

CITIES OF CULTURAL HERITAGE: MEANING, REAPPROPRIATION AND CULTURAL SUSTAINABILITY IN EASTERN LISBON RIVERSIDE

Joao MARTINS

Universidade de Lisboa, Lisbon, Portugal

Abstract: Contemporary post-industrial riverside areas like *Marvila* and *Beato*, in Lisbon, are being addressed by public and private bodies towards their urban regeneration. The aim of this paper is to present the ROCK project analysis of cultural heritage meaning, reappropriation and urban sustainability. Methodologically, we developed an inquiry to the local population around the residents' perceptions on cultural heritage, the ongoing changes and existing retail, a cultural heritage mapping, and a conceptual analysis on urban sustainability. The results show the residents' vision on cultural heritage and its relationship with the social and spatial changes, and the resilience process strengthening urban decayed areas, as a crucial element for urban life and socioeconomic development. Our conclusions present the relevance of cultural heritage as a public and private investment against the urban crisis, as well as the diversity in the process of cultural heritage reappropriation, including the residents' participation to cultural led commodification processes developed by private companies.

Key Words: *ROCK project, urban regeneration, socio-spatial renewal.*

Introduction

The continuous creation of post-industrial sites worldwide has brought a specific background of social, economic, and cultural deprivation to several port areas from western societies, namely in Europe and North America (Loures 2015, Marcuse 2015, Lees 2018). Simultaneously, these spaces were marked by the permanence of socially excluded populations, and by the vacancy or informal uses of the building environment and landscape that has led to the development of public and private funded processes of urban regeneration (Evans 2005, Miles and Paddison 2005, Evans 2009, Couch et al. 2011).

These new perspectives on deprived urban areas require a new vision on urban planning, the scale of intervention, and governance, promoting a “mix between top-down and bottom-up governance processes” (Ferilli et al. 2017: 246). In the processes of urban change related to former industrial areas, there is a multiplicity of aspects to be changed, where the cultural aspects of a specific city are used to overtake a context of deprivation, entering in a context of worldwide competition: “Revitalization is a long-term process aimed at rescuing an urban area out of a crisis. This change concerns both the material tissue—buildings, public spaces, green areas—and intangible elements in economic, social, or cultural spheres. The latter includes the use of heritage. Among the different benefits of revitalization, experts mention the improvement of a city or area image, the help in developing a sense of community, the support in reusing existing buildings and preventing their further dilapidation, the increase in employment and business activation, the fostering of the unique character of a community and its history” (Konior and Pokojaska 2020: 1).

Concordantly, we must mention several international cases of revitalization of post-industrial cities, where cultural promotion is seen as a driver of regeneration. One of the first and significant cases is from Glasgow in the United Kingdom, where culture was used as

Bourdieu's cultural capital to overcome a context of economic and social deprivation (Lever 1987, Barta 2017), creating a series of events, which was developed in all Europe with the initiative of the Cultural Capital of Europe, including several events in postindustrial port cities like Liverpool (Liu 2014), or even in our case study, Lisbon (Balsas 2007, Costa and Lopes 2018).

In this case, not only the public dynamization of culture is determinant, but also the input from the artists, particularly the so-called hipsters (Pratt 2018), which start to use these deprived areas and, consequently, to gentrify them (Lees 2012). In the case of the United States, we must refer to one of the most significant urban regeneration practices, occurred in one of the most traditional industrial cities – Detroit. The city has overcome a bankruptcy process, where the re-use of traditional industrial heritage is significant, creating forms of urban change based on industrial, physical and symbolic inheritance: “urban heritage is to be considered as comparable to other infrastructures within cities (...). A systems approach to urban heritage would focus not on conserving or preserving the urban tissue/fabric of a city for the sake of attracting tourism or locking that section of a city into a certain time-era, but to act as a regenerative layer upon which to develop the contemporary city (...). It is, rather, an urban framework, a system on which other sub-systems will evolve and adapt” (Locke et al. 2018: 12).

Barcelona, which has become a role model for urban change in Lisbon, with a series of cultural events like the International World Fair in 1992 (and in 1998 in Lisbon), has regenerated its former industrial port with “a unique governance style ensured that culture was integrated as a vernacular expression into the physical landscape of a re-emerging city, actively linking the design of public space with new democratic culture and social citizenship programs” (Degen and García 2012), developed by public-private partnerships, as part of an integrated economic growth process (Nofre i Mateo 2010).

To go further in this proclaimed process of urban regeneration, it is determinant to acknowledge the reasons behind this declared urban dysfunctionality, how this fragmentation started and to know in deep how these urban voids were created (Heckert and Mennis 2012, Huang et al. 2015, Lee et al. 2015). These spaces are characterized as vacant, informal, and abandoned, resulting from a failure to create new urban uses after deindustrialization. Most times, these spaces are not totally empty or without social interactions. Several areas considered as urban voids have informal uses (as the informal agricultural plots in *Marvila* and *Beato*), and they are not controlled by property owners, private companies, or the public administration. In fact, these spaces can be analyzed as a symptom of decadence, expectancy, urban fragmentation, and crisis, for their non-planned nature. But at the same time, they can be seen as spaces of future experimentation of an idea of city, and of prototyping projects to experiment new urban uses in these territories, while expecting a formal planning perspective.

More than an artistic or aesthetic change in these deprived territories, these profound processes of urban voids change, as vacant, informal, and deprived territories, highlighted the importance of cultural heritage, of placeness, of the existing historical artifacts and a specific local sociability. Here, cultural heritage is seen as beneficial to the mental health of deindustrialized communities, “rooted in historical life-modes that are created and recreated over time” (Birkeland 2008: 288), connected to a local authenticity, intending on highlighting certain values and traditions, as “a meaningful concept for both tourist and living culture” (Swanson and DeVereaux 2017: 71). These attributes, under a global context of travel and consumption, of enlargement of access to exotic cultures, can be culturally commodified under tourism appropriations or high social classes consume, and they can be materialized in a product that can be sold and simplified, without the real characteristics of the community who created them.

Cultural heritage is seen as a reflection of the value of a specific territory, and of the attributes which symbolize the significance of each society. So here heritage is a pathway for the interpretation of social representations, and a way to express the identity of a person or social group (Graham et al. 2000), as a concept which “encompasses all the ways we use to remind ourselves, and show others, who we are” (Hawkes 2001: 19). Simultaneously, heritage is a state-led process, the result of a national or regional state recognition, and a political acknowledgment of cultural practices as determinants of local social life, as elements of a national identity and a component of collective representations (Vecco 2010, Papadam 2017).

Simultaneously, cultural heritage preservation can be seen as a catalyst of sustainable development (Couch et al. 2011, Soini and Birkeland 2014, Soini and Dessein 2016, Swason and DeVereaux 2017, Pop et al. 2019). At the center of these processes of social and spatial change, it is the idea that contemporary development has human and natural limits, asking for a rational exploration of natural and human resources. Until then, and strongly inflected by a positivist idea of progress, the maximization of all resources towards an infinitive economic growth was a global aspiration (Hawkes 2001, Birkeland 2008, Budd et al. 2008). This vision defended that a better quality of life for all citizens was possible, resulting from the improvements in the productive techniques, rationality, and democracy. But in fact, the expected global improvement did not occur, and even some societies have lowered their quality of life. The exploration of natural resources, the economic liberalization, and the new forms of political dominance have shown that this expected development was promoting new forms of conflict, inequality, and social exclusion, even inside the most productive and developed nations (Brundtland and World Commission on Environment and Development 1987).

