura energética.

Os instrumentos financeiros constituem veículos preferenciais para maximizar a aplicação dos fundos europeus, apoiando investimentos que se prevê serem viáveis financeiramente e que não obtêm financiamento suficiente por parte das fontes de mercado.

Os fundos europeus do Portugal 2020 destinados à área das cidades sustentáveis, incluindo eficiência energética, reabilitação urbana e mobilidade sustentável, totalizam cerca de 2.000 milhões de euros, dos quais cerca de 600 milhões de euros concretizam-se através de fundos reembolsáveis. Estes dois instrumentos financeiros permitem disponibilizar até 247 milhões de euros para a reabilitação urbana e 366 milhões de euros para a eficiência energética, que proporcionam através do efeito de alavanca, resultante da articulação deste financiamento com fundos do BEI e da banca de retalho, um volume de financiamento de cerca de 3.000 milhões de euros, até 2020, nas áreas da reabilitação urbana e da eficiência energética<sup>12</sup>.

<sup>10</sup> Resolução de Conselho de Ministros n.º 52-A/2015, de 23 de Julho.

<sup>11</sup> Resolução de Conselho de Ministros n.º 57/2015, de 30 de Julho.

<sup>12</sup> Comunicação do Conselho de Ministros (Em linha) Acessível: <http://www.portugal.gov.pt/pt/os-ministerios/ministerio-do-ambiente-ordenamento-do-territorio-e-energia/mantenha-se-atualizado/20150723-maote-reabilitacao-urbana.aspx>. (04/09/2015).

No caso do instrumento financeiro para a reabilitação urbana, o financiamento dirige-se à administração pública, às empresas e à habitação particular. Pretende-se potenciar a reabilitação integral dos edifícios com idade igual ou superior a 30 anos, ou, no caso de idade inferior, que demonstrem um nível de conservação igual ou inferior a dois. O instrumento financeiro destina-se também ao espaço público, desde que surja associado a ações de reabilitação do conjunto edificado, e aos espaços e unidades industriais abandonadas com vista à sua reconversão.

No que se refere à eficiência energética, destinado à utilização de energias renováveis para autoconsumo na administração central e local e à promoção da eficiência nas habitações particulares, privilegiam-se os projetos destinados ao edificado existente com pior desempenho energético e que promovam a redução do consumo de energia em pelo menos 15% e ao aumento de pelo menos dois níveis no certificado de desempenho energético.

Por último, o Programa "*Reabilitar para Arrendar*"<sup>13</sup> tem como objetivo o financiamento de operações de reabilitação de edifícios com idade igual ou superior a 30 anos, que após reabilitação deverão destinar-se predominantemente a fins habitacionais. Estas frações dirigem-se a arrendamento em regime de renda condicionada.

Este programa tem uma dotação inicial de 50 milhões de euros, contando com o apoio financeiro do Banco Europeu de Investimento e do Banco de Desenvolvimento do Conselho da Europa. Podem candidatar-se a este programa pessoas singulares ou coletivas, de natureza privada ou pública, que sejam proprietárias de edifícios, ou parte de edifícios a reabilitar, ou ainda que demonstrem serem titulares de direitos e poderes sobre os mesmos que lhes permitam onerá-los e agir como donos de obra no âmbito de contratos de empreitada.

<sup>13</sup> Toda a informação sobre o Programa "*Reabilitar para Arrendar*" pode ser consultada em: [http://www.portaldahabitacao.pt/pt/portal/reabilitacao/reabilitarparaarrendar\\_ha/reabilitarparaarrendar\\_habitacao\\_acessivel.html](http://www.portaldahabitacao.pt/pt/portal/reabilitacao/reabilitarparaarrendar_ha/reabilitarparaarrendar_habitacao_acessivel.html) (04/09/2015).

## 5. CONCLUSÃO

Nos últimos anos, a reabilitação urbana tem vindo a assumir uma importância crescente no discurso e na agenda de técnicos, empresários, académicos e decisores públicos a nível europeu.

De forma gradual, vai-se implantando na sociedade uma cultura que reconhece e valoriza o papel da reabilitação urbana para potenciar a atividade económica e melhorar a qualidade de vida das populações. Sinais claros deste facto são visíveis no aumento das intervenções de reabilitação urbana que têm acontecido um pouco por toda a parte, impulsionando a revitalização do edificado e a criação de espaços com maior qualidade urbanística e ambiental.

Este é o caso concreto da reabilitação urbana em curso na cidade do Porto, analisada ao longo deste artigo, onde se pôde constatar através de vários indicadores estatísticos do sector da construção civil que a reabilitação urbana tem vindo progressivamente a afirmar-se, sendo já observáveis muitas transformações espaciais no tecido urbano.

Para tal, muito contribuiu a criação de condições legislativas e de organização institucional mais adequadas à promoção da reabilitação urbana. Com efeito, a legislação portuguesa tem vindo a tornar-se mais específica, flexível e adaptada aos condicionantes e requisitos da realidade nacional ao nível do espaço edificado.

As instituições têm procurado agilizar os processos administrativos, de modo a estarem mais próximas dos destinatários e a terem maior capacidade de responder com eficácia à complexidade das operações de reabilitação urbana.

Neste sentido, é essencial desenvolverem-se estratégias na reabilitação urbana assentes numa estreita articulação e colaboração entre a administração central e local, assegurando as melhores ligações entre todos os intervenientes, e a participação e responsabilização das comunidades locais.

A reabilitação pressupõe uma forte participação dos privados. Assim sendo, entende-se como vital o estabelecimento de um clima institucional que favoreça a implementação



de parcerias público-privado, onde se definam regras verdadeiramente operacionais, que permitam o desenvolvimento de ações concretas de reabilitação urbana.

Foi baseada nesta nova forma de encarar as intervenções urbanas que a Sociedade de Reabilitação Urbana – Porto Vivo tendo vindo a obter bons resultados na reabilitação urbana da cidade do Porto. Com efeito, as políticas públicas para a área da reabilitação urbana na cidade do Porto têm registado uma grande dinâmica construtiva nos últimos anos, o que tem permitido os resultados evidenciados no número e valor das transações de imóveis no centro do Porto.

O conjunto de reformas de políticas públicas, aqui enunciado, constitui um novo quadro de referência que muito poderá contribuir para incrementar nos próximos anos a reabilitação urbana em Portugal. Aliás, e segundo as dimensões equacionadas – estratégica, legislativa e financeira – fica demonstrada a preocupação crescente dos decisores políticos para eleger a reabilitação urbana como uma área prioritária da ação pública com impacto direto significativo na dinamização económica das cidades, na criação de empregos, na atração e fixação de populações, na revitalização do comércio tradicional, no turismo e nas múltiplas atividades ligadas à cultura e ao lazer.

As dimensões estratégica, legislativa e financeira materializadas através de medidas e instrumentos já desenhados ou a desenvolver, são essenciais para a consolidação do processo de reabilitação urbana, proporcionando tecidos urbanos mais coesos e sustentáveis.

Será pois fundamental que sejam cumpridos, tanto quanto possível, numa fase inicial no centro histórico/Baixa do Porto e posteriormente em toda a cidade, os objetivos elencados nas três dimensões definidas. Entre estes objetivos devem realçar-se a identidade e a organização equilibrada de todo o território, a valorização da componente económica e social das pessoas e das famílias, e ainda a atração para centros urbanos de população mais jovem.

Em suma, trata-se de promover um novo modelo de desenvolvimento sustentado, alicerçado em grande medida na reabilitação urbana enquanto novo paradigma das políticas

públicas, o qual representa um dos principais desafios com que o Porto e o País estão confrontados nos próximos anos.

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## **O REJUVENESCIMENTO URBANO. Cinquenta Anos de Observação Sociodemográfica em Portugal**

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**RESUMO**

Faz-se uma leitura do Portugal urbano tendo por referência a evolução ao longo dos últimos cinquenta anos da estrutura etária e, em dinâmica, da capacidade ou da perda de rejuvenescimento demográfico.

Partindo do princípio de que a população constitui um dos ativos mais importantes para a caracterização dos territórios considera-se:

- O papel da mobilidade espacial no alargamento e na reestruturação da malha urbana, com a passagem de um modelo de ocupação dos espaços assente na fixação de populações para um outro assente na pendularidade.
- O desafio da auto-sustentação e da adaptação dos espaços urbanos em função das características da população que, sobretudo marcada pelo envelhecimento, impõe reestruturas e adoções de políticas globais de forte pendor social.

**Palavras-chave**

Cidade; Envelhecimento; Mobilidade; Competitividade; Reestruturação; Políticas Sociais

**1. INTRODUÇÃO**

Observar as transformações em Portugal continental com base em variáveis demográficas ao longo de cinquenta anos, privilegiando a observação sincrónica pelos extremos temporais, segundo as fontes disponíveis, em detrimento da observação diacrónica, deixa-nos uma primeira impressão: entre 1960 e 2011 a ocupação humana do território mudou profundamente, em consequência da conjugação de uma série de forças que, de alguma forma, se inscrevem numa estrutural tendência marcada por duas dimensões fundamentais:

(i) A mobilidade, que, ao longo do tempo, se foi assumindo pela pendularidade em substituição de mudança residencial, provocando, por isso, uma modificação na forma como, espontaneamente ou deliberadamente, o território global é utilizado e como as suas componentes se articulam em lógicas complementares e concorrentes.

**ABSTRACT**

This paper focuses the relation between the Portuguese urban territory's features and its demographic evolution during the last fifty years.

Assuming that the «population» is one of the most important assets of a territory, it is here embraced two main issues considering its characterization:

- The role of the urban mobility on the process of extension and of reorganization of the Portuguese's urban grids, considering the shift from a model based on internal mobility to another based on obligatory movements involving commuting between locations of residence and work.
- The new social and demographic agendas, inevitably compromised to the new aging population, as significant pillars for urban sustainability and as a challenge for future urban strategies and public politics.

**Keywords**

City; Ageing; Mobility; Competitiveness; Restructuring; Social Policies

(ii) A longevidade traduzida, pela extensão da duração média de anos de vida, num envelhecimento das populações que, por associação com a redução da capacidade reprodutiva, se repercute em toda a organização societária, embora com impactes de graus distintos em função da natureza dos territórios.

As repercussões destas duas dimensões, sendo embora de natureza global, influem particularmente sobre os espaços urbanos com grandes responsabilidades nas formas que, no tempo, eles foram assumindo, designadamente por ajudarem a dirimir as dimensões funcionais e paisagísticas do que tradicionalmente se tinha por espaços urbanos e por espaços rurais.

As transformações foram ocorrendo por si em cada território sem que existisse propriamente uma consciência de que neles se operavam modificações sistémicas, ou seja, que estavam e estão para além das suas fronteiras, sendo, por

isso, do ponto de vista urbanístico, interessante fazer-se o enquadramento do debate pela requalificação e regeneração urbana centrada na racionalidade que o planeamento exige se pensado ao serviço dos cidadãos e dos ganhos em qualidade de vida que lhe estão em expectativa associados.

O crescimento da população urbana é uma realidade não reversível: os espaços urbanos concentram mais de metade da mundial (UN 2014: II), realidade que coloca, a técnicos e a decisores, importantes desafios centráveis da questão da sustentabilidade que, com simplificação explicativa, poderemos equacionar em duas dimensões:

(i) A que se associa aos países que, tendo feito a transferência de cidades industriais para cidades de serviços, com o crescimento efetivo de perímetros de representação, se debatem hoje com problemas de acessibilidades, de poluição atmosférica, de adaptação a mudanças de estrutura demográfica e a equipamentos e a meios adequados que lhes correspondam. É o desafio de poderem ajustar a organização societária à estrutura populacional. Trata-se de, sobretudo, serem capazes de planear os espaços urbanos a escalas correspondentes a realidades de ocupação que, como adiante se discutirá, não correspondem a limites político-administrativos vigentes.

(ii) A que se associa aos países de “economias emergentes” marcados por espaços de crescimento espontâneo e desorganizado, sem planeamento, que procuram encontrar respostas traduzíveis em modificação de condições por somatório de infraestruturas, de habitações ou de espaços públicos.

Se atendermos, por outro lado, a que existem hoje trinta e uma cidades com mais de 10 milhões de habitantes e que, destas, vinte e quatro localizam-se em zonas menos desenvolvidas do hemisfério sul, sem condições mínimas de habitabilidade, de segurança ou de saúde, deduzimos o fracasso dos objetivos “desenvolvimentistas” para os espaços urbanos e o enorme acréscimo de responsabilidade que cada vez mais recai sobre os vários agentes que planeiam, condicionam e sustentam estes territórios de densa ocupação humana (UN 2014: 2-9).

É justamente em função de desafios e de responsabilidades que se justifica repensar a forma como os espaços se agregam, organizam, tendo por base a dimensão humana que tipifica a sua utilização e que tem vindo, como se perceberá para Portugal, a mudar de forma muito significativa. As populações mudaram mas a natureza da organização dos espaços, em termos políticos e administrativos, permaneceu, provocando uma desfasamento face à realidade e às necessidades que urge ultrapassar: “O espaço não é um reflexo da sociedade, é a sociedade” (Castells 1983: 4). Temos cada vez mais uma sociedade que, na sua relação com o ecossistema, do ponto de vista da sua sustentabilidade e na forma com se organiza, não cabe nos espaços que a confinam e que a gerem sem atender aos seus comportamentos reais.

Conscientes do “papel” das cidades enquanto importantes “motores” do desenvolvimento sustentável, questiona-se o modo como as políticas públicas devem tender a assumir, na sua fundamentação e como seu principal objeto, aquele que aqui se considera o seu principal recurso: a população.

## 2. PROCEDIMENTO METODOLÓGICO

Com suporte em informação demográfica proveniente dos censos de 1960 e de 2011 é apresentada uma análise, por idades e por género, sustentada em indicadores macrodemográficos.

A observação territorial, detalhada por municípios, tem em conta estruturas etárias, grupos funcionais, índices-resumo, crescimento da população e densidades.

São tidos ainda em consideração indicadores microdemográficos disponíveis, por referência a um tempo mais próximo, entre 1981 e 2013, que, para as cidades e áreas metropolitanas, descrevem saldos fisiológicos, migratórios e totais.

