



UNIVERSIDADE D  
COIMBRA

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UNLOCKING THE POTENTIAL OF THE *LOURARIA*:  
SIGNIFICANCE, VALUES AND MANAGEMENT IN A SANTARÉM NEIGHBOURHOOD

Dissertação no âmbito do Mestrado em Reabilitação Urbana Integrada,  
orientada pelo Professor Doutor Adelino Manuel dos Santos Gonçalves  
e pela Professora Doutora Margarida Isabel Barreto Relvão Calneiro  
e apresentado ao Departamento de Arquitetura da Faculdade de Ciências e Tecnologia  
da Universidade de Coimbra.

Janeiro de 2020





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## Resumo

*Em vários centros históricos urbanos portugueses, os desafios do declínio populacional e do envelhecimento da população residente minaram a coesão social e a vitalidade económica.*

*O desenvolvimento sustentável no ambiente histórico deve envolver uma reorientação das políticas de planeamento territorial para integrar áreas mais antigas em estruturas mais amplas de desenvolvimento urbano e regional, considerando-as como parte do território mais amplo em vez de unidades discretas. Isso também envolverá um diálogo próximo entre a formulação de políticas de planeamento técnico top-down e a experiência vivida bottom-up, para que a população local se possa envolver mais desde o início e durante todo o processo de formulação e implementação de políticas. Mas como é que isso pode ser feito? De que maneira podemos entender o ambiente histórico? E como podem os residentes locais contribuir para esse entendimento? Os conceitos de 'valores' e 'significado' do património serão cruciais neste processo.*

*A abordagem Paisagem Urbana Histórica (HUL), conforme a definição de UNESCO (2011), compreende uma “abordagem abrangente e integrada para a identificação, avaliação, conservação e gerenciamento de paisagens urbanas históricas dentro de uma estrutura geral de desenvolvimento sustentável”. No entanto, é essencial que qualquer abordagem integrada seja adaptada especificamente às realidades locais, e perceber que cada área urbana tem culturas e identidades diferentes.*

*Na cidade de Santarém, partes do centro histórico estão num estado de deterioração visível, e na Mouraria essas questões são particularmente agudas. Este estudo procura entender e questionar o estado atual, status, significado e valor – relativamente às considerações sociais, ambientais, culturais e económicas – desta zona, dando particular atenção à definição de uma abordagem integrada para a reabilitação. Adirão desta análise uma série de recomendações para apoiar uma estratégia positiva para a área no âmbito de políticas públicas integradas, que procurará atender aos objetivos gerais de desenvolvimento sustentável aos vários níveis.*

**Palavras-Chave:** *Reabilitação Urbana Integrada, Paisagem Urbana Histórica; Valores e significado patrimoniais; Valores Urbanos; Mouraria, Santarém, Portugal*



## **Abstract**

*In several Portuguese historic urban centres, the challenges of population decline and an aging residual resident population have undermined social cohesion and economic vitality.*

*Sustainable development in the historic environment must involve a reorientation of spatial planning policies to integrate older areas into wider urban and regional development frameworks, considering them as part of, rather than separate from, the wider territory. This will also involve a close dialogue between top-down technical planning policy formulation and bottom-up lived experience, so that local people can be more involved from the beginning and throughout the process of policymaking and implementation. But how can this be achieved, through what means can we understand the historic environment, and how can local people contribute to this understanding? The concept of heritage ‘values’ and ‘significance’ are crucial in this process.*

*The Historic Urban Landscape (HUL) approach, as defined by UNESCO (2011), comprises a ‘comprehensive and integrated approach for the identification, assessment, conservation and management of historic urban landscapes within an overall sustainable development framework’. But it is essential that any integrated approach is tailored to the realities of local circumstance, realising that each urban area has a different culture and identity.*

*In the city of Santarém, parts of the “centro histórico” have visibly deteriorated, and in the Mouraria these issues are particularly acute. This study seeks to understand and interrogate the current state, status, significance and value - in terms of social, environmental, cultural and economic considerations - of this neighbourhood with particular attention to defining an integrated approach to rehabilitation and refining a transferrable model of evidence-based practice. Recommendations resulting from this evidence-based analysis, should they be implemented, will support a positive strategy for the area within integrated public policy and seeking to meet overall objectives for sustainable development at various levels of management.*

**Key Words:** *Integrated Urban Rehabilitation, Historic Urban Landscape; Heritage Values and Significance; Urban Values; Mouraria, Santarém, Portugal*



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## Glossary

ACES	Associação Comercial, Empresarial e Serviços	<i>Chamber of Commerce</i>
ACRRU	Área Crítica de Recuperação e Reconversão Urbanística	<i>Critical Area for Urban Recovery and Regeneration</i>
AEDPHCS	Associação de Estudo e Defesa do Património Histórico e Cultural de Santarém	<i>Association for the Study and Defence of Santarém's Historical and Cultural Heritage</i>
AGU	Anteplano Geral de Urbanização	<i>General Development Plan</i>
AMCHS	Associação de Moradores do Centro Histórico de Santarém	<i>Santarém Historic Centre Residents' Association</i>
APA	Agência Portuguesa do Ambiente	<i>Portuguese Environment Agency</i>
ARH	Administração da Região Hidrográfica	<i>Hydrological Basin Management Partnership</i>
ARU	Área de Reabilitação Urbana	<i>Urban Rehabilitation Area</i>
CCDR	Comissão de Coordenação e Desenvolvimento Regional	<i>Regional Coordination and Development Commission</i>
CIMLT	Comunidade Intermunicipal da Lezíria do Tejo	<i>Intermunicipal Community of Lezíria do Tejo</i>
CMS	Câmara Municipal de Santarém	<i>Santarém Municipal Council</i>
DGEMN	Direção-Geral de Edifícios e Monumentos Nacionais	<i>Directorate-General for Buildings and National Monuments</i>
DGPC	Direção Geral do Património Cultural	<i>Directorate-General of Cultural Heritage</i>
EPC	Escola Prática de Cavalaria	<i>Equestrian Training Centre</i>
ERDF	Fundo Europeu de Desenvolvimento Regional (FEDER)	<i>European Regional Development</i>
ERUP	Estratégia de Reabilitação Urbana	<i>Urban Rehabilitation Strategy</i>
GCH	Gabinete do Centro Histórico	<i>Historic Centre Department</i>
GDPR	Regulamento Geral sobre a Proteção de Dados (RGPD)	<i>General Data Protection Regulation</i>
GPM	Gabinete de Planeamento Municipal	<i>Municipal Planning Department</i>
GTL	Gabinete Técnico Local	<i>Local Technical Department</i>
HUL	Paisagem Urbana Histórica	<i>Historic Urban Landscape</i>
ICOMOS	Conselho Internacional dos Monumentos e Sítios	<i>International Council on Monuments and Sites</i>
IFRRU	Instrumento Financeiro para a Reabilitação e Revitalização Urbana	<i>Financial Instrument for Urban Rehabilitation and Revitalisation</i>
IGESPAR	Instituto de Gestão do Património Arquitetónico e Arqueológico	<i>Institute for the Management of Architectural and Archaeological Heritage</i>
IHRU	Instituto da Habitação e da Reabilitação Urbana	<i>Institute for Housing and Urban Rehabilitation</i>
IMI	Imposto Municipal sobre Imóveis	<i>Council Tax</i>



IMT	Imposto Municipal a Transmissão Onerosa de Imóveis	<i>Stamp Duty</i>
In.Str	Programa “In Santarém”	<i>“In Santarém” Cultural Programme</i>
IPPAR	Instituto Português do Património Arquitetónico	<i>Portuguese Institute of Architectural Heritage</i>
IVA	Imposto sobre o Valor Acrescentado	<i>Value Added Tax (VAT)</i>
LBPOTU	Lei de Bases da Política de Ordenamento do Território e de Urbanismo	<i>Law on Spatial and Urban Planning Policy</i>
NGO	Organização Não Governamental	<i>Non-Governmental Organisation</i>
NUTS	Nomenclatura das Unidades Territoriais para Fins Estatísticos	<i>Nomenclature of territorial units for statistics</i>
NRAU	Novo Regime do Arrendamento Urbano	<i>New Regime for Urban Rentals</i>
ORU	Operação de Reabilitação Urbana	<i>Urban Rehabilitation Operation</i>
PACH	Plano de Ação do Centro Histórico	<i>Historic Centre Action Plan</i>
PAICD	Plano de Ação Integrado para Comunidades Desfavorecidas	<i>Integrated Action Plan for Disadvantaged Communities</i>
PAMUS	Plano de Ação para a Mobilidade Urbana Sustentável	<i>Sustainable Urban Mobility Action Plan</i>
PARU	Plano de Ação de Regeneração Urbana	<i>Urban Regeneration Action Plan</i>
PDM	Plano Diretor Municipal	<i>Municipal Master Plan</i>
PEDU	Plano Estratégico de Desenvolvimento Urbano	<i>Strategic Plan for Urban Development</i>
PERU	Programa Estratégico de Reabilitação Urbana	<i>Strategic Programme for Urban Rehabilitation</i>
PP	PP Plano de Pormenor	<i>Detail Plan / Action Plan</i>
PPS	Plano de Pormenor e Salvaguarda	<i>Detail and Safeguarding Plan</i>
PGU	Plano Geral de Urbanização	<i>General Urban Development Plan</i>
PGRH	Plano de Gestão de Região Hidrográfica	<i>Hydrographic Region Management Plan</i>
PMOT	Plano Municipal de Ordenamento do Território	<i>Municipal Spatial Plan</i>
PNAP	Política Nacional de Arquitetura e Paisagem	<i>National Architecture and Landscape Policy</i>
PNPOT	Programa Nacional da Política de Ordenamento do Território	<i>National Program for Spatial Planning Policy</i>
POLIS	Programa de Requalificação Urbana e Valorização Ambiental das Cidades	<i>Urban Works and Environmental Enhancement of Cities Programme</i>
PRID	Programa de Recuperação de Imóveis Degradados	<i>Programme for the Recuperation of Degraded Buildings</i>
PRAUD	Programa de Recuperação de Áreas Urbanas Degradadas	<i>Programme for the Recuperation of Degraded Urban Areas</i>



PROCOM	Programa de Apoio à Modernização do Comércio	<i>Support Programme for the Modernisation of Commerce</i>
PROHABITA	Programa de Financiamento para Acesso à Habitação	<i>Financing Programme for Access to Housing</i>
PROT-OVT	Plano Regional de Ordenamento do Território Oeste e Vale do Tejo	<i>Regional Spatial Strategy for the West and Tagus Valley</i>
PRU	Programa de Reabilitação Urbana	<i>Programme for Urban Rehabilitation</i>
PU	Plano de Urbanização	<i>Urban Development Plan</i>
RA	Relatório de Âmbito da Avaliação Ambiental Estratégica	<i>Strategic Environmental Assessment</i>
RAC	Relatório de Avaliação de Cenários	<i>(Preferred) Options Report</i>
REC	Revisão dos Estudos de Caracterização e Diagnóstico	<i>Characterisation and Diagnostic Studies Review</i>
RECRIA	Regime Especial de Comparticipação na Recuperação de Imóveis Arrendados	<i>Special Contribution Regime for the Recuperation of Rented Buildings</i>
RECRIPH	Regime Especial de Comparticipação e Financiamento na Recuperação de Prédios Urbanos em Regime de Propriedade Horizontal	<i>Special Contribution Regime for the Recuperation of Subdivided Urban Properties</i>
REHABITA	Regime de Apoio à Recuperação Habitacional em Áreas Urbanas Antigas	<i>Support Regime for Residential Recuperation in Older Urban Areas</i>
REOT	Relatório sobre o Estado do Ordenamento do Território de Lisboa e Vale do Tejo	<i>Report on the State of Land Use Planning in Lisbon and the Tagus Valley</i>
RJIGT	Regime Jurídico dos Instrumentos de Gestão Territorial	<i>Legal Regime for Territorial Management Instruments</i>
RJRU	Regime Jurídico de Reabilitação Urbana	<i>Legal Regime for Urban Rehabilitation</i>
RMEU	Regulamento Municipal da Edificação e Urbanização	<i>Municipal Regulation for Building and Urban Development</i>
SDG	Objetivos de Desenvolvimento Sustentável.	<i>Sustainable Development Goals</i>
SPAB	Sociedade para a Proteção de Edifícios Antigos	<i>Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings</i>
SOLARH	Sistema de Solidariedade de Apoio à Reabilitação de Habitação	<i>Solidarity System to Support Housing Rehabilitation</i>
SuDS	Sistemas Urbanos de Drenagem Sustentáveis	<i>Sustainable (Urban) Drainage Systems</i>
UNESCO	Organização das Nações Unidas para a Educação, a Ciência e a Cultura	<i>United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization</i>
URBCOM	Sistema de Incentivos a Projetos de Urbanismo Comercial	<i>System of Incentives for Commercial Urbanism Projects</i>
ZEP	Zona Especial de Proteção	<i>Protection Area Buffer Zone</i>





# Chapter 1

## General framing

### The life and death of the Portuguese historic city

During the twentieth century, unprecedented industrial, technological and scientific expansion resulted in improved quality of life throughout the Western world. The widespread use of concrete and steel allowed ever-higher buildings to be constructed at a lower cost.

In Portugal, from the late 1960s, greater attention was paid to regional and territorial planning, which gathered impetus following the 1974 Carnation Revolution through to the country's entry into the European Community in 1986 (Campos & Ferrão, 2015). However, in a context of inadequate existing housing, and an existing shortfall compounded by ever-increasing demand by *retornados* following decolonisation, mass housing was needed quickly. This resulted in dense new apartment blocks in new neighbourhoods.

The classic model of Portuguese habitation until the middle of the twentieth century was that of single-family housing in urban centres, and industrial and entrepreneurial activities located in a circular crown close by but on the peripheries. Thereafter, the process of rural-urban migration, particularly to coastal cities as a result of industrial expansion there, resulted in the need for the rapid construction at low cost of sprawling new housing developments (Oliveira, 2011). Legislation at that time positively encouraged the 'renewal' of housing through the demolition of the old, alongside increased densification in and around urban areas (Castro Graça, 2013), however the relative costs of clearing older areas and the logistical challenges of installing modern infrastructure made greenfield development more attractive.

Alongside this, relatively stagnant wages encouraged workers to move abroad, while easy credit for new-builds hastened the abandonment of "historic centres". Rental incomes in "historic centres" were insufficient to enable maintenance and upgrading, compounded by the complexity of unhelpful ownership patterns. New housing in the periphery seemed much more straightforward, rational and modern.

By the 1970s the Portuguese historic city was in evident decline. Inspiration was sought through the innovative experiences of rehabilitation in Bologna, first imported to Portugal through the *Comissariado para a Renovação Urbana da Área Ribeira-Barredo* (CRUARB), the experience of which inspired the national Programme for the Recuperation of Degraded Buildings (*Programa de Recuperação de Imóveis Degradados* - PRID) in 1976. Further

1976	PRID	Programme for the Recuperation of Degraded Buildings	<i>Decreto-Lei n.º 704/76, DR n.º 704/76 I Série (30/09/1976)</i>
1985	PRU	Programme for Urban Rehabilitation	<i>Despacho n.º 4/SEHU/85</i>
1988	PRAUD	Programme for the Recuperation of Degraded Urban Areas	<i>Despacho n.º 1/88, de 20 de Janeiro de 1988</i>
1988	RECRIA	Special Contribution Regime for the Recuperation of Rented Buildings	<i>Decreto-Lei n.º 4/88, de 14 de Janeiro</i>
1994	PROCOM	Support Programme for the Modernisation of Commerce	<i>Decreto-Lei n.º 184/94, de 1 de Julho</i>
1996	REHABITA	Support Regime for Residential Recuperation in Older Urban Areas	<i>Decreto-Lei n.º 105/96, de 31 de Julho</i>
1996	RECRIPH	Special Contribution Regime for the Recuperation of Subdivided Urban Properties	<i>Decreto-Lei n.º 106/96, de 31 de Julho</i>
1999	SOLARH	Solidarity System to Support Housing Rehabilitation	<i>Decreto-Lei n.º 7/99, de 8 de Janeiro</i>
2000	URBCOM	System of Incentives for Commercial Urbanism Projects	<i>Portaria n.º 317 - B/2000, de 31 de Maio</i>
2004	PROHABITA	Financing Programme for Access to Housing	<i>Decreto-Lei n.º 135 /2004 de 3 de Junho</i>
2012	<i>Reabilitar para arrendar</i>	Rehabilitate to Rent – Accessible Housing	<i>Decreto-Lei n.º 175/2012, de 2 de agosto</i>
2015	IFRRU 2020	Financial Instrument for Urban Rehabilitation and Revitalisation	<i>Resolução do Conselho de Ministros n.º 52-A/2015 de 23 de Julho</i>

*Table 1: Key Portuguese Urban Rehabilitation Programmes*

programmes focused on the physical restoration of the city's historic fabric whilst aiming to achieve social goals. These included RECRIA (1986), REHABITA (1996), RECRIPH (1996), SOLARH (1999), and PROHABITA (2004). Wider still, PRU was the first scheme wholly dedicated to urban rehabilitation, replaced in 1988 by PRAUD and abolished only recently (Gonçalves, 2018). Key national programmes for urban rehabilitation are shown in Table 1.

A key common feature of this series of programmes was their focus on modernisation of housing stock through improvements in sanitation and residential amenity alongside public realm improvements focusing on image more than types of uses and local cultural diversity. Still, “historic centres” continued to lose people as residents migrated to better new accommodation, and to Lisbon and Porto. This became a pressing political issue, with these cities unable to respond quickly enough to the new arrivals, while the physical and social fabric of non-coastal cities continued to crumble. The lack of coordinated and phased intervention in the historic environment led to rampant speculation in Lisbon and Porto, alienating local communities, and creating cheek-by-jowl disparities. The launch of the *Regime Jurídico de Reabilitação Urbana* (RJRU) in 2009, was a response to the degradation of “historic centres”, representing a shift in perspective, encouraging residents and investors via tax incentives to engage in urban rehabilitation, and moving away from legalistic responses. In other words, it replaced the stick with the carrot.

## Santarém

In Santarém, several of these urban regeneration and rehabilitation programmes were explored, with some of them implemented, over the past few decades. These were a response to the emptying of the city centre as a result of the development of the São Bento neighbourhood, designed according to garden city principles and built between 1943 and 1957; and the unashamedly modern São Domingos *urbanização* from the 1970s. This, alongside the relocation of the Exposition ground from the *Planalto* to “down there” (*lá em baixo*), meant an emptying of the central area. Spatially, Santarém became socially divided between lower income areas such as Vale das Estacas; middle income areas such as Sacapeito, Jardim de Cima and São Domingos; and ‘*bairros nobres*’ such as at the Portas do Sol and at São Bento.

The city of Santarém, sitting atop a cliff with commanding views over the Tagus valley, has an ancient and multi-layered history. The self-styled ‘Capital of Gothic’<sup>1</sup> has, over the years, invested technical and financial resources into the rehabilitation of its “Centro histórico” – including much of the *Planalto* and *Ribeira* areas of the city. However, as in many cities in

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<sup>1</sup> It is a local mythology that Santarém is Portugal's “Capital of Gothic”. This is a misreading of Correia (1924:82), whose quote relates to tombs rather than architecture in general.

	<b>2010</b>		<b>2018</b>	
	<b>Santarém</b>	<b>Portugal</b>	<b>Santarém</b>	<b>Portugal</b>
<b>Resident Population</b>	62,453	10,573,100	57,611	10,283,822
<b>Population Density</b>	111.5	114.7	104.3	111.5
Median nº individuals per km <sup>2</sup>				
<b>Young People (%)</b>	14.4	15.2	13.2	13.8
Under 15 years old				
<b>Economically active age (%)</b>	63.5	66.3	61.9	64.6
15 - 64 years old				
<b>Elderly (%)</b>	22.2	18.5	24.9	21.7
65+				
<b>Aging Index</b>	154	122	189	157
Elderly per 100 young people				
<b>Foreign Population</b>	2,556	443,055	1,883	477,472
<b>Foreign Population as a % of the resident population</b>	4.1	4.2	3.3	4.6
<b>Births</b>	575	101,381	452	87,020
<b>Deaths</b>	816	105,954	767	113,051
<b>Difference between births and deaths</b>	- 241	- 4,573	- 315	- 26,031
Natural Increase				
<b>Classic Family Dwellings</b>	35,026	5,852,186	Pre 35,417	Pre 5,954,548
<b>New building completions for family habitation</b>	102	17,445	Pre 34	Pre 7,309
<b>Average bank valuation of accommodation (€/m<sup>2</sup>)</b>	1,040.0	1,223.0	941.0	1,192.0
<b>Reported crimes per 1000 residents</b>	39.2	40.1	30.9	32.4

*Table 2: Demographic picture of Santarém. Like other Portuguese cities, there has been a marked population decline and an increased aging index (Source PORDATA, 2019).*

Portugal, the challenges of population decline and an aging residual resident population have undermined social cohesion and economic vitality (see Table 2), and the material fabric is visibly deteriorated. Meanwhile urban requalification and regeneration schemes have latterly been focused outside the centre. The 2007 Programme for the Requalification of the city's Structuring Axes (*Programa de Requalificação dos Eixos Estruturantes da Cidade*) is an example of this, through which intervention was focused on the Jardim de Liberdade, adjacent to the western edge of the “centro histórico”, without touching other historic parts of the city.

Several projects, mainly focused on the requalification of public spaces in the “centro histórico” and other parts of the city, were included in a draft PEDU (Strategic Plan for Urban Development, CMS, 2015) of which only some improvements at Largo de Marvila have yet been implemented. While there is now no longer a requirement to adopt a PEDU prior to funding applications, those projects already awarded funding must still be delivered in conformity with the original scheme.