This strong emphasis on the economic factor of development, and particularly in urban spaces, has showed the necessity for a more global vision on the social and spatial change. In this case, cultural heritage reappropriation (George 2010, Van de Kamp 2019, Martins 2020) should be made in a sustainable way, not only in the economic field, but also towards the social dimensions, namely as forms of cultural capital, being at the core of all transformations, throughout the idea of the fourth pillar of sustainability (Hawkes 2001). For this matter, it was crucial to accept the international regulations, the support of trained and specialized specialists, artists, cultural advisors, and cultural workers, involving all elements of cultural heritage, namely of tangible, intangible, and digital inheritance. In this case, public powers have the responsibility of ensuring a more livable environment, interconnected with more subjective senses of quality of life. A new vision of development was required, not only centered on state officials, political, economic, or artistic elites, but mainly on participative and engaged local communities in interaction, as being the first ones that should receive the economic, social, and political gains of development processes.

Methodology

This paper results from a research-action methodology developed within the ROCK project: “Regeneration and Optimization of Cultural Heritage in Creative and Knowledge Cities”. It was developed in ten European cities: Bologna, Lisbon, Skopje, Athens, Cluj-Napoca, Eindhoven, Liverpool, Lyon, Turin, and Vilnius. Despite local differences and particularities, all cities promoted the best practices of research-action, expecting to achieve common results in the cultural heritage optimization, seen as a driver of urban regeneration for disadvantaged communities and their spaces, most of them being inflected by the effects of deindustrialization, the urban crisis, and economic degradation. The project was developed under the European Commission program “H2020-EU.3.5.6. – Cultural heritage”, having the “aim is to research into the strategies, methodologies and tools needed to enable a dynamic and sustainable cultural heritage in Europe” (European Commission 2020).

In Lisbon, the project detailed the socio-spatial transformations occurring in a specific urban continuum, as deindustrialization has led to the creation of an urban enclave (Nevado 2015, Reis e Silva 2016, Borghi et al. 2018, Gennari 2018, Martins and Mourato 2018, Camara Municipal de Lisboa 2019, Martins 2020, Verheij and Corrêa Nunes 2021). The research area is located between two vibrant urban areas: *Parque das Nações* (also a former industrial area), and the touristified historical city center. At the same time, the continuous exclusive use of the port area by a commercial harbor prevents the connection of this territory to the Tagus River. With few forms of public transportation, it presents problematic connections to the rest of the city.

Study areas

Formally, the ROCK project area is located between three main heritage sites: the Tile Museum, near the *Xabregas* area, the ruins of the old *Alfinetes* Palace, and the remains of the Guns and Munitions factory (*Fabrica Braço de Prata*), where a cultural organization has been working since 2006, being a pioneer on the cultural and artistic practices in the area. Internally, resulting from the existence of two train lines (*Cintura* and *Norte*) and their tunnels, old narrow pathways, morphologic slopes and cliffs, this is an area with little urban connectivity, creating a closed territory to the rest of the city. These train lines, divide the ROCK project area into three main areas (Fig. 1), with a strong diversity on the kind of urban users: social and cooperative rehoused populations on 4 Crescente; old industrial workers accommodations in the area classified as Island; and the Riverside, where we can find a strong presence of visitors, with higher social backgrounds, reappropriating the tangible cultural heritage (mostly old industrial and commercial warehouses and factories). Resulting from the deindustrialization process, several urban voids remain, particularly in the area classified as Island.

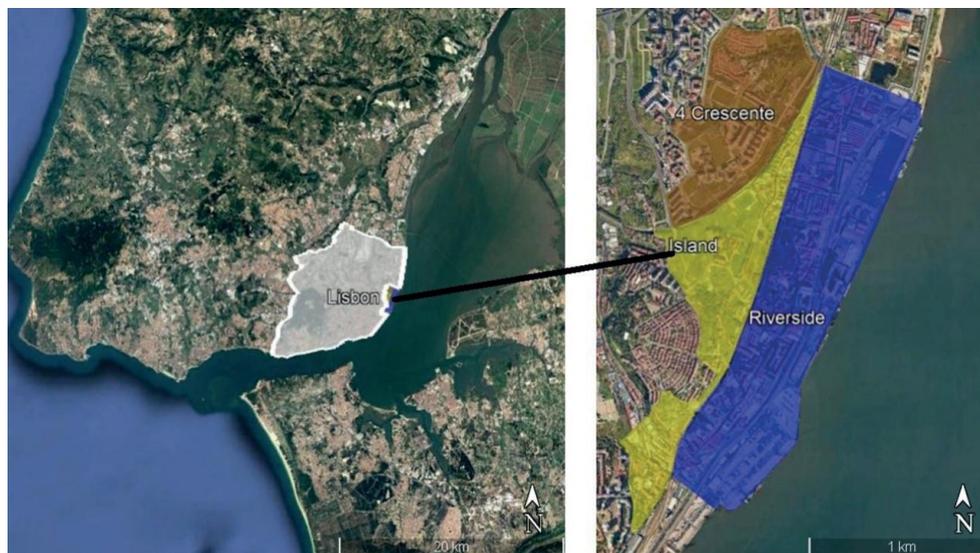


Fig. 1 – The ROCK project in Lisbon with the 3 areas: 4 Crescente, Island and Riverside

Source: the author on Open Access Google Earth

Crescente

An important part of the territory is occupied by a social housing area around the recently created *Marvila* Library, located on the remains of the reconverted *Chines* Shantytown, created in the 1960's by the rural migrants from northern Portugal – the former L Zone of the

1965 *Chelas* Masterplan (Camara Municipal de Lisboa 1965, Rodrigues et. al. 2015). Today, it is informally called *4 Crescente* (Fig. 2), where most of the ROCK area population is concentrated, perceived by the media and by the other Lisbon residents as a territory strongly inflected by criminality (Tulumello 2015). Several rehousing processes occurred, as a cooperative movement in *PRODAC-SUL*, in 1973; the first steps on democratic social housing in *Quinta do Chale* in 1979, and the European funded *Marques de Abrantes* and *Alfinetes* neighborhoods in the late 1990's (Da Mata Pequeno Baptista Soares 2011, Rodrigues et. al. 2015, Gebalis 2020).



Fig. 2 – Chines Shantytown and the present 4 Crescente

Source: Da Mata Pequeno Baptista Soares (2011), and map created by the author on Open Access Google Earth

Island

This space is in *Marvila* Street where several *Patios* are located, composed of buildings with an interior open space, and in *Toucinheiros* Alley, in *Beato*, with several villas, small streets with small working-class accommodations. Being a space between *Cintura* and *Norte* train lines, composed of several formal and informal allotment gardens and other urban voids, as the remains of the Soap factory (Fig. 3), we classified them as “Island”, being the most a very interesting area for future real estate promotion. Its creation is prior to *Chines* Shantytown, resulting from the first phases of the industrialization at the end of the nineteenth century, created by industrial entrepreneurs and by real estate promoters, reappropriating the former Nobility Palaces (Reis e Silva, 2016, Camara Municipal de Lisboa 2019).