Em utilização de procedimentos metodológicos clássicos (Cf. Nazareth 1988), os resultados das observações assumem representação gráfica apresentada em anexo.

### 3. ALTERAÇÕES ESTRUTURANTES DA DISTRIBUIÇÃO DA POPULAÇÃO PORTUGUESA

A observação da evolução demográfica continental e, em concreto, nos espaços urbanos ao longo dos últimos cinquenta anos, a partir dos dados fornecidos pelos censos, evidencia um conjunto de transformações que, de natureza múltipla, se traduzem na “falência” da estrutura clássica piramidal, que, progressivamente, foi assumindo configuração “cônica”, deixando antever uma espécie de inversão tradutora de uma conjugação de redução de capacidade reprodutiva com adição de anos de vida: tem havido como que uma espécie de capicua de grupos etários que, no limite, tenderá a colocar “de baixo para cima” o vértice da pirâmide.

A asserção, embora com *nuances* de intensidade, tem aplicação universal pelo duplo envelhecimento demográfico, de base e de topo, sendo embora de destacar as cidades, pelas dinâmicas e metamorfoses que provocam, enquanto espaços de acolhimento e de trânsito de populações.

Se analisada a realidade portuguesa neste meio século, para além do número, numa população residente que, globalmente, passou de 8.889.392 para 10.562.178 habitantes, um acréscimo de 18,8 por cento, é muito na distribuição espacial que se joga grande parte das explicações para o que está e o que vai acontecer. O tema é “histórico” pela recorrência com que tem sido tratado, do ponto de vista académico, ao longo de uma boa parte do século passado.

A mobilidade geográfica resulta da deslocação do emprego, dos serviços e da oferta habitacional que se faz por um jogo permanente, embora estendido no tempo, entre territórios portadores de autonomia parcial que, simultaneamente, se disputam e complementam de tal forma que vão, por simbiose, criando condições de refundação (Maia 2014).

O uso dos espaços foi-se transformando no tempo pela ação conjugada da deslocação de recursos e de pessoas e também pela modificação da estrutura da população.

Trata-se de um processo de “encurtamento de espaços” que não tem sido acompanhado de equivalente transformação nas formas de regulação e de gestão dos territórios,

com tradução insuficiente em termos de racionalização no uso de recursos e de planeamento.

A dispersão de meios e de pessoas, surgindo embora como uma oportunidade ao desenvolvimento harmonioso, não tem tido equivalente acompanhamento na forma como a gestão do território tem ocorrido. Se vista a questão, por exemplo, a uma escala metropolitana, não têm sido os municípios integrantes capazes de edificarem políticas que aí se situem quando, na verdade, as respetivas populações se assumem, nas vivências quotidianas, entre territórios e não, hermeticamente, em cada um deles. Dito de uma outra forma: as necessidades e as práticas quotidianas das populações em muito extravasam os limites geográficos dos municípios de residência, sendo, por isso, necessário ampliar a escala de intervenção e de gestão dos territórios como forma de servir e de racionalizar recursos.

O que tem acontecido, num contínuo de meio século, do ponto de vista demográfico, facilita a implementação de princípios de sustentabilidade territorial que, nomeadamente, vão no sentido da desconcentração de pessoas e de recursos e do facilitamento do ordenamento territorial intermunicipal capaz de se traduzir em progresso social, em proteção ambiental, em uso racional de bens naturais e na manutenção de níveis elevados e estáveis de crescimento e de emprego.

Estamos hoje numa realidade que resultou do plasmar do que se entende por urbano para os territórios que se percebia, em separação funcional clara, por rural: o espaço urbano invadiu, com intermitências, o espaço rural e o que se chama cidade ampliou-se, ganhou escala, inclui o que dantes não lhe pertencia, pese embora, e esse é um dos desafios do que há para ultrapassar, a dimensão administrativa e política de gestão territorial estar confinada ao que há muito não tem correspondência, trazendo essa realidade constrangedora dificuldades de cumprimento dos grandes desafios do nosso tempo em matéria de gestão de recursos e de implementação de políticas que andem a par da forma como os indivíduos se plasmam nos espaços, em consequência, sobretudo da assunção da mobilidade “total” como processo civilizacional de permanente ligação que foi excluindo as lógicas fixistas de associação entre locais de trabalho e locais de residência.

É por isso também que, num outro exemplo, os espaços culturais não são hoje coincidentes com os espaços físicos, levando a que quaisquer agendas locais de afirmação cultural sejam sempre, sobretudo quando falámos de periferias, tentativas fugazes de afirmação por ausência de escala e por flutuação pendular de população que sempre lhes empresta, por um espetro espacial mais abrangente, dimensão e densidade.

A cidade é muito mais, nesse sentido, do que as suas fronteiras administrativas.

#### 4. EVIDÊNCIAS: OLHAR O PAÍS PELOS MUNICÍPIOS

Em cinquenta anos de observação do território à escala municipal, pela taxa de crescimento anual médio, entre valores que registam uma evolução negativa e valores que registam uma evolução positiva, podemos evidenciar que:

(i) o número de municípios na primeira condição é substancialmente superior com clara filiação ao interior, espaço alargado que, embora de forma grosseira, bem se pode atribuir a cerca de dois terços do território continental.

(ii) O crescimento positivo é assumidamente urbano numa assunção da cidade bem para além das suas fronteiras habituais, numa marca de pós-industrialização em que o espaço urbano, em jogo de forças entre complementaridade e competitividade, se alargou para periferias, com destaque para os casos de Lisboa e do Porto, e cresce por disponibilização de espaços para atividade económica, para a alocação de serviços e, em associação, para a edificação de grande intensidade decorrente dos ganhos de autonomia que os municípios adquiriram após a reestruturação institucional advinda da revolução de 25 de Abril de 1974 (Fig. 1).

Trata-se, portanto, de um jogo de forças em que o crescimento urbano, numa escala pró-metropolitana, ocorre em consequência bem mais da “drenagem” de pessoas do interior para o litoral do que por obtenção de saldos fisiológicos positivos.

(iii) Estes dados corroboram a estrutural tendência para o aprofundamento das assimetrias espaciais e dão ênfase aos discursos de combate à desertificação do interior do País.

Portugal assume-se como uma “sociedade dualista” (Nunes 1964) em permanente aprofundamento sem que, até hoje, as alternativas avançadas sejam, na prática, consequentes, pese embora os modelos de possível reversão desta realidade poderem e deverem ser ensaiados: é de pensar, sobretudo, uma outra escala territorial – maior – para que se promova um desenvolvimento harmonioso do território pela racionalização de recursos, esbatendo-se logicas de competitividade micro-territoriais, e evidenciando-se, isso sim, lógicas de complementaridade macro-territoriais que contribuam para a desaceleração das assimetrias galopantes entre interior e litoral e, em funcionamento sistémico, conduzam a uma definição funcional, com autonomia e meios de governabilidade, de *clusters* territoriais (Maia 2014; Marques 2004: 419–431).

Por sua vez, numa análise das formas de ocupação do espaço, na mesma escala, verifica-se que:

(i) O País, quase na totalidade, permanece com densidades muito baixas, até 100 habitantes por quilómetro quadrado.

(ii) Em torno das grandes cidades se alargaram os semicírculos das densidades de maior expressão, acima dos 500 habitantes por quilómetro quadrado.

(iii) A distância entre posições que os territórios detêm, por referência à ocupação humana, é muito tradutora de desigualdades: a ocupação humana é, *grosso modo*, cerca de vinte vezes mais expressiva nos municípios urbanos do que nos municípios não urbanos (Fig. 2 e 3).

Muito mais do que o número de habitantes, as mudanças ocorridas, em cinquenta anos, foram sobretudo de estrutura que, na tendência dos países que percorreram o processo de Transição Demográfica, se fez pelo duplo envelhecimento produzido, *lato sensu*, quase em paralelo, pela diminuição do número de jovens e pelo aumento do número de idosos.

São mudanças muito significativas que, a começar pelos jovens, aqui considerando a população entre os 0 e os 14 anos, identificam uma mudança completa de paradigma pela passagem de uma condição total de jovens situados,

em 1960, entre, no mínimo, 21 por cada 100 habitantes e, no máximo, 40 por cada 100 habitantes, para uma outra situação que, em 2011, oscila entre os 6 e os 15 jovens por cada 100 habitantes (Fig.4 e 5).

A distribuição da população potencialmente ativa, situada entre os 15 e os 64 anos, pelo continente, traduz a desigual distribuição dos centros de criação de valor acrescentado, estando, naturalmente, esse grupo etário confluyente com a concentração do tecido produtivo, ou seja, muito pela faixa litoral e urbana, com destaque até no Norte, território de empregabilidade industrial.

Em alguns concelhos – com se percebe, em tendência que se deverá ampliar – a população potencialmente ativa não supera a população potencialmente dependente, assumindo-se, por isso, a sua menor capacidade de autonomia e de desenvolvimento num quadro de sustentabilidade de bem-estar social (Fig.6 e 7).

Contraste de maior impacto, nestes cinquenta anos, está patente na população com 65 e mais anos, que passou de baixa representação, não mais do que 15 por cento, em 1960, para dominância de alta representação, em 2011, em muitos concelhos acima dos 30 por cento, e, nalguns, designadamente os fronteiriços, com tendência a aumentar, entre os 41 e os 45 por cento (Fig.8 e 9).

A observação das mudanças ocorridas neste meio século do ponto de vista da relação entre os jovens e potencialmente ativos, na sequência do que se afirmou, traduz uma clara baixa de tendência do ponto de vista dos “equilíbrios” expectáveis pela lógica da organização societária em consequência da quebra continuada da capacidade reprodutiva de população, bem mais notória no interior do País, e não no reforço relativo equivalente do número dos que se situam na faixa etária dos 15 aos 64 anos.

O abaixamento da dependência de jovens indicia ainda o agravamento da perda de competitividade do País, a caminhar para uma quase “uniformização” de valores pela negativa, tradutora da emergência do revisionismo a que está cada vez mais sujeito o modelo de Estado Social em que assenta a organização societária vigente e que justifica

a assunção de um outro paradigma de regulação da trilogia Sociedade, Estado e Território pela adoção de uma escala de intervenção macro capaz de substituir, em questões estruturantes, a gestão pública municipal pela gestão pública regional (Fig.10 e 11).

São também muito significativas as alterações na relação entre idosos, pessoas com 65 e mais anos, e potencialmente ativos, marcadas por significativo agravamento, que não apenas filiado ao interior do País: passamos de um quadro de baixa dependência para um quadro de alta dependência, o que, naturalmente, reforça os princípios avançados de revisão da relação entre o estado demográfico e o estado social (Fig.12 e 13).

O índice de dependência total, determinado pela junção jovens e de idosos em confronto com os potencialmente ativos, dá conta de um País que, mais no interior, se “tinge” de concelhos de dependências que lhe subtraem autonomia e competitividade, tendo em conta, nomeadamente, que as faixas etárias não traduzem, bem longe disso, os significados atribuídos a “dependência” e a “produção”. Sabemos bem que, em exemplo, os dependentes “escolares” estão muito para além dos 14 anos e que a população ativa, em termos expressivos, pouca representação tem nas faixas etárias mais jovens (Fig.14 e 15).

A capacidade reprodutiva da população, que o índice de maternidade reflete, caminhou, neste meio século, em parte, por generalização dos processos de contraceção e por assunção de estilos de vida mais próximos do urbano tradutores de uma sociedade de baixa reprodução, que balança entre os 11 e os 20 filhos, faixa de maior expressão, e os 21 e 30 filhos por mulher em período fértil (Fig.16 e 17).

Realidade também visível pela quase total inversão de tendência na relação entre os dois grupos etários de base, passando o dos 0 aos 4 anos a perder representação sobre o dos 5 aos 9 anos nos dois retratos sincrónicos apresentados (Fig.18 e 19).



## 5. EVIDÊNCIAS: OLHAR O PAÍS PELAS CIDADES DE LISBOA E DO PORTO

Nos cinquenta anos de observação analisados, as migrações internas, que implicam a mudança de espaços de residência, persistindo embora, deram lugar a migrações pendulares num processo que, em paralelo, acompanha e promove as alterações que os territórios, em acessibilidades e em meios de transporte, conheceram.

As cidades nucleares, por esta via, alargaram-se e deram lugar a metrópoles, esbatendo-se, no que é hoje indefinido, os binómios campo-cidade, e os centros urbanos de "interior" fizeram-se capitais por aglomeração de populações de territórios de periferias contíguas.

Tem o País assistido, a par das alterações de número e de estrutura, a um processo que, de base, ao nível da distribuição da população se pode concatenar na expressão "esvaziamento demográfico":

(i) "esvaziamento demográfico" dos centros urbanos para as periferias urbanas traduzido na afirmação do urbano sobre o não urbano e potenciando em escala o que se apreende por "região".

(ii) "esvaziamento demográfico" do interior em parcial benefício das suas capitais traduzido na criação de "bolsas" de sobrepopulação relativa que afirmam, de certa forma, o modo de vida urbana na "ruralidade".

As cidades nucleares deixaram de assumir a sua tradicional função de receber e integrar migrantes porque justamente se expandiram e, não se confinando às fronteiras político-administrativas, oferecem em rede funções que se estendem a territórios contíguos.

Enquanto centros de serviços e de lazer, a sua procura, em fluxos de massa diários, não se traduzindo em população fixa, faz-se de um vaivém sazonal e diário, limitando-se a fixação aos que de lá são ou estão há muito tempo e, por isso, a uma população mais idosa.

É justamente o que se percebe pela observação das taxas de crescimento anual médio por grupos de idades ao longo destes cinquenta anos: os grupos etários correspondentes à população jovem e produtora não habitam as cidades nucleares, estão em decréscimo, ao invés do subgrupo da população sénior que tem crescido, em tendência a reforçar, de forma significativa (Fig.20).

Mas também das suas estruturas etárias que se alteraram de forma muito evidente entre os retratos de 1960 e de 2011: duplo envelhecimento e perda de competitividade demográfica se se entender, como se defende, que a população, em dimensão e em forma, constitui um dos ativos mais importantes dos territórios (Fig.22 a 24).