## **The Historic City theorised**

While the conservation of the historic environment has been a theme in urban development for centuries, and figures such as John Ruskin, Eugène Viollet-le-Duc and William Morris raised public perception and interest in heritage in the nineteenth century, the first consolidated heritage conservation discourse emerged through the expert-led Athens Charter (ICOMOS, 1931). Through the course of the twentieth century, modern conservation emerged as an important strand of urban planning, particularly through the 'scientific restoration' approach advocated by Gustavo Giovannoni (1873–1974). Like Camillo Sitte before him, Giovannoni emphasised aesthetic and picturesque values, and advocated an approach for the respectful modernisation of historic areas, called '*diradamento edilizio*' ('thinning-out' of urban fabric) (Giovannoni, 1913). It meant keeping major traffic outside these areas, avoiding new streets being cut into them, improving the social and hygienic conditions and conserving historic buildings (Jokilehto, 1999). To achieve this, he suggested the demolition of less important structures in order to create space for necessary services, but often this meant the loss of character of the affected locations. In his influential work, *Vecchie città ed edilizia nuova* (Giovannoni, 1931, p.156), he argued that “surviving old cities are almost always unfit to become the centre of new ones” without intervention. Potential tension brought about through the decentralisation of uses from pre-existing centres to new centres formed part of Italian urban planning, tested in Bologna in the 1950s and 1960s, and in other cities in the Emilia Romagna region, and emerged in the second post-war period in doctrinal documents such as European Charter of Architectural Heritage (ICOMOS, 1975).

1943-1957	<i>Bairro de São Bento followed Garden City principles.</i>
1947-1993 (rev. 1957, 1961)	<i>Plano de Urbanização (João António de Aguiar) adopted - Expansion of suburbs at Vale de Estacas, Jardim de Baixo, S. Domingos</i>
1948  1957-60 2010	<i>Avenida Marquês Sá da Bandeira através de uma linha axial que parte do meio da fachada do Palácio da Justiça e atravessa todo o Campo Sá da Bandeira. A programme involving the greening of this space implemented. Major intervention in this space, transforming it into the current Jardim da Liberdade.</i>
1964	<i>New Praça dos Touros inaugurated at Praça Celestino Graça.</i>
1974	<i>New municipal hospital opened in S. Domingos. Feira Nacional de Agricultura moved out of the city to its own bespoke ground, next to road links.</i>
1989  1989-2001	<i>Gabinete de Planeamento Municipal (GPM) “with the objective of putting some order on urban chaos” (PERU, CMS, 2015, p.17). Gabinete Técnico Local (GTL) establish to undertake management of the “Historic Centre” and the production of the Plano de Salvaguarda e Valorização da Mouraria de Santarém</i>
1995	<i>Municipal Masterplan regulation adopted.</i>
1991-2001	<i>Gabinete Técnico Local (GTL) Ribeira and Alfange. Responsible for the rehabilitation of these two marginalised areas.</i>
2003	<i>Construction of W shopping, on the site of an Islamic cemetery outside the southern perimeter of the medieval walls.</i>
1996-2001  2016	<i>Gabinete de Candidatura, responsible for the city’s UNESCO application. This bid was formally dropped.</i>
1999 2020	<i>Núcleo Museológico do Tempo - Torre das Cabaças opened. Part of site sold to private investment company.</i>
2009-2012	<i>Restoration of Convento de São Francisco. Currently open.</i>
2013	<i>Façade and public realm work undertaken at the Seminário. Opening of the rehabilitated Palácio Landal. Closure of Igreja de São João de Alporão / Núcleo Museológico de Arte e Arqueologia Medievais due to falling masonry.</i>
2011-2015	<i>Restoration of Santa Maria da Alcáçova</i>
2019	<i>Plans for public realm works at Largo Dr. Ramiro Nobre (São Nicolau) and Largo Manuel António das Neves (Pasteleiros), among others, abandoned following protests at reductions in parking.</i>
2015-2020	<i>Gabinete do Centro Histórico (GCH) – tasked with implementing and monitoring the Plano de Ação para o Centro Histórico de Santarém. This plan was never produced, and the department disbanded.</i>

Table 3: Timeline of key Santarém project, programmes and developments.

The impetus behind heritage conservation was for several centuries heavily associated with concepts of beauty in art. The aesthetic appearance was so important that even time itself was defeated by it (Alberti, 1988). Well in to the twentieth century the influential approaches of Brandi (1974) to the historic environment framed their objects in terms of their artistic-aesthetic constituents. Even within the debates around *Restauro Critico* (Pane, 1948), which had regard to sociological and environmental considerations, the main emphasis remained on aesthetic aspects of restoration. Such approaches presupposed that only technical experts are in a position to assess and establish strategies for the effective restoration or conservation of heritage assets, and what resulted was almost invariably top-down restrictive policies that, while highlighting the relative importance of particular monument, alienated the majority of the populace from these sites.

More recent heritage theory has been framed through the role of the historic environment in promoting sustainable development. This emerged through increased concern over the fetishisation of the historic monument (Choay, 1992; Mitchell, 2003), the role of the monument in its wider urban context, and a lack of attention to those communities and settings within which these monuments have functional relationships (Gray, 2003; Hay, 1998; Smith, 2006; Stokowski, 1996). At the same time, planning and urban studies, converging around the same sorts of ideas and principles and having been influenced by similar literatures (e.g. Lynch, 1960; Cullen, 1971), also prioritised the implementation of sustainable development through the territorial and land use planning system.

## **Planning's understanding and treatment of heritage assets**

According to Cerdá (1867), the science of the city and its production locates the *urbe* as the object of study, referring to a variety of different types of human settlement. Urbanism, then, as a discipline does not distinguish between a “historic” and a “contemporary” city, but rather sees the *urbe* as a whole which should be managed as such. Cerdá's (1867) “*Teoría General de la Urbanización*” establishes the essential structural relations between the constitutive elements of the *urbe*, and those linking a city with its wider territory, establishing “universal” rules forming the basis of a discipline. During the twentieth century, urban sociology influenced the practice of urbanism, for example in the works of Wirth (1938), Whyte (1943), Simmel (1908) and Jacobs (1992), and the study of the relations between communities and their habitats through recognition of their values has become prominent.

As Rossa (2015, p.497) states, the focus on human habitat and its uses and functions leads to the acquisition of a “set of structural features with constructive, spatial or architectural implications, which retain the central characteristics of ‘urbanistic’ identity in an urban ensemble, leaving space for the harmonious development of form and image amid that





### Legenda

- ARU\_Planalto
- Limite CH

0 230 Metros



*Figure 1: The Mouraria, situated within the Santarém 'Planalto' ARU.*



which already exists". Urban heritage is thus an "immaterial [heritage] embodied virtually by ensembles of buildings within a nucleus, this highlighting within it those anonymous or generic buildings (...) and not just remarkable elements, whether monuments, buildings or public spaces. It is a system of stable formal relations through which the city is created and re-created with continuous recourse to architecture." (Rossa, 2015, pp.496-497). In a dynamic (urban) context in which change is rapid and ongoing, it is important to identify and preserve those values that bestow an identity and a sense of place on communities.

The disciplines of planning and urbanism, and of heritage, are inextricably linked at a management and implementation level. As Choay (1992) states, the concept of urban heritage acquires its own identity when the old urban complexes become an impediment to development. With the industrial revolution and the consequent developments in technology which allowed construction according to different (and often incompatible) logics and scales, the destiny of urban heritage became associated either with preservation or destruction. As a result, urban heritage constitutes a counter current to the dominant urbanisation process (Choay, 1992), situated outside the cannibalising and Kali-like forces of destruction and rebirth which characterise urban dynamics. Urban heritage strikes a permanent dialectic between history and historicity, between past and present. Until the early nineteenth century, knowledge of cities was challenging due to the absence of registers, cartographic documents and archives that documented the modes of production and the transformations of urban space over time.

The city is now understood as a living organism in constant evolution, responding to and being shaped by the needs of its resident population (Lefebvre, 1974). It is through this approach that we can understand piecemeal changes to the form and the image of the city over time. However, as Bridge & Watson (2000, p.7) explain, cities "are not simply material or lived spaces – they are also spaces of the imagination and spaces of representation". The impact of urban cultural geography has added another dimension to the understanding of cities. The idea of the city as palimpsest; of a series of overlaid layers is given a postmodern treatment. In such thinking, the city presents a *continuum* in space and time through which society continues to leave its mark, overlaying multiple and diverse cultural layers on physical space over time. The city in this way is hypertext, through which diverse layers take on multiple meanings and require multiple readings to make sense of particular passages within the totality of the urban or landscape narrative which transcends time and space (Duncan, 1990; Rossa, 2015). Thus, the failures of many heritage and regeneration schemes resulting in imitation, parody, pastiche and artifice can be understood.



The modern conservation movement supported by heritage conservation theory developed as a regulatory tool to prevent the loss of those aspects of the built environment believed to hold particular significance for local memory or in establishing a particular local identity or sense of place (Agnew & Duncan, 1989; Jacobs, 1992). Urban policymakers have responded to the multiple challenges of the historic environment through the imposition of regulations restricting change and adaptation on older parts of the urban area to new activities. The result has been that these areas have in many cases been left behind as the city's economic centre migrates to areas without such restriction (Sassen, 1995). Older areas may either fall into decline through lack of investment, or become self-parodies as historic curiosities surrendered for tourist consumption and no longer a part of wider urban life, as remaining activity is pushed out and social cohesion undermined (Smith & Williams, 1986; Hannigan, 1998).

Under such conditions, the life force of cities, or their "*lebenswelt*" (Schutz & Luckmann, 1973; Habermas, 1984) is starved of nutrition and their capacity for hosting meaningful social relations ceases. There is a global imperative for intervention in the historic environment to balance the needs of modern urban living with maintaining those values and images that connect populations with their roots and gives them a sense of identity and belonging (Morley, 2001). This is not an easy task, and success depends on a variety of actors at a variety of scales, and on the correct pitching of policy and project intervention. However, there is agreement on the need for intervention and policy guidance in historic cities across the world, which should accord with best practice as presented in binding heritage charters which are increasingly couched, like the wider discipline of urbanism, in terms of sustainable development, rather than a fetishisation of the aesthetic and artistic appearance of individual assets that so defined the discipline until the twentieth century.

### **Reconciling “urban” with “heritage” through integrated planning for the historic urban landscape**

According to World Bank, the world's urban population grew from 34% in 1960 to 55.3% in 2018, forecasting that it will increase to 68% by 2050. In Portugal, 65 percent of the population is already urban (World Bank, 2018). Urban areas are increasingly important sites of encounter, where cultures are formed and reformed through complex interactions. Likewise, they are sites in which a commitment to sustainable development must be put into practice, addressing problems emerging from dispersed and fragmented populations, and the poor spatial interface between populations and services. A commitment to the principles of sustainable development has been made internationally, recently at the Habitat III (2016) conference and, at EU level, in the bloc's ongoing commitment to spatial planning principles.



The Historic Urban Landscape (HUL) approach, as defined by UNESCO (2011, p.3), comprises a “comprehensive and integrated approach for the identification, assessment, conservation and management of historic urban landscapes within an overall sustainable development framework”. The underlying idea is that when thoughtfully and carefully managed, heritage can be a means of development, and it can be used as a driver to build sustainable and resilient cities (Bandarin and Van Oers, 2015). This is the most recent articulation of successive heritage charter positioning (although it is not a heritage charter itself) that seeks to balance sustainable development with conservation of heritage value and significance. Instead of sticking with the Ruskinian paradigm of non-intervention, increasing urbanisation brings a need to manage heritage in a constantly changing context and to integrate older urban areas into a multipolar, multidimensional and multi-scale city.

The debate should not necessarily focus on the binary between an imagined ‘old city’ and ‘new city’. Rossa (2015) proposes that historic urban fabric should be related, particularly in urban and territorial planning, to modern life and uses. Drawing from Giovannoni’s principles, the contemporary and “historic” centre can become interconnected and complementary when the spatial scale is widened so that urban planning no longer applies only to bounded urban areas but becomes city wide and even territorial in scale (Choay, 1992).

**CAVEAT:** Thus, we come to a dilemma. It is not correct to refer to area of the city of Santarém previously enclosed by the Fernandine Walls as the “centro histórico” for numerous reasons, including the fact that the *Ribeira* and *Alfange* areas of the city, not enclosed by those walls, include ensembles of similar ages. More importantly, such a distinction between “centro histórico” and the rest of the city fetishises one part of the *urbe* over the rest, as will be explored below. However, this area is referred to by local people and associations as the “*Centro Histórico*”, with strong buy-in within municipal documentation. The use of the term “Centro histórico” throughout this study is caveated with the recognition that it is taxonomically incorrect.

Sustainable development in the historic environment must involve a reorientation of spatial planning policies to integrate older areas into wider urban and regional development frameworks, considering them part of rather than separate from the wider territory. But how can this be achieved, through what means can we understand the historic environment, and how can local people contribute to this understanding? The concept of heritage ‘values’ and ‘significance’ are crucial in this process.



## **Values – ‘authenticity’ belonging to the past, versus people belonging to the present?**

The idea of heritage value is perhaps most prevalent and useful in the management of the historic environment (Fredheim and Khaled, 2016). While the concept of ‘values’ as a measure and guide for social organisation has roots in classical philosophy (c.f. Plato), its use as a tool for decision-making in heritage studies has its roots in Aloïs Riegl’s (1903) essay, *“Der moderne Denkmalkultus”*, which set nineteenth century disciplinary discourse into solid text. This provided the basis for the establishment of ‘values’ as key indicators of heritage significance, an important theme in modern conservation initiatives, which he initially classified into ‘memory’ value and ‘contemporary’ value. Riegl’s grasp of the sociohistorical dimensions of preservation, as expounded in his essay, where they are focused around art history, have been highly influential. The emergence of ‘values’ in the heritage field revolved around concepts of aestheticism combined with the materialist and curatorial traditions of conservation (Hutter and Throsby, 2008).

Theorists like Boito and Giovannoni continued this axiological work driven by the impulse to compartmentalise and classify complex phenomena (Etlin, 1996; Avrami & Mason, 2019). However, the influence of societal values focusing on the economic, environmental, social and political uses of heritage have become increasingly important and influential in the heritage field, in parallel with the increasing politicisation of public discourse. Heritage as a politicised social construct, created through values being ascribed to places by the people who experience them (Lowenthal, 1985; Ashworth, 1994), while increasing the democratisation of knowledge, has also raised the question of what kind of values can be described as ‘essential’ and which are ‘instrumental’ (Wijesuriya et al., 2013). Such a debate cannot be resolved within the ambit of this study, but does inform its outcomes as whilst this study seeks to distil the heritage values at play in Santarém, these cannot be understood to be fixed, and continued values monitoring will be required to measure progress.

Value in many settings is a clear determinant of the level of statutory protection a heritage asset or ensemble is afforded by public authorities. However, a variety of factors are involved in establishing a heritage value, and various schemata have been developed over the years in an attempt to standardise and make comparable a measure of valuing heritage assets and ensembles. As Pye (2001, p.57) proposes, it is “the meanings and values attached to objects... [that] provide the very reason for conservation”. Some suggest that “societies retain objects because they have value for the members of that society” or that they “are preserved because they have [intrinsic] values” (Appelbaum, 2007, p.86). The value societies place on heritage assets, at least in theory, has a positive correlation with the





asset's survival; so much so that while sometimes dismissed as 'relativistic', actually "value has always been the reason underlying heritage conservation" (de la Torre, 2002, p.3).

But who or what bestows value on heritage assets? Heritage values, far from being intrinsic, can be culturally specific and are in constant dialogue with their social, historical and spatial contexts among others (Mason, 2002). Values are not fixed or unchanging; nor are they strictly within the domain of heritage professionals to establish. While authorised heritage discourse may have informed and influenced the types of protections hitherto bestowed (Smith 2006), people engage with heritage on multiple levels, and we must concede that values are mutable social constructs (Pearson & Sullivan 1995, p.168; Avrami et al., 2000).

Closely allied with the concept of values is that of significance. Statements of heritage significance provide important benchmarks for decision-making in historic environments, and involve the identification of three levels of conservation value – what it is; why it is valuable; and how valuable it is. Such an approach is not new. The Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (SPAB)'s manifesto promoted the idea of value and significance as a starting point in heritage decisions, stating, "it be asked us to specify what kind or amount of art, style, or other interest in a building makes it worth protecting, we answer, anything which can be looked on as artistic, picturesque, historical, antique, or substantial: any work, in short, over which educated, artistic people would think it worth while to argue at all" (Morris, 1877, n.p.)

Urban planning and conservation policies and practice must start from the recognition of present-day urban values, in terms of their multiplicities, and use these to establish a balanced approach to development, balancing bottom-up and top-down demands. This project proposes recommendations through which this can be achieved. The task of maintaining and enhancing significance inevitably requires conservation decisions that are the result of a series of value judgements (Fredheim & Khalad, 2016). It is through a values-based approach that social narratives around heritage can be balanced and managed.

### **Current policy situation & international influences**

The shift to the idea of "cultural heritage management" has in the past primarily focused on the protection of specific monuments and areas designated as cultural heritage (Smith, 2006; Fairclough et al., 2008). A qualitative shift has emerged in heritage principles and approaches, so that the focus is not on conservation at all costs, but on changes managed rather than prevented, particularly in relation to communities and their future sustainability (Veldpaus & Pereira Roders, 2014). Beyond a focus on the protection of tangible built heritage assets, the landscape approach broadens the concept of heritage to include

	<b>National</b>	<b>Regional</b>	<b>Municipal</b>
<b>Spatial Development Tools (Strategic)</b>	<i>Programa Nacional da Política de Ordenamento do Território (PNPOT)</i>	<i>Planos Regionais de Ordenamento do Território (PROT)</i>	<i>Planos Intermunicipais de Ordenamento do Território (PIOT)</i>
<b>Spatial Planning Tools (Regulatory)</b>			<i>Planos Municipais de Ordenamento do Território (PMOT)</i> - <i>Plano Diretor Municipal (PDM)</i> - <i>Plano de Pormenor (PP)</i> - <i>Plano de Urbanização (PU)</i>
<b>Specific Tools (Regulatory)</b>	<i>Planos Especiais de Ordenamento do Território (PEOT)</i> - <i>Planos de Ordenamento de Áreas Protegidas (POAP)</i> - <i>Planos de Ordenamento das Albufeiras de Águas Públicas (POAAP)</i> - <i>Planos de Ordenamento dos Estuários (POE)</i> - <i>Planos de Ordenamento da Orla Costeira (POOC)</i>		
<b>Specific Tools (Financial)</b>			<i>Instrumento Financeiro para a Reabilitação e Revitalização Urbanas (IFRRU)</i> - <i>Área de Reabilitação Urbana (ARU)</i> - <i>Operação de Reabilitação Urbana (ORU)</i> - <i>Programa Estratégico de Reabilitação Urbana (PERU)</i>
<b>Thematic Policy Tool</b>	<i>Plano Setorial (PS)</i>		

Table 4: Portuguese Spatial Planning System RJIGT (adapted and amended from Cabrita, 2008; Tarrafa, 2017)

intangible assets, and aims to reconcile protection and conservation with development and vitality (Jokilehto, 2007).

Within a Portuguese setting, interest in such approaches is increasing (Tarrafa, 2017), and with the launch of the *Regime Jurídico da Reabilitação Urbana* (RJRU) in 2009, the planning system became arguably the primary vehicle through which integrated cultural heritage management can be achieved. The Portuguese planning system covers three levels – with national, regional and municipal bodies responsible for different functions. Two further levels of governance are relevant to Santarém’s planning policy and have a role in plan-making and financing of development. These are the *Comunidade Intermunicipal da Lezíria do Tejo* (CIMLT), which acts in partnership with the *Comissão de Coordenação e Desenvolvimento Regional* (CCDR) Alentejo. The principal planning tools are summarised in Table 2.

Within Portugal, the requirement to refocus on a more integrated approach has not yet been incorporated into national initiatives or legislation. Such an approach, however, would not be prejudiced by the *Lei de Bases do Património Cultural, Lei nº 107/2001 de 8 de Setembro*, which provides the legislative basis for the preservation of heritage assets, but is not specific as to the spatial planning mechanisms to be used to preserve and enhance heritage. The law sees the protection and enhancement of cultural heritage as a means for the “understanding, sustenance and construction of national identity and (...) democratisation of culture” (article 1). Its safeguarding is essential to be able to make sense of Portuguese identity, civilisation and collective memory, as markers of its “historical, paleontological, archaeological, linguistic, documentary, artistic, ethnographic, scientific, social, industrial or technical” (article 2) aspects. However, the focus placed in the legislation on the importance of sites of “memory, antiquity, authenticity, originality, rarity, uniqueness or exemplarity” (article 2), has encouraged many local authorities to maintain focus on built heritage, reified through a process of ‘monumentalisation’ (Choay, 1992), and considered without regard to the wider urban context in which they are situated.

The more recent *Política Nacional de Arquitetura e Paisagem* (PNAP) (2015) proposes a more balanced multidisciplinary and integrated approach to territorial intervention in spatial planning capable of “promoting environmental quality, built heritage and the identity of places” (*RCM n.º 45/2015: 4657*). Sustainable urban development is the overall objective, within which the protection and enhancement of cultural heritage is an important benchmark resource to be able to achieve this. The production of the PNAP was (debatably) one of the key initiatives undertaken within the scope of the revision of the strategic *Programa Nacional da Política de Ordenamento do Território* (PNPOT) (Florentino, 2018).