Riverside

Thirdly, the Riverside is the place where most of the socio-spatial change is occurring with the presence of new users, under a strong media radar, particularly on gourmet gastronomy, craft beer tasting, art galleries and luxury real estate. This area presents major changes on cultural heritage reappropriation, as well as an increase on land prices, promoting the interest of entrepreneurs to locate their businesses: “When I came here, I came to pay less. Today, the warehouses are around 2000 euros (for renting). Two years ago (the price) was around 1000 euros, two and half years ago was around 800 or 900 euros. For housing, there are places with the cost of 5000 euros per square meter. There is a reconstructed building nearby, and I do not know how they sold that, but in true it was sold, where a 30 square meter house was sold for 150 000 euros” (Local company responsible). An example of significant change in *Marvila* and *Beato* riverside is the transformation of the former Guns and Munitions Factory towards a luxury real estate project, under the name *Prata Living Village* (Fig. 4).

In result, a social and spatial urban enclave in contemporary Lisbon has been created, resulting from both internal and external factors, which has been changed recently. Presently, entrepreneurial, cultural and artistic institutions, municipal and other public bodies, local social movements, as well as academics, some of them integrated in EU-funded research projects, are discussing the relevance of cultural heritage as a driver of urban regeneration. The reappropriation of cultural heritage is seen as a resilience process against the urban crisis, strengthening the urban decayed areas, seen as crucial elements for the urban life and the socioeconomic development, as happened in *Marvila* and *Beato*, two post-industrial riverside areas located in eastern riverside Lisbon.

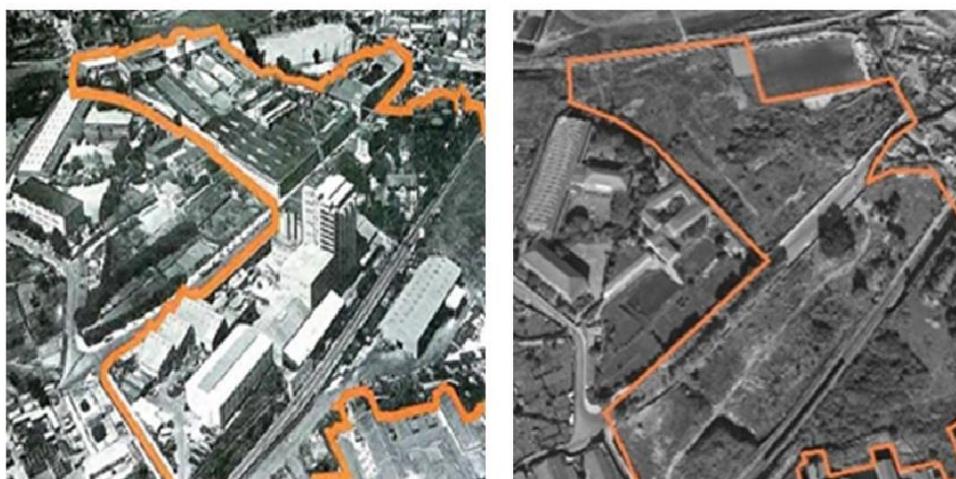


Fig. 3 – The former soap factory and the present urban void
Source: *Folgado and Custódio (1999)*, and author creation on *Open Access Google Earth*

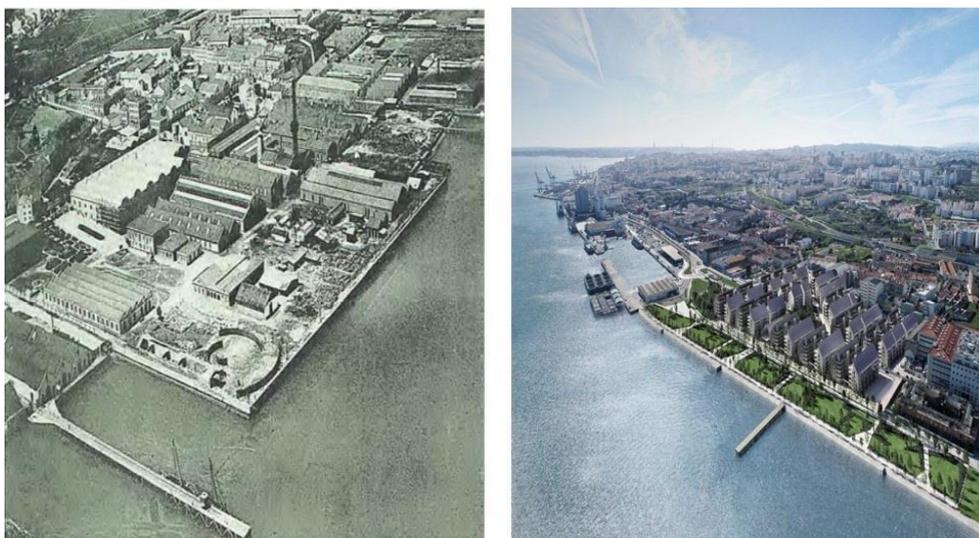


Fig. 4 – Former Gun and Munitions Factory and future Prata Living Village Real Estate
Source: *Folgado and Custódio (1999)*, *Vic Properties (2019)*

Resulting from an inquiry to the local population and a tangible cultural heritage mapping on the reappropriation of these historical assets, we discussed if cultural sustainability was being accomplished. So, this paper wants to answer to a specific research question: Is the reappropriation of tangible cultural heritage in *Marvila* and *Beato* being developed under the theoretical framework of cultural sustainability, integrating the residents' participation and engagement? In fact, we want to know if the residents and the local associations participated in this process, or if the public and private investment have led to the commodification of cultural heritage, orienting them to high social backgrounds.

Cultural sustainability assessment

To analyze the cultural sustainability effects resulting from the cultural heritage reappropriation in the ROCK area, we developed several tasks. The first task was to ask the local population about their understanding on cultural heritage and its importance. To do so, we developed an inquiry by addressing a questionnaire to 368 residents, based on a Quota probabilistic sample (De Rada and Martín 2014), covering at least 5% of the population. The sample was based on several conditions: neighborhood of residence, gender, group age and academic qualifications. The results were previously presented in an open access report of the ROCK project (Correia et al. 2020).

The second task was to map the present uses of local tangible cultural heritage, creating an analysis typology in the ROCK area: old housing (*Patios* and *Villas*); former industrial and commercial warehouses; and old palaces, convents and farms. This evaluation will take as temporary framework the late 1990's when the deindustrialization occurred until present times. To do so, it was determinant to access some literature on the local post-industrial tangible cultural heritage (Folgado and Custódio 1999, Camara Municipal de Lisboa 2019).

Throughout the research, using an ethnographic and ground-level approach, we participated in several community gatherings and assemblies, where the reappropriation of tangible cultural heritage and of interstitial urban voids were discussed, and different solutions were presented by the residents and the local associations. Several focus groups were developed with the local elders, and the former industrial workers through municipal initiatives such as "*Vidas e Memórias*" (lives and memories) and the *Marvila* and *Beato* Interpretative center. This last one was integrated in the research-action strategy developed by the ROCK project in Lisbon. At the same time, 18 semi-structured interviews were held with residents and ground-field organizations in the fields of social and economic exclusion, cultural heritage reappropriation, community engagement and participation. The interviews started with general questions around the contextual framework of the interviewed people (when they came to the territory and their symbolic relation with it), their opinion around the present and future uses of the existing cultural heritage assets and the relation between *Marvila* and *Beato* and the remaining city of Lisbon. At the end, it was asked if interviewees look at *Marvila* and *Beato* as urban enclaves or as integrated territories in the touristified city of Lisbon, questioning the present visibility of these territories in national and local media.

During our research, the residents were aware of our presence as urban researchers, in a fast-changing territory, promoting the best practices in gathering information in the social sciences, while detailing the ROCK project research objectives and aims by using a modest language and objectivity, and by promoting the full autonomy of research participants, namely, their privacy and anonymity.