Os centros urbanos, Lisboa e Porto, perderam capacidade de rejuvenescimento quando, em grandes grupos, se observa a evolução etária, ou seja, entre jovens e adultos/ativos, em relação aos ganhos muito expressivos de representação do último grande grupo etário, sendo hoje, por isso, espaços que necessitam de adaptação para os idosos na esteira das recomendações internacionalmente fixadas (OMS 2009).

São espaços que acusam uma dupla dependência: a de jovens, que lhes hipoteca o futuro, e a de idosos, que lhes impõe, cada vez mais, uma condição de inatividade endógena e, com isso, os impele para se abrirem ao exterior de acordo com as capacidades, maiores ou menores, de que disponham para se afirmarem pelo património, fazendo valer, na diminuição do número de pessoas, as suas identidades numa escala que há muito deixou de ser nacional (Fig. 25 a 38).

A capacidade de fixação residencial das cidades centrais há muito que se perdeu num processo paralelo, entre reprodução e migração, de perdas, que, nos cinquenta anos de observação, tendo sido feitas, num primeiro momento, em favor de territórios contíguos, concelhos "dormitórios", são já também, nesta década, de natureza metropolitana, em resultado da tendência para abaixamento demográfico absoluto e para a grande ampliação, cada vez mais presente, da capacidade migratória pendular (Fig. 39 e 40).

## 6. CONCLUSÕES

Os cinquenta anos de observação sociodemográfica, essencialmente sincrónica, permitem perceber que o país sofreu grandes alterações de estrutura que se traduzem numa clara modificação das formas de ocupação humana dos territórios aqui analisados à escala municipal e, com maior evidência, urbana.

Mais do que nunca, são os cidadãos quem, independentemente do seu sexo, raça ou habilidade, constituem o principal recurso de uma cidade, garante da sua sustentabilidade e suporte para a sua competitividade. Da perspectiva inversa, sendo a polis, enquanto espaço democrático significativa e palco de oportunidades e encontros, o principal agente facilitador de qualidade de vida e da realização pessoal da sua população, será necessário procurar novas metodologias e ferramentas para a qualificação e gestão do espaço público mais coadunáveis com a responsabilidade social que lhe são próprias.

Se no passado, aspetos como a proximidade a determinadas vias de comunicação (mar, rios, caminhos) foram preponderantes para a fixação de populações num determinado espaço, em virtude das possibilidades de negócio que estas condicionantes propiciavam, hoje também o lugar que é escolhido para viver é preponderante no tipo de oportunidades – de negócio, de emprego ou de índole social – a que um qualquer cidadão pode aceder (Florida, 2004).

Desta perspetiva, considerando a sustentabilidade demográfica do território como base de um qualquer processo de regeneração urbana, os dados aqui apresentados ressaltam aspetos fundamentais a considerar. A saber:

(i) Os contrastes territoriais, traduzidos nos indicadores utilizados, são muito evidentes, sinal claro de um país que continua a acentuar desequilíbrios entre litoral e interior, entre comunidades urbanas e comunidades não urbanas, com a assunção, no fundo, das áreas metropolitanas como polos quase únicos de dinamização.

(ii) Os territórios urbanos centrais estão profundamente marcados por perda de competitividade demográfica

traduzida em redução do número de efetivos e em duplo envelhecimento, de base e de topo, das suas estruturas populacionais.

(iii) As cidades, tanto pela aproximação de valores traduzidos dos indicadores macrodemográficos, como pela importância que, face ao conjunto, assumem os movimentos das populações, são hoje muito mais do que os núcleos, não estando, por isso, em alinhamento com as formas múltiplas de uso das suas estruturas e equipamentos, o que as impele para a reinvenção que supere os modelos de organização político-administrativa que as gere.

Quer isto dizer que, de futuro, a construção da cidade, por ajustamento às formas sociais de uso, poderá ter muito mais ganhos de escala de institucionalização de poderes metropolitanos em detrimento de poderes municipais.

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## ANEXOS

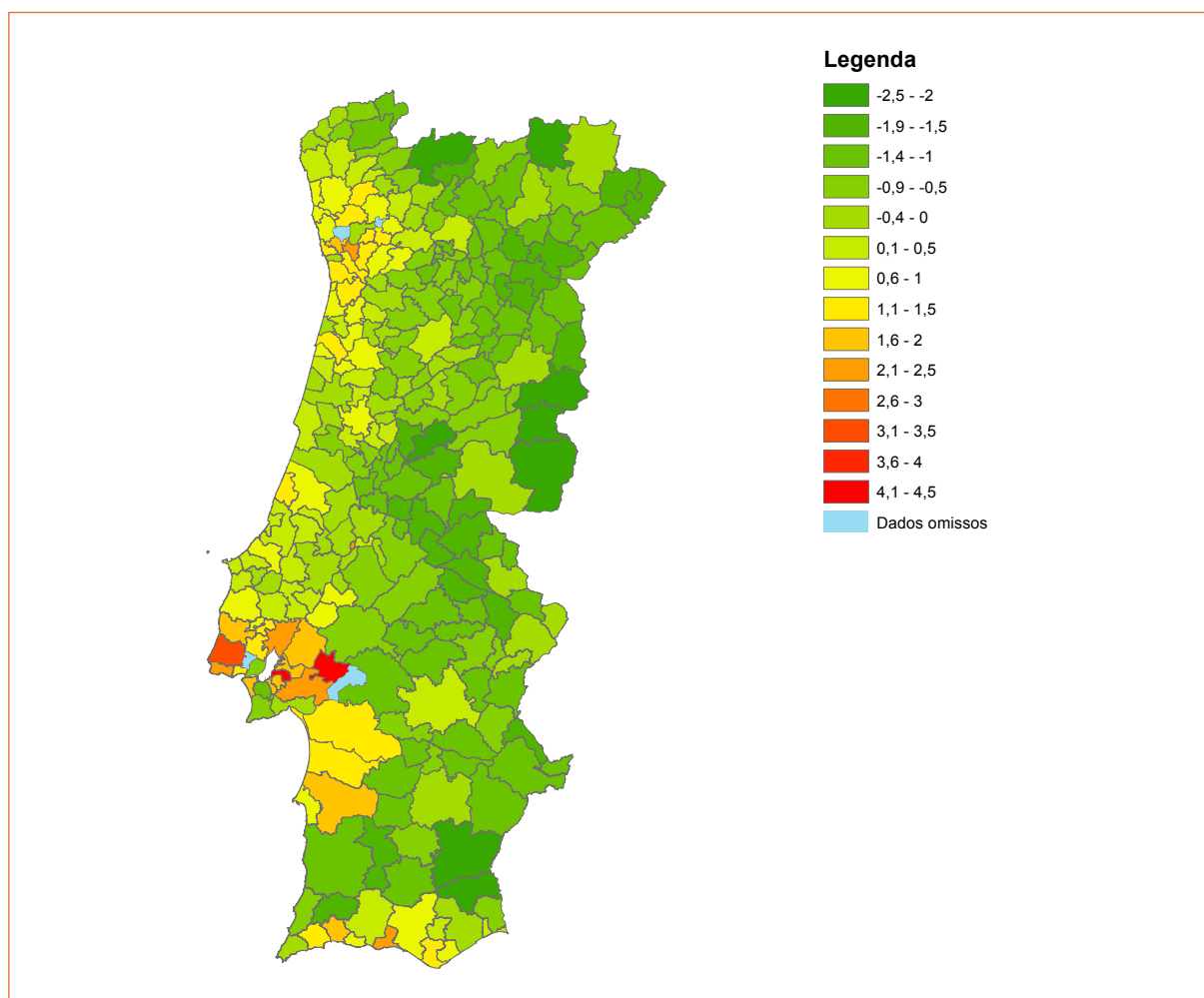


Fig. 1. Taxa de Crescimento Anual Médio por municípios: 1960–2011 Fonte: INE

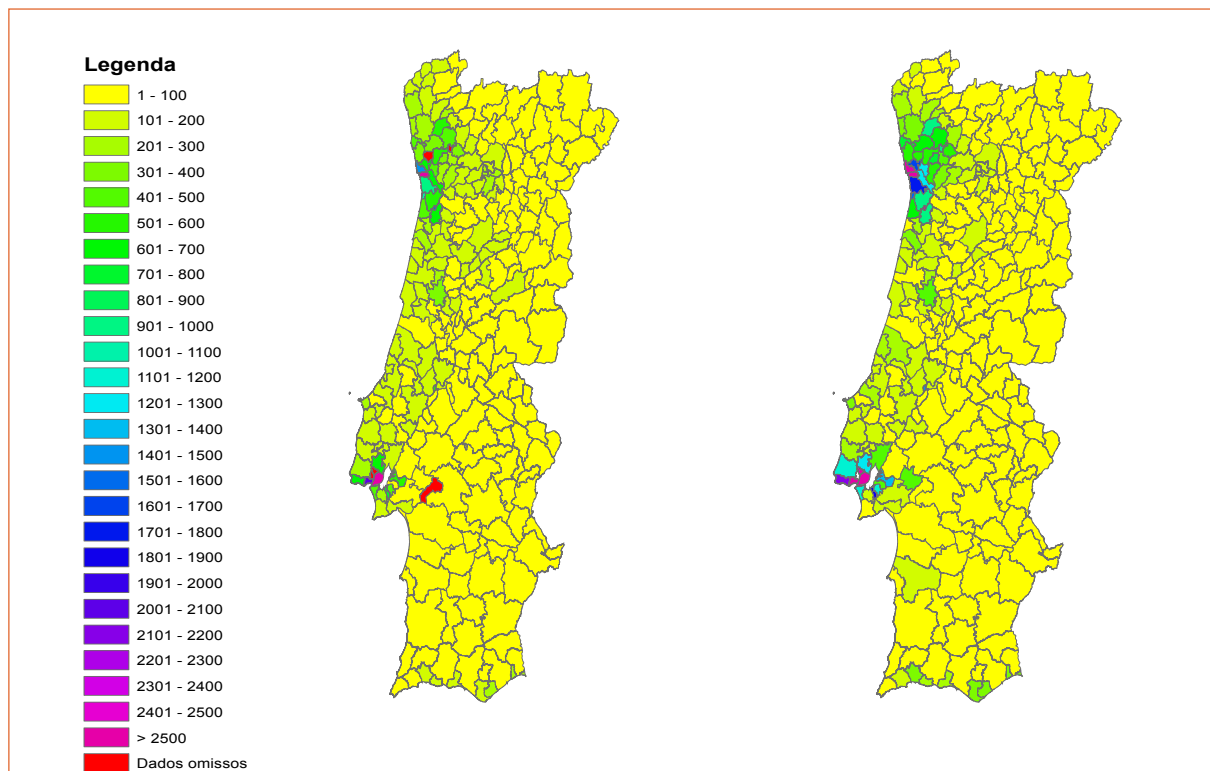


Fig. 2. Densidade populacional por municípios em 1960 Fig. 3. Densidade populacional por municípios em 2011 Fonte: INE