Overall, the concept of Sustainability, and Sustainable Development, continue to be useful, influential and robust for territorial planning in general. It is this benchmark that is also useful in environmental and heritage conservation and the fostering of ecological sensitivity in the field of (urban) development (English Heritage, 1997; Mason, 2002). While sustainable development, environmental safeguarding and applied heritage preservation are required through its incorporation into *Planos Municipais de Ordenamento do Território* (PMOT), in practice the first generation of *Planos Directores Municipais* (PDMs) saw heritage perceived as a limiting factor to development in these overly prescriptive regulations (Gonçalves, 2018). Whilst the first generation PDMs should all now have been replaced as material considerations in planning and development decisions, a variety of reasons have meant that a high proportion of municipalities have yet to update these. In 2017, 77 percent of Local Plans in the Lisbon and Tagus Valley Area were more than ten years old, and 59 percent (31 Local Plans) were over 20 years old, including that of Santarém (REOT 2017, p.227).

In terms of the intersections between international, national, regional and local spatial planning policies, it is the theme of sustainability and sustainable development that provides the foundations for the dialogue following the Habitat III conferences (2016) and the Sustainable Development Goals that underpin it. Nationally, the Portugal 2020 Partnership Agreement between Portugal and the European Commission follows these principles, presenting four thematic operational programs: competitiveness and internationalisation; social inclusion and employment; human capital and sustainability; and resource efficiency. Following this, the *Programa Operacional Regional - Alentejo 2020* sets out ten priority axes; thematic objectives and key investment priorities to achieve the strategic objectives for this region, namely the economic, social territorial cohesion and sustainable urban development.

### **Establishment of *Áreas de Reabilitação Urbana* (ARUs) in Santarém**

The approval of *Decreto-Lei n.º 307/2009 de 23 de outubro* established the *Regime Jurídico da Reabilitação Urbana* (RJRU), through which urban rehabilitation strategies came to be implemented using designated units known as *Áreas de Reabilitação Urbana* (ARU) and supported through *Operações de Reabilitação Urbana* (ORU). ARUs are territorial delimitations, corresponding to areas that are characterised by a series of attributes resulting in urban degradation, which require integrated intervention aimed at reversing this. ORUs, in their turn, correspond to the set of strategies aimed at the operationalisation of urban rehabilitation in a given ARU - that is, for each ARU an ORU should be prepared. ORUs can either be 'simple' (intervention in a building) or 'systematic' (intervention in the built environment and public space). There is no limit on the number of ARUs that can be designated in a particular municipality.



The RJRU introduced new benefits for urban rehabilitation and enabled municipalities to establish ARUs for the purposes of tax benefits, and two broad areas were designated in the City of Santarém, one covering the *Ribeira* and *Alfange*, and the other covering the *Planalto*. in 2012 which will be in force for a period of 15 years. Such a separation is symbolic of the divorce between the *Ribeira/Alfange* areas of the city and the *Planalto* in that, while these areas historically were mutually dependent upon each other as an organic whole, a sense of peripherality and marginality exists with regard to *Ribeira/Alfange* that sees their subjugation perpetuated in separate area designations. That being said, the *Planalto* designation consists of a tight boundary drawn according to the alignment of the medieval City Walls, although variations are proposed to this boundary so that it includes the now-defunct *Escola Prática de Cavalaria* to the north.

In addition to these, on 17<sup>th</sup> September 2019 the municipality approved the designation of 21 additional ARUs outside of the City of Santarém but within its municipal area (CMS, 2019).

As a result of the amendment that occurred through *Lei n.º 32/2012 de 14 de agosto* which aimed to streamline the rehabilitation process, municipalities were given the option of postponing the approval of an ORU following the delimitation of the ARU. Unfortunately, this has meant that in very many cases the ARU only benefits from the tax breaks to private entities conferred through the designation, and that in practice no phased approach to rehabilitation is ever implemented. General objectives for ARU designation are to re-establish conditions of habitability within areas that have suffered from depopulation, and the requalification of areas with degraded public spaces and building, and the *Ribeira/Alfange* and “*Centro Histórico*” areas of the *Planalto* are examples of this.

## **Integrating Town Planning, Heritage and Urban Improvement**

The future of “historic centres” should be considered in an integrated manner, along with the cities to which they belong. To do this, as Gonçalves (2018) notes, it is worth highlighting two sociocultural constructions: the safeguarding of heritage assets, and urban rehabilitation (which seldom goes beyond architectural or public space rehabilitation). Within these frames, the weaknesses of older centres are made more prominent and, in many senses, are exacerbated discursively. The rest of the city escapes such frames.

But cities, as highlighted by Gonçalves (2018), in terms of their historicity are contemporary continuities: all parts of them exist now in the present, and no parts are without history, and the 19<sup>th</sup> century-origin tendency to simplify the notion of a 'historic centre' versus the 'rest of the city' is “patrimonialisation”. The material impact is that “historic centres” have been subject to often highly restrictive planning policy and development management regimes





centred on the preservation of their image, resulting their being unable to respond to the demands of everyday life. The 'rest of the city', not subject to such restrictions, was often better able to respond to changes and remain attractive.

The management of urban areas in need of rehabilitation, then, must be reconsidered. In intervention involving the building fabric, consideration of wider issues is certainly timely. These wider issues concern what these (rehabilitated) buildings are meant for, for whom, who is involved, how is it done, and where is it? Such considerations inform the object of study and objectives as detailed in the following section.



## Chapter 2

### Object of Study and Objectives

*What is the value and significance of heritage assets in Santarém's Mouraria? How is this expressed in existing subnational policy and practices in the management of urban resources in Santarém? How can the value of these be measured in practice? Which urban and heritage values are prioritised over others in decision making, and how does this impact the significance of the historic environment? How could an integrated approach, based on a grounded understanding of locally produced heritage values and significance, assist in planned integration of this neighbourhood into the wider city, and sustainable placemaking?*

The Historic Urban Landscape approach – a refinement of global sustainable development imperatives - is officially defined as a “comprehensive and integrated approach for the identification, assessment, conservation and management of historic urban landscapes within an overall sustainable development framework” (UNESCO, 2011, p.3). The underlying idea is that when thoughtfully and carefully managed, heritage can be a means of development, and it can be used as a driver to build sustainable and resilient cities (Bandarin and Van Oers, 2015). As a landscape approach, HUL recommends a holistic and integrated management that is part of a larger socioeconomic development framework. The approach provides social, economic, environmental and cultural components equal weight in policy framing, evidence gathering and evaluation, as a multi-dimensional tool in addressing the challenges and opportunities of urban life. That does not mean, however, that a set of value categories can be imposed on diverse urban settings to deliver sustainable urban development. The focus of this project is not simply to replicate the ways in which the HUL approach has been put into practice elsewhere, but to establish a grounded method for understanding the local area so that HUL principles of integrated management can be best implemented.

The way settlement patterns and building styles/traditions are superimposed and survive over time is unique to each distinct townscape (Barnes and Duncan, 1992; Rossa, 2002). Viewed in terms of palimpsest, “each of these layers has implications for the extent to which new layers can be successfully added” (Bontje and Musterd, 2008), which has implications for what sense and meaning people draw from these areas. These layers of meaning coalesce around value categories and attributes (Fredheim & Khalad, 2016) in different ways in different locations, on the basis of interpellation with local communities and stakeholders. Values are often context and culturally specific, and such an approach must begin from the ground up to establish values and significance in place at a particular time. It is this local distinctiveness that can provide a catalyst for rehabilitation and inspire well designed new



development which brings economic and social benefits valued by both public authorities and local communities.

This study sets out a locally specific, practical evidence base for policy and governance through establishing the heritage significance and value of a marginalised neighbourhood, in Santarém. The *Mouraria* was chosen as a case study subject partly due to its ongoing marginality but also given that this area was the only part of the *Planalto* component of the “Centro histórico” to have been the subject of a previous Safeguarding Plan (*PPS da Mouraria*) in 1994, which did not stem the pace of decline. This project will also analyse the potential for such an evidence base to inform and improve integrated intervention strategies and municipal policy documents aimed at integrating and improving this area, building on an understanding of the existing policy and situated (lived) realities of the neighbourhood, to enable a model that reflects the particular values and characteristics of place.

## **Stakeholders, partners and participants**

This project involved a six-month collaboration with Santarém Municipal Council’s *Gabinete do Centro Histórico* (GCH). The GCH served as a very helpful gatekeeper, effecting introductions to Santarém’s civic organisations and ensuring access for academic purposes to policy and planning documentation.

Walkabout exercises in the field were organised with the kind collaboration of the *Associação de Moradores do Centro Histórico de Santarém* (AMCHS), and with coordination by *Santarém Turismo*, with the participation of a group from Aix-Marseille University.

One-to-one stakeholder interviews were carried out with participants from the *Círculo Cultural Scalabitano* and the *in.Str* programme, the *Comunidade Intermunicipal da Lezíria do Tejo* (CIMLT); the Loja de Reabilitação Urbana (a local rehabilitation practice of architects and engineers); the *Associação de estudo e defesa do património histórico e cultural de Santarém* (AEDPHCS), the *Associação Comercial, Empresarial e Serviços* (ACES); Dr.<sup>a</sup> Filomena Barros of the University of Évora (*Mouraria* specialist) and several other local residents and interest groups.

In addition to these, I undertook regular “conversations in place” (Anderson, 2004) in the *Mouraria* during regular participant observation in the neighbourhood.

Finally, a Focus Group was planned in November 2019 as a deliberative synthesis event to establish an overall sense of the value and significance of the *Mouraria*, bringing stakeholders with a diverse range of backgrounds and interests to the table. While eleven



people had agreed to attend, on the day only two appeared. This yielded some discussion, but pointed to a wider issue of adherence and buy in. As a result, I reformulated the discussion points intended for the Focus Group into a questionnaire, which was distributed via the AMCHS, by local interest groups on social media, and through the Council's internal mail.

A schedule of respondents to the questionnaire, and to individual interviews, is provided in Appendix 2, referenced hereafter by their identifier codes as follows:

**QRP 1-16: Questionnaire respondents (Portuguese)**

**QRF 1-2: Questionnaire respondents (French)**

**INV 1-19: Interviewees / Participants**





## Chapter 3

### Method and Methodology

The development of a plan or strategy for the integration of the historic environment requires four main aspects: 1) to know; 2) to understand; 3) to evaluate, and 4) to propose (recommendations/solutions). These four aspects are fundamentally interconnected phases of a single process ensuring the production of an evidence-based and inclusive strategy (Siravo, 2015) for the *Mouraria*. It is envisaged that this project's outcomes could constitute a useful evidence base for a *Plano de Pormenor*, enabling development in the area so long as such development does not prejudice its significance or the erosion of key values. The project is firmly embedded in urban and territorial planning.

Sustainable development, from the oft-cited Club of Rome (Meadows, 1972) and the Brundtland (1987) Reports, can be summarised as meeting the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs. To achieve sustainable development, local governance and planning systems must have three overarching and interdependent objectives, securing complementarity between their net gains. In economic terms, policies should help build a strong, responsive and competitive economy, by ensuring that sufficient land of the right types is available in the right places and at the right time to support growth, innovation and improved productivity; and by identifying and coordinating the provision of infrastructure. In social terms, they should support strong, dynamic and healthy communities, ensuring that a sufficient number and range of homes can be provided to meet the needs of present and future generations; and by fostering a well-designed and safe built environment, with accessible services and open spaces that reflect needs and support communities' health, social and cultural wellbeing. In environmental terms, these policies must contribute to protecting and enhancing natural, built and historic environment; including making effective use of land, helping to improve biodiversity, using natural resources prudently, minimising waste and pollution, and mitigating and adapting to climate change, including moving to a low carbon economy. Integrated rehabilitation focuses not only on the historic environment, but incorporates economic, social and environmental measures into community building and placemaking.

Central to this analytical model is the understanding of the city based on a system of intersecting values. In such an approach, we can trace the existence of "a reality dominated by both complexity and contextual uncertainty" (Oliveira, 2011: 98), within which public policy and decision-making must try its best to manage change without undermining this complexity. Whilst promoting the concept of sustainable urban development, the conservation of historic landscapes is based on the management of these values, safeguarding the identity and significance of the place, while enabling the needs of current

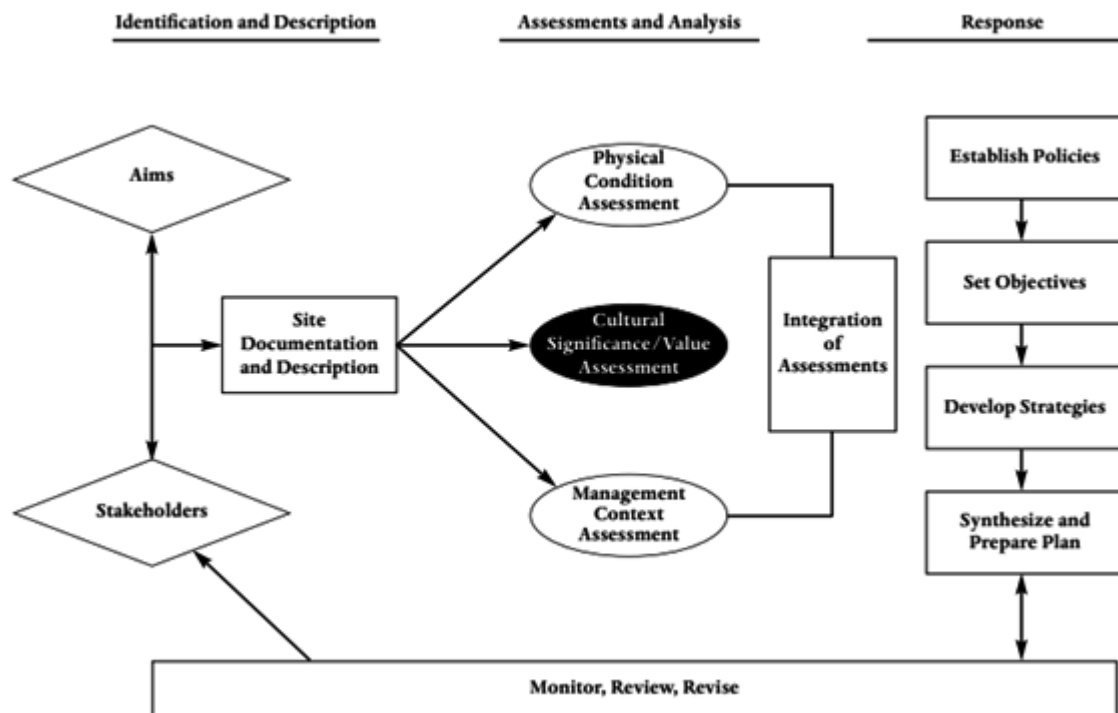


Figure 2: "Planning Process Methodology" (Mason, 2002, p.6)

communities to meet their needs within this urban space. Heritage, along with other aspects of everyday life, have become increasingly politicised and linked with identity politics, traced in particular in the notion of ‘authenticity’ highlighted in the Nara Charter (1994), and the situated nature of values and calls for increased local engagement in their production/monitoring in the Burra Charter (ICOMOS 1999, 2013). To this extent, while initial stages are largely desk-based, subsequent stages were designed to be more embedded in the field.

It is in this socio-political context that there are calls for the model for the production of planning policy for the historic environment to be opened up to enable the participation of local stakeholders to be active participants.

The current project, then, focuses on the “Assessment and Analysis” components of the model in Figure 2.

A number of practical steps are required to fulfil each of these objectives, encompassing the tasks required for plan making within the scope of the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and the New Urban Agenda adopted in 2016, EU legislation (directives, regulations), and PNPTOT (*Lei n.º 99/2019*). The project views Santarém and its *Mouraria* with a reflexive eye, to establish during the course of investigation whether the extent to which effective policies and plans are already in place, and to identify where refinements to these are necessary.

Change within an area is inevitable and often beneficial. In the *Mouraria*, urgent change is required to prevent the wholesale disintegration of the urban fabric. This project seeks to provide guidance, in a context of increasing market pressure, and potentially political force, on how change in the area should be directed and managed so that its character, value and significance can be conserved and enhanced. The “Centro histórico” of Santarém in itself is widely accepted to have heritage value, and the *Mouraria* in particular was judged to be of sufficient historic and architectural interest in previous planning policy.

The study seeks to understand this significance, and the effect of those impacts bearing negatively on that significance. It will make recommendations for a plan that can reinforce the positive character of the historic landscape as well as for avoiding, minimising and mitigating negative impacts identified as affecting the area. This can also outline opportunities to better reveal or enhance significance, through the location or design of new development within the area.

The main methodological approach of this project is guided through Interpretive Policy Analysis (e.g. Yanow, 2000), which concerns itself with situated meanings, historical



*Figure 3: The Mouraria in the context of the wider Planalto*

contexts, and the importance of human subjectivity, and starts from the assumption that policies and policy processes do not address ‘real’ societal problems – including spatial problems - in a planned, rational and coherent way. Instead, interpretive policy analysis rests on the presupposition that the societal issues that are addressed in policymaking have different meanings for different groups of people (Fischer, 1995). Consequently, a variety of methods and tasks will be employed to establish current realities and future possibilities for the *Mouraria* in Santarém.

The constituent parts of the project are as follows:

### **Understanding the development of the historic urban environment (Chapter 4)**

The first stage in engaging with the case study site was a screening exercise to determine whether there is sufficient architectural or historic interest for the area to be considered ‘special’; whether this is experienced through its character or appearance; establishing whether it is desirable for that character or appearance to be preserved or enhanced; and what problems designation could help to solve. In a previous generation, the Municipal Council determined the area as worthy of a Safeguarding Plan (*PPS da Mouraria*, 1994); the whole “Centro histórico” is designated as for heritage safeguarding purposes; and the city, including its *Mouraria*, was shortlisted for UNESCO World Heritage listing. It is considered, therefore, that the area has heritage value and significance.

A wide-ranging inventorying and detailing exercise was undertaken during Santarém’s UNESCO candidacy, the most influential output being the comprehensive “*Património Monumental de Santarém*” (Custódio 1996a). However, this work focused on individual specific monuments, rather than treating the city as a whole as a historic landscape. Neither a monument nor a neighbourhood can be understood in isolation from its wider urban (and natural) context, so frontier work is given specific attention to ensure that the *Mouraria*’s development is understood within the growth and change of the wider city over its history. An urban evolution exercise based on archival, documentary and interview data frames the neighbourhood’s historic urban development within the wider context of Santarém and its “*Centro(s) Histórico(s)*”.



## Understanding the policy and management context (Chapter 5)

This chapter explores the policy management context of the *Mouraria*<sup>2</sup> through analysis of regional, municipal and neighbourhood planning. Interpretive policy analysis techniques are deployed to analyse the ontological and epistemological foundations of a range of territorial planning documentation, and proposals emerge as to how discords between them can be rectified. The main output here is the systematisation of value categories drawn out from these documents grounded analysis judged within these documents to be relevant to evaluating and managing the (historic) urban environment.

Adopted and pertinent territorial and land use planning documentation is analysed in this section, to understand treatment of local resources in their management and governance, and to determine what types of values are present in documentation, which comprises:

Given the regulatory rather than strategic/visionary nature of many policy documents, the importance of this analysis should not be overstated, and their relevance to this project is in their ability to yield an indicative idea of the heritage values and contextual information contained within.

A grounded approach to policy (and project) analysis is utilised (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1990; Charmaz, 2006; Richards & Farrokhnia, 2016). This approach enabled the establishment broad categories/themes found in local policy documents (see Table 5), and establish which implicit concepts and categorisations are deemed important in addressing this neighbourhood/wider area. The mode of data analysis utilised consists of a social constructionist interpretation of grounded theory. This approach took Charmaz's (2008) formulation of 'constructivist' grounded theory but applied more weight to the effects of the social setting and its interactive sociology rather than psychology of individuals within the setting, given that the aims of the thesis focus attention on interactive public spaces in the main, rather than backstage private spaces. In other words, the approach is guided by the "co-creation" of data between researcher and respondents. This approach is a form of 'abductive reasoning' and emphasises the construction of action and meaning towards meso-level theory and evidence development (Charmaz and Mitchell, 2001). In other words, the outcomes are intended to be useful to Santarém (and specifically its *Mouraria*) but cannot claim to be applicable to other cities or spatial contexts in terms of their detail. However, the methods and methodology will be useful and replicable.

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<sup>2</sup> This area covers an area roughly covering the following streets: R. 15 de Março; Tv. 15 de Março; R. Luiz de Camões; Tv. da Mouraria; Tv. dos Surradores; Beco dos Agulheiros; Tv. Boleta; Tv. Caldas; Escadinhas de S. António; Largo de Mem Ramires; Calçada de Mem Ramires.