Finally, the evaluation of cultural heritage reappropriation in the framework of cultural sustainability is marked by fluidity, controversies, and a strong connection with the Portuguese and Lisbon's urbanization processes, planning structures and its local practices, while discussing the role of public and private organizations in these processes.

Results

We present the results of the reappropriation of cultural heritage under the theoretical framework of cultural sustainability in the ROCK project area by using two main procedures. The first one, in order to understand how the local population represented the concept of cultural heritage in their neighborhoods, the ongoing changes and the existing retail, was resulting from an inquiry made to the local population. The second task was a mapping process in the territory, while creating a tangible cultural heritage typology that was complemented with the vision expressed by the residents, the local associations and the private entities developing new businesses in the area.

Inquiry results: what is heritage, and which are the ongoing changes and the existing retail in the Rock Project area?

Firstly, we asked the local residents: “If we say the word heritage, what comes to your mind?”, as an open question. From the 368 residents inquired, we received 473 responses, because the residents had the chance to say how many expressions they wanted. We wanted to know the statistic importance of each relevant expression and we presented only the most significant ones, with more than 1% of the distribution (Fig. 5).

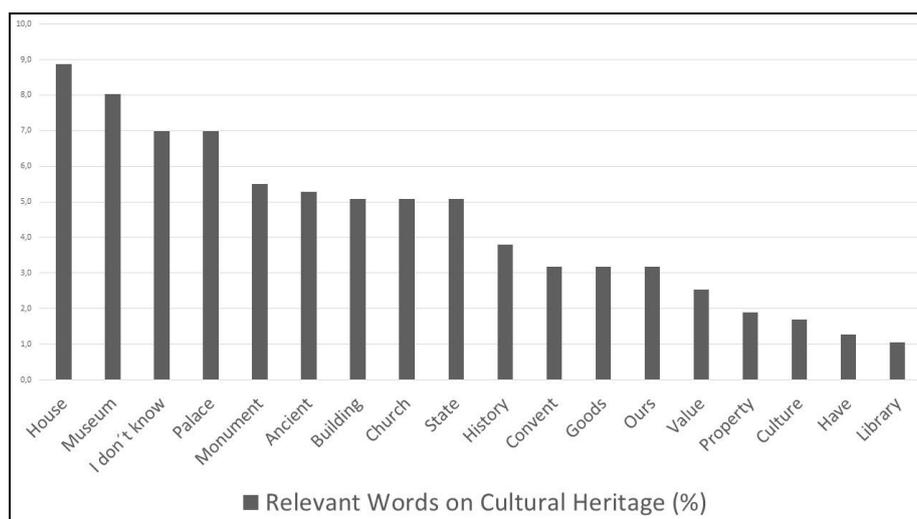


Fig. 5 – Relevant Words to the question: “If we say the word heritage, what comes to your mind?”

An important part of the respondents has traditional views on heritage, referring mainly to tangible cultural heritage, concentrating 28.8% of the distribution (museum, palace, monument, church, convent), but relating also to industrial times. Simultaneously, we see the prevalence of words related with the idea of property: house (8.7%), building (5.1%), goods (3.2%), property (1.9%), have (1.3%) or ours (3.2%). By this way, we understood that the expression heritage without the “cultural” element is strongly connected with the idea of physical goods that can be passed throughout generations, not relating it, at least at first sight, with the idea of cultural heritage. With a lower presence, it is also possible to find words related to the intangible cultural heritage, such as: ancient (5.3%), state (5.1%), history (3.8%), value (2.5%) or culture (1.7%). It is also significant to state that 7% of the residents inquired do not know what heritage means.

The inquiry had another section which provides more information about the vision of the residents on new uses for local cultural heritage, and its relationship with the ongoing changes. We provided a list of 14 ongoing changes in this territory, and the residents could choose as many changes as they wanted, to illustrate their understanding. From the 368 residents, we had 854 answers (Fig. 6).

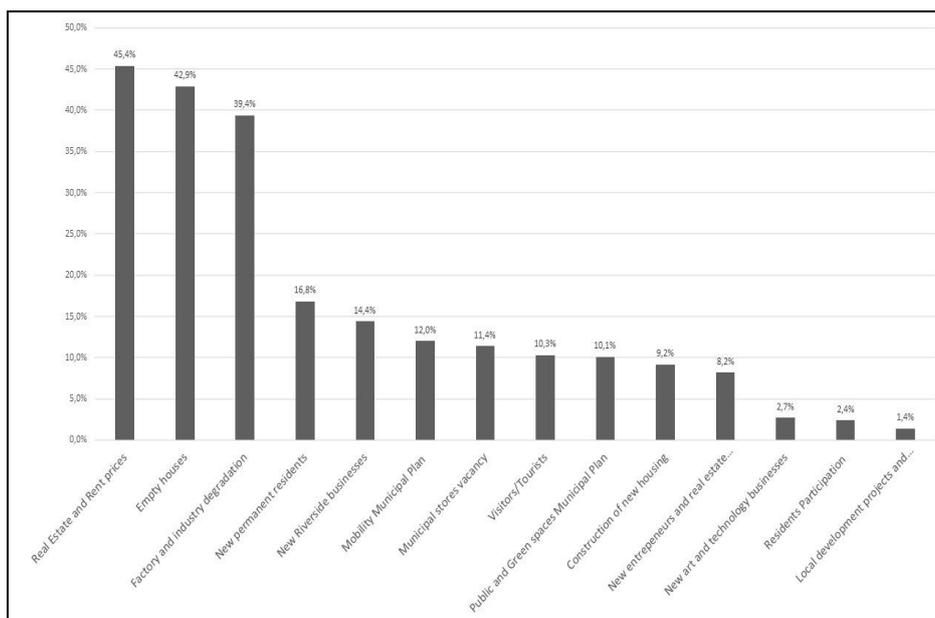


Fig. 6 – Ongoing changes in the Rock project area

The results of this question show some interesting aspects to discuss the importance and reappropriation of cultural heritage. The most significant answer is referring to the real estate and rent prices increase (45.4%), which is strongly related to the existence of new permanent residents (16.8%) and businesses (14.4%), as well as visitors/tourists (10%). These answers show the new visibility of these territories, as well as it is occurring in the remaining Lisbon. In the same direction, it is particularly interesting that the residents do not recognize so much the importance of new art and technology businesses, as being one of the most present reappropriations on local cultural heritage, particularly for the Riverside former industrial and commercial warehouses.

The third question is related to local retail. We provided a list of classified commercial structures, and we asked the residents which ones were oriented to them or to the visitors/tourists. Once again, the residents could choose as many variants as they wanted. In the case of local businesses oriented to the residents, we gathered 790 answers and in the case of local businesses oriented to visitors/tourists, we gathered 625 answers (Fig. 7).

It is particularly interesting to see that the most significant cultural heritage reappropriations in the ROCK project area are seen by the residents as being oriented towards the visitors/tourists. In this case, we must highlight the museums/art galleries/theatres (22%), the restaurants/taverns (18%), the breweries and nightclubs (17%), and the local accommodation (9%), showing that the respondents are aware that the present social and spatial changes are not oriented towards them, but to the outsiders.