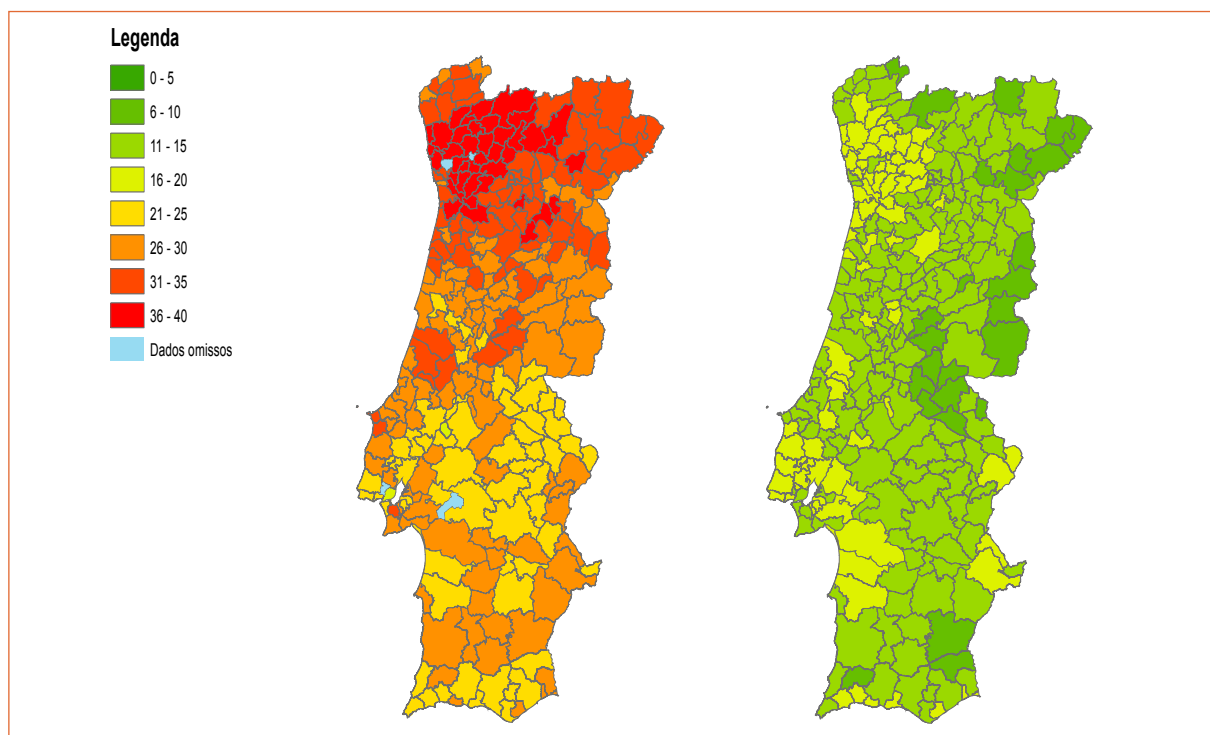
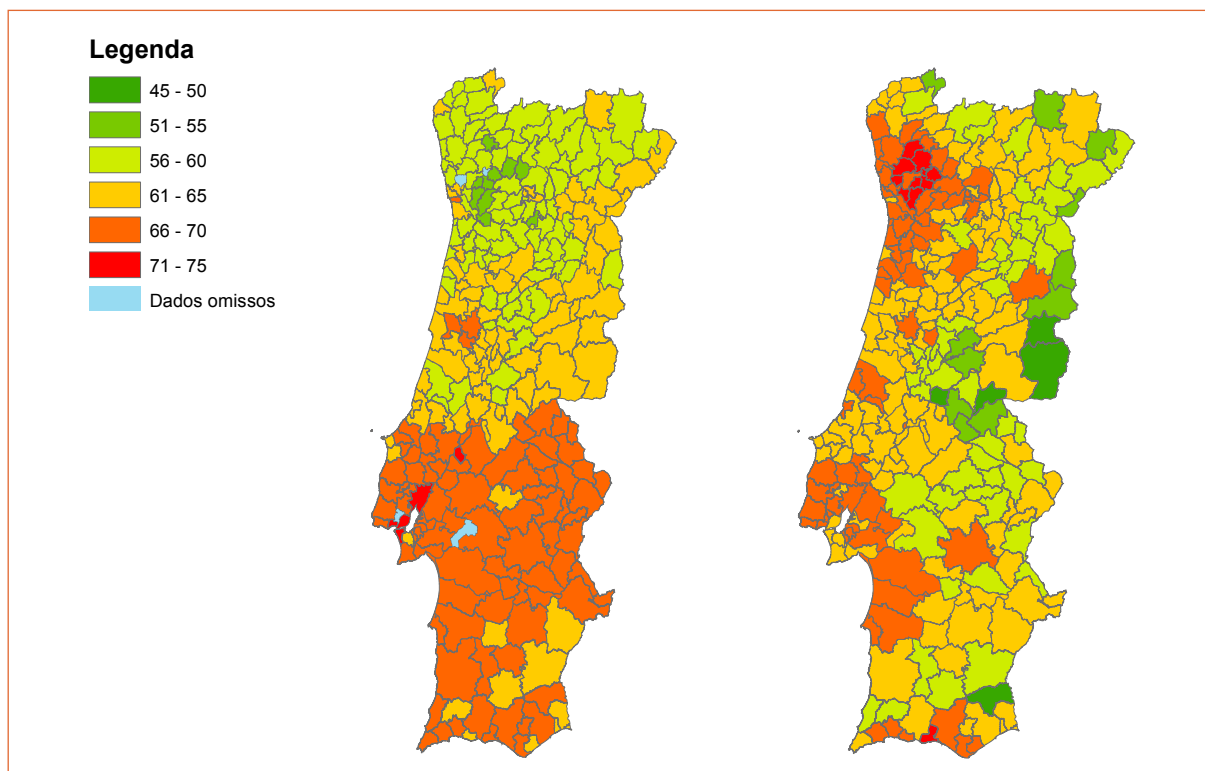
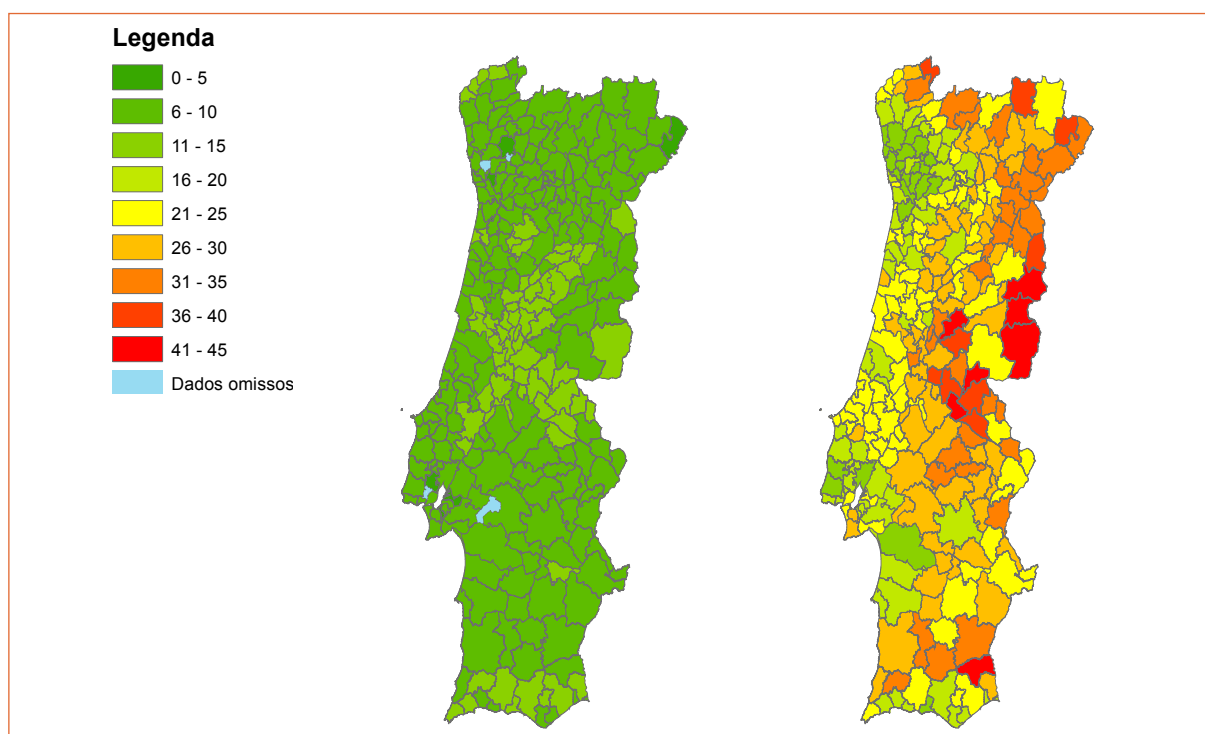


Fig. 4. Percentagem de Jovens 1960 Fig. 5. Percentagem de Jovens 2011 Fonte: INE



**Fig. 6.** Percentagem de Potencialmente Ativos 1960 **Fig. 7.** Percentagem de Potencialmente Ativos 2011 Fonte: INE



**Fig. 8.** Percentagem de Idosos 1960 **Fig. 9.** Percentagem de Idosos 2011 Fonte: INE

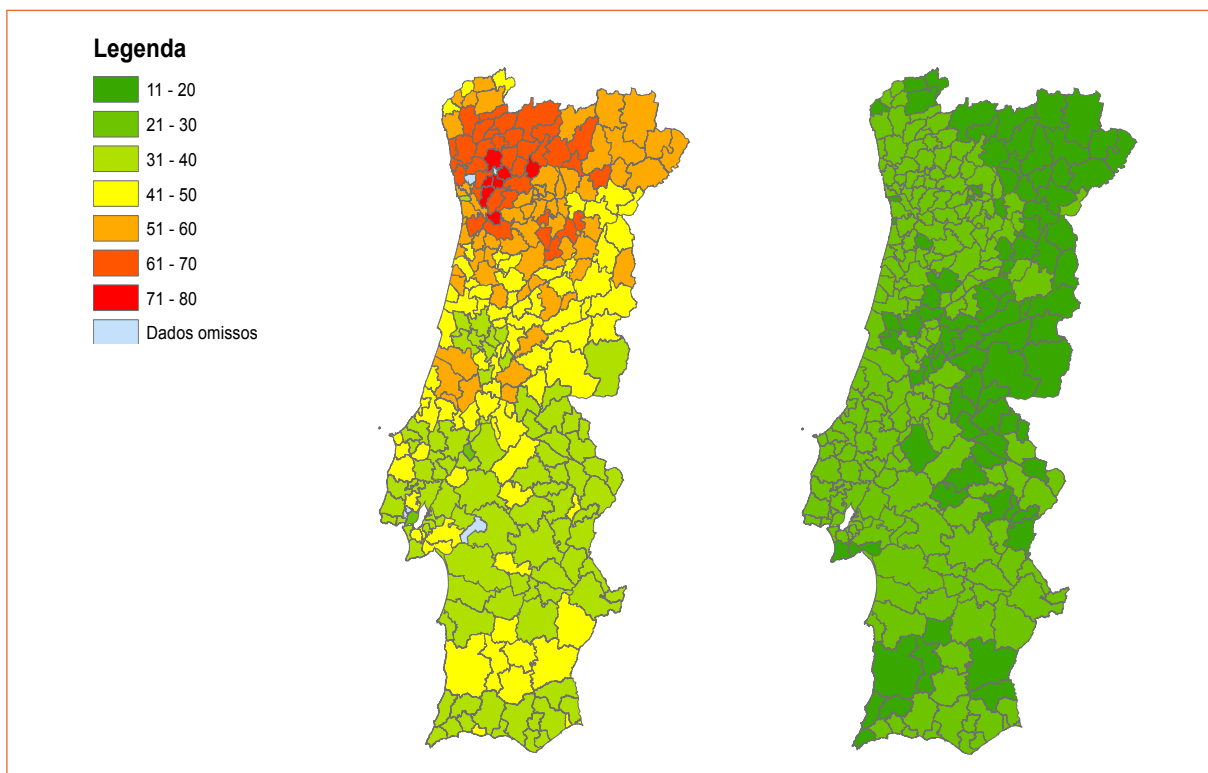


Fig. 10. Índice de Dependência de Jovens 1960 Fig. 11. Índice de Dependência de Jovens 2011 Fonte: INE

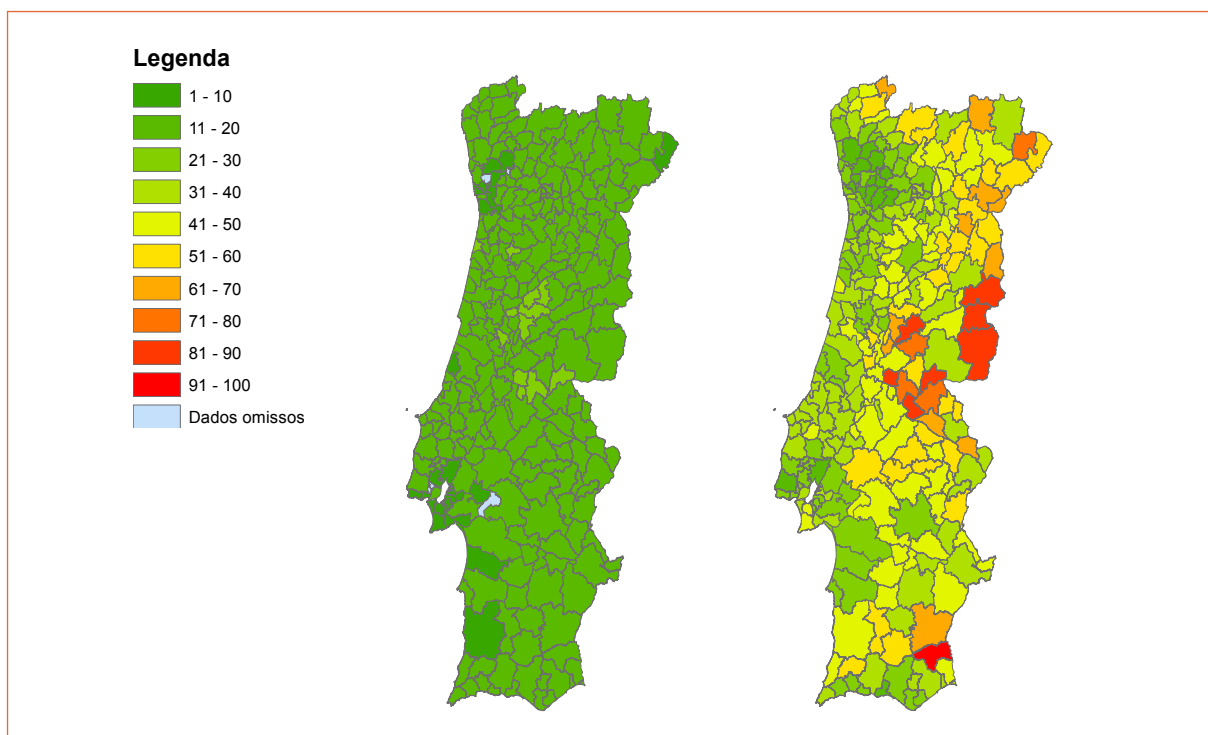


Fig. 12. Índice de Dependência de Idosos 1960 Fig. 13. Índice de Dependência de Idosos 2011 Fonte: INE

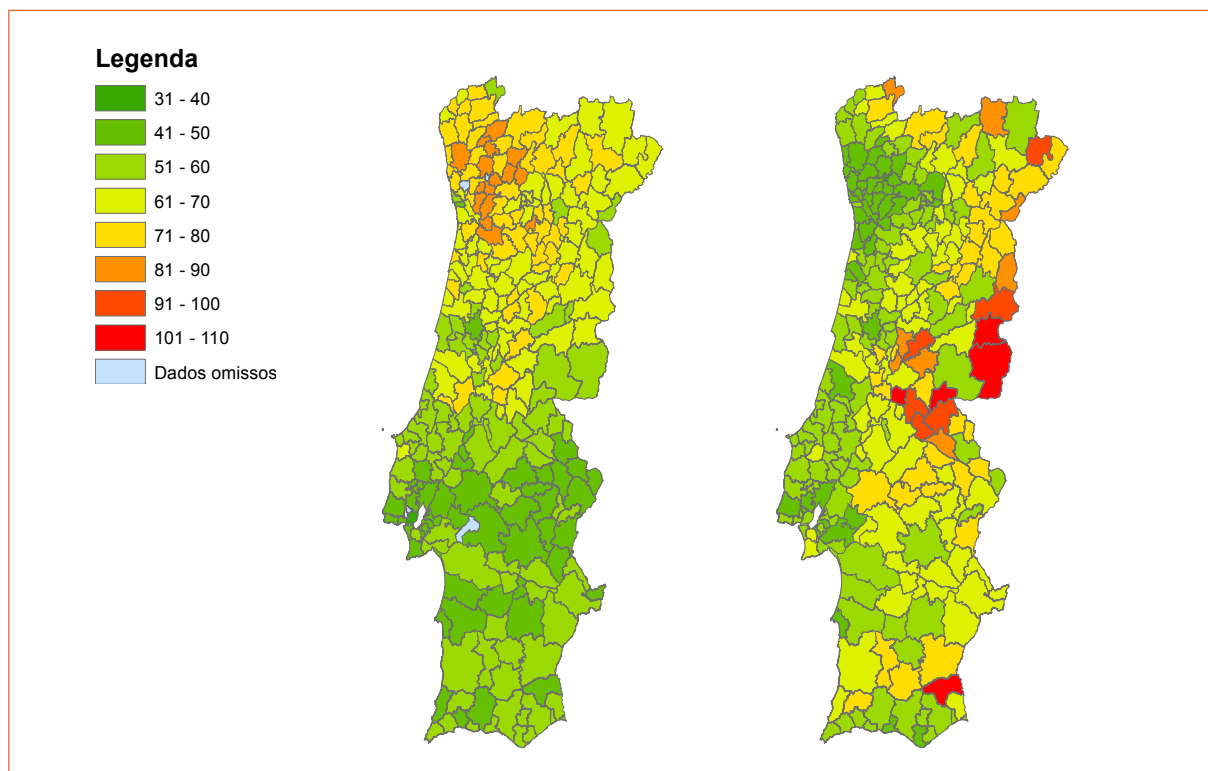


Fig. 14. Índice de Dependência Total 1960 Fig. 15. Índice de Dependência Total 2011 Fonte: INE