Scale	Organisation	Document	Nature	Target
Regional	CCDR LVT	<i>Plano Regional de Ordenamento do Território Oeste e Vale do Tejo (PROT-OVT) (2009)</i>	M	IP
		<i>Relatório sobre o Estado do Ordenamento do Território de Lisboa e Vale do Tejo (REOT) (2017)</i>	I	IP
	APA	<i>Plano de Gestão de Região Hidrográfica do Tejo e Ribeiras Oeste (PGRH) (2012)</i>	M	-
Municipal	Santarém CM	<i>Plano de Pormenor de Salvaguarda e Reabilitação da Mouraria – Regulamento (1994)</i>	M	HP
		<i>Plano Director Municipal (PDM) [alteration n.º 16, 3º material correction, January 2019] (1995)</i>	M	IP
		<i>Plano de Ação para a Regeneração Urbana de Santarém (PARU) (2016)</i>	M/I	IP
		<i>Regulamento Municipal da Edificação e Urbanização (RMEU) [2013, 1<sup>st</sup> update] (2013)</i>	M	UDP
		<i>ORU / PERU Programa Estratégico de Reabilitação Urbana do Planalto de Santarém (2015)</i>	A	IP
		<i>Estratégia de Reabilitação Urbana do Planalto de Santarém 2013-2026 (ERUP) (2015)</i>	A	IP
		<i>Plano Estratégico de Desenvolvimento Urbano (PEDU) (2015)</i>		
		<i>Relatório de Âmbito da Avaliação Ambiental Estratégica (RA) - Revisão do Plano Diretor Municipal de Santarém (2013, Atkins)</i>	A	-
		<i>Relatório de Avaliação de Cenários (RAC) - Revisão do Plano Diretor Municipal de Santarém (2014, Atkins)</i>	A	-
		<i>Revisão dos Estudos de Caracterização e Diagnóstico (REC) - Revisão do Plano Diretor Municipal de Santarém (2016, Atlas Koechlin)</i>	I	-
		<i>ARU Relatório de Monitorização (2014)</i>	A	IP
I = Inventory; M = Management; A = Assessment UDP = Urban Development Policy; HP = Heritage Policy; IP = Integrated Policy				

Table 5: Adopted, presented and emerging Territorial Planning documentation and other key documentation



The aims of this chapter are: firstly, to draw out core categorical concepts (normative values) from the documentation through open, axial and selective coding, core categorical concepts; and secondly, to analyse the documentation for internal consistencies and efficacy. As noted by Fredheim & Khalaf (2016, p.473), “conservation should be regarded as a process concerned with preserving and enhancing qualities of heritage, or aspects of value. In so doing, conservation can facilitate the use of, and drawing of benefits from, heritage in the present and future”. To this end, planning for sustainable development could be more effective when it engages with processes rather than seeking to regulate individual objects.

## **Condition, values and significance assessment (Chapter 6)**

An important potentiality of heritage management is to reconcile the distinct concepts of ‘heritage values’, ‘urban values’ and ‘social values’ so that the first does not exercise disciplinary domination and control of people who live in historic environments, while the last is not wholly relativistic (de la Torre, 2002; Bandarin & van Oers, 2012). The ‘critical turn’ in heritage studies (e.g. Smith, 2006), and the Nara (1994) and Burra (1999) Charters, have cast a critical eye on “reductionist typologies” that have traditionally categorised professional decision-making. Such non-place-specific typologies can simply act to alienate those local people who may conceive of their heritage differently (Poulios 2010; Avrami & Mason 2019).

The choice of methodology is crucial in enabling me as an external researcher to reconcile these values. Using grounded and ethnographic methods, heritage values can be understood and described from the point of view of participants and residents (Punch 2005). Through grounded analysis, coding of documentary and field notes is an ongoing, dynamic and fluid process (Strauss and Corbin, 1990), navigating the technical narratives within the heritage field along with locally situated voices. Emergent categories are sense-checked against disciplinary precedent to some extent (e.g. Fredheim & Khalaf, 2016) and triangulated through practical application in place.

Through the course of the study, I based myself full time in the *Mouraria* of Santarém. Ethnography, as defined by Punch (2005, p.149), “means describing a culture and understanding a way of life from the point of view of the participants”, whilst Goffman (1989, p.125) asserts that ethnographic field research involves “subjecting yourself, your own body and your own personality, and your own social situation, to the set of contingencies that play upon a set of individuals, so that you can physically and ecologically penetrate their circle of response to their social situation.” Thus, the task of the researcher is to appreciate participants’ situated meanings through the medium of his own social situation by engaging in some activities/relationships rather than others. In a process of “thick description”, field notes were produced that “inscribed” social discourse (Geertz 1973, p.19) relating to place.



Though these were tremendously useful in reconstituting the setting, as representations they “are inevitably selective” (Emerson et al. 2001, p.353). Thus, triangulation was necessary.

The schematic output and central focus of this chapter is the production, piloting and implementation of the Condition Survey. Three guided walks, as discussed above, provided opportunities for ‘conversations in place’ (Anderson, 2004). This, in tandem with guidance available through Historic England (2019) regarding the practical gathering of evidence and application of conservation principles, informed the development, amendment and eventual amplification of an eight-stage survey relating to material and immaterial constituents of the historic environment.

This Condition Survey, undertaken at different points within the *Mouraria*, used this (thickly described) collaboratively produced field data to describe and analyse the historic landscape as it is now. This exercise raised questions of prioritisation and assisted in building a picture of how different landscape/townscape features contribute to character. In the overall context of seeking to integrate the *Mouraria* into the wider urban area through managing actions and the establishment of an evidence-based set of policy options, recommendations and directions for intervention, the condition survey supports the definition of significance as a user-friendly tool for prioritising actions.

## **The impact of development on the conservation and enhancement of neighbourhood values and significance (Chapter 7)**

Building on the outcomes of the previous chapters, a critical engagement of twenty-first century planning applications submitted to and approved by the Municipal Council is undertaken. This enables identification of the weight given to specific values (within the realm of the data available) and prioritised in planning decision-making. A separate assessment along the same parameters is undertaken for applications in each of the character areas identified in the previous chapter. It should be expected that there is no disconnect between those values within policy documentation and those highlighted in planning application, since the former should in theory guide decision-making in the latter. That is, the application should conserve and/or enhance each value category. Given the age and potentially diminished relevance of rather old policy documents, combined with the theoretical approach that heritage values can change over time, it is likely that there will be an increasing disconnect between policy and values over time. However, as Mason (2002, p.24) notes, “without consciously evaluating the connections between specific physical aspects of heritage and specific values, as well as the appropriateness of the tools chosen to the values present, it will be difficult to predict or monitor how values are affected by material



interventions or management decisions”. To this end, a link is made between the prioritisation of particular values or interpretation of values in decision-making and the material impact on the conservation and enhancement of the wider value and significance of the neighbourhood.

### **Refinement of Values – local participation around outcomes and the future of the *Mouraria* (Chapter 8)**

The recent criticism of values-centred conservation by Poullos (2010) highlights a need to make more visible the relationship between sites and stakeholders; between places and people. There is, as Avrami & Mason (2019) note, no justification for choosing conservation approaches that treat sites, buildings and materials above communities and stakeholders. Thus, an additional stage of stakeholder and community focus groups was organised, bringing stakeholders with a diverse range of backgrounds and interests to the table. Poor attendance pointed to a wider issue of adherence and buy-in, so the discussion was reformulated into a questionnaire, in Portuguese and in French, which was distributed via the AMCHS, by local interest groups on social media, directly to my own database of contacts gathered through the course of this project, and through the Council’s internal email.

To ensure epistemological and methodological consistency, to avoid undue influence, and to enable local people to express their own views on their own terms as far as possible (Spivak, 1988), a high response rate was sacrificed for the sake of gaining situated knowledge.

### **Discussion and Conclusion: Key recommendations for policymaking and the creation of a Statement of Significance**

This section discusses the project in a critical reflexive way, providing a synthesis of opportunities created through the study while also recognising the limitations of its approach and of the research setting itself.

A statement of significance, emerging directly and logically out of value assessments and subsequent stages of analysis, is developed here. Emerging also from this, set of ideal priority actions and suggestions for the neighbourhood and for its wider management is drawn out of the results of the integrated analysis undertaken in the previous stages. These comprise key recommendations which present the findings in relation to what is feasible and achievable in Santarém given practicalities, legislation and resources. Several changes will be required at the level of policy compatibility and consistency, implementation, partnership building and, perhaps most crucially, in terms of political receptiveness and civil society engagement to achieve the sustainable rehabilitation of this historic urban landscape.



## Chapter 4

### Santarém and its *Mouraria* through time

The polynucleated urban structure of Santarém comprises the *Planalto*, located on a plateau 100 meters above sea level, and the *Ribeira & Alfange* (lower town) situated at sea level. A medieval wall enclosed these dispersed settlements, and defended the lower town, on the right bank of the Tagus. All of these areas should be considered integral parts of the city of Santarém.

Understanding the heritage context of a place involves understanding how the place came to be the way it is, what influences exerted themselves on it through time, under what logics, within the context of the wider city. The *Mouraria* today consists of an area covering circa 2.5ha along the northern boundary of the “Centro histórico”, overlooking the Gaião Valley. This neighbourhood is visually and functionally distinct from the adjacent commercial centre for a variety of historical and morphological reasons.

While some local and historical information refers to this area as a *Mouraria*, therefore imbued with deep historical exoticism, in Santarém this label is not commonly used, nor commercially exploited. The extent of the neighbourhood’s morphological and functional similarities with other *Mourarias* (Hernando, 2018) is largely untested. Regardless, the neighbourhood is suffering extensive challenges within but functionally separated from an ancient, multi-layered city. Socially, while there are middle class elements to the population, there are diverse groups within its boundary. The *Mouraria* is home to traditionally marginalised communities, including gypsies and sex-workers, as well as functionally marginalised groups such as the elderly and those in rent-controlled accommodation.

Furthermore, the geology of the city has not helped with stability and the smooth passage of groundwater flows. Mixed layers of limestone, clay and arkose have eroded at different rates resulting in slope instability, earth movements, and cellar flooding and undermining of buildings in the eastern part of the *Mouraria* and beyond. Combined with some improper development and/or abandonment, this has resulted in what Brito-Henriques et al. (2018) refer to as a ‘*cidade perfurada*’.

The *Mouraria* cannot be understood without reference to the wider city, and without regard to the historic processes through which it developed and gained (symbolic) meaning. This chapter traces the intertwined evolution of this neighbourhood within the wider urban context.





## **Pre-Roman, Roman, Visigothic and Islamic periods: establishment of the city's structure**

While archaeological excavations at the Portas do Sol (Arruda et al., 2002) provide evidence that a settlement existed in this strategic position prior to the arrival of the Romans in Lusitania, it was they who established the structure of the city based on the model of Roman fortified camps: a set of geometric rules through which two principal road axes crossed perpendicularly. While the *Mouraria* may or may not have been occupied during this period, a pair of Roman corbels has been integrated into the façade of n.º 7-9 Tv. Surradores.

The urbanistic principles of what has hitherto been referred to as the “Islamic Matrix” but, in light of more recent scholarship, are more clearly representative of a Mediterranean urban form (Trindade 2013), are noted to be characterised by a denser and more irregular mesh with twisting and closed alleys, confusing and labyrinthine. The basis for distinguishing the Visigothic city from the Islamic city is, according to Torres and Macias (1995), shaky and based on the diametric opposition between Christians and Muslims, although Trindade (2013) notes the opposition between the Islamic tendency towards the quadrangular plot enclosed to the outside and open on to a central courtyard versus the (Christianised) narrow long plot. Both forms persist in Santarém, and within the *Mouraria*, to this day.

While retaining the continuity of classical structure, changes to the logic of plot development emerged with enclosed courtyards and reduced public realm. These principles are not completely spontaneous, because they take into account the natural constitution of the paths created by the new territorial delimitation, filling the space with buildings that do not obey a predefined outline, only the characteristics of the terrain. The guiding principle of this community – the *Umma* - resulted from the balance between the sum of individual interests and the common good. This had urban implications, with the figure of the *Sahib Al-Suq* (Market Judge) charged with compelling owners of degraded buildings to demolish them; and adjudicating disputes raised around issues such as the height and boundaries of buildings, easements, views or water disposal (Trindade 2013, INV4, *interview*). Such a concept enabled urban order, and led to notable transformations, while in broad terms there was a respect for the ancient structure and layout of the city.

## **Medieval Period: Christianisation and Segregation**

D. Afonso Henriques conquered the city on 15<sup>th</sup> March 1147 via the Porta da Atamarma, on the edge of the future *Mouraria* (Herculano, 1846), however the *alcáçova* – now the Portas do Sol - was the symbolic nerve centre of the *urbe* and the armies made haste there. The

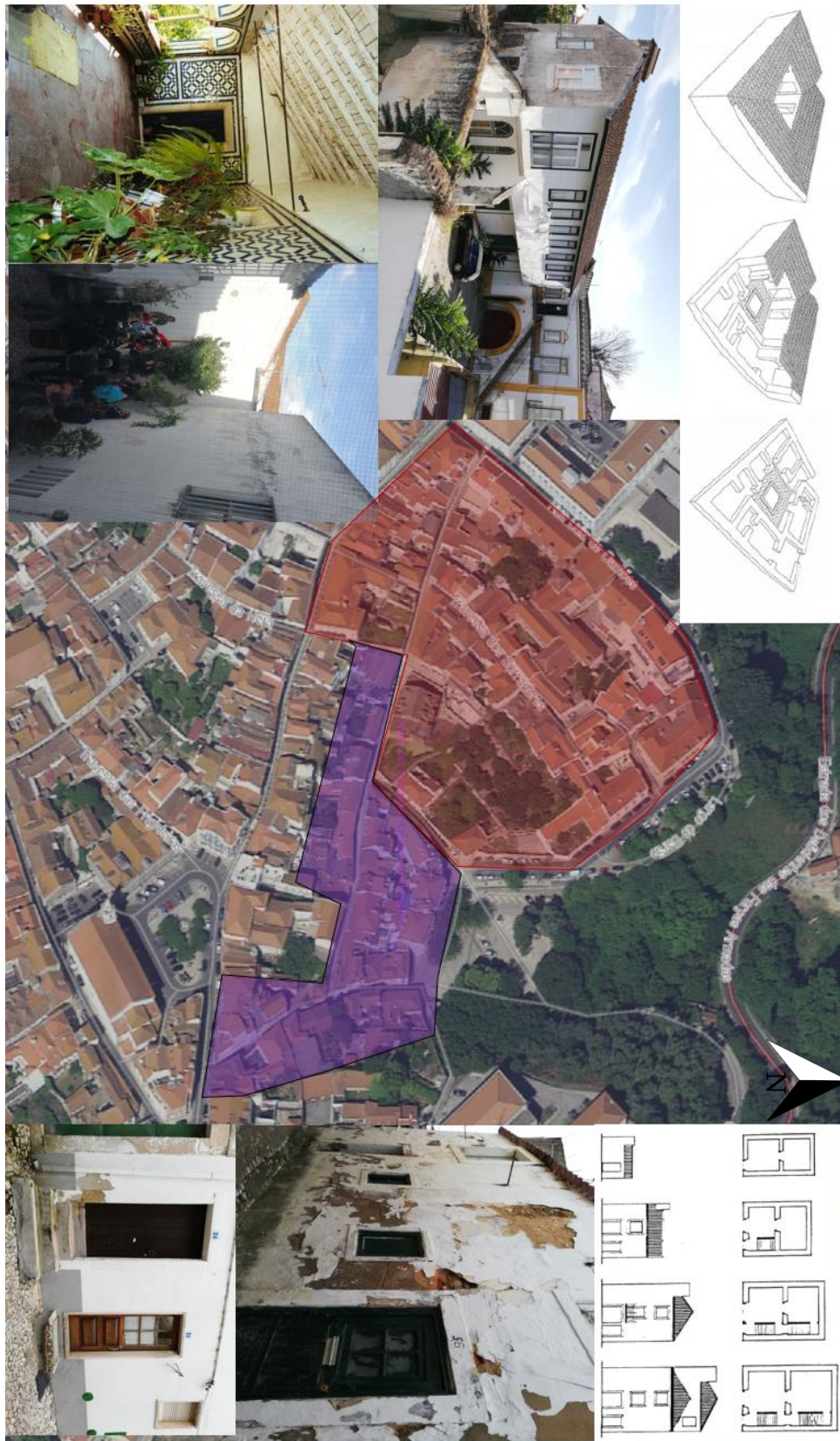


Figure 5: Contrast between "Islamic" style plot arrangements in the western part (Macias, 1996), and the "Christianised" east (Cunha, 2006).

mosque was converted into *Santa Maria da Alcáçova*, and Christian military residences were established there. Over time, though, the civic centre migrated to *Alparam*, and the Templars established the *Igreja de S. João do Alporão*. This part of the city, adjacent to the *Mouraria*, became the economic centre in early Christian times.

Following the conquest, permission for the Moorish community to remain in Santarém came in the form of a *Carta de Foral*, known to have existed yet lost to history, and likely to have been awarded prior to 1170 (INV2, *Interview*). Of the period following the Christian conquest, Vasconcellos (1740, v2:3) makes the following comments:

*“When this town was taken, Christian piety pardoned the lives of many Moors; and allowed them to settle a certain enclosure within this Parish which even still retains the name, Mouraria. The Portuguese, always lacking ambition, even in respect of their lives, left the Moors with some farms, and since by Divine right they were obliged to pay tithes to the Church, to the Fathers of S. Salvador obliged them to pay tithes on the fruits they harvest, according to some documents held in the archives of that same Church.”*<sup>3</sup>

Communities were able to be mixed until the 1361 Cortes de Elvas, in which Muslims and Jews were obliged to live in separate gated neighbourhoods because, “*os christãos recebem scandalo e noio*” (Barros, 2015). However, it appears from Vasconcellos’ comments, that there was always some degree of separation in Santarém. and this intensified through the medieval period. The first references to the requirement for Moors and Jews to use “traditional” dress (“*traje dos mouros*”) came during the reign of D. Afonso IV (1325-1357); while the *muezzin* call to prayer was outlawed by the Cortes de Coimbra in 1390. The Cortes, tasked with re-establishing order, left urban structures of segregation that persist to this day.

The *Mouraria de S. Memede* – Santarém’s *Mouraria* – is, in structural terms, a post-1361 *Mouraria* (INV2, *interview*). That is, its current structure emerged through the intensification of activities in this area post-segregation, adjacent to the Largo de Marvila (current Praça Visconde Serra de Pilar). This civic and commercial heart of the city, created by chance at the confluence of main arteries leading to a principal church, became a multifunctional space uniting economic, political, judicial, civic and religious functions in one place by the fourteenth century (Beirante, 2008, p.151). The adjacent *Mouraria* was a space at once

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<sup>3</sup> “Quando foy a tomada desta Villa, perdoou a piedade dos Christãos as vidas muitos Mouros; e para sua vivenda lhes concedêraõ certo limite nesta Freguesia que ainda hoje conserva o nome de Mouraria. Os Portuguezes que sempre se despíraõ da ambição, igualmente com as vidas, deixaraõ aos Mouros algumas fazendas, e como por direito Divino estavaõ obrigados a pagarem dizimos à Igreja, os Padres do Salvador os obrigarão a que pagassem dizimos dos frutos que colhessem, como consta de alguns documentos do cartorio desta mesma Igreja.”

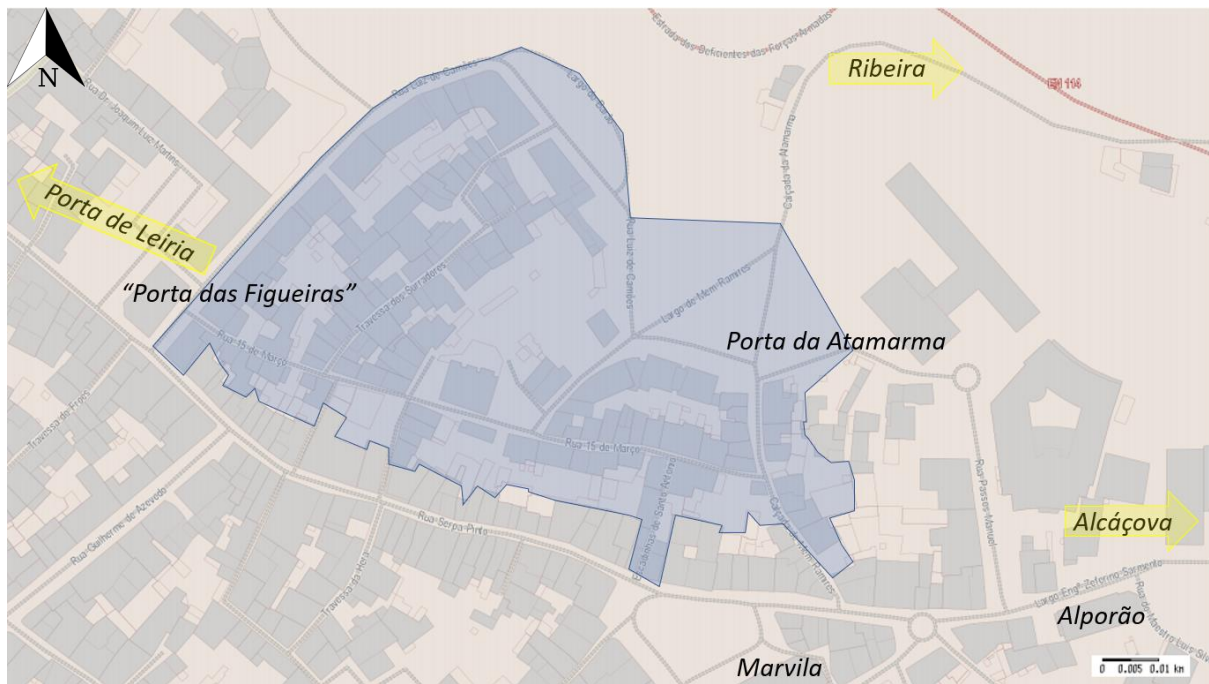


Figure 6: The Mouraria in relation to the Medieval city.



Figure 7: Roman-era corbels set into a façade. Recent rehabilitations have not improved their setting.



peripheral, isolated and penned into a narrow valley, yet at the same time well-connected to this Civic Centre and to the Rua Direta (now Rua Serpa Pinto). To the north, the road connecting the *Planalto* and the *Ribeira* via either the Calçada da Atamarma or the Calçada da Figueira also made the *Mouraria* a potentially strategic node in the urban system.