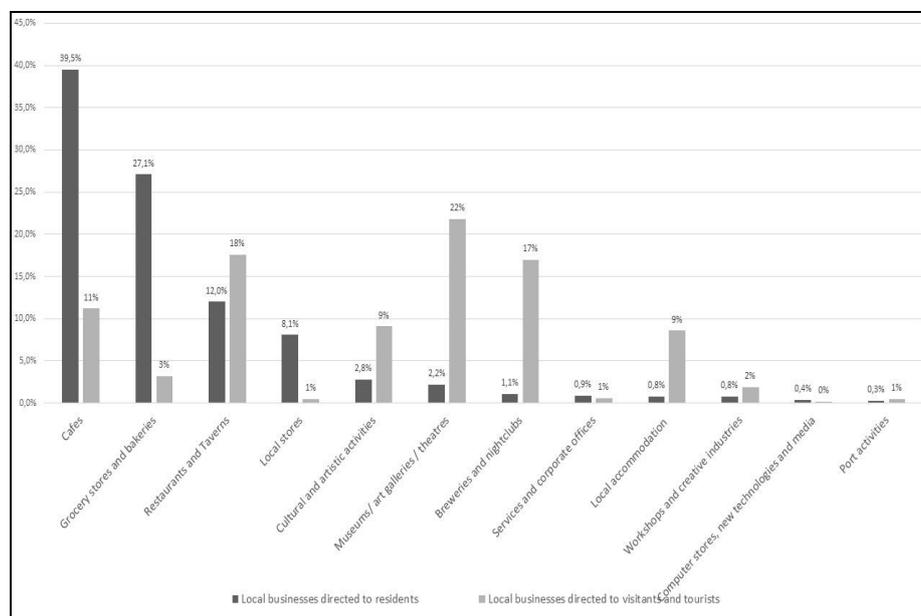


Fig. 7 – Local businesses existing in the Rock project area (oriented to the residents or to the visitors/tourists)

Tangible cultural heritage mapping in the ROCK project area

To create this paper, we mapped 130 organizations reappropriating tangible cultural heritage (95 assets) in ROCK project area, considering the use of these assets in June 2020. We created a typology of former uses namely: Old Housing, *Patios* and *Villas* corresponding to 22.3% of the distribution; Former Industrial and Commercial Warehouses, corresponding to 61.5%, and Old Palaces, Convents and Farms corresponding to 16.2%. Just 5.4% were managed by public bodies, so we can see the major interest of private investors on this kind of urban assets. Around 76.9% of these institutions were in the Riverside of *Marvila* and *Beato*, the area under major spotlight in this territory.

Old housing, patios and villas

Patios and *Villas* represent a strong inheritance resource of this territory. An important part of these tangible cultural heritage assets is mainly residential, most of them being degraded, empty, or occupied by elderly populations, with a precarious economic and social condition. According to the 2011 National Census Data, 56.1% of these houses were built before 1919, and 21.9% until 1945, corresponding to the first and the second industrialization waves occurred in the ROCK project area. Only 20.9% of the houses were occupied by their owners as permanent accommodation, when that percentage stands for 51.7% in Lisbon, and for 73.1% in Portugal, highlighting the precarious condition towards housing property. We mapped 29 *Patios* and *Villas*, located on *Marvila* Street (48.3%), *Toucinheiros* alley (20.1%) and the remaining located in the riverside (31.6%), while just one is having public ownership – *Vila Dias*. We would like to highlight the new uses of the former *Patio do Colegio* (Fig. 8), which has not changed its physical form, but it has changed its urban use, from a residential towards a cultural functionality. This asset has public ownership since 1970, when it was part of the *Chines* Shantytown, renamed as *Marques de Abrantes* Palace. In 1885, *Sociedade Musical 3 de Agosto* was created, which has become an important cultural and sports organization in the territory, being namely the organiser of *Marchas Populares*, a dancing competition between Lisbon traditional neighbourhoods, and taking place during the annual Lisbon festivities in June.



Fig. 8 – Former *Patio do Colegio* in a fieldwork visit to university students on urban studies, under the ROCK project

Former industrial and commercial warehouses

The most determinant strategy in the ROCK project area towards the reuse of tangible cultural heritage happened in former industrial sites, namely warehouses and old factories, as being today reconverted with new economic uses, and representing 61.5% of all distribution. We mapped 80 organizations in the ROCK project area, almost all of them being under private management and they are located in the Riverside. Only one of them is under public supervision – the future social assistance project *Lisboa Social*, developed in the former cork factory located on *Acucar* street (Fig. 9).



Fig. 9 – *Lisboa Social*
Source: the author

We present next the typology created to aggregate the different tangible cultural heritage reappropriations in these former factories and commercial warehouses, using the same categories used in our inquiry (Fig. 10).

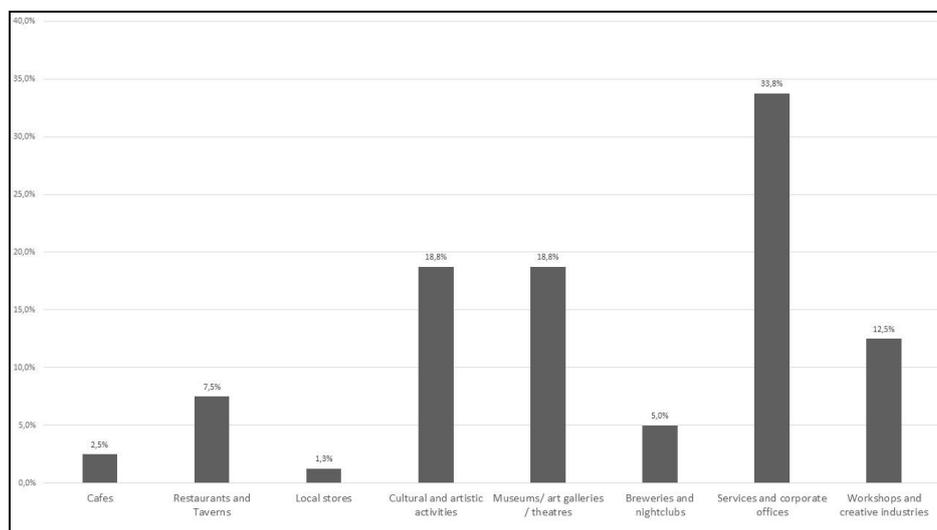


Fig. 10 – New uses of former industrial and commercial warehouses

In terms of occupations, firstly, we must highlight the services and corporate offices (33.8%), with a multiplicity of activities, from accounting, real estate and architecture, to design, new technologies, and communication. Secondly, it is particularly important to highlight the cultural and artistic activities (18.8%) and the museums/art galleries/theatres (18.8%), promoting new urban events and festivals, as a clear cultural led regeneration process. Thirdly, it is important to highlight the presence of workshops and creative industries (12.5%), by organizations dedicated to innovations and to creative professional profiles. Fourthly, an element that is determinant for the access of this area from nonresidential profiles, there are the restaurants and taverns (7.5%), and the breweries and nightclubs (5%), promoting an economic development strategy related to forms of leisure consumption.

Another determinant element in the analysis of the reappropriation of former industrial and commercial warehouses, it is the year of their opening, while 57.5% of them were created since 2015, and only 16.3% between 2011 and 2014. This information consubstantiates the contemporary interest in *Marvila* and *Beato* riverside in the fields of consumption, artistic performance and culture, as well as innovation and creativity. Not surprisingly and resulting from the major increase on soil prices and rents, some of the companies located in *Acucar* street, as *Musa*, *O Lugar que nao existe*, *Revivigi*, and *Asian Home Concept*, have received the intention from their landlords to leave the territory due to the end of their rental contracts without renovation.