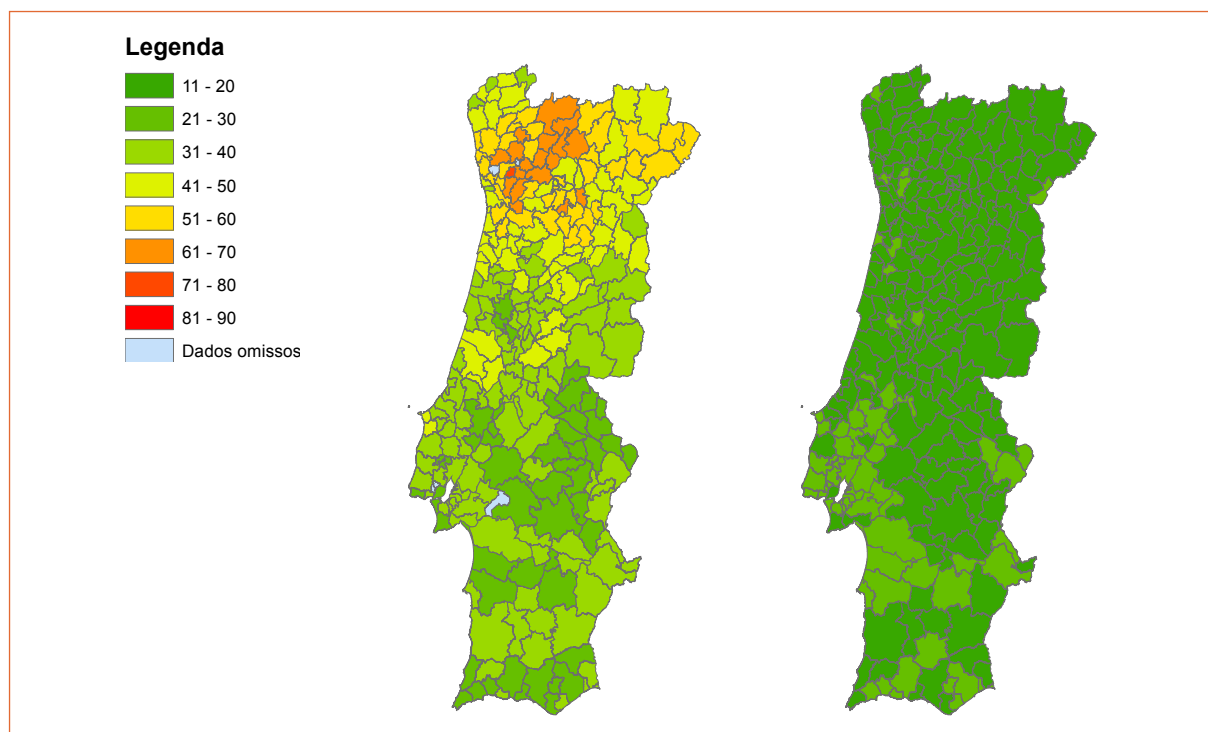


Fig. 16. Índice de Maternidade 1960 Fig. 17. Índice de Maternidade 2011 Fonte: INE

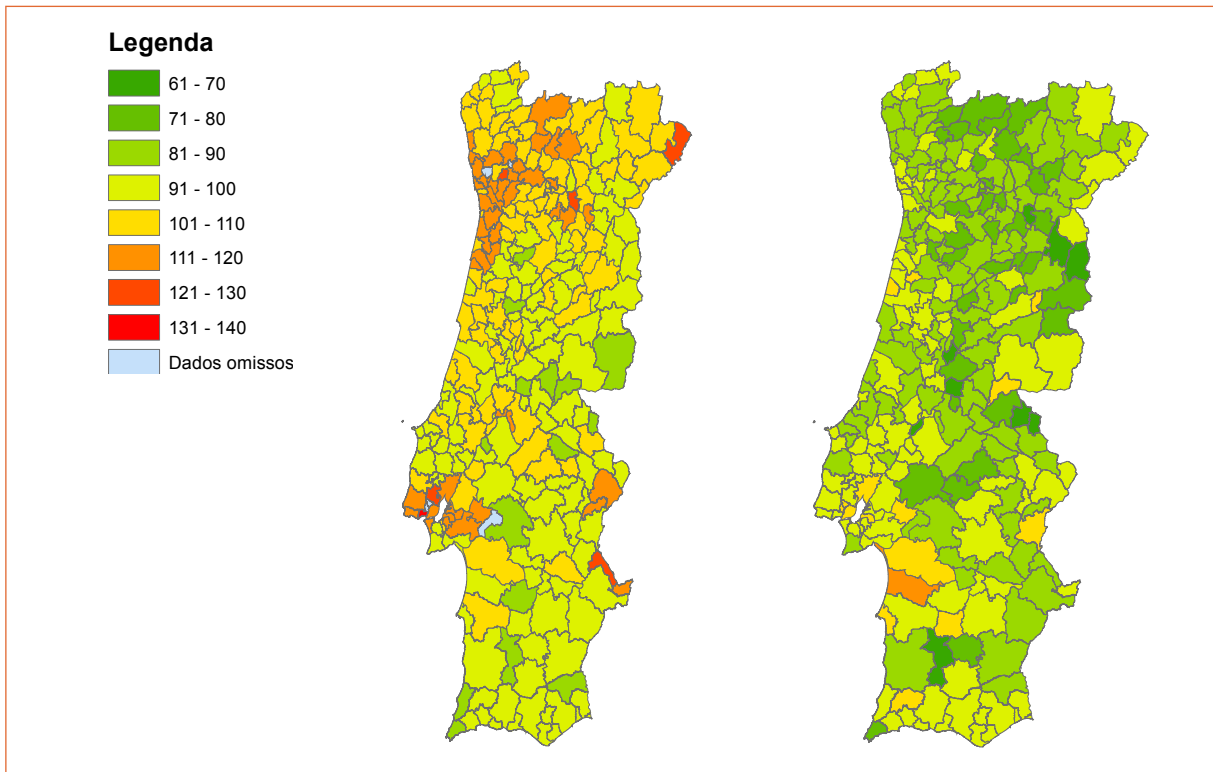


Fig. 18. Índice de Tendência 1960 Fig. 19. Índice de Tendência 2011 Fonte: INE

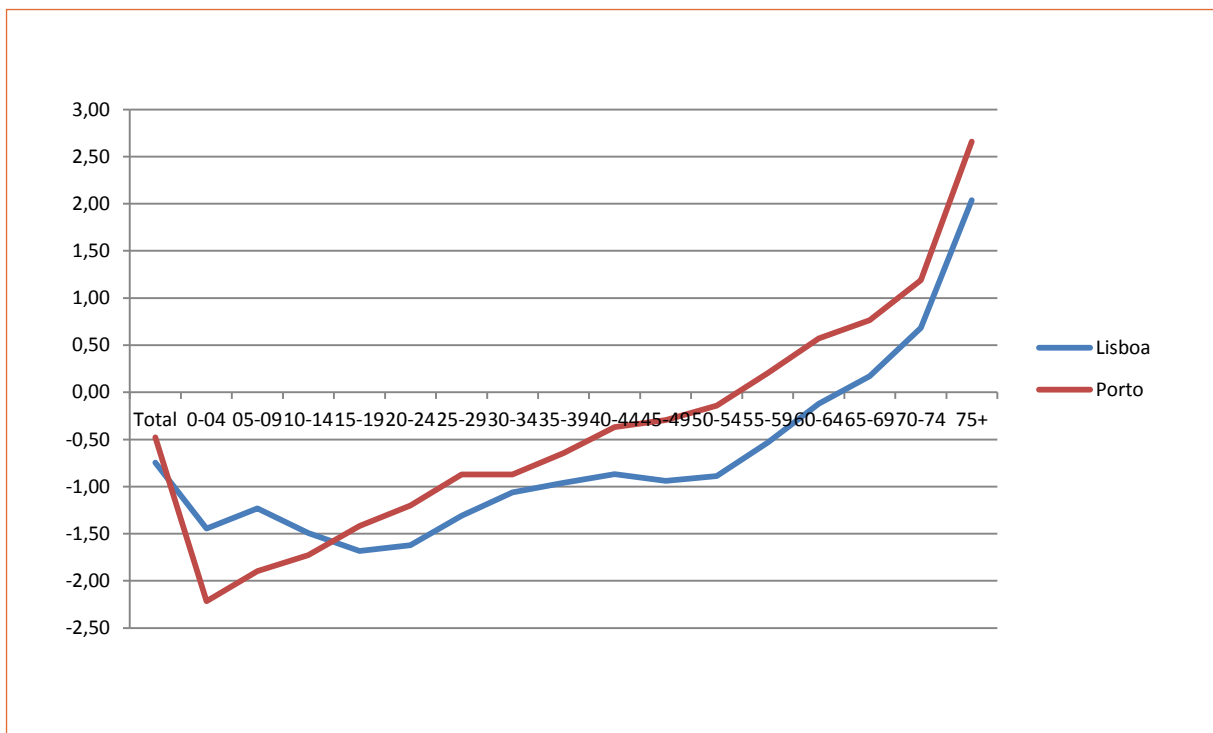


Fig. 20. Taxa de Crescimento Anual Médio das Capitais de Distrito 1960-2011 Fonte: INE