But while Moorish citizens could mix and trade in the wider city during the day, Christian women were forbidden from entering this neighbourhood without a male escort, for fear of intermixing. After the tolling of the Angelus, the gates of the *Mouraria* (and the *Judiaria*) were closed and guarded by a member of that community (INV2, *interview*). Santarém in general, and the area around Marvila in particular, was becoming increasingly mercantile, and the centre of economic gravity migrated north from the Porta de Manços and the Praça Velha, and the *Pelourinho* was erected here. Nearby mercantile housing consisted of habitation on the first floor, and commercial uses and extended awnings colonising the street frontages; while the main market occurred in the Square (INV2, *interview*).

Within the *Mouraria* itself, the street layout and enclosure, and the existence of semi-private but publicly accessible '*becos*' (short alleyways leading off from the main road), serve as reminders of the Islamic influence in the neighbourhood. Craftsmen would ply their wares in homogeneous craft clusters, as attested in street names to this day. Beco das Olarias (ceramics); Beco das Agulheiros (needlework); and Travessa dos Surradores (relating to leather tanning for shoemaking) provide lasting indications of the Moorish commercial presence. Within living memory, the main artery of the *Mouraria*, the Rua das Linheiras was renamed Rua 15 de Março, as a reminder of the conquest of the Moors, erasing the memory of linen vending along the street.

However, with the Expulsion or Conversion Edict issued by D. Manuel I in December 1496, the Moors ceased to be a "privileged group" (Barros, 2015, INV2, *interview*) so whilst many converted and remained as *Mouriscos*, many more left the country.

This historical context is crucially important to be able to understand many of the current dynamics of the *Mouraria*. The neighbourhood, constituted as a ghetto, continues to exhibit some sociological markers. The ghetto symbolises the ecological segregation of the urban area, inasmuch as it constitutes a spatial indicator of the isolation of a community from surrounding society (Wirth, 1928, p.6). The neighbourhood, while retaining strong community relations, is associated in wider local discourse with "deviants"<sup>4</sup> (Wirth, 1928, pp.6, 20, 286). This is a particularly interesting phenomenon, inferring a temporal continuity between

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<sup>4</sup> It was reported that the biggest landowner/developer in the *Mouraria* in recent years has been the local Madam (INV1,3, *interview*).

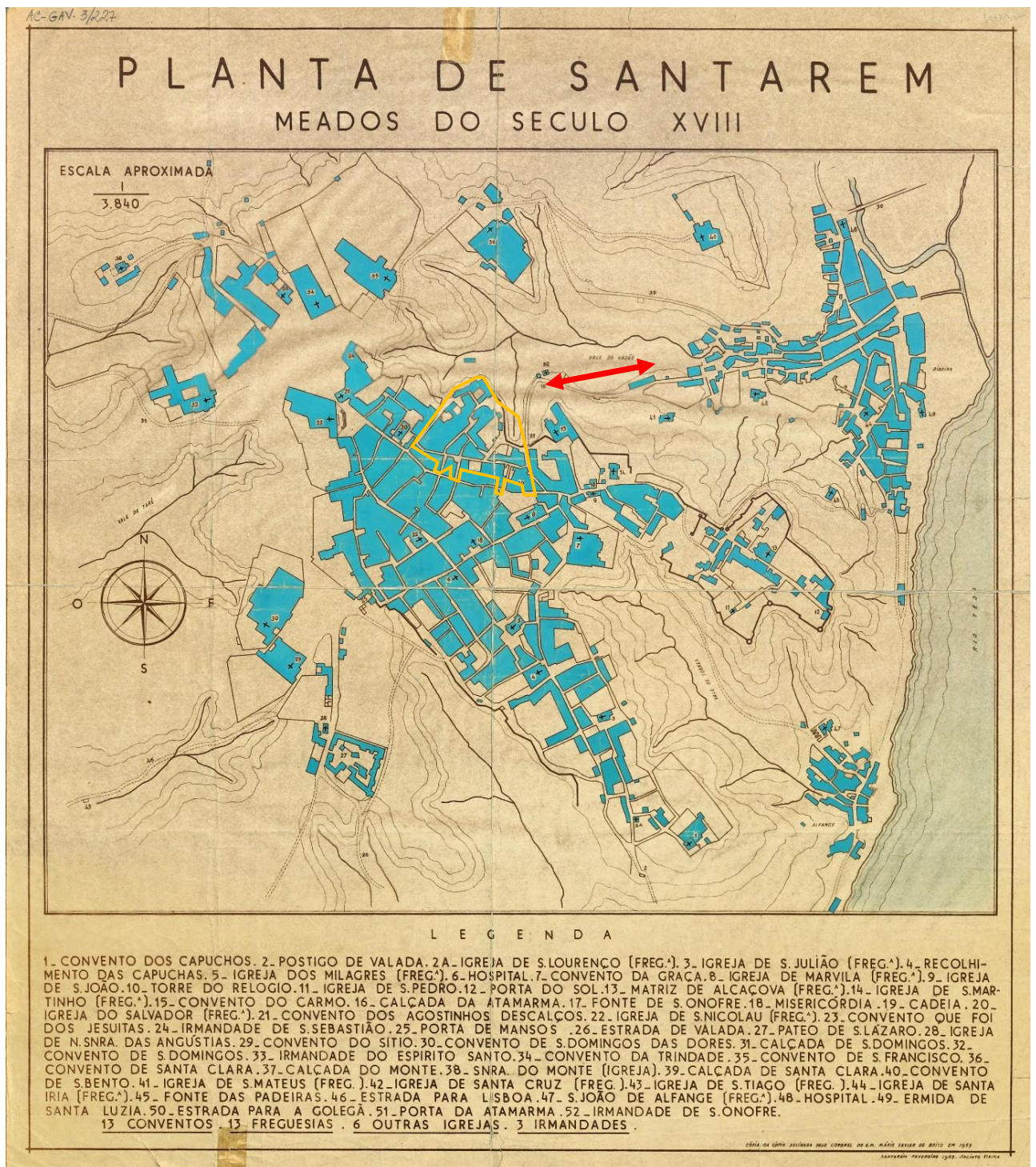


Figure 8: Santarém in the Eighteenth Century, a city of religious institutions. The Mouraria is outlined in yellow, while its direct connections down the Gaião Valley to the Ribeira and the thriving commercial port were vital in its renewed importance during this period. In the northern part of the Mouraria, a block was demolished to make way for R. Luís de Camões in the nineteenth century,

morphology and the perpetuation of the sociological concepts and composition of ghetto communities. Tracing the historical context often reveals more tellingly the geomorphological reasons and challenges of settlement. For instance, in terms of water supply, there are ancient cisterns in this area, and springs bubble up at several locations in the zone today. Water supply is a crucial factor in settlement, and the continuous settlement of Santarém 100m above sea level is testament to water availability. But in the *Mouraria* in particular the water table seems to be particularly high, complementing the Islamic *umma*, the reinforcement of internal reflection and enabling the cultivation of a fertile private garden courtyard space or, as Beirante (2008, p.190) expresses it, the “introverted conception of habitat” that became typical of Santarém’s morphology, and the idea that “private life should be protected” (Beirante, 2008, p.186).

### **‘Early-Modern’ Period**

From the sixteenth century the commercial and economic heart of the city moved down the escarpment to the *Ribeira*. The river port here was “crowded” with people, and Santarém became a key commercial stop-off between Lisbon and Abrantes and was brimming with “boatmen, fishermen, caulkers and ropemakers” (Beirante, 2008, p.152). Trade was good, as attested by the remaining housing stock from that period constructed within the *Mouraria* as the part of the *Planalto* most directly connected to the port. *Palacetes* and *casas senhoriais* with fine detailing survive on the Tv. Mouraria and Tv. Surradores still with interiors and some external detail from this period.

Meanwhile, the *Planalto* set about modernisation, incorporating “enlightenment” principles. Santarém’s morphology, unlike other cities in Portugal, tends towards enclosure with *becos* and interior private patios rather than exuberant public spaces, making Santarém, morphologically, an exemplary Iberian Islamic city (Noras 2011). Modernisation, then as now, was challenging.

### **External Forces and Internal Reaction in the ‘Modern’ Period**

During the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the monarchy abandoned Santarém, with D. João IV donating its Palaces to the Jesuits – now the *Seminário de Santarém*. The Great Earthquake of 1755, famous for its total destruction of Lisbon, caused substantial damage to Santarém’s built environment (Custódio 1979) and with the suppression of the Jesuits in the Portuguese Empire in 1759, the order was hardly able to participate in the reconstruction effort. During the Peninsular War (1807-1814), Santarém unwillingly hosted General Massena’s French army. As Noras (2011) notes, Santarém was the “historical centre” that suffered the most from the French invasions, however, even Massena complained at the quality of the local





*Figure 9: Site of the Porta de Atamarma, left in 2019; right in 1846 (Garrett, 1846, p.244)*



housing stock, stating houses “were built so lightly that few beams were fit for service, and the demolition of the entire village would not provide enough” (Custódio, 1996b, p.175). Following the French departure, the Council established a set of intervention measures to ensure the protection of property. Strict rules were adopted regarding security, namely, the replacement of doors in those houses that were left standing.

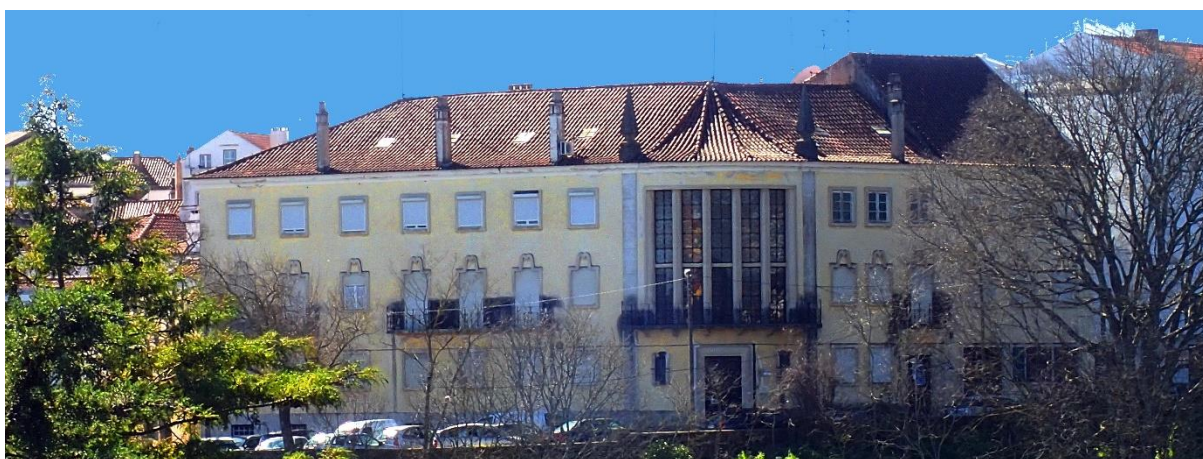
The Porta de Atamarma, focal point of the *Mouraria* and the reconquest “which Garrett still passed through during the Journeys in My Land, was razed [in 1865], along with the chapel of Our Lady of Victoria, which was above it” (Ortigão, 1896, pp.56-7) by the Council in 1839. Following the *desamortização* (dissolution of the monasteries) there appeared to be more of a functionalist approach to urban development, whereby these former religious buildings held little significance beyond their material value. The stone and brick from Atamarma and the associated hermitage were valued at over one thousand réis (Ortigão, 1896). Indeed, Custódio (1979) remarks how many municipal decisions allowing the alienation and demolition of gates and sections of Santarém walls, were justified through narratives of the scarcity of economic resources. However, the decline of Santarém was described in 1848 by Almeida Garrett as a corpse among its rubble (Garrett, 1846).

Alexandre Herculano (1810-1877) and other pioneers of heritage preservation in Santarém bemoaned that local attitudes valued the dazzle of the “new”, which justified mutilating the “old” as it symbolised others’ memories, signs and symbols, and the domination of other powers (Custódio, 1979). French-inspired norms regarding the safeguarding of heritage were gradually incorporated into local governance, under the influence of *Portugalliae monumenta historica* and the *Real Associação dos Arquitectos Civis e Arqueólogos Portugueses*, a systematic inventory of monuments was undertaken. This was led by Joaquim Possidónio da Silva (1806-1896).

In 1869 Santarém formally became a city, gaining its city charter, and another series of measures, namely transport interventions, consolidated the image of the *Planalto* as Santarém’s centre. Av. 5 de Outubro was ‘regularised’, expanded and straightened, providing direct access between *Alporão* and the Portas do Sol pleasure gardens, but mutilating the *Judiaria* in this process. Likewise, in 1892 it was decided that a section of boulevard should be cut through the city from south to north in a bid to connect through to the Rua das Figueiras to the north. This section, named Rua Guilherme de Azevedo, ironically resulted in the demolition of the street and the very house in which he was born (Santos, 2014). In the *Mouraria*, the Rua Luís de Camões was driven through the northern section severing the limb connected to the Travessa da Mouraria at this time, along which



*Figure 10: Nineteenth century civic improvements included a widening of R. Luís de Camões, along which grand public and private buildings were constructed.*



*Figure 11: The original Ophthalmological clinic of Dr Rui Puga, inaugurated in 1947.*

allowed the construction of new edifices representative of thoroughly structuralist cultural, economic and political bourgeois values, including the grand buildings fronting the Municipal Library Reading Room (formerly the *Seminário's* gymnasium) that remain on the western boundary of the neighbourhood (INV20, *interview*).

## Twentieth Century

The twentieth century in Santarém is marked by the explosive development of the city beyond the medieval walls, leading to the development of new functional programmes and a wave of interventions to respond to this expansion. In the first half of the twentieth century, two new neighbourhoods emerged - Trigoso / Combatentes to the west; and São Bento to the north. These were planned according to the rationalist criteria of formal urbanism, with São Bento in particular, planned and developed according to English Garden City principles, successful at creating a spatially harmonious aesthetic and an appealing image of an upmarket neighbourhood.

The consolidation of the *Planalto* continued, and several more monumental buildings were erected, and the material scarcities affecting much of Europe during two World Wars seemed to have little effect. In the *Mouraria*, the impressive Ophthalmological Clinic of Dr Rui Puga (1910-1999) on Rua Luis de Camões was inaugurated in February 1947, designed as a customised version of Barcelona's Barraquer Clinic. Its sumptuous tiled Winter Garden, overlooking the valley below and the Monastery of Santa Clara, was a particularly remarkable feature on a plot which still formed part of the traditionally marginalised *Mouraria*.

The *Anteplano Geral de Urbanização de Santarém* by João António de Aguiar, adopted by the Municipal Council of Santarém in 1947, was an ambitious attempt to reshape the city along functional rationalist principles, based on the primacy of the motor vehicle, involving the expansion of splurging new suburbs to the south. The plan, which proposed extensive demolition of the upper town, included the northeast extension of the axis R. Guilherme de Azevedo to connect with a new road driven from Marvila through the *Mouraria* to connect with Calçada das Figueiras and the intermunicipal road to the north. This proposal really would have physically unlocked the *Mouraria*.

This was truly the age of the automobile, and its penetration of the city's historic tissue was seen as imperative to the economic and social prosperity of the city. During this period, however, civic functions switched to the Palácio do Provedor das Lezírias in 1957, leaving Praça da Vila (Marvila) redundant, and the *Mouraria* even more forgotten than before.

While Aguiar's Plan for the existing city was not implemented, largely due to the DGEMN's (1949; in Gonçalves, 2018) clear concerns over its impact on national monuments and their



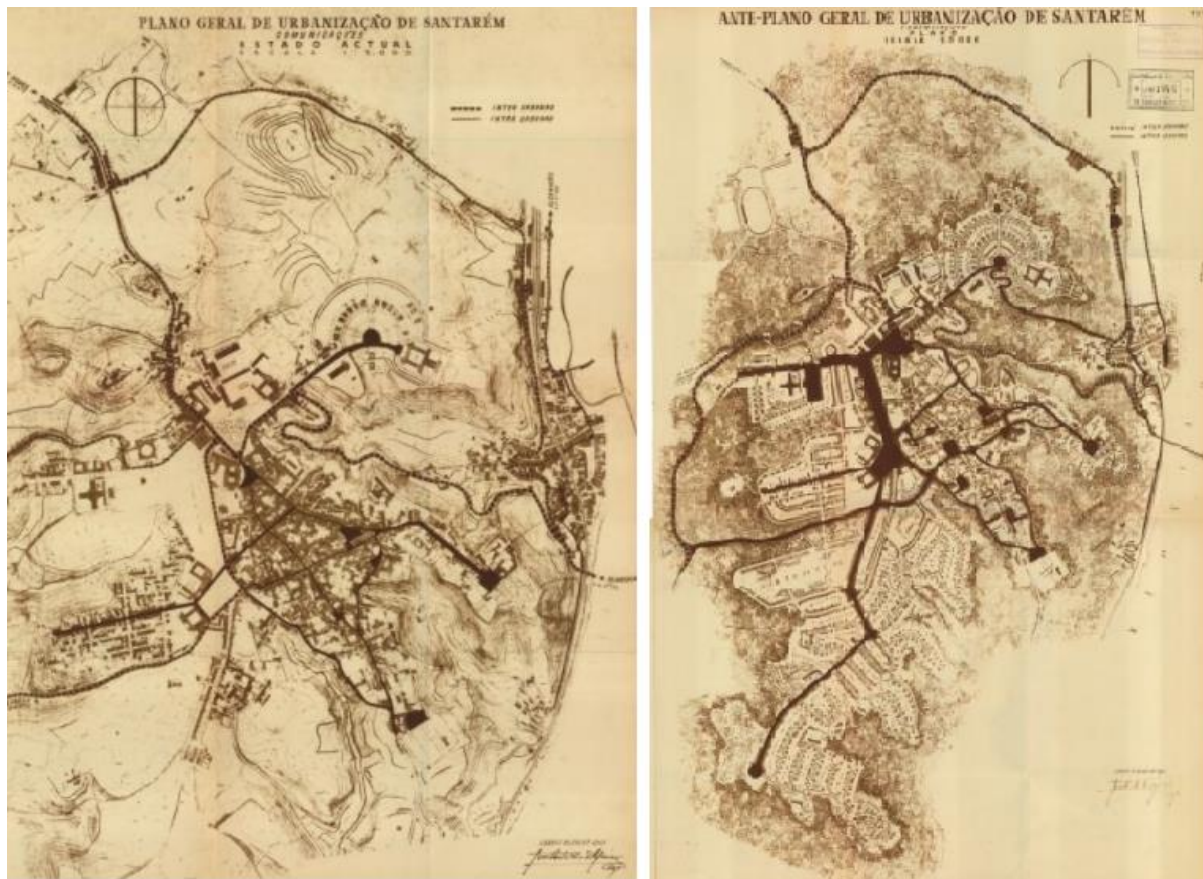


Figure 12: The Aguiar plan (CMS, 1947), existing and proposed maps of Santarém demonstrate an ambitious attempt to double the land take of the city.

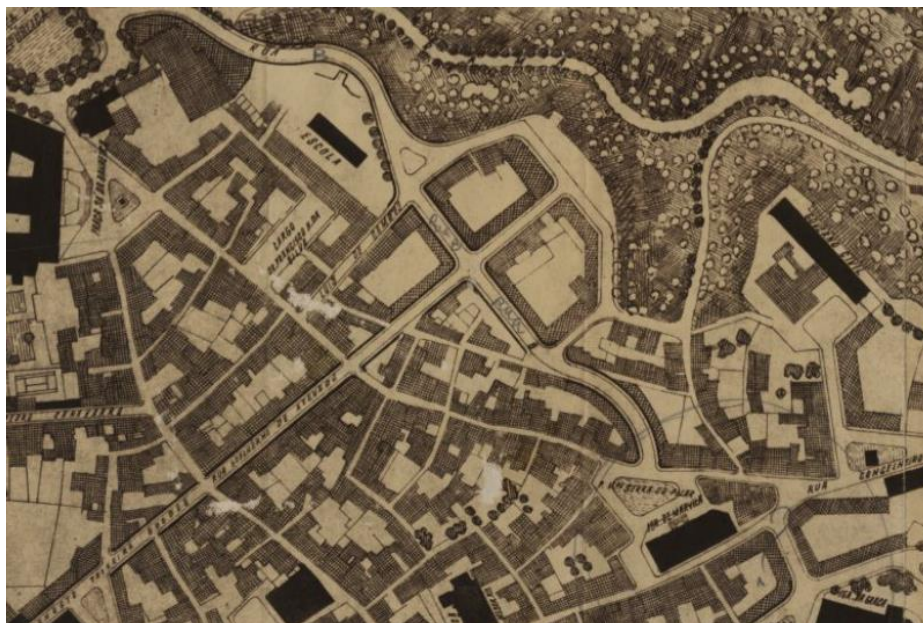


Figure 13: In the Aguiar Plan (CMS, 1947), it was envisaged that a new arterial road would have been carved through the Mouraria from southeast to northwest, intersecting with an extension of R. Guilherme de Azevedo, creating a major junction on the site of nº 20 Tv. Surradores. This was planned to enable the better flow of vehicular traffic through the city, at the expense of morphological integrity.

setting, the resultant expansion meant the gradual decline of the traditional centre given its abandonment first by political, juridical and the main entertainment and commercial functions. The sheer size of the new city meant that transport was required to get from one side to the other, and commercial services would therefore do better to locate themselves in areas of greatest accessibility to the motor vehicle. Even Aguiar noted that while Santarém's streets did not lend themselves to cars, closing them off would undermine economic vitality:

*"... Vehicle traffic through the streets of this area of the city cannot but be allowed [...] the city's economy would suffer greatly if vehicles were not allowed in this area. It is known that there are many excursions to Santarém in order to visit its viewpoints and monuments."* (AGU Santarém, CMS, 1947, p.72)

Aguiar's Plan, given the substantial difficulties in its implementation, was reviewed twice, in 1958 and in 1961. The *Plano Geral de Urbanização de Santarém* by Tomás Taveira was adopted by the Municipal Council in 1978. While the Plan sought to raise the visibility and living conditions of and in the *Ribeira* and *Alfange* parts of the city, which had become pockets of deprivation, it also continued the course of outward sprawl of the city through polynucleated growth points. This plan sought to promote residential and commercial expansion at São Domingos, Vale de Estacas, Alto da Bexiga, São Pedro, Portela das Padeiras and Jardim de Cima (PGU Santarém, CMS, 1978, p.21). This constituted suburban sprawl along existing and proposed highway routes rather than sustainable agglomeration on accessible sites, thereby only increasing the problem of car dependency. As Gonçalves (2018) pointedly notes, the oblivion of the old city came about as a result of the expansion of the territorial scope of this city.