But the most significant change for the former industrial and commercial warehouses is the creation of the Beato Creative Hub (Fig. 11), which will receive several companies dedicated to innovation, creativity, and leisure, being still under construction, and maintaining most of its original form. The reappropriation of the former Military Maintenance factory, from public ownership, resulted in the reuse of a former warehouse composed of more than 10.000 square meters. All activities will be developed and managed by the private sector, with a company called Startup Lisbon. It is expected an agglomeration of start-up companies, gathering thousands of skilled, innovation and creativity entrepreneurs and workers. Simultaneously, in the same project, several leisure activities will be developed, as a micro-

brewery, urban street art, music concerts and artistic performances, a dining area and an industrial museum with some of the machinery of the initial factory, developed in cooperation with the municipal agency for culture (EGEAC).



Fig.11 – Beato Creative Hub
Source: Pinto (1966), Orientre (2017)

Old palaces, convents and farms

These are the most traditional tangible cultural heritage assets in *Marvila* and *Beato*, which were not transformed in the era of industrialization and still today they have a cultural use, as the Tile Museum created in 1980 – a determinant point of the tourism and visitors offer in the area, as well as some palaces in *Xabregas* area, as the former *Marques de Olhao* palace. We mapped 21 old palaces, convents and farms, only three of them being under public management. There are still two churches, as the *Igreja Paroquial de Santo Agostinho a Marvila* or *Igreja Paroquial de São Bartolomeu do Beato*. Despite their low presence in the territory, in the inquiry made to the residents, around 60% of the respondents indicated these heritage sites as the most significant in *Marvila* and *Beato*.

In this case, the most significant culture led regeneration process resulting from the tangible cultural heritage reappropriation from nobility times is the *Fontes* farm reuse towards the present *Marvila Library* (Fig. 12). This municipal structure is determinant for the local cultural promotion, the resident's participation, community engagement, being a space for urban regeneration by using arts and cultural practices. Simultaneously, it is the headquarters of several social assistance projects, as well as two European funded pilot projects in the field of cultural amusement and green spaces, funded by the ROCK project. Nearby, it was created a street art gallery in 2017, highlighting these two points as two important strategies on the *Marvila* and *Beato* cultural visibility in the city of Lisbon.

Discussion

Despite its differences, we can find a process of spatial and social urban crisis in the ROCK project area, marked by the ruins and the remains of its nobility and industrial past, which created major urban voids, youngsters' unemployment, and the concentration of elderly populations. Globally, this territory is experiencing processes of social mix, seen by the entrepreneurs and the municipal officials as a major improvement for the area, and as an urban regeneration process, for until now, being a homogeneous urban area. But others, namely the Lisbon's social movements, local associations, and some of the residents, see it

as a process of liberalization of the urban space, creating urban exclusivity, as being orientated to the higher social classes.

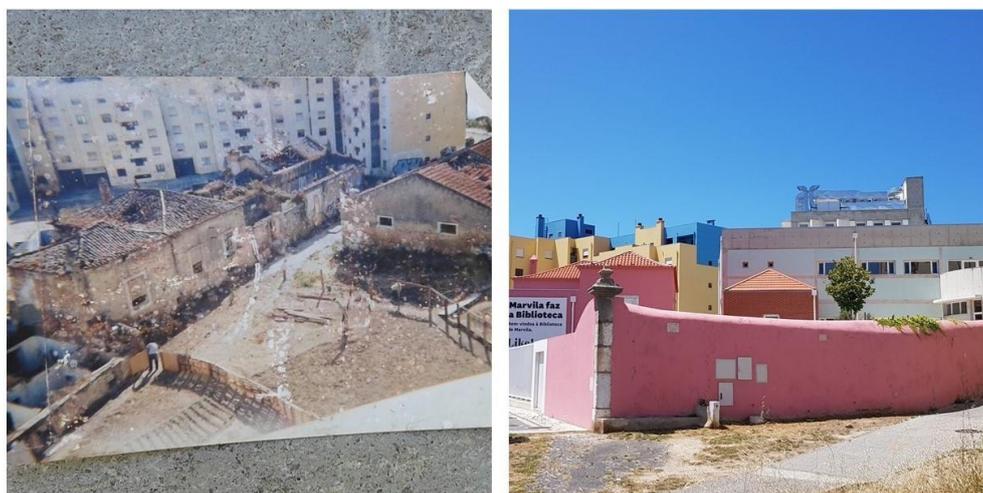


Fig. 12 – The former Fontes farm and the present Marvila Library
 Source: provided by a resident and the author

After presenting the results of the inquiry to the population and the tangible cultural heritage mapping, we will discuss how these processes occurred. In fact, we underline if the reappropriation of these three tangible cultural heritage typologies is close or not to the concept of cultural sustainability, using the theoretical framework of Soini and Birkeland (2014), and of Soini and Dessein (2016). We reproduce, in a reduced vision in Table 1, the understandings which are more connected with our case study.

Table 1

Representations and dimensions of cultural sustainability

	Culture in sustainability	Culture for sustainability	Culture as sustainability
Definition	As a social capital	As a way of life	As a semiosis
Development	As an achievement	As a resource	As a process
Value	Intrinsic	Instrumental	Embedded
Policy sectors	Cultural policies	All policies	New policies
Governance	Hierarchical	Co-governance	Self-governance

Source: Soini and Dessein (2016)

The theoretical framework is based on three main representations: (1) *culture in sustainability* – culture has an independent role in sustainability, close to the idea of Hawkes (2001), as the fourth pillar of sustainability, in horizontal relation with ecology, social and economic elements of sustainability; (2) *culture for sustainability* – culture is a driver to achieve higher grounds of economic development at regional and local level, having a regulating role; and (3) *culture as sustainability* – culture is a “necessary foundation for meeting the overall aims of sustainability” (Soini and Dessein 2016: 3).

In the case of old housing, patios and villas, with the case of Marques de Abrantes Palace or *Patio do Colegio*, we find a process of culture in sustainability. It presents a conservative context based on the importance of cultural Heritage, as an element of inheritance, distinctiveness of specific landscapes and its communities, strongly inflected by a desire to

preserve these physical and subjective elements in the future; as well as to support culture-led development processes which promoted the vitality of these historical assets and their communities. Here, culture has an independent role in sustainability, not connected to other spheres of sustainability, namely, economic, ecological, or social. This is an example where the use of culture is seen as social capital, representing an important symbolic moment for a local group. In terms of the value of the use of culture, it is intrinsic, constituting a form of representational boundary between the different communities, and of separation between the different placed social groups. Simultaneously, the convoked policy sector is cultural policies, as a municipal policy to highlight the different symbolic contents of each community, within a symbolic competition between them. In terms of governance, it is clearly hierarchical, because it is the municipality that funds this competition, while providing rules and regulations that all dancing groups must obey.

In the case of former industrial and commercial warehouses, with the case of *Beato* Creative Hub, we assist to a case of the use of culture for sustainability, culture being a driver to achieve higher grounds of economic development at regional and local level and having a regulating role. Culture is seen as a way of life, and in terms of development it is regarded as a resource and condition for economic improvement, its use being instrumental, and integrating all urban policies, from innovation, cultural heritage preservation or leisure consumption, while using a co-governance model of management, and by promoting public-private partnerships. It is clearly a neoliberalist context, strongly related to cultural consumption and tourism, while the access of outsiders to the commercial and commodified versions of historical assets is emphasizing its economic importance for the global urban regeneration of the enlarged area.