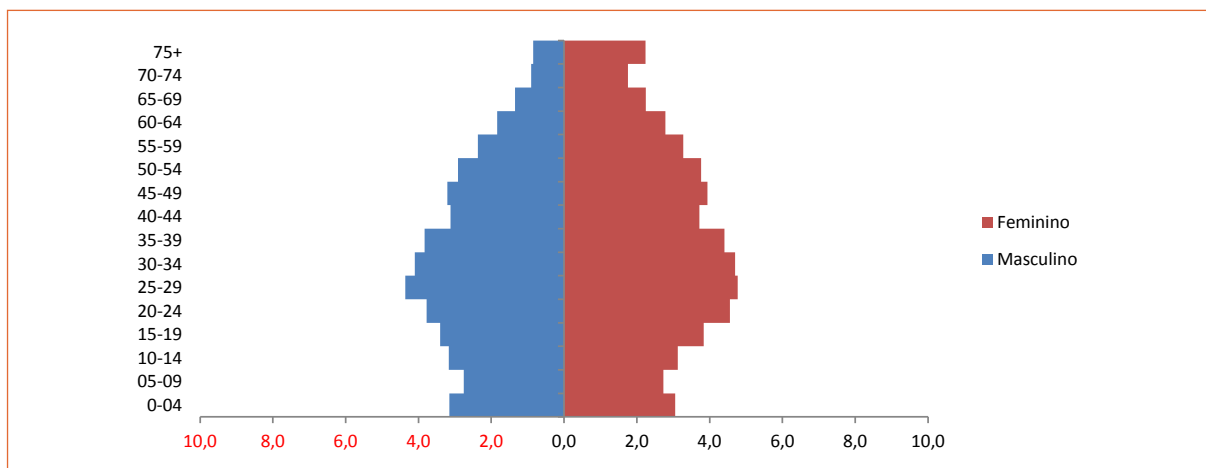


Fig. 21. Pirâmide Etária da Cidade de Lisboa 1960 Fonte: INE

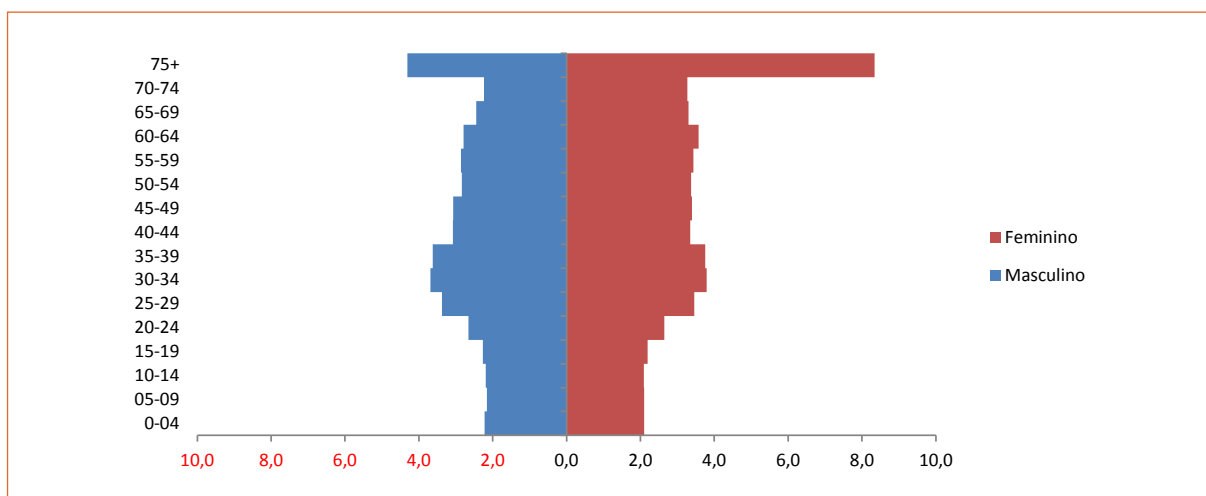


Fig. 22. Pirâmide Etária da Cidade de Lisboa 2011 Fonte: INE

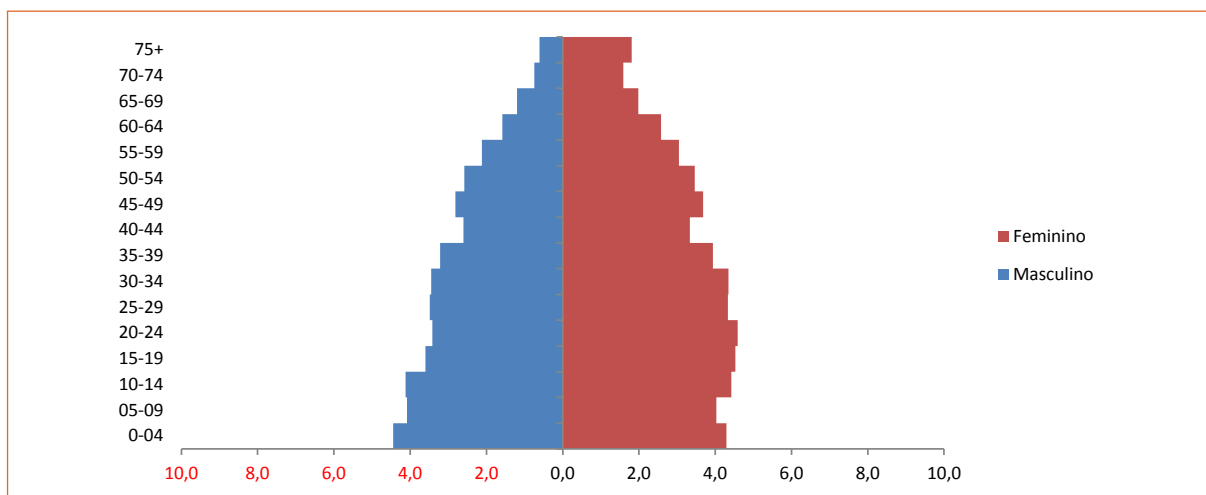


Fig. 23. Pirâmide Etária da Cidade do Porto 1960 Fonte: INE

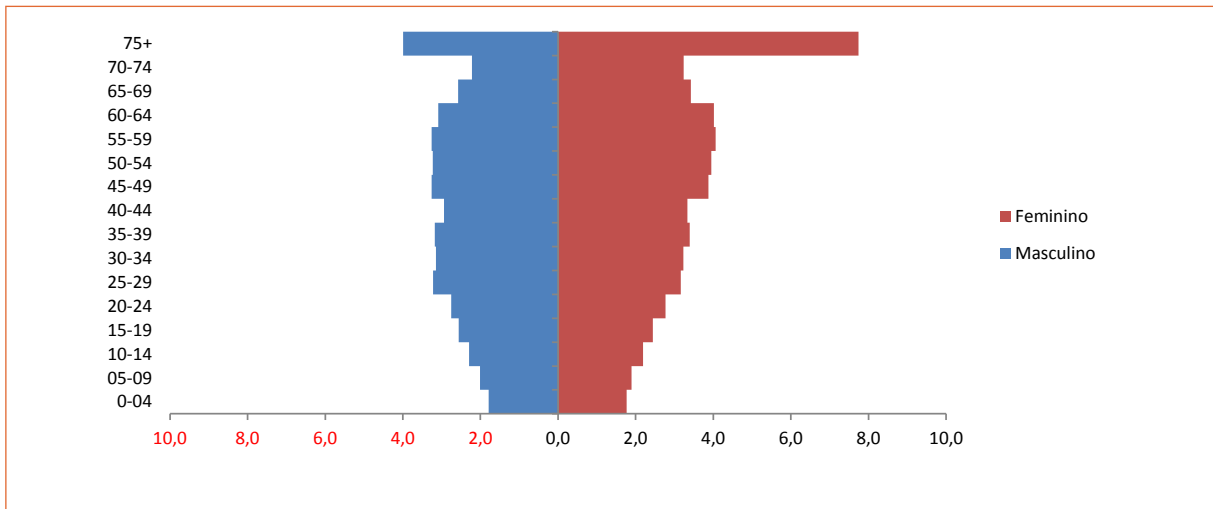


Fig. 24. Pirâmide Etária da Cidade do Porto 2011 Fonte: INE

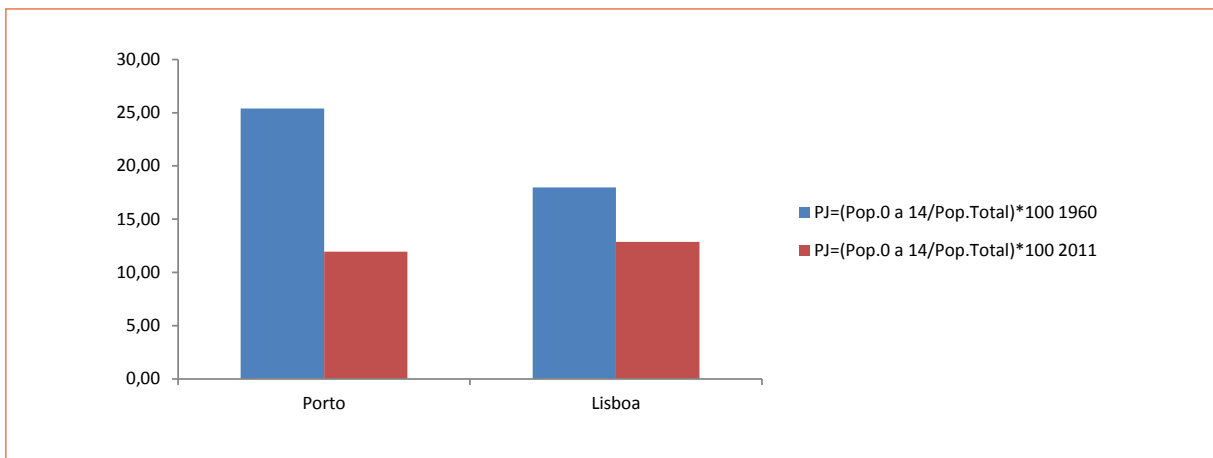


Fig. 25. Grupos Funcionais, Lisboa e Porto 1960-2011 Fonte: INE

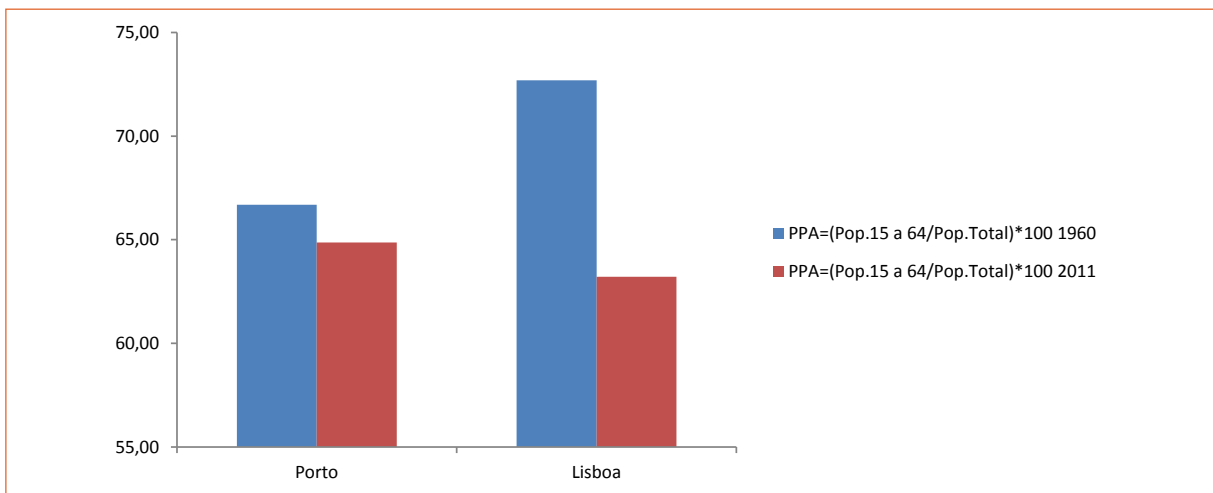


Fig. 26. População Potencialmente Ativa, Lisboa e Porto 1960-2011 Fonte: INE

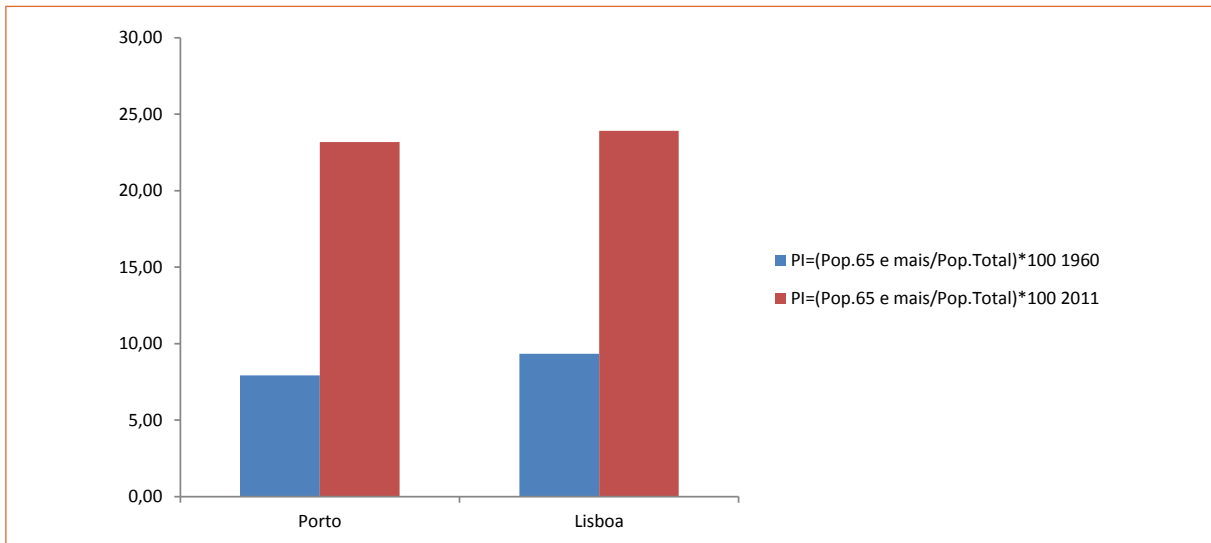


Fig. 27. População Idosa, Lisboa e Porto 1960–2011 Fonte: INE

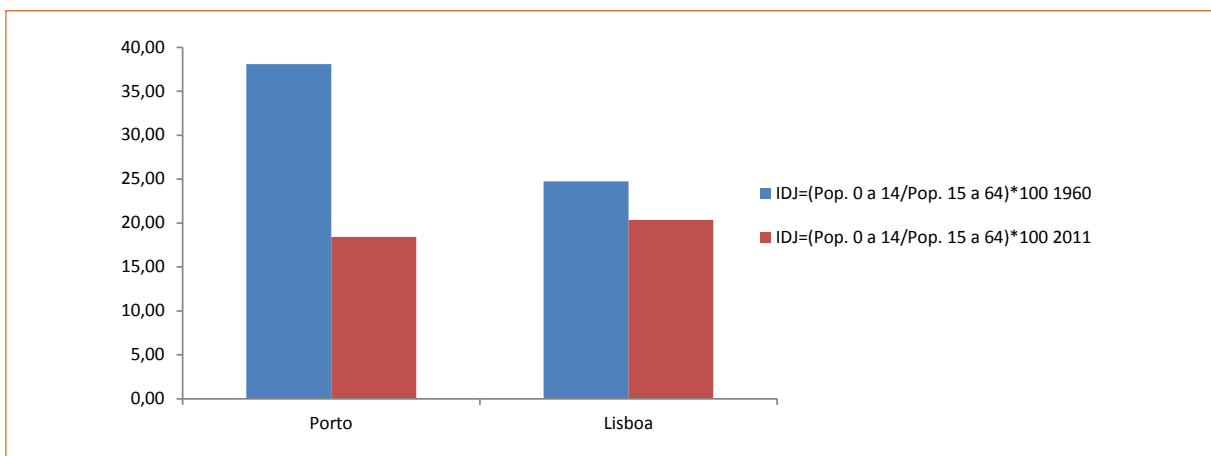


Fig. 28. Índice de dependência dos jovens =  $[0 \text{ a } 14 / 15 \text{ a } 64] \cdot 100$  Fonte: INE

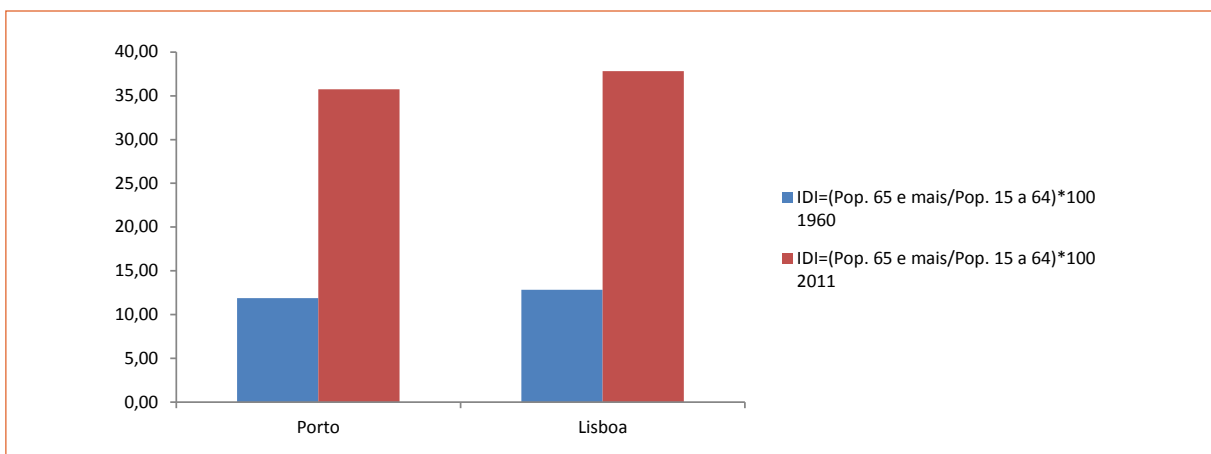


Fig. 29. Índice de dependência dos idosos =  $[65 \text{ e mais} / 15 \text{ a } 64] \cdot 100$  Fonte: INE