## **Recent Urban History, Policy and the UNESCO bid (1980-Present)**

The emergence of the *Associação de Estudo e Defesa do Património Histórico-Cultural de Santarém* (AEDPHCS), formally constituted in 1978, added a new dynamic to urban safeguarding. It lobbied for protection measures for the "*Centro histórico*", the boundaries of which were established by the Council in 1989 (*DL nº. 426/89 de 6 de Dezembro*). A protocol between the AEDPHCS and the Council in 1990 established formally the intent to seek classification of Santarém's "*Centro histórico*" as UNESCO World Heritage<sup>5</sup>.

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<sup>5</sup> The numerous claims relating to this application are expressed in a floridly phrased open letter to ICOMOS, are outlined by Noras (2011:135-7) as follows: 1) Santarém is the Portuguese capital of Gothic style; 2) Santarém is already on the World Heritage Indicative List (since 1996) and has been able to reformulate its UNESCO application (in 2001); 3) Santarém is the 'holy city' of the Discovery of Brazil; 4) Santarém has the Miracle Sanctuary, the second most sanctified Portuguese sanctuary; 5) Santarém is the mother of public freedoms in Portugal; 6) Santarém is the temple of the Tagus and the mirror of Ribatejan wetland; 7) Santarém continues to be an internationally important archaeological laboratory; 8) Santarém has, in the Church of Marvila, considered the "Cathedral of Azulejos"; 9) Santarém has the best "Museological Centre of Time" of the Iberian Peninsula; 10) Since 1990, Santarém has been carrying out, without interruption, valorisation and safeguarding; 11) works of extreme relevance in the national context; 12) Santarém is the Portuguese city that, since 1994, has invested most (per capita) in culture and heritage appreciation.





Figure 14: Designated monuments and their zones of protection (from Custódio. 1996a), with the Mouraria outlined in yellow.

The *Gabinete Técnico Local* (GTL) for the “Centro histórico”, along with an equivalent for *Ribeira* and *Alfange*, were created in 1991, tasked with producing respective Safeguarding Plans for the city. Subsequent to this, the Council established the *Divisão dos Núcleos Históricos*, integrating all the officers in the GTL. The application was made formal through the publication of *Aviso nº 118/95 (DR II Série, de 6/12/95)*, while a year later the *Gabinete de Candidatura* was established, reporting directly to the Council Leader.

The application did not succeed. UNESCO, led by the local branch of ICOMOS, informed the Portuguese State that the candidacy would not be selected. The news was not well received locally, with the Council Leader accusing the State of lack of support and interest, evidenced through no diplomatic work having been attempted with UNESCO (Peixoto, 2002). There was a brief attempt to reorient the application so that the city could be listed under the ‘cultural landscapes’ category, which would have required a significance redirection of the application from a cultural-monumental approach. However, the municipal election of 2001 led to a radical change of direction for the Municipal Council. The GTLs were mothballed, heritage funding halted, and the UNESCO application shelved. In 2016, the city’s application was removed from the Indicative list of UNESCO sites, effectively ending hopes of its classification.

Within the scope of the UNESCO candidacy project, a large part of the evidence produced focused on the inventorying of monuments. A portion of the map produced during this exercise, focusing on the *Mouraria*, is presented in Figure 14.

Of the three Protection Area Buffer Zones (ZEPs) that impact on the *Mouraria*, two features are actually situated within this area (broadly defined in yellow, above): a fifteenth century “renaissance” veranda pertaining to N.º 26 Travessa dos Surradores is designated of Council/Local Value; and evidence of the Fernandine Walls is designated a Structure of Public Interest. The south-eastern portion of the *Mouraria* is included within the ZEP relating to the Igreja de Marvila National Monument. The effect of these buffer zones is to add a further level of ‘protection’ that covers roughly a third of the area of the neighbourhood. The value of the *Mouraria*, then, is in the monumentalisation of these three recognised and valued architectural features – one of which is hidden from public view. The area in red is reduced to a supporting role for these key spaces/features, while the remainder is without specific value. This is an oversimplification, given that UNESCO listing was proposed for the whole area, but this has been the effect of the heritage discipline’s focus on monuments taken out of context (Choay, 1992).

The other project that should be highlighted with regard to the *Mouraria* is the early 1990s preparatory work for the *PPS da Mouraria*, proving that Santarém cannot be accused of a



*Figure 15: "Area of Intervention" for the PPS da Mouraria, surrounded by a Buffer Zone. This Buffer Zone encompasses the wooded slopes to the north; all properties fronting Rua Serpa Pinto (a main high street) to the south, including Largo de Marvila; and up to Largo Padre Chiquito to the West.*



wholly monumentalising focus. The area was divided originally into seven, but then extended to eight, discrete blocks. Building condition surveys were systematically undertaken for each property, and the PPS *da Mouraria* established 20 regulations seeking to safeguard and improve living conditions, appearance and material uniformity in its “area of intervention” (see Figure 15), bounded by a wider buffer zone. While this plan was formally adopted, its status has always remained ambiguous, and as a result was rarely used in decision-making (INV14, INV17, *interviews*).

## Conclusion

This exercised outlined and described many of the historic processes, including social, political and economic continuities, connections and changes that influenced the cycles of development, decline, resurrection and ongoing abandonment of the *Mouraria* within the urban story of Santarém. It demonstrates that, despite the neighbourhood’s proximity to the commercial and political centre of the city, its establishment along ‘ghetto’ lines with morphology and topography to match has meant that it has always been a place of marginality. While it benefitted from the *Ribeira*’s commercial boom, the steep decline of that area thereafter meant that the *Mouraria* shared its fate.

Its relative unimportance and continued social marginality during the nineteenth meant that it escaped some of the more major damaging morphological interventions, though its western boundary was chipped away for civic purposes. During the twentieth century, while more major interventions were planned, mercifully these never came to pass and by the end of the century the neighbourhood physically remained more or less how it had been, whilst expansion of the city attracted people away. A lack of investment in the area and an aging and diminishing population, along with continued marginality has made the *Mouraria* (along with the *Ribeira*) highly vulnerable in environmental, social and economic terms. While political interest appeared briefly in the early 1990s through the PPS *da Mouraria*, that document’s lack of impact and the rapid disbandment of the department responsible for monitoring this plan appears to reflect a political apathy for this area. But to establish the extent to which this is a fair assessment, the following chapter undertakes a grounded analysis of regional, local and neighbourhood level planning documentation to understand the current management context of the *Mouraria*.



## Chapter 5

# Urban and Heritage Values in Planning Documents

### Urban and Heritage Values in Regional Planning Documents

This chapter is the first to analyse current planning and heritage policy documents acting on Santarém and its *Mouraria*. Planning policies set the framework under which decisions on planning applications are made. In general terms, they should set out what development can happen, where, and how much there can be, so that sustainable development – or, the balance between economic, social, environmental and cultural interests – is achieved. However, the analysis here takes the view that these plans do not necessarily consist of a set of rational and coherent interventions that respond to ‘real’ territorial problems. Rather, following the ontological and epistemological presuppositions of Interpretive Policy Analysis (Yanow, 2000; van Bommel et al., 2015), it becomes self-evident that concepts of sustainable and balanced development are situated/contextually dependent, multiple and can be internally inconsistent (Fischer, 1995). Such an approach has clear compatibility with developments in critical heritage studies (Smith, 2006) and the challenge laid down to democratise heritage discourse.

Through a discursive, categorical approach using an epistemologically consistent version of grounded analysis (see Chapter 3), and following the applied heritage management tool of values based management (English Heritage, 2008), this chapter interrogates regional policy documentation to draw out the value categories contained within and the types of narratives and discourses built around these value themes.

While a larger project could have analysed EU and national level policies, neither is likely to mention Santarém. Planning policy in Portugal is dependent on the *Programa Nacional da Política do Ordenamento do Território* (PNPOT), and it is at regional level that Santarém begins to be mentioned by name. Regional level planning policy documentation with relevance to Santarém (and its *Mouraria*) includes the *Plano Regional de Ordenamento do Território do Oeste e Vale do Tejo* (PROT-OVT), while the *Relatório sobre o Estado do Ordenamento do Território* (REOT) is the monitoring instrument for the PROT.

The PROT-OVT is a strategic spatial strategy adopted in 2009 based on the boundaries of the former European NUTS<sup>6</sup> II region, Lisbon and the Tagus Valley. It is a manifestation of European joined up or holistic governance (Wilkinson & Appelbee, 1999, Leat et al., 2002), through which the actions of government at different levels can be coordinated led through

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<sup>6</sup> *Nomenclature of territorial units for statistics – EU units of territorial administration and analysis.*

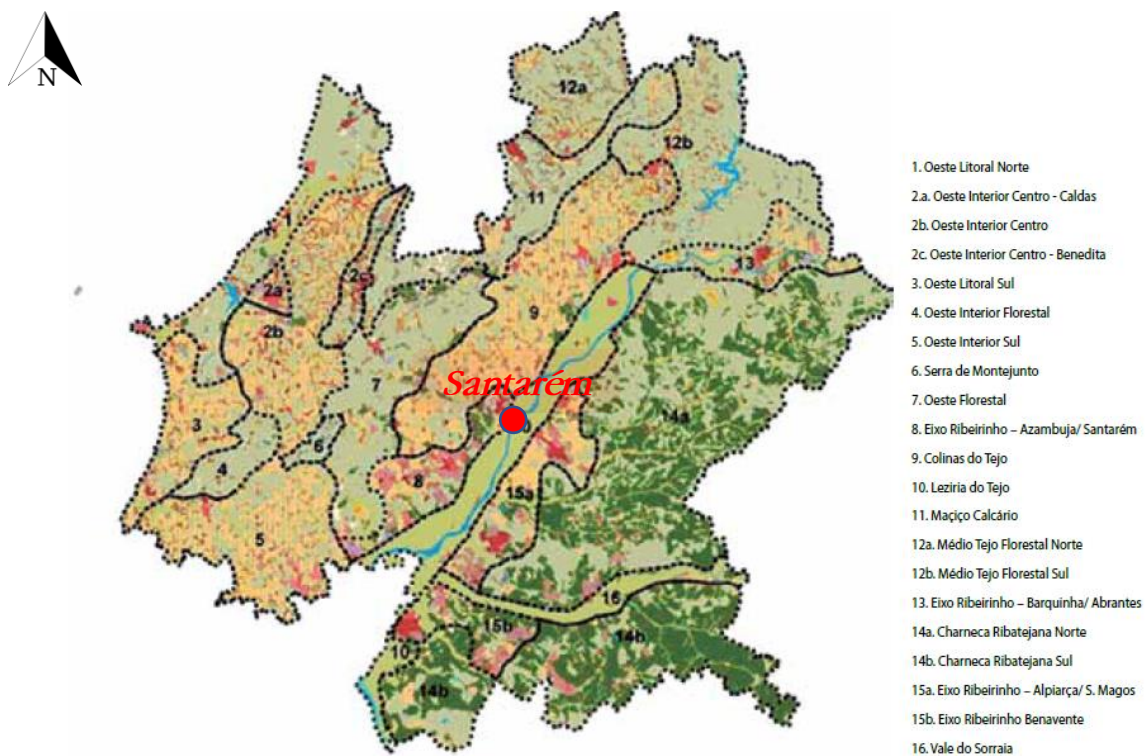


Figure 16: Landscape Character Areas in the Lisbon-Tagus Valley Area (PROT-OVT, 2009)

the planning system. While communities of practice and policy traditions remain associated with different disciplines and governmental departments (e.g. health, education, social assistance, economic development, agriculture), the emergence of spatial planning has left the town planning system to establish how these different parts interlink (Massey 2006). Such a change, while barely noticeable in some countries, is a clear shift in Portugal between its tradition of regulation towards a system of forward planning (see Campos & Ferrão 2015).

## **Natural Heritage**

The main requirement of the previous PNPOT, and taken forward in the PROT-OVT (2009, p.14), is to “conserve and enhance biodiversity, natural, landscape and cultural heritage resources, use energy and geological resources sustainably, and monitor, prevent and minimise risks.”

Resources are conceived in terms of landscape character types: what makes an area unique and distinctive, based on a holistic and integrated approach to landscape as distilled in the European Landscape Convention (Jørgensen et al. 2015). Landscape, then, is conceived as “an area, as perceived by people, whose character is the result of the action and interaction of natural and/or human factors” (Council of Europe, 2000, p.3). This analytical system is quite different from that associated with ‘values’, but at the same time it is useful in understanding the past and present territorial dynamics, processes and values that resulted in the types of landscapes we see today.

Santarém is situated within Landscape Character Area 8 (Riverside Azambuja/ Santarém, see Figure 16), but on the boundaries of and therefore with implications for Areas 9 (Colinas do Tejo) and 10 (Lezíria do Tejo). To be clear, however, in landscape terms the PROT-OVT determines that the city of Santarém’s immediate landscape is integrated with that along the N3 route axis to Azambuja, and distinct from the landscapes to the immediate north and east<sup>7</sup>.

In terms of Santarém’s landscape character, in practice mobility and economic value have been given precedence over others. It is defined by dispersed, fragmented development associated with large industrial centres, whilst in terms of mobility, the A1 and N3 highways and Northern Railway Line are primary structural territorial organisers, having encouraged large-scale logistics and industrial activity along these routes. The concentration of hazardous industrial establishments and the crossing of the gas and oil pipeline give this

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<sup>7</sup> Since the PROT-OVT is a Spatial Plan, the principles of which are based in fuzzy boundaries and borders (Haughton et al., 2009), perhaps this overstates the extent to which this distinction is important. However, at the same time, ‘boundary work’ is a relevant consideration for this project not only in terms of spaces but also in terms of concepts, types of knowledge and understandings (Owens et al., 2006).



territorial unit a marked technological danger (rather than value). Environmental and Aesthetic value in this area are perceived as minimal.

The PROT-OVT (2009, p.99) highlights the “strong relationship...both structurally and scenically” between Santarém’s own landscape area and the adjacent *Lezíria* (Wetland) character area. This relationship is most clearly articulated, according to the document, in the views from the city across the Tagus plains to the north and east from the symbolic centre of the city, the public gardens known as the Portas do Sol (the old *Alcáçova*). This relationship is based in the aesthetic and symbolic-identity value of this surrounding landscape, which retains an image of pastoral rurality (despite agricultural production being relatively large-scale operations, with yield and production above national averages) based in tradition. The relationship between the *urbe* and this hinterland is presented in tourist promotion of this image (PROT-OVT, 2009, p.101), along a narrative in which this relationship is unchanged since the time of the Phoenicians, credited with the introduction of today’s most prized crops – vines, olive trees and wheat – to this “centre of gastronomy”.

The value of natural heritage to Santarém and the wider region is highlighted in the PROT-OVT (2009, p.42) as of importance for their scenic aesthetic qualities and how these construct a sense of identity and become imbued with symbolic value. They also hold ecological value, considered separately from aesthetic or symbolic-identity value, in that they support ecosystems on which human survival depends. Insufficient attention to these values is blamed for the “aggressions of urbanisation and dispersed building”. Unfortunately, Santarém’s “Riverside Azambuja/ Santarém” landscape character area is perceived as largely devoid of aesthetic or remaining ecological value at a regional level, and therefore promotion of ecological connectivity and enhancement is focused elsewhere, including the *Lezíria*.

The value of water to wetland landscapes is recognised both in aesthetic and ecological terms within the Water Catchment Management Plan (*Plano de Gestão de Região Hidrográfica do Tejo e Ribeiras Oeste*, RGRH-TRO), but also in cultural terms through which flooding has historically been a menace to home and property to lower lying urban Santarém (RGRH-TRO, 2012, p.7). The idea of water and water landscapes as natural heritage resources that contribute to a variety of different yet integrated value categories is an important step in the protection and enhancement of the component parts of these landscapes, and this recognition must form part of integrated urban rehabilitation. The implications are not only of the impact on the River Tagus in itself, but the impact of land-based activities (and climate change) on natural aquatic heritage.





## Cultural Heritage

In terms of cultural heritage, the PROT-OVT (2009, p.116) seeks territorial development that privileges “historical areas of high patrimonial value, in order to reinforce the residential and commercial function and services of traditional centres. The urban centres that stand out for their wealth are Tomar, Santarém, Alcobaça and Óbidos.” For the PROT-OVT, the city of Santarém’s function in the region is 1) as a major regional service and touristic centre; 2) functional support for Lisbon, providing habitation and green space to serve the capital<sup>8</sup>. This may appear a not entirely comfortable combination of roles, and while the aim of a spatial strategy should be to even out territorial inequalities, this hierarchy may well enhance them. Nevertheless, cultural heritage in Santarém is viewed as one of the city’s distinguishing features, with “symbolic capital” (PROT-OVT, 2009, p.32) that can attract and foster an economy based around creative and cultural activities and tourism. Cultural heritage value, then, is in its marketability. It is imbued with, and priority is given to its economic value (PROT-OVT, 2009, p.29) in the regional system. This is perpetuated through its aesthetic and symbolic-identity value. But in terms of its overall significance, Santarém’s heritage value is not differentiated from the other cities mentioned above; it is hierarchically of lesser value since there are fewer tourist visits than that in Lisbon; yet there is no qualitative or evidential sense of what this heritage is.

Since the publication of the PROT-OVT, the country has experienced a severe financial crisis, and many of the projects mentioned in the plan have been cancelled or scaled down. One of the primary structuring projects for the region, a new airport north of Lisbon, has been scrapped and replaced with an upgraded airbase located outside the region. While there is a need to update the plan, the strong regional monitoring abilities (through the REOT) and the plan’s focus on processes rather than regulations have enabled some flexibility to respond to fast-changing conditions.

For the purposes of distilling the structural values of Santarém and its *Mouraria* in a regional system, we can say that cultural heritage is assumed to have **aesthetic** and **symbolic-identity** framing value. This serves to create the potential for **economic** value to be increased in relation to the heritage itself and its surroundings. This significance of its cultural heritage is also dependent on surrounding natural heritage, but only to the north and east, where the aesthetic and **ecological** value of water and associated economic activities with historical narrative value in their origins contribute to the symbolic-identity value of Santarém’s heritage offer.

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<sup>8</sup> The second of these, while not necessarily written as such, is assumed to apply to the municipal area rather than the city itself.



From the regional level to the municipal level, then, the following section traces which urban and heritage values are at play in lower level policy documentation by way of comparison, contrast and consistency.

## **Urban and Heritage Values in Local Policy Documents**

In the previous section, regional level territorial planning documentation was analysed to establish the inherent value categories through which the territorial units of the Vale do Tejo and Lezíria do Tejo are perceived, with particular attention to the treatment given to Santarém. This analysis revealed that natural and cultural heritage is valued mainly in terms of contributions to local aesthetics and symbolic-identity based narratives. In addition, cultural heritage offers economic value, while natural heritage is associated with ecological value.

This section undertakes a similar exercise with documentation relating to the territorial planning and land use – i.e. planning and heritage policy and regulations – at municipal, city and neighbourhood level in Santarém and its *Mouraria*. These documents comprise the following:

- *Plano de Pormenor de Salvaguarda e Reabilitação da Mouraria – Regulamento* (1994, CMS)

This detailed plan is the result of the work of the *Gabinete Técnico Local* (GTL) of the *Mouraria*, established in 1989 to undertake architectural and conditions surveys of the neighbourhood. This document comprises 20 regulations applicable only to this neighbourhood.

- *Plano Director Municipal* (PDM) [alteration n.º 16, 3<sup>rd</sup> material correction, January 2019] (1995, CMS)

The PDM is intended to act as the guiding document in town and country planning decisions across the municipality. Unlike the second generation PDMs which should now have been implemented nationally, this first generation PDM is not a spatial plan/strategy but comprises 99 regulations establishing firm parameters for development projects. The PDM, while updated so that it broadly complies with the evolution of national legislation, has never been comprehensively reviewed to take account of current realities in the area.

- *Regulamento Municipal da Edificação e Urbanização* (RMEU) (2013, 1<sup>st</sup> update, CMS)

The RMEU serves as the General Permitted Development Order for the municipality. It establishes which development works can be undertaken without planning permission, which



only require the applicant to advise the council the works are happening, and which others require a full project application to be submitted to the Council.

- *Estratégia de Reabilitação Urbana do Planalto de Santarém 2013-2027 (ERUP)* (2013, CMS/Viver Santarém)

Alongside the establishment of the *Planalto* of Santarém, locally referred to as the *Centro Histórico*, as an ARU, this document provides diverse categories of information about the area and the wider city. It gives a broad characterisation of that area and its boundaries including several high-level surveys relating to the built environment within the ARU provide data on building materials, number of floors, use types, heritage classification, etc. A list is provided of the financial benefits and regulations associated with ARU status along with details of local administration arrangements; details of current projects and a general annual events calendar is presented; while a SWOT analysis for the core of the city and taken from the UNESCO application is also included.