Finally, we discuss the urban changes on old palaces, convents and farms, with the example of *Marvila* library. Recalling the theoretical framework of Soini and Dessein (2016), we assist to a process of cultural heritage reappropriation classified as culture as sustainability, where culture is the foundation of the improvement of a socially, economic, and politically disadvantaged community. In fact, culture is contributing to a more participative and engaged development, centered on local organizations and the residents. It is clearly a communitarian context, where diversity, locality, identity, creativity, and cultural vitality are central processes of sustainable development, promoting social inclusion, cohesion, local engagement, and participation, particularly towards the rights of minorities and of specific ethnic groups. Here, the definition of culture is seen as a semiosis of social capital and a way of life, in order to reach a territory and community with a strong lack of cultural and artistic practices. Development is seen as a process resulting from the residents' engagement, participation and decision, and the value of culture is embedded towards urban change, as a driver of all achievements in this process of urban regeneration, while promoting new policies and ensuring a self-governance form of management.

Conclusions

In order to make sense of the existing cultural heritage in the ROCK project area, and to know how the population is relating to the existing inheritance of assets and memories, and to the potential of heritage as an optimizer of urban regeneration, especially in response to the urban crisis, we asked the residents about the meanings that they can associate to cultural heritage. We saw that the word "heritage" provides different meanings for the respondents, where the idea of monuments and property is especially important. In an intentional way, we did not use the expression "cultural" in association to "heritage", in order to see how the respondents react to the word. As it is in English with the word "patrimony", and in Portuguese with the word "*património*", it is common to associate heritage with the idea of property, and of material goods coming from the ancestors, but as well, with the idea of accumulated earnings, associated with economic wealth. The results of the inquiry showed a low frequency in the local use of the existing tangible cultural heritage, as it is

seen by the residents as an asset mostly destined to the outsiders, to the visitors, and not directly to them. Once again, we see a clear lack of participation and engagement from the local population towards the existing cultural heritage in the area.

In this case, we confirmed that for the local population, cultural heritage is not so central and determinant on their daily lives, or at least, not directly expressed as a central part of their present. It is regarded as something important, to be highlighted and to be preserved, mainly by the public powers, as a community value, but not as a daily concern of the residents. They have lower scholar capitals than the other Lisbon residents, and a high rate of social benefits and unemployment dependency, while an important part of the population is aged, having a lower economic status. The residents recognize their industrial and migrant past as an element to forget, as they are living primarily in social housing units. For them, and we discussed these issues with the occasion of formal and informal contacts, it is more important to debate the future, particularly after the current COVID-19 context, than the past. On the opposite side, resulting from funding initiatives and their own prepositive nature and relation to the cultural sector, we observed on the local public agencies and associations a strong effort on discussing cultural heritage, as the past times, that was regarded and participated by the more aged population. But these themes had a low interest among the youngsters and the middle-aged residents. Most of them have lived all their existence in the existing housing units, while they perceive the industrial and migrant past as something that is exclusively oriented to their ancestors.

According to private organizations, we observed, from most of the new uses of tangible cultural heritage, that culture was being used as an instrumental factor to motivate the visits of the outsiders, leading towards the creation of a new residential, cultural and leisure consumption space in the eastern Lisbon riverside. Also, cultural heritage is being used as a commodity and as a nostalgic ambiance for the creation of new businesses and artistic practices. At the same time, the long-term expectancy resulting from deindustrialization, the existence of several urban voids, the empty warehouses and vacant factories waiting for rehabilitation, as well as the economic crisis occurred between 2008 and 2013, have brought a new urban paradigm to this area of the city, with the interest of major real estate companies, which have rehabilitated some of the existing urban voids towards cultural consumption. In result, an important part of its resident population has left the territory in the last three decades. It is the effect of a neo-liberal vision, based on the importance of land values, promoting a significant difference between the exchange and the use value. This new visibility is based on the reappropriation of tangible heritage from industrial times, being recently reconverted with commercial, cultural, and creative uses, but it is lacking the residents' engagement and participation.

References

- BALSAS C. J. L. (2007), *City centre revitalization in Portugal: a study of Lisbon and Porto*, *Journal of Urban Design* 12 (2), 231-259.
- BARTA A. (2017), *Habitus in alternative food practice: Exploring the role of cultural capital in two contrasting case studies in Glasgow*, *Future of Food: Journal on Food, Agriculture and Society* 5 (2), 27-41.
- BIRKELAND I. (2008), *Cultural Sustainability: Industrialism, Placelessness and the Re-animation of Place*, *Ethics, Place & Environment* 11 (3), 283-297.
- BRUNDTLAND AND WORLD COMMISSION ON ENVIRONMENT AND DEVELOPMENT (1987), *Report of the World Commission on Environment and Development: Our Common Future*, Retrieved from: www.sustainabledevelopment.un.org.
- BUDD W., LOVRICH JR. N., PIERCE J. C., CHAMBERLAIN B. (2008), *Cultural sources of variations in US urban sustainability attributes*, *Cities* 25 (5), 257-267.
- BORGHI V., FALANGA R., OLORI D., PUSSETTI C. (2018), *Practices of Citizenship and Real Estate Dynamics: Roberto Falanga and Chiara Pussetti in conversation with*

Vando Borghi and Davide Olori, *European Journal of Creative Practices in Cities and Landscapes* 1 (1), 103-114.

CAMARA MUNICIPAL DE LISBOA (1965), *Plano de Urbanização de Chelas* (Urbanization Plan of Chelas), Departamento de Habitação da Camara Municipal de Lisboa, Lisbon, Portugal.

CAMARA MUNICIPAL DE LISBOA (2019), *Lisboa a Oriente, Roteiro Cultural* (Lisbon towards East, Cultural Script), Direção Municipal de Cultura, Lisbon, Portugal.

CORREIA R., FALANGA R., NUNES M., MARTINS J. (2020), *ROCK Lisbon Survey: Statistical Report*, Retrieved from: www.lisboa.rockproject.eu.

COSTA P., LOPES R. (2018), *Dos dois lados do espelho: diálogos com um bairro cultural através da intervenção urbana* (On both sides of the mirror: dialogues with a cultural quarter through urban intervention), *Etnográfica* 22 (2), 395-425.

COUCH C., SYKES O., BÖRSTINGHAUS W. (2011), *Thirty years of urban regeneration in Britain, Germany and France: The importance of context and path dependency*, *Progress in Planning* 75 (1), 1-52.

DA MATA PEQUENO BAPTISTA SOARES A. M. (2011), *Identidade Territorial de um Bairro Social: O Caso da Quinta Marquês de Abrantes* (Territorial Identity of a Social Housing neighborhood: The case of Marques de Abrantes Farm), Universidade Nova de Lisboa, Lisbon.

DEGEN M., GARCÍA M. (2012), *The transformation of the 'Barcelona Model': an analysis of culture, urban regeneration and governance*, *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 36 (5), 1022-1038.

DE RADA V. D., MARTÍN V. M. (2014), *Random route and quota sampling: Do they offer any advantage over probably sampling methods?*, *Open Journal of Statistics* 4 (5), 391-401.

EUROPEAN COMMISSION (2020), *CORDIS: EU research results*, Retrieved from: www.cordis.europa.eu.

EVANS G. (2005), *Measure for Measure: Evaluating the Evidence of Culture's Contribution to Regeneration*, *Urban Studies* 42 (5-6), 959-983.

EVANS G. (2009), *Creative Cities, Creative Spaces and Urban Policy*, *Urban Studies* 46 (5-6), 1003-1040.