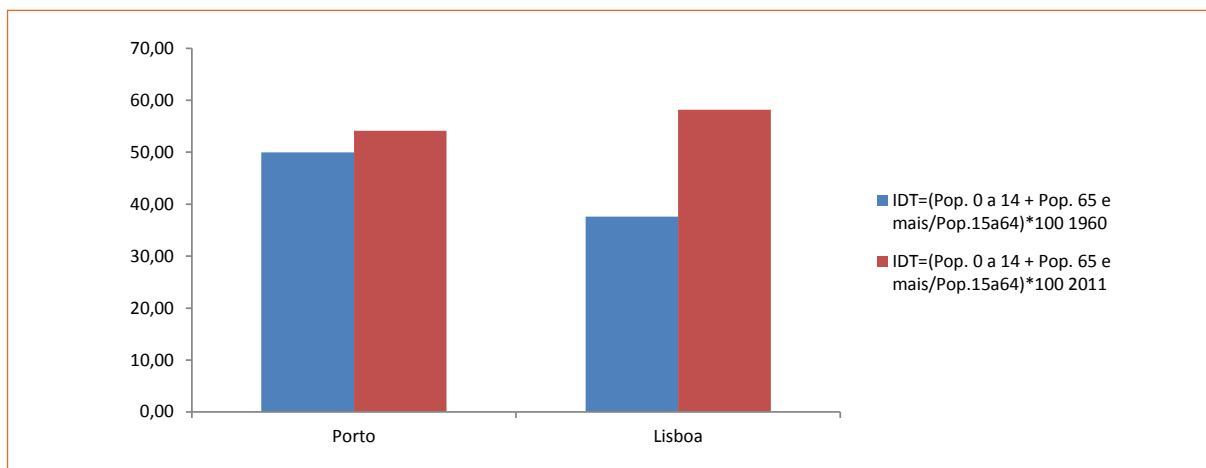


Fig. 30. Índice de dependência total =  $(0 \text{ a } 14 + 65 \text{ e mais anos} / 15 \text{ a } 64) * 100$  Fonte: INE

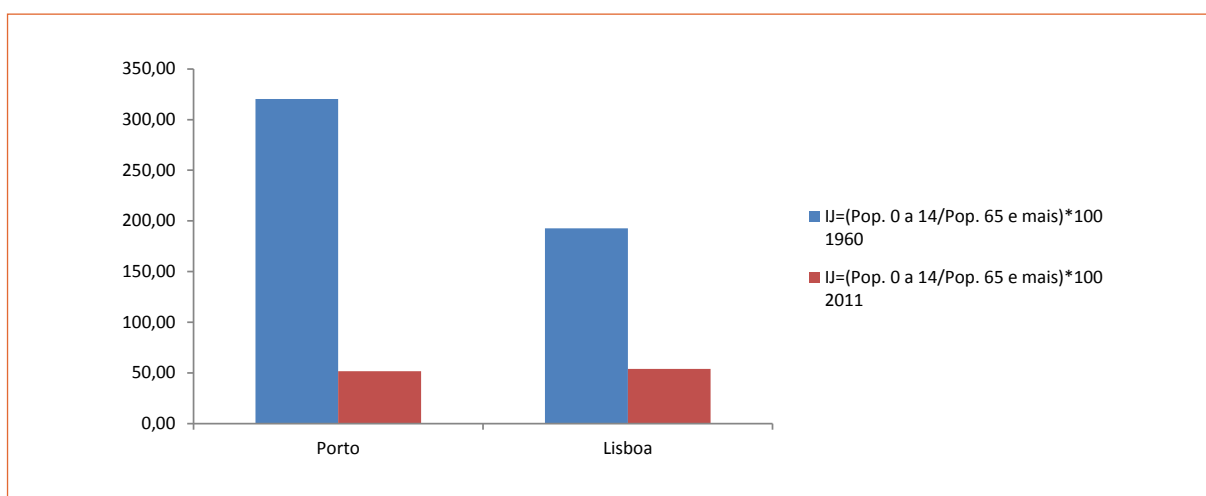


Fig. 31. Índice de juventude =  $(0 \text{ a } 14 / 65 \text{ e mais}) * 100$  Fonte: INE

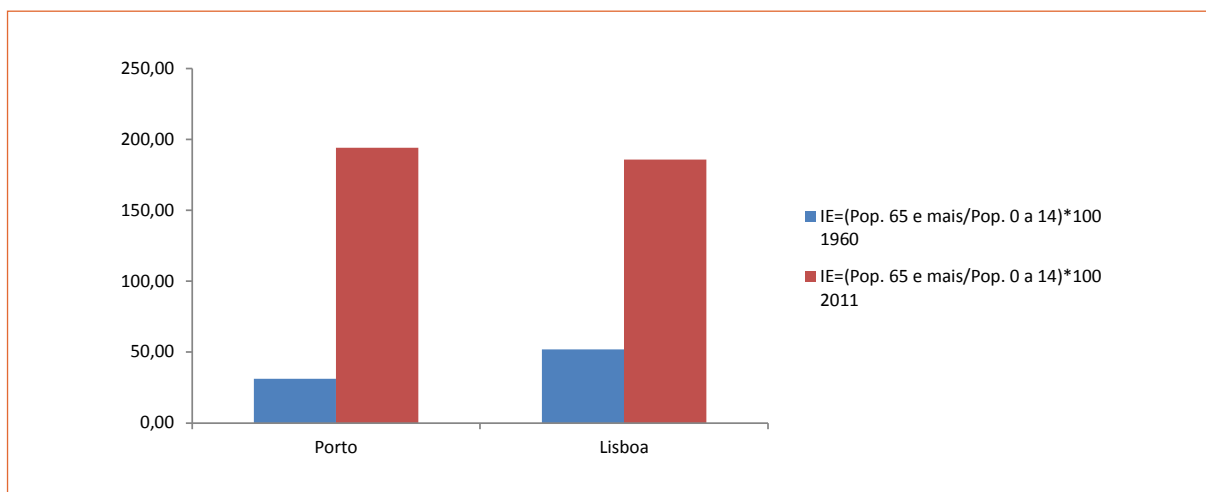


Fig. 32. Índice de envelhecimento ou de vitalidade =  $(65 \text{ e mais anos} / 0 \text{ a } 14) * 100$  Fonte: INE

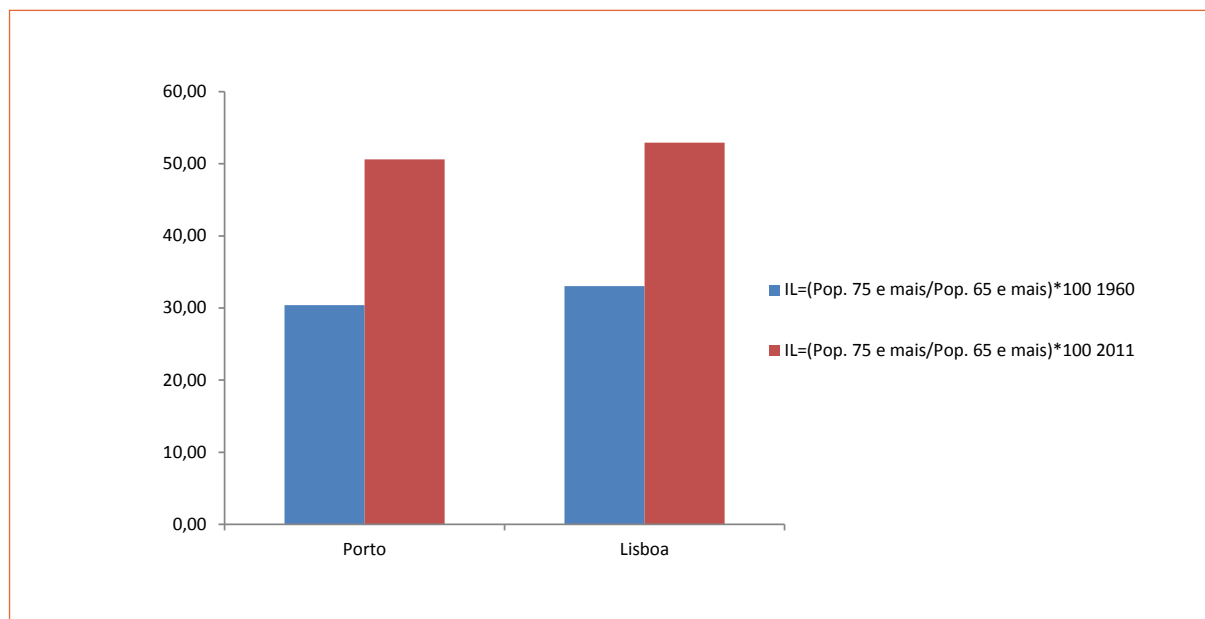


Fig. 33. Índice de longevidade =  $[(75 \text{ e mais} / 65 \text{ e mais}) * 100]$  Fonte: INE

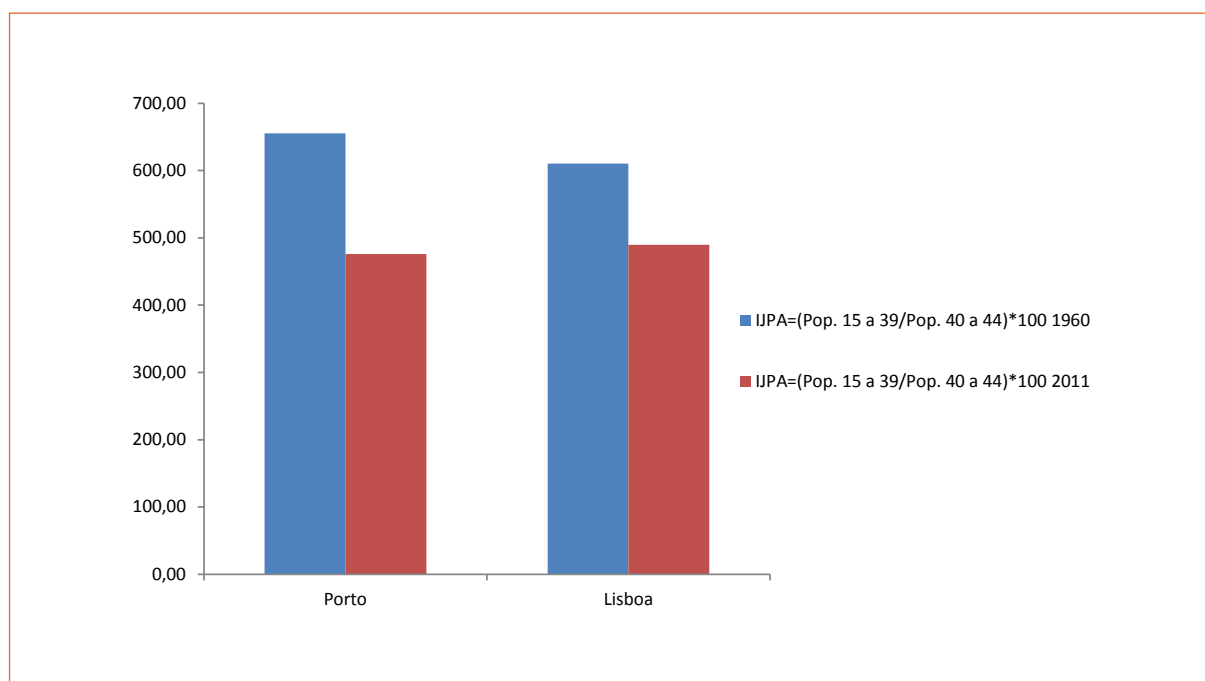


Fig. 34. Índice de juventude da população ativa =  $[(15 \text{ a } 39 / 40 \text{ a } 64) * 100]$  Fonte: INE

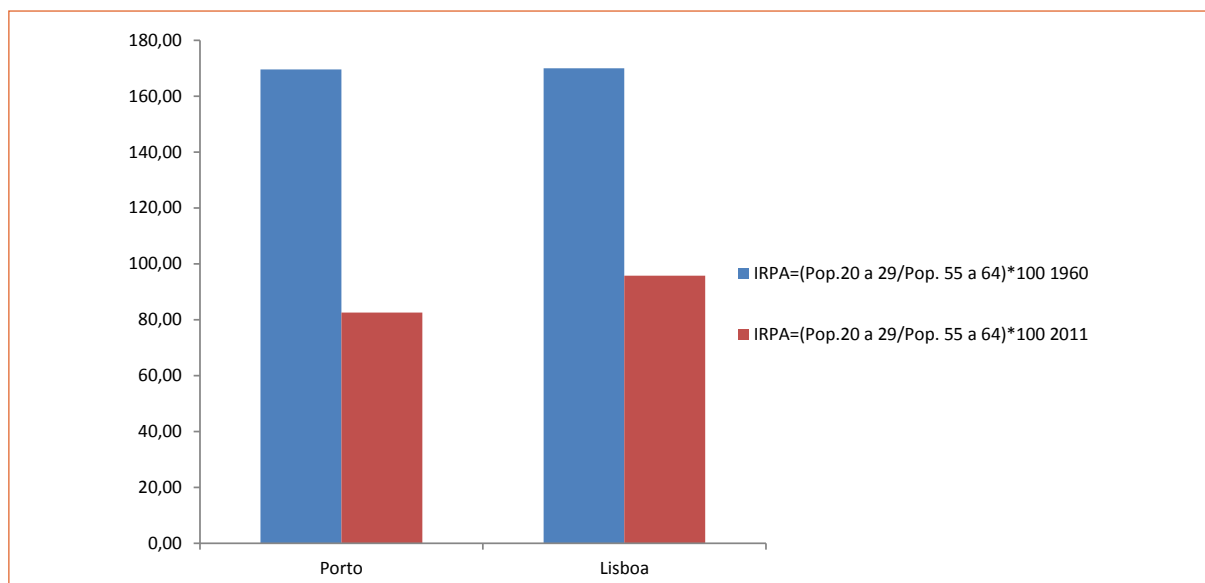


Fig. 35. Índice de renovação da população ativa =  $[(20 \text{ a } 29 / 55 \text{ a } 64) * 100]$  Fonte: INE