- Documentation relating to the preparation of a new Local Plan (PDM)
  - *Relatório de Âmbito da Avaliação Ambiental Estratégica (RA) - Revisão do Plano Diretor Municipal de Santarém* (2013, Atkins)
  - *Relatório de Avaliação de Cenários (RAC) - Revisão do Plano Diretor Municipal de Santarém* (2014, Atkins)
  - *Revisão dos Estudos de Caracterização e Diagnóstico (REC) - Revisão do Plano Diretor Municipal de Santarém* (2016, Atlas Koechlin)

These two reports are background documents in the production of a new Local Plan (PDM). The RA, is a scoping report under *European Directive 2001/42/EC*, defining the boundaries of investigation, assessment and assumptions required for the safeguarding of the environment (including heritage) within the new PDM. The RAC runs three baseline scenarios and the implications thereof to determine which models of growth would deliver the biggest gains for the area and should therefore provide the guiding ambition of the new PDM. Finally, the REC provides a recent characterisation of the municipal area, comprising environmental, demographic, infrastructure and heritage data for use as a monitoring baseline.

- *Plano de Ação para a Regeneração Urbana de Santarém (PARU)* (2015, CMS)

The PARU forms part of a suite of documents under the umbrella of the Strategic Plan for Urban Development (*Plano Estratégico de Desenvolvimento Urbano*, PEDU), through which municipal councils can establish priorities for European Union funds for sustainable development. The other components of this triad include the Integrated Action Plan for Disadvantaged Communities (*Plano de Ação Integrada para as Comunidades Desfavorecidas* (PAICD)), and the Sustainable Urban Mobility Plan (*Plano de Mobilidade*



*Urbana Sustentável* (PMUS). While the PMUS has not been produced, the PAICD focuses only on the *Ribeira* area of the city, and therefore not only is not relevant to this project but misses an opportunity to establish an integrated approach to social inclusion across the city. The PARU is intended to present a municipal strategy for urban regeneration with specific actions to improve the “centro histórico”.

- *Programa Estratégico de Reabilitação Urbana do Planalto de Santarém* (PERU) (2015, CMS)

The RJRU (*DL n.º 307/2009 de 23 de Outubro* as amended by *DL n.º 32/2012 de 14 de Agosto* and *DL n.º 136/2014, de 9 de setembro*) allowed the designation of *Áreas de Reabilitação Urbana* (ARUs) to benefit from a systematic, coordinated and phased approach to. For each ARU, an ORU (*Operação de Reabilitação Urbana*) must also be adopted, on a systematic basis if it relates to an area larger than a specific building or ensemble. The ORU provides guidance as to what is expected from rehabilitation, serving as an area action plan so that rehabilitation is coordinated and can demonstrate accordance with correcting specific identified weaknesses in the ARU. Santarém’s systematic ORU is termed the “*Programa Estratégico de Reabilitação Urbana do Planalto de Santarém*” (PERU).

Further documentation pertinent to the area and referenced in some of the above documentation include the following:

- *Plano de Pormenor de Salvaguarda do Centro Histórico de Santarém* (2001) – while promised, to date this has not been written.
- *Santarém Acessível: Programa Local de Promoção da Acessibilidade* (2013) – this programme was launched, but never implemented due to it not achieving funding.
- *Planos do Pormenor: do lado poente; da Avenida do Brasil; da Mouraria; da Ribeira; de São Nicolau; das Portas do Sol; de Alporão; do Pereiro* – these were promised under *edital n.º 116/91, de 14 Novembro de 1991*, substituted through the *regulamento municipal de intervenções nos núcleos históricos do concelho de Santarém de 1995*. The relevant plan for the study area, the *Mouraria*, was produced. None of the others, many relating to spatially adjacent areas, has been produced.

Trying to distinguish between the document in itself, the institutional context in which it was produced and its object of action (the city) is not in fact possible, and it is as well to remember that these are intimately connected.





Despite the fact that all of the above documents were produced and published over a relatively long timeframe - the earliest twenty-five years (a generation) ago - it is worth stressing that they remain in force as material considerations in development decisions, or comprise comparatively recent preparatory study documents for the yearned-for new PDM. In other words, all constitute current policy documentation and continue to impact on Santarém's development.

The following main value categories can be identified within these texts: Aesthetic; Amenity; Social, Community & Cohesion; Use; Material; Mobility; Economic & Commercial; Historical, Temporal, Cultural & Identity (i.e. Associative); Scientific & Evidential; Environmental & Hydrological; Governance & Political; and Intrinsic. These will be disaggregated, in turn, below.

## **Aesthetic Value**

Aesthetic value is common to the majority of heritage value theorists and formed the initial impetus behind heritage conservation (e.g. Sitte, 1889), although the idea has Platonic roots. This value is primarily concerned with aspects of image and artistic appeal with understandings drawn from the traditions of art history or architecture. However, it is not limited to these, and aesthetic value comes to incorporate ideas of 'image' and branding. Santarém's touristic (mis-)presentation as the "Capital of Gothic" (as discussed earlier) has become a strong discursive force in bestowing value on those parts of the city with recognisably gothic features. The ERUP (CMS, 2015, p.7) uncritically promotes this approach, stating that the whole of Santarém municipality is defined in image terms by gothic architecture<sup>9</sup>, the culmination of which is in the various monuments built in this style. The same document, however, does concede that the city of Santarém also contains a vast ensemble of "more recent" (presenting 'gothic' in a different temporality) architectural styles, but that "reflect the intrinsic beauty of eras and ideas of architects and political leaders"<sup>10</sup> (ERUP, CMS/Viver Santarém 2013, p.28), associating aesthetic with political and evidential value.

The components of aesthetic value are determined by "the configuration of building spans [vãos], among other things" (ERUP, CMS/Viver Santarém, 2013, p.28) which makes the difference between a building being defined as 'of note' (or classified in some way) and not. It is likely that it is not only aesthetic values that contribute to 120 out of the 1008 buildings

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<sup>9</sup> *This is not the case.*

<sup>10</sup> *"refletem a beleza intrínseca de épocas e ideias de arquitetos e dirigentes políticos"*



within the *Planalto* ARU being 'notable', but aesthetics certainly contributes to the notion that Santarém "is undoubtedly one of the most beautiful cities in Portugal"<sup>11</sup> (ERUP, CMS/Viver Santarém, 2013, p.28). One of the specific objectives of the PARU (CMS, 2015, para. 2.2) is the promotion and dynamisation of Santarém's identity and image to realise the touristic potential of the city (or, at least, the *Planalto* ARU). Aesthetics, in the era of image capitalism, is valued not only in terms of artistic accomplishment, but as a marketing narrative to encourage touristic consumption.

As a strategic document, the PARU does not focus in any detail on specific aesthetic types and the measures that need to be taken to realise these objectives, but the RMEU (CMS, 2013) establishes specific requirements for the maintenance (and enhancement) of aesthetic value both in the "centro histórico" and the city in general. Maintenance of the image of the city is undertaken through Conservation works. Article 63.<sup>o</sup> (RMEU, CMS, 2013) establishes the requirement for householders to undertake maintenance works every eight years, to include whitewashing or painting façades, roof and gable maintenance, as well as boundary treatment repairs. We cannot say that these are driven purely by aesthetic imperatives, for there is a heavy amount of amenity value in undertaking these works, for residents and the community in general. Furthermore, it is clear that this article has never been enforced. It is the limiting of these works to façade elements that highlights the local approach to conservation as above all an aesthetic endeavour. Such an approach is expanded upon in the RMEU's (2013) Article 117.<sup>o</sup> relating to the "Urban Area to Preserve" ("Historic Centre" of Santarém). This substantial article outlines specific requirements to ensure preservation only relating to the pre-1945 urban area, but the vast majority of its stipulations relate to the preservation of aesthetic values.

It is highlighted that in the case of demolitions, priority should be given to the maintenance and reconstruction of building façades – those elements observable from the public realm (RMEU, CMS, 2013, art 117.<sup>o</sup>, 3, 4). Private interior spaces only need to be maintained if there is evidence of "historical or artistic heritage value", and here once again the emphasis is on aesthetic. In cases in which the façade of the original building cannot be saved, the requirement is for the erection of a new façade which respects the existing bulk, scale and metrics of the surrounding built environment so that, in general terms, the texture of the city is unchanged. Aesthetic compatibility means writing new additions onto the urban landscape in a compatible language (Brandi, 1963; Duarte & Beirão, 2011). In this sense, limited

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<sup>11</sup> "É sem dúvida, uma das mais belas cidades de Portugal."



piecemeal changes are permitted to the detail of the picture, but only so long as the harmonic unity of the city as art is unaffected.

That overall picture, while nebulous and undefined, constitutes the “intrinsic value” cited over again across local planning policy documents (e.g. RMEU, CMS, 2013: art. 117.<sup>o</sup>, 5). The only exemption to this seems to be in the case of Amenity value requirements (i.e. safety issues rather than, necessarily, comfort) and Mobility (vehicular circulation and parking).

The image of the city is constituted in a purely visual and material way. Contemporaneity is allowed to a very limited extent, and it must accord visually with existing landscape patterns (RMEU, CMS, 2013: art. 117.<sup>o</sup>, 8). And those agreed component parts of the overall picture conferring a visual and artistic identity permeate the stipulations of art 117.<sup>o</sup>, 9, the significance of which is determined by exterior decorative elements, materials and colours, with replacement allowed only of like for like. It recognises that the replacement of wooden for uPVC frame windows does not result in the same image.

A focus on aesthetics formed the basis of eleven of the twenty articles of the *PPS da Mouraria* (CMS 1994: Art. 3, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19.<sup>o</sup>). Aside from requirements for the maintenance of scale, volume, form, materials and colours, alongside even more stringent requirements and approval regimes for these, the specific aesthetic values the Council sought to maintain include roof pitches and silhouettes, enclosure types, unspecified architectural details, and the maintenance of existing materials. The main general aesthetic threats to the neighbourhood are highlighted as ‘dissonant elements’, the introduction of glazed verandas (a twentieth century phenomenon), the removal of telecommunications infrastructure from facades and the prohibition of obtrusive modernity in the form of signage, satellite equipment or solar panels. More so than the requirements of other local documents, the primacy of the *PPS da Mouraria*’s attention this neighbourhood’s aesthetic values, over and above other values, to be preserved as a place of memory and nostalgia (despite the prohibition of pastiche in art. 10.<sup>o</sup>, CMS, 1994) – not for the people who live and work there - or to be subject to more onerous development requirements, could well have resulted in a planned inertia in this part of the city. There is an extent to which the PPS clearly details the limited palette of materials (though less so in terms of forms) typical of the built environment in this neighbourhood but, despite the high output of the GTL, the reasons behind the plan seeking the maintenance of the local aesthetic status quo and its role in the overall heritage value of the neighbourhood remains unclear.



## Amenity Value (including hygiene and safety)

According to Portuguese *Decreto-Lei n.º 307/2009 de 23 de Outubro*, in its current version, Article 6(1) states that “The owners of buildings or fractions have the duty to ensure their rehabilitation, namely by carrying out all the works necessary for the maintenance or replacement of their safety, salubrity and aesthetic appearance ...”<sup>12</sup>. While the aesthetic value of heritage in local policy documents was discussed in the previous section, the set of topics including health, safety, comfort and services can be combined into Amenity Value as a core idea in planning.

The PARU (CMS, 2015) provides an overview of Amenity and Amenity Value within the *Planalto* ARU. It highlights that, given that two thirds of housing stock was constructed before 1960, this inevitably means that the majority of dwellings will not accord with quality and safety standards nor respond to the basic needs of current residents (PARU, CMS, 2015, p.13). While this characterisation is not necessarily logical or inferable from the data, for the purposes of heritage values it is inferred that amenity value comprises a set of qualities that Santarém’s historic environment does not have, and therefore is not a factor in its significance. However, it is something that would add an additional level of value (if not affecting overall significance).

The PARU (CMS, 2015, p.10) states that within the ARU (*Planalto*) area there are 1,110 habitual family residences (comprising 55 percent of total dwellings), and that 99.5% of these are connected to water supply, 99.8% are connected to the sewerage network, 99.2% has a toilet, while 97.7% has a bathroom. However, 36 percent of total dwellings in this area are unoccupied, and may very well be without basic services. This is rather a high level of empty dwellings and, in a general sense, this is unlikely to have been a new dynamic given that the population of the “centro histórico” has remained relatively stable in the period 1991-2011 according to the PARU. Low perceived amenity value for this area, however, is highlighted in participant responses as a determining factor in the diminished vibrancy of the historic urban environment both here and elsewhere.

It is not only at the level of the individual dwelling that amenity values are highlighted. One of the three axes outlined in the PERU (CMS, 2015) and supporting the ARU designation is a commitment to enhance the amenity value of the city in general under the banner, “Urban

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<sup>12</sup> DL n.º 66/2019, de 21/05: “Os proprietários de edifícios ou frações têm o dever de assegurar a sua reabilitação, nomeadamente realizando todas as obras necessárias à manutenção ou reposição da sua segurança, salubridade e arranjo estético...”





Consolidation". This contains commitments to improving public safety, public illumination, accessibility, pedestrian mobility and green space. Amenity value and heritage can often be conceived as polar opposites, and reflect a view of the past in which populations suffered privations and hardships ingrained into the fabric of the city to be retained on the basis of 'authenticity'. However, there is also a sense in which the two can be reconciled.

At present, however, there is some way to go in Santarém in establishing an approach that would achieve this. While existing local planning documentation, particularly the PDM and the RMEU, accord with *DL n.º 309/2009* and subsequent amendments (c.f. *DL n.º 265/2012, de 28/12*), Art. 31.º, for example, does not go far enough in that whilst its accessibility plan takes account of how pedestrian and vehicular accesses to buildings from the public highway can be achieved, the requirements of those with limited mobility – that comprises a high proportion of residents of the "centro histórico" – are not yet addressed as they have been in other cities.

In the *Mouraria* specifically, aside from the attention to aesthetics, there is tacit recognition in the *PPS* (CMS, 1994) of the relative dilapidation of the area even relative to other parts of the "centro histórico" (for this was in fact the impetus for plan). Amenity value is addressed in art. 10, 11, 12 and 18. In art. 10.º, unlike in many of the other plans considered here, the plan seeks to intervene in the private space of the individual dwellings without basic services. In the name of hygiene and salubrity, repair and cleaning, mirroring art. 63.º of the RMEU, are required within 8 years, while a programme for the parallel systematic rehabilitation of all dwellings in a poor condition is mandated. This never occurred, and the *PPS* was never implemented. In terms of public amenity, public realm is considered important, with art. 11.º and 12.º highlighting its importance, along with the need to avoid its colonisation by private enterprise, while art. 18.º recognises the importance of fire risk in the historic environment – often a common feature of urban living through history - and the imperative for jointly agreed measures and schemes to prevent it.

The lack of amenity value, then, is a threat to Santarém's heritage value in general and, specifically, it is sorely missing in the *Mouraria*.

## **Social, Community and Cohesion Value**

If the "centro histórico" is without amenity, then it follows that levels of social activity, community engagement and cohesion will be relatively weak. The ERUP (CMS/Viver



Santarém, 2013) provides a picture of the area, with a high concentration of owner-occupiers with limited financial resources, combined a challenging rental environment. Housing conditions are explained as the decisive factor leading to the exodus of the working age population to newer peripheral housing developments, leaving and older population in the centre and thus a generational gap defined spatially. This rump population in the “centro histórico” is defined as poorly educated and therefore without the financial resources to maintain their buildings, resulting in ever more entropy and decay in the “centro histórico” and flight to the periphery. The abandonment has led to “several hundred” vacant dwellings in the centre, and a vicious cycle of decline.

Part of the mission of ARU designation, therefore, appears to be at the very least to stem the exodus, although the source of the problem is identified as purely the poor material condition of buildings.

Whether or not material dilapidation is the only reason for neighbourhood decline, there is little doubt that abandonment constitutes a negative externality, with responsibility for its rectification highlighted in the ERUP (CMS/Viver Santarém, 2013, p.22) as a joint social responsibility with local people taking up governmental offers of support and financing. But there is a social-temporal constituent to this as well. Social abandonment of these spaces is the product of organic behaviours enabled within the framework of past and even existing planning policy oversight. In other words, the aim of intervention is to try to restore a social dynamic (ERUP, CMS/Viver Santarém, 2013, p.30), the type of which is not entirely clear) that does not exist in the present time. The “centro histórico” has limited living social value (distinct with the othering impact of monumental value which is also bestowed socially but encourages different behaviours), and this is a threat to its survival.

In terms of existing demographics, the PARU (CMS, 2015, p.10) indicates that in 2011 there were 2,591 residents of the *Planalto* ARU area. Despite what the Council Leader may claim (*Correio do Ribatejo*, 30 Dec 2019), there is no evidence to suggest this number has increased since Council demographic monitoring is based only on Census figures. This figure has remained relatively stable in the previous two decades, even in an overall context of slight population loss (circa 3 percent) in the city as a whole over the same time period. Therefore, the dynamic sought is a recentralisation of peripheral populations, not only on the basis of increasing overall heritage value but, ostensibly, in terms of sustainability.

The PERU (CMS, 2015, para. 6.1) couches its strategy within a more integrated approach to increase social dynamism and valorisation of the area. It promotes several broad strategic



objectives, such as property market dynamisation measures (including ambitions to increase market supply, attract investors, and force sale of unoccupied units); and to promote citizenship and entrepreneurialism (including stimulating a creative economy, active citizenship, and social cohesion and inclusion). These are all ambitious tasks that are beyond what ARU designation can realistically achieve on its own. If these ambitious social transformations are to be realistic, they need to prove themselves more evidence-driven, and must be accompanied by complementary programmes and public policy changes. At present, there is no mention within either the current PDM (1995/2019) or RMEU (2013), both core local planning policies, of any means of social participation or inclusion in the planning process beyond Art. 45.º of the RMEU's (CMS, 2013) mention of participation as a nationally constituted technically driven process. The lack of attention to promoting active citizenship and the engagement of local people in plans and planning applications is an oversight, effectively resulting in barriers to access to information on transformations affecting where people live.

The ARU designation on the *Planalto* is in part designated to attempt to create conditions within this spatial area for today's younger populations wishing to live and do business, and encouraging these people to settle and establish social, cultural and other ties to revive the concept of "neighbourhood". To this end, while the PARU's (CMS, 2015) specific objectives 1.2 and 1.3 seek to improve the quality and condition of local equipment and public spaces , and thus reinforcing the spatial conditions for a convivial public realm, it is the ERUP (CMS/Viver Santarém, 2013, p.31) that asks the big question – "what would make you want to change your life and exchange life in the city for life in the Historic Centre?" Of course, this is an odd question given that the "Historic Centre" is part of the "city", but points to the mental distinction and fetishisation of the centre as somehow separate and frozen in time. A more suitable version of this question is posed to respondents within this study.

In the *Mouraria*, subsequent sections in this project will highlight the existence of some sort of collective neighbourhood dynamic, unremarked on by local planning documents. But within the ERUP (CMS/Viver Santarém, 2013, p.20), this neighbourhood is highlighted as an area of particularly acute urban decline, as a "*bairro*" (a term refuted by residents) with residents of a particularly advanced age and scant resources. It is unfortunate that, while the area is characterised as having low social value, this is not borne through in the evidence presented even within that document.



## Use Value

Of the 1008 buildings with the “centro histórico” almost half, 446 (or 47.8%) are in sole residential use according to the ERUP (CMS/Viver Santarém, 2013). However, a further 188 (18.6%) are completely or partially unoccupied (distinct from the number of unoccupied dwellings highlighted above). A fair proportion of these are unoccupied in as far as commercial ground floor uses in the very centre of the “centro histórico” cannot be found, pointing to global pattern of weak use value across use categories in this central area.

Again, as discussed in terms of social value, this is a clear contrast from past use value dynamics. As noted in the PERU (CMS, 2015, p.12), during the nineteenth century use values were so high as to see additional storeys or half-storey mansards added across the “centro histórico” to increase habitational capacity, accompanied by largescale subdivision of properties. The impact of the latter, then, was in fact a loss of adequate habitational space and a proliferation of smaller units unsuitable for modern living.

Use is covered by the PDM’s (1995/2019) articles 37.<sup>o</sup> and 38.<sup>o</sup>, through which use classes for the purposes of territorial planning are defined according to a zoning mentality, as urban, urbanisable, industrial; extractive; agroforestry; natural; cultural; easement (for infrastructure); or rural settlement. There is a need to develop a more nuanced approach to urban use classes, triggered by development or change of use proposals, thus enabling a greater management of city-wide dynamics and encouraging increased occupation in the abandoned central area. Indeed, it is observed that certain active uses in the central area actively impede other uses in the same area and, more specifically, in the *Mouraria*.

A more responsive use class regime could also complement the delivery of an increased supply of housing for the rental market, for which there is a growing demand, in tandem programmes such as the *Bolsa de Arrendamento Urbano* (Urban Rental Fund, see PERU, CMS, 2015) or the national *Reabilitar para Alugar* (Rehabilitate to Rent).

## Material Value

While there is a strong relationship between materials and aesthetic appearance, in terms of values there is a distinction between these. Within the context of Urban Rehabilitation, there is a clear emphasis on intervention in the material fabric of the city, characterised as subject to physical decay and neglect (e.g. RJRU).