FERILLI G., SACCO P. L., TAVANO BLESSI G., FORBICI S. (2017), *Power to the people: when culture works as a social catalyst in urban regeneration processes (and when it does not)*, *European Planning Studies* 25 (2), 241-258.

FOLGADO D., CUSTÓDIO J. (1999), *Caminho do Oriente – Guia do Património Industrial*, (Pathway towards East – Guide for industrial heritage), Livros Horizonte, Lisbon.

GEBALIS (2020), *Quinta do Chale*, Retrieved from: www.gebalis.pt.

GENNARI C. (2018), *Regeneração urbana, cidade criativa e gentrificação: Estudo do caso de Marvila em Lisboa* (Urban Regeneration, creative city and gentrification: Case study of Marvila in Lisbon), *Sociabilidades Urbanas – Revista de Antropologia e Sociologia* 2 (6), 113-123.

GEORGE E. W. (2010), *Intangible cultural heritage, ownership, copyrights, and tourism*, *International Journal of Culture, Tourism and Hospitality Research* 4 (4), 376-388.

GRAHAM B., ASWORTH G., TUNBRIDGE J. (2000), *A Geography of Heritage: Power, Culture and Economy*, Routledge, London.

HAWKES J. (2001), *The fourth pillar of sustainability: Culture's essential role in public planning*, Common Ground, Melbourne.

HECKERT M., MENNIS J. (2012), *The economic impact of greening urban vacant land: a spatial difference-in-differences analysis*, *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space* 44 (12), 3010-3027.

HUANG L., WU J., YAN L. (2015), *Defining and measuring urban sustainability: a review of indicators*, *Landscape Ecology* 30, 1175-1193.

KONIOR A., POKOJSKA W. (2020), *Management of Postindustrial Heritage in Urban Revitalization Processes*, *Sustainability* 12 (12), 5034.

- LEE S. J., HWANG S., LEE D. (2015), *Urban Voids: As a Chance for Sustainable Urban Design*, Proceedings of the 8th Conference of the International Forum on Urbanism, D007.
- LEES L. (2012), *The Geography of Gentrification: Thinking Through Comparative Urbanism*, *Progress in Human Geography* 36 (2), 155-171.
- LEES L. (2018), *Introduction: towards a C21st global gentrification studies*, in: Lees L., Phillips M. (eds.), *Handbook of Gentrification Studies*, Edward Elgar, Cheltenham, pp. 1-10.
- LEVER W. F. (1987), *Glasgow: Policy for the Post-industrial City*, in: Robson B. (ed.), *Managing the City: The Aims and Impacts of Urban Policy*, Croom Helm, London, pp. 40-59.
- LIU Y.-D. (2014), *Socio-cultural impacts of major event: evidence from the 2008 European Capital of Culture, Liverpool*, *Social Indicators Research* 115 (3), 983-998.
- LOCKE R., MEHAFFY M., HAAS T., OLSSON K. (2018), *Urban Heritage as a Generator of Landscapes: Building New Geographies from Post-Urban Decline in Detroit*, *Urban Science* 2 (3), 92.
- LOURES L. (2015), *Post-industrial landscapes as drivers for urban redevelopment: Public versus expert perspectives towards the benefits and barriers of the reuse of post-industrial sites in urban areas*, *Habitat International* 45 (Part 2), 72-81.
- MARCUSE P. (2015), *Gentrification, Social Justice and Personal Ethics*, *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 39 (6), 1263-1269.
- MARTINS J. C. (2020), *Tangible Cultural Heritage Re-Appropriation Towards A New Urban Centrality. A Critical Crossroad in Semi-Peripheral Eastern Riverside Lisbon*, *Geography, Environment, Sustainability* 13 (3), 139-146.
- MARTINS J. C., MOURATO J. (2018), *Marvila/Beato: Research Report*, Retrieved from: www.lisboa.rockproject.eu.
- MILES S., PADDISON R. (2005), *Introduction: The Rise and Rise of Culture-led Urban Regeneration*, *Urban Studies* 42 (5-6), 833-839.
- NEVADO A. (2015), *The Eastern waterfront area of Lisbon: progress, decline and regeneration*, *Joelho* 6, 146-152.
- NOFRE I MATEO J. (2010), *Políticas culturales, transformaciones urbanas y higienización social en la Barcelona contemporánea* (Cultural Policies, urban transformations and social hygienization in contemporary Barcelona), *Anales de Geografía de la Universidad Complutense* 30 (2), 133-161.
- ORIENTRE (2017), *Bem-vindos ao Hub Criativo do Beato* (Welcome to Beato Creative Hub), Retrieved from: www.orientre.pt.
- PAPADAM M. (2017), *The Heritage of the Ordinary: an alternative view. Strategies for using cultural heritage sites as a driver of sustainable urban [re]development in Piraeus*, Delft University of Technology, Delft.
- PINTO A. (1966), *Histórica da Manutenção Militar* (Military Maintenance History), SPEME, Lisbon.
- POP I. L., BORZA A., BUIGA A., IGHIAN D., TOADER R. (2019), *Achieving cultural sustainability in museums: A step toward sustainable development*, *Sustainability* 11 (4), 970.
- PRATT A. (2018), *Gentrification, artists and the cultural economy*, in: Lees L., Phillips M. (eds.), *Handbook of Gentrification Studies*, Edward Elgar, Cheltenham, pp. 346-362.
- REIS E SILVA M. (2016), *Pátios e vilas de Marvila e Beato: modos de vida de um movimento antigo* (Pátios and Villas of Marvila e Beato: ways of life from an old motion), *Cadernos do Arquivo Municipal* 6, 143-170.
- RODRIGUES A., GOMES A., FERREIRA S., COSTA A. (2015), *PRODAC: Comunidade em construção* (PRODAC: Community in construction), Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Lisboa, Lisbon.
- SOINI K., BIRKELAND I. (2014), *Exploring the scientific discourse on cultural sustainability*, *Geoforum* 51, 213-223.
- SOINI K., DESSEIN J. (2016), *Culture-Sustainability Relation: Towards a Conceptual Framework*, *Sustainability* 8 (2), 167.

SWANSON K. K., DEVEREAUX C. (2017), *A theoretical framework for sustaining culture: Culturally sustainable entrepreneurship*, *Annals of Tourism Research* 62, 78-88.

TULUMELLO S. (2015), *Fear and Urban Planning in Ordinary Cities: From Theory to Practice*, *Planning Practice & Research* 30 (5), 477-496.

VAN DE KAMP L. (2019), *The heritagization of post-industrial re-development and social inclusion in Amsterdam*, *Journal of Urban Cultural Studies* 6 (2-3), 199-218.

VECCO M. (2010), *A definition of cultural heritage: From the tangible to the intangible*, *Journal of Cultural Heritage* 11 (3), 321-324.

VERHEIJ J., CORRÊA NUNES M. (2021), *Justice and power relations in urban greening: can Lisbon's urban greening strategies lead to more environmental justice?*, *Local Environment* 26 (3), 329-346.

VIC PROPERTIES (2019), *Breathe a new way of living*, Retrieved from: www.pratariversidevillage.com.

Initial submission: 02.06.2020

Revised submission: 30.11.2020

Final acceptance: 23.12.2020

Correspondence: Institute of Social Sciences, University of Lisbon, Av. Professor Aníbal de Bettencourt, 1600-189, Lisbon, Portugal.

Email: joaomartins.cf@gmail.com