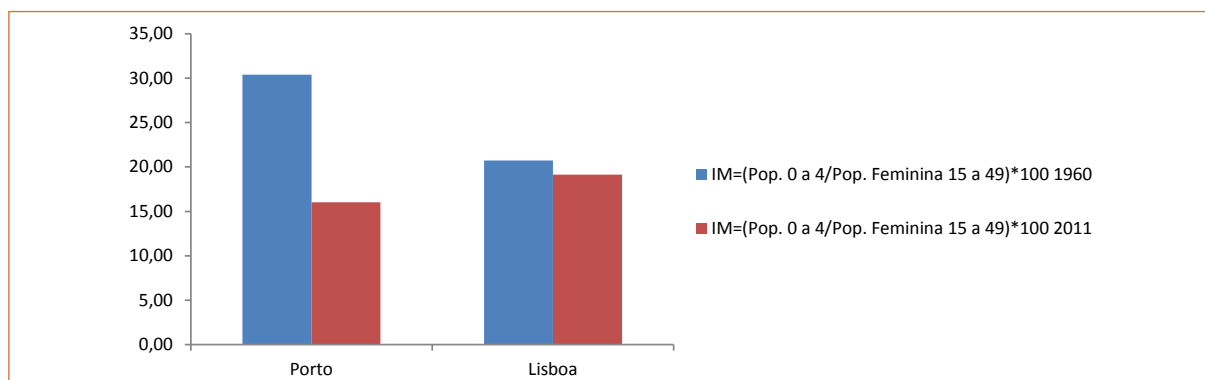


Fig. 36. Índice de maternidade =  $[(0 \text{ a } 4 / 15 \text{ a } 49 \text{ feminina}) * 100]$  Fonte: INE

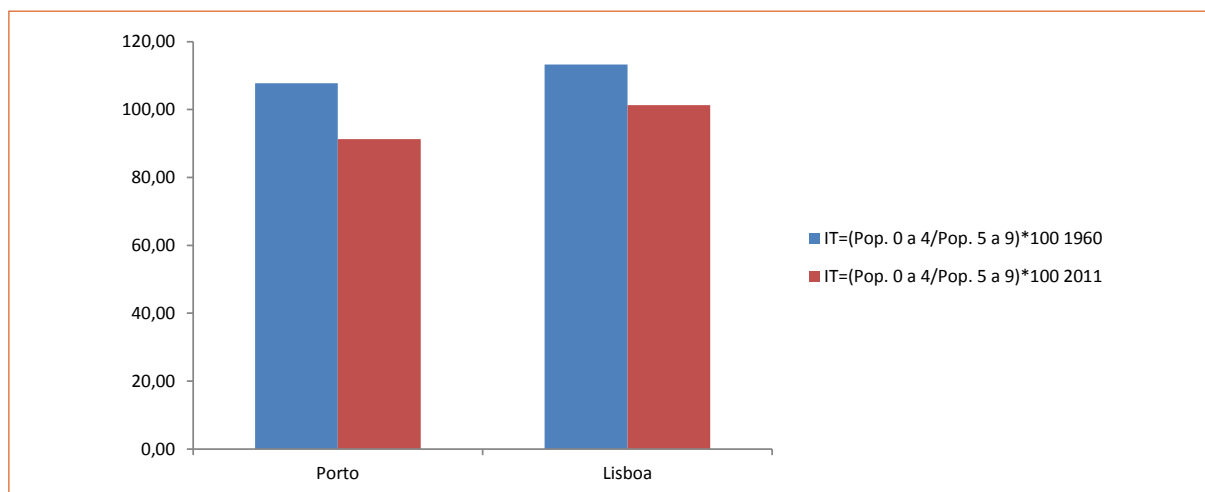


Fig. 37. Índice de maternidade =  $[(0 \text{ a } 4 / 15 \text{ a } 49 \text{ feminina}) * 100]$  Fonte: INE

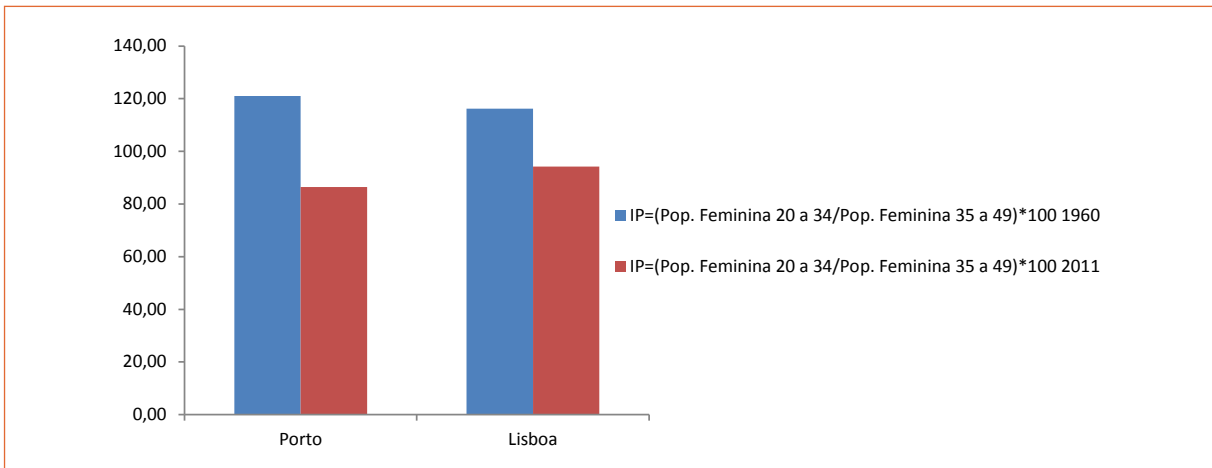


Fig. 38. Índice de potencialidade = (20 a 34 feminina / 35 a 49 feminina) \*100 Fonte: INE

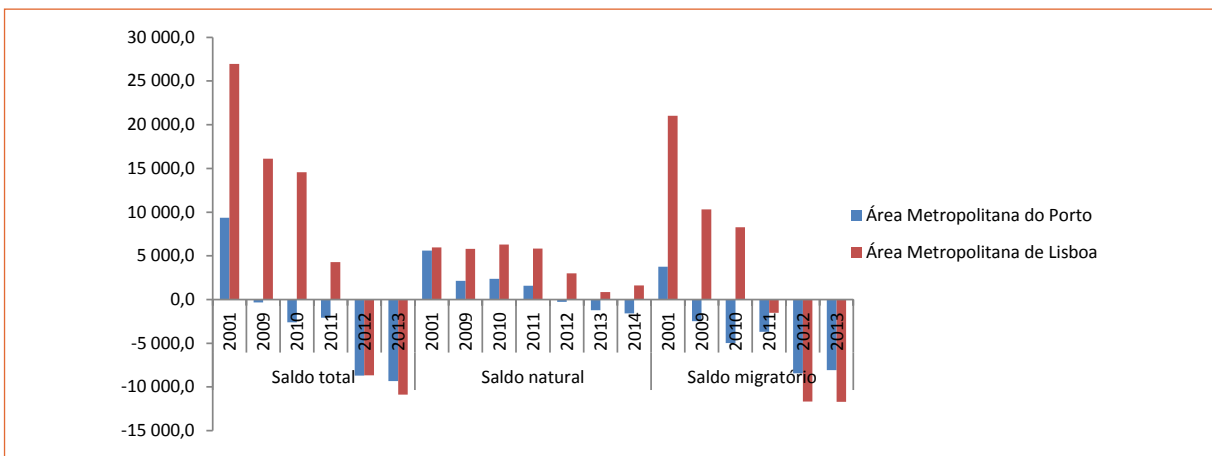


Fig. 39. Saldos demográficos Áreas Metropolitanas 2001-2013 Fonte: INE

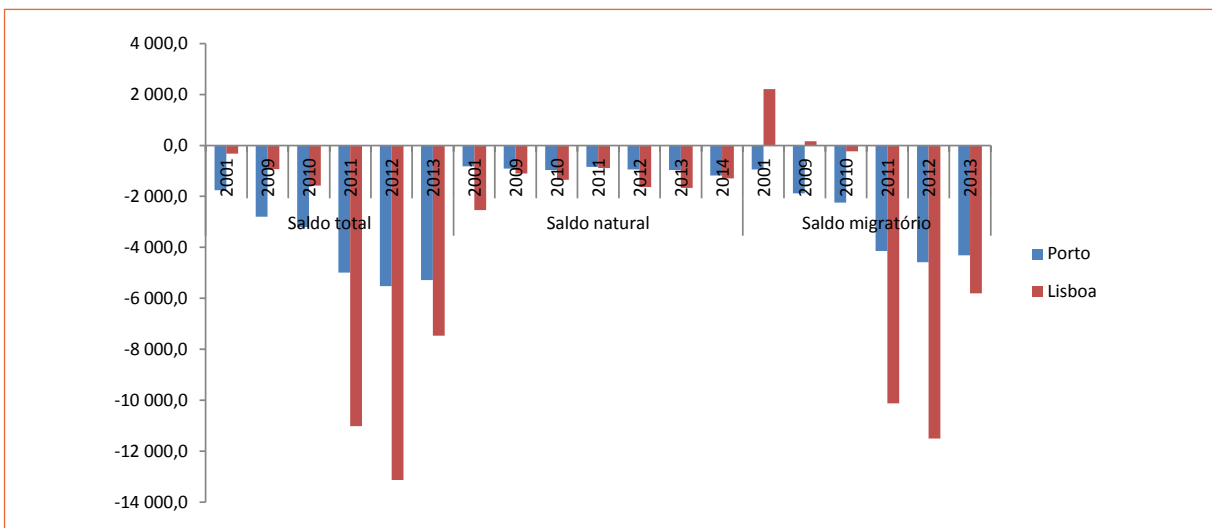
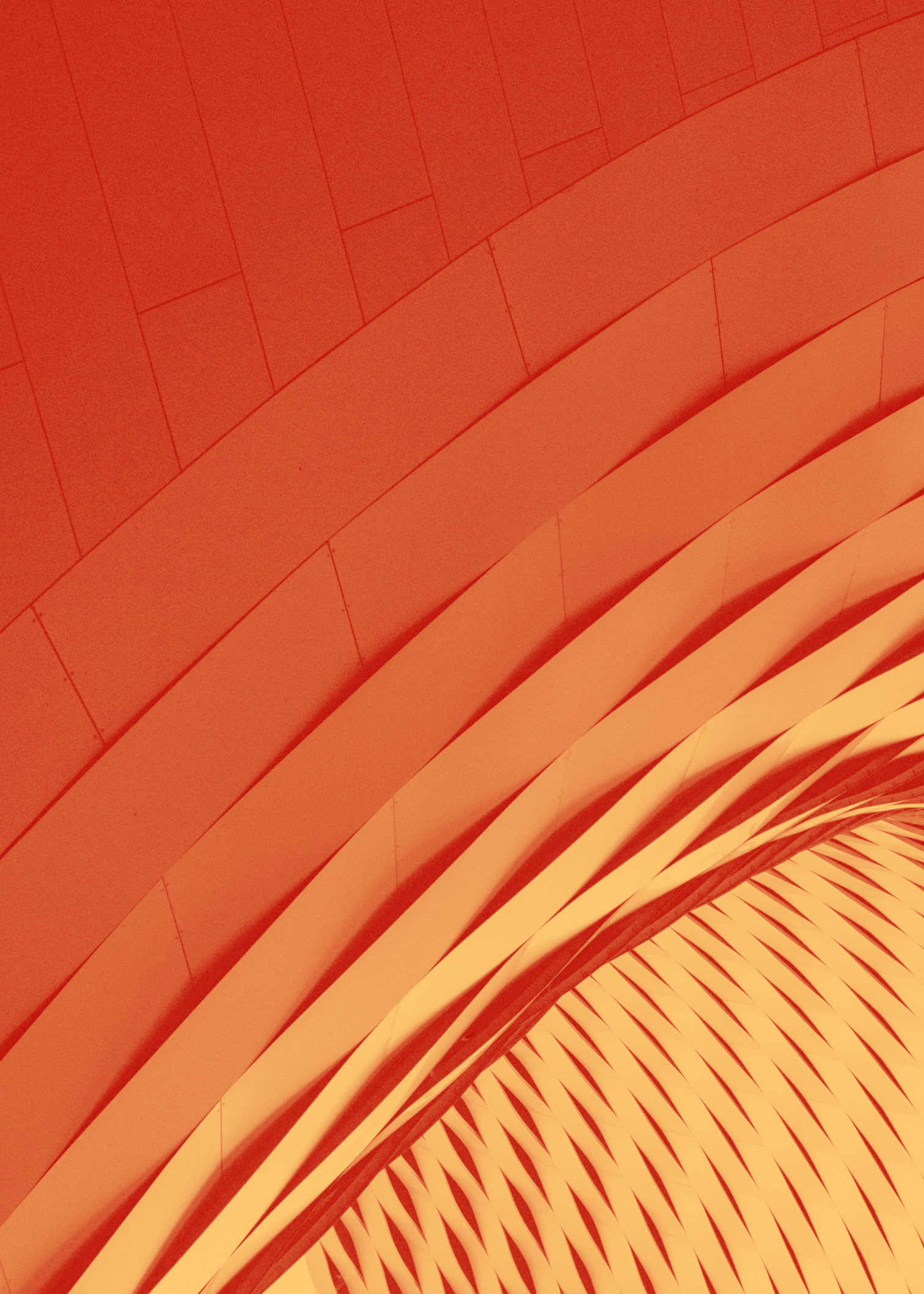


Fig. 40. Saldos demográficos Cidades Lisboa e Porto 2001-2013 Fonte: INE





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