The focus on material value in Santarém appears to be a product of the repercussions of a period of high demand in the city bringing about rapid expansion with a proliferation of

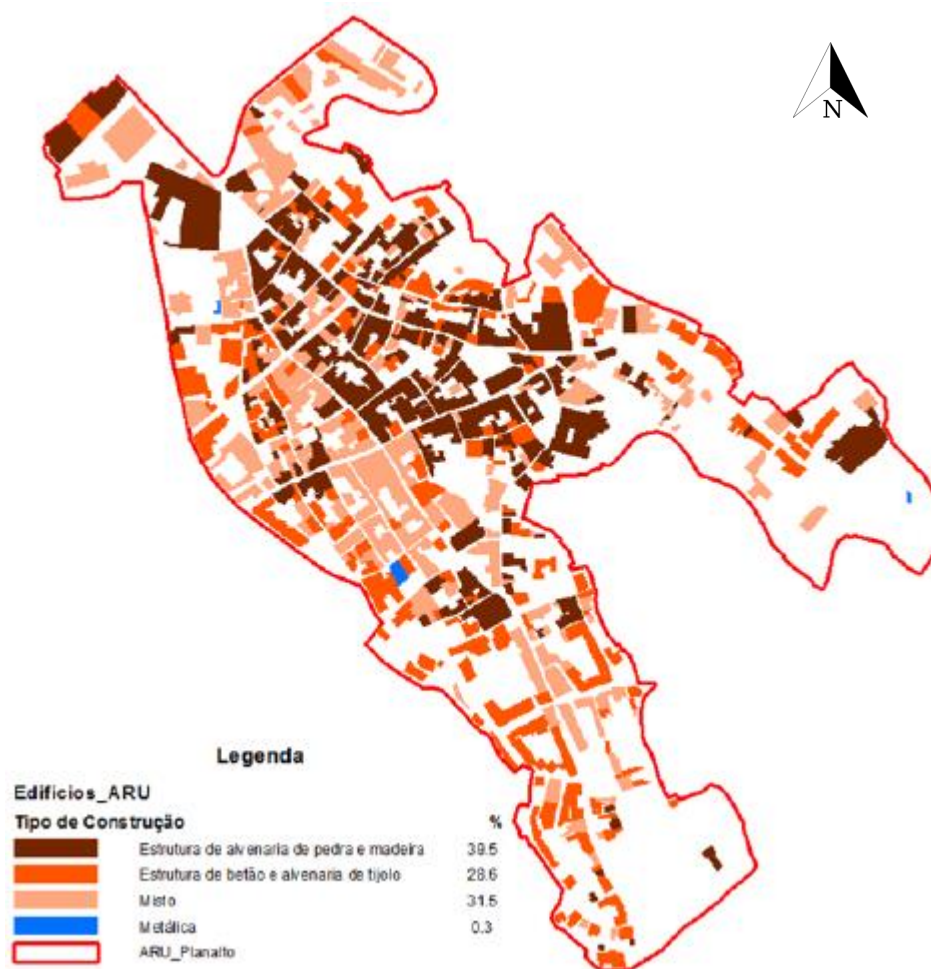


Figure 17: Buildings classified by construction materials. (from PEDU, CMS, 2015)



reinforced concrete buildings. While strong, the poor thermal performance, ubiquitous nature of the material, and its tendency to hasten the deterioration of more traditional materials brought about an overall decline in the material value of building stock. Its popularity in mass housing without aesthetic appeal further reduced its perceived value. Both the ERUP (CMS/Viver Santarém, 2013) and PERU (CMS, 2015) highlight that only 396 buildings (39.5%) in the “centro histórico” are wholly constructed with traditional materials (stone and wood), giving these greater material value – to be read as a greater ‘authenticity’ and integrity - than others. A good proportion of these (indicatively up to one third) are either within or adjacent to the *Mouraria*.

However, there does not appear to be a clear correlation between the types of materials used and the state of repair. While fewer than half of buildings are said to be in a ‘good’ state of repair, these appear just as likely to be made of traditional materials as concrete (ERUP, CMS/Viver Santarém, 2013, p.21). Material value in rehabilitation, then, is disaggregated into 1) the material state of the built environment, and 2) the quality, economic and socially bestowed value of particular locally relevant materials.

In terms of the first, the 33 ruins and 119 buildings in a poor state are problems to be solved for local strategy. Interestingly, however, the ERUP (CMS/Viver Santarém, 2013, p.22) sees potential in decay, stating that, “the fact that there are ruined buildings and others that are under construction means that this area of the “historic centre” of the city continues to experience constructive dynamics, whether for housing or business.”<sup>13</sup> The poor material quality of the current built environment, then, is not a problem but an opportunity for renewal. Such an approach could mean that material value is not a key consideration for Santarém. Indeed, triangulating this with fieldwork, respondents state that their key concern is for buildings to be made to look nice and that bits do not fall off, rather than necessarily maintaining existing or traditional materials.

As for the second, this forms the basis of PDM (CMS, 1995/2019), RMEU (CMS, 2013) and PPS *da Mouraria* (CMS, 1994) regulation, as part of the technical realm of rehabilitation. Within the RMEU, art. 24.º requires auditing of existing materials and systems of construction, seeking replication as far as possible. Art. 117.º of the same regulation requires any replacement of masonry, window frames and panes, shutters, metalwork, and other architectural details to be of the same material, rather than simply resembling its

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<sup>13</sup> “O facto de haver edifícios em ruína e outros que estão em fase de obra significa que esta zona do centro histórico da cidade continua a ter alguma dinâmica construtiva, quer seja para habitação, quer seja para negócios.”



appearance. Within the PDM, the stipulations are less intensive, and the importance of material choice is most pressing in the “Protection Zones” around monuments (1995/2019, art. 17.<sup>o</sup>), whose material value is sacrosanct, as opposed to the material value of the wider city.

It is within the PPS *da Mouraria* (CMS, 1994, art. 7.<sup>o</sup>) that material value is enigmatically detailed, requiring that “all repairs or refurbishments will use materials of the same quality and value as the existing”<sup>14</sup>. It is unclear as to the meaning of ‘quality’ and ‘value’ in this context, since both words are open to a wider range of contextual uses. For the time being, however, it appears that material value is constituted as a subsection of aesthetic value, and that there is little explicit attention to the performance of materials in historic buildings serving specific functions or being the best choice for rehabilitation.

## **Mobility Value**

Mobility is a fundamental structuring concept in urbanism. Indeed, as Rossa (2015) notes, the streets through which people pass constitute primary structuring components of the city. Within local policy, mobility is associated with economic growth and prosperity, both on an inter-and intra-urban level. Unlike the citizens of Travnik, who wanted to keep the world out and therefore sent teams to discourage and even destroy intercity roads (Andrić, 1961), Santarém projects itself as open to the world. Its ERUP (CMS/Viver Santarém, 2013, p.9) optimistically states that the “Historic Centre is served longitudinally and transversely by local access roads, allowing great mobility for motor vehicles and pedestrians.” These are also said to feed into national strategic routes connecting the city with Porto and Lisbon. In practice, this is not the case, with many roads in a poor condition, suffering subsidence, closed due to earth movements, or simply not wide enough to accommodate vehicular traffic and pedestrians at the same time.

Mobility is perhaps the most important urban value, with implications for all others. It is the other major item, aside from buildings, that the ERUP (CMS/Viver Santarém, 2013) seeks to promote as a fundamental constituent of rehabilitation. In light of late twentieth century urban development, as related in the ERUP (CMS/Viver Santarém, 2013) and PERU (CMS, 2015), the logic for expansion was the construction of wide roads in the suburbs linked to the “*cidade alta*” by similarly wide roads, but juxtaposed by the narrow roads with poor clearances for turning on corners. There is no doubt that mobility and parking of motor vehicles is highly valued in Santarém, not only in the PDM’s (CMS, 1995/2019) 22 articles

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<sup>14</sup> “*Em todas as reparações ou remodelações utilizar-se-ão materiais de qualidade e valor igual aos existentes.*”



relating to parking accessibility and standards (art. 57.<sup>o</sup>, 77.<sup>o</sup>-96.<sup>o</sup>A), but also in the creation of a 245-space subterranean car park as part of the Jardim da Liberdade redevelopment. To that end, however, it is surprising how little attention is given to balancing mobility with other urban and heritage values.

The ERUP (CMS/Viver Santarém, 2013) and PERU (CMS, 2015) highlight a list of (now abandoned) municipal projects to encourage modal shift and to enable those with limited mobility to move around, including short lived programmes such as the *Plano Municipal para a Mobilidade Elétrica* (2010-2015), to co-funded Bike Sharing – “Biks” scheme (2012-2018), and the *Santarém Acessível* scheme supported by a Local Plan for the Promotion of Accessibility (launched in 2012 but never implemented). This, combined with the more recent addition of minimum parking standards for bicycles in developments (RMEU, CMS 2013: art. 96.<sup>o</sup>A) points to a realisation that mobility is an issue for the city and, in particular, its “centro histórico”, but there is little evidence of joined up coordinated action to address it in dialogue with motorists and residents. At present, there is significant uncertainty over the integration of pedestrians, cycling and railways (PDM, CMS 1995/2019, art. 31.<sup>o</sup>) in Santarém’s rehabilitation.

In the *Mouraria*, it is revealed in the PERU that historically the loss of part of the city wall the *Porta de Atamarma* was part of an overall mobility scheme, creating the current Rua Luís de Camões, and a connection through to the Ribeira and the train station. While currently restricted, this must be a key consideration of the reintegration of the city via this neighbourhood. Unfortunately, in the PPS *da Mouraria* (CMS, 1994), art. 13.<sup>o</sup> establishes a minimum parking standard for new builds in the neighbourhood at 25m<sup>2</sup>/dwelling, with a higher requirement for commercial uses. As will be discussed below, while not binding, this requirement has done the most physical, environmental and indeed social and moral damage to the neighbourhood resulting in the edifice known locally as the “Puddle Building” (“*Prédio Charco*”).

## **Economic and Commercial Value**

Economic growth, as the fundamental principle of late capitalism, is often a key impetus for regeneration, often at the expense of other indicators (Lovering & Türkmen, 2011, Porter & Shaw, 2013). In Santarém, this is not the case, and the ERUP highlights commitment to balanced economic growth and competitiveness with social and sustainability objectives. There is local recognition that a degraded urban environment is not a desirable commercial environment, and “requalification is the promotion of the urban image that the city wants to see associated with itself and/or the product that it wants to “sell” (ERUP, CMS/Viver Santarém, 2013, p.41). In this sense, economic value – of buildings, activities, or the city as



a whole – is a close bedfellow of aesthetic value in the creation of a product for consumption.

The PARU (CMS, 2015) notes that the success of today's commerce depends on the conversion of new types of spaces and ways of management in the “centro histórico”, that take account modern expectations with the addition of that interpersonal connection. It is that interpersonal layer that provides the point of difference between shopping in the intimate shops in the centre and the larger out-of-town retail developments at S. Domingos. An additional layer, again subsumed into the image of place, is nostalgia for a more personalised experience. The PARU (CMS, 2015, p.17) particularly highlights the commercial and enterprise value of the association of the city with national narratives including the Carnation Revolution, or as a logical stopping point on the pilgrimage routes between Lisbon and Fatima/Santiago, which it offers as an opportunity for economic development.

The economic value of Santarém's “centro histórico”, then, can be understood as acting in very different spheres – spatially on commercial units; and symbolically on customers and visitors through mythologies and narratives of place.

Local Policy documents, implementing the *RJRU*, all seek to increase the economic value of heritage and the urban environment through the exemption from certain taxes (*IMI*, *IMT*, *IVA*) and forward funding (*IFRRU*) for aesthetic, material and functional/use improvements as a means to enabling greater economic activity in the “centro histórico” (e.g. RMEU, CMS 2013, art. 158.<sup>o</sup>). The understanding of economic value, in Santarém's case, can be defined in general terms as relating to the function, utility and image consumption of the historic environment, and the role this has for local markets, industry and the value of property. However, while the economic value of the city's historic urban environment is established comprehensively for touristic purposes in the adopted Strategic Plan for Tourism (*Plano Estratégico de Valorização Turística para o Município de Santarém*), there is little integration of this approach more generally in local planning documents, beyond the creation and projection of a marketing image for the city (PERU, CMS 2015, p.38), that establishes a quantified business case around rehabilitation. While taxes can be exempt and project funding can restore individual buildings, there is little sense as to the wider economic benefits/value that heritage can yield to wider sustainability indicators.

### **Associative (Historical/Temporal, Cultural and Identity) Value**

The marketing image anchored in the economic value of heritage can be rooted in historical and cultural narratives associated with an asset or an ensemble. Significant attention is given to the historical, or rather temporal, urban dynamics of Santarém's urban environment





that used to exist but no longer do. The PERU (CMS, 2015, p.19), for example, claims the very reason for rehabilitation is to recover a social and commercial dynamic in the “centro histórico” which is now “condemned to abandonment”<sup>15</sup>. There are multiple reasons for this abandonment, as discussed, but the motivations for rehabilitation programmes in those spaces considered to have historical value are often imbued with interconnected heritage values relating to culture and with which people who interact regularly in and with these spaces come to construct their identities and sense of belonging. Allied with these concepts are urban concepts such as the ‘spirit of place’ and ideas of ‘authenticity’ as questioned quite rightly in the PERU.

Through the previous three decades, municipal attention has remained focused on the monumental-historical value bestowed on a place through its monuments. The preparatory work for the city’s UNESCO bid focused greatly on the recording of monuments (e.g. Custódio, 1996a) and their historical and aesthetic qualities. The PDM’s (1995/2019) articles 16.º and 17.º in particular imposes restrictions on activities and development in the “centro histórico” only in relation to those individual monuments imbued with this value; art. 32º seeks the retention of military sites restricted to the *Escola Prática de Cavalaria* and *Presidio Militar*; while art. 69.º seeks to safeguard only one site in the municipal area, the *Chões de Alpompé* archaeological site, as a “cultural space”. It is undoubted that those sites highlighted in the PDM are historically significant, providing evocative associative significance for residents.

However, there is a growing international recognition of the importance of overall setting and context in the effective maintenance of heritage values, authenticity, and relevance to the wider life of the city. In other words, for heritage to maintain its value and relevance, it must be made appropriate for use (albeit in a sustainable way) for current generations. The approach of the PDM (CMS, 1995/2019) in restricting change in and around the city’s monuments perpetuates the othering of these very same monuments from relevance to everyday life. While this can increase their veneration value (and has in many cases done so) in the same way that an elderly relative is venerated by the family, there can be an element of reluctance to visit these family members given the state of repair and their diminished participation in everyday activities. The ERUP (CMS/Viver Santarém, 2013), PERU (CMS, 2015) and PEDU (CMS, 2015) provide details of discrete projects already delivered or planned to rehabilitate individual monuments with key historical-symbolic value to the city, including works on the *Palácio Landal* as offices and community space, and the Convent of S. Francisco as an events space, yet these remain underutilised assets.

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<sup>15</sup> “...que há umas décadas atrás tinha uma dinâmica enorme quer em termos sociais quer em termos de negócios, está hoje condenado ao abandono: o Centro Histórico. Esta ARU pretende atuar estrategicamente recuperando uma parte essencial dessa dinâmica perdida”



The PARU (CMS, 2015), quoting from an unpublished version of a long-awaited *Plano de Ação para o Centro Histórico de Santarém*, aspires to make this area an attractive place for leisure, commerce, tourism and habitation based on an integrated approach which promotes the special qualities offered by the specificities of the historical environment.<sup>16</sup> This aspiration constitutes the PERU's (CMS, 2015) strategic objective 2 bringing together the enhancement of heritage with culture and tourism. But still, even through this approach, this fetishisation and othering of heritage continues, and the promotion of cultural heritage seems to consist of weekly appearances of the local *Rancho Folclórico*, as a romanticising of rural/peasant life (Pinto, 2007) as opposed to a celebration of lived culture. Through this "centro histórico" runs the risk of alienating itself from everyday urban life as a space of performance and spectacle.

The current conception, as per local policy documents, is less in the actual historical value of the "centro histórico" in itself, but rather in its identity-symbolic value. And this is not necessarily wholly for local people, as façade and public realm works undertaken to the *Seminário* in 2013 coincided with its inclusion on the national *Rotas das Catedrais* route. The boundaries drawn around the ARU are also telling. As the PERU notes, the ARU was expanded to include the *Escola Prática de Cavalaria* to the north to encourage the integration of this site into the "Centro histórico" (with good historic reason). However, integrated rehabilitation is needed to ensure that the whole of this area becomes integrated with the wider city as a whole, and that relevant cultural activities can be co-located and compatible with the wider social and economic pulses of modern life across the city.

## Scientific and Evidential Value

Scientific and evidential value is very strong theme in local policy, with the whole historic urban environment considered to have it until proven otherwise. This category involves the ability to detect and catalogue in a transparent way knowledge of technical or traditional skills in construction or activities undertaken in the urban environment on the basis of material remnants. It is closely associated with the city's temporality as a place of occupation for millennia.

There is a generic requirement that all projects are produced only by accredited professionals, generally architects (e.g. RMEU, CMS 2013, art. 6.<sup>o</sup>). Within the "historic

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<sup>16</sup> "...para que o CHS volte a ser um lugar atrativo e convidativo para o lazer, comércio, turismo e habitação é necessária uma abordagem integrada do espaço urbano que aposte na sua diferença histórica, urbanística, comercial e patrimonial, no sentido de fidelizar habitantes e visitantes, fomentando a regeneração e reabilitação da sua própria identidade, salvaguardando e valorizando o património e o edificado, criando incentivos à residência, estimulando e mantendo o comércio tradicional e de proximidade." (*Plano de Ação para o Centro Histórico de Santarém*, Unpublished (see PERU, CMS, 2015))



centre”, this is reinforced in that only architects are permitted to produce detailed plans, photographs and technical details (including requirements to describe building construction, materials and colour). Art. 24.<sup>o</sup> highlights “the importance of architectural science in analysing buildings as the material representations our culture, witnessing a past that everyone must protect and safeguard” (RMEU, CMS, 2013, art. 118.<sup>o</sup>, 1). That task was restricted even further in the PPS *da Mouraria* (CMS, 1994) as art. 4.<sup>o</sup> permitted not only any architect, but only a Council-approved one, to produce projects in the neighbourhood, narrowing the field even further. This amounts to what Smith (2006) describes as “authorized heritage discourse”, in which only technical experts can participate in local heritage discourses at the expense of local communities and social actors who are excluded from the process and are denied a stake in the idea of heritage as a public good.

This is the key difference between the areas defined as “historic” and the rest of the city. Where development alters the material fabric or breaches the subsoil of a site, there is a generic requirement in the PDM (CMS, 1995/2019, see art. 46.<sup>o</sup>, 86.<sup>o</sup>, 94.<sup>o</sup>) for reporting finds, suspending works, and for storage and cataloguing, as well as for the submission of desk-based archaeological surveys prior to major development. The RMEU (CMS, 2013, art. 118<sup>o</sup>) goes further, outlining a series of additional practical technical measures and reporting procedures required for development

Given the technical nature and lengthy requirements, in practice this discourages reporting of finds given that it always leads to suspension of works, which can make the difference between a developer remaining in business or bankruptcy. It is also unfortunate that documentation relating to individual projects is seldom made public and evidence/reports are stored in Lisbon rather than anywhere in the local area, rather than enabling the local District Archive to expand the evidential picture of the area.

One of the innovations of the ARU designation was the proposal for the establishment of an ‘Observatory’ as a centralised organisation for collecting and analysing information, forming proposals and monitoring indicators. However, once again this reinforces the idea of “authorized heritage discourse” (Smith, 2006) and the exclusion of the wider population from the rehabilitation of where they live. To overcome this, the scientific and evidential value of the “centro histórico” could be democratised (with proposed participatory action) and triangulated with other indicators and value categories (in a proposed interdisciplinary approach) coordinated by an ‘Observatory’. While these responsibilities could have sat comfortably with the *GCH*, its diminished human capital and now its disbandment mean



there is no municipal body empowered to undertake this following the reduction of the role of *Viver Santarém*.

## **Environmental and Hydrological Value**

Local policy documents recognise the place of the city in its wider landscape and environmental context. The ERUP (CMS/Viver Santarém, 2013) categorises the whole municipal area into four landscape character areas. The city of Santarém is situated in the “*Bairro*” area, characterised by undulating landscapes on clay-sand and limestone soils, and surrounded by vineyards, olive groves and compatible arable crops. This area is also typified by the Wild Olive, Stone Pine, Cluster Pine, Portuguese Oak and Cork Oak trees. In this sense, and with reference to the local narrative through which the Phoenicians introduced their prized crops to the area, environment and landscape is treated in aesthetic and poetic terms, with the city set amid bucolic fertile bounty. Landscape serves to enhance the projected image value of heritage.

Related to this concept, water is treated as a fundamental resource in creating this landscape. The ERUP notes the local porous ground allows very quick infiltration, and the creation of deep caves and underground reservoirs. While seemingly romantic, this same process is a menace to the city itself. While situated high on a plateau, strong groundwater flows have resulted in subsidence, land destabilisation, and undermine the material fabric of the “centro histórico”.

Quite separately, the treatment of water is at multiple scales. Water is considered as a vital resource to be managed. The PDM (CMS, 1995/2019) considers water in a number of ways. In terms of water supply (art. 8.ºd, 18.º-22.º) it establishes parameters ensuring that future supplies are not impeded through poorly located development, or that groundwater supplies are not contaminated or over-abstracted. In art. 22.º it also recognises the role that private cisterns have played in water supply throughout Santarém’s history (albeit tacitly). Separately, wastewater and treatment are covered at length (PDM, CMS, 1995/2019: art. 20.º, 23.º, RMEU, art. 20.º, 105.º-110.º) in terms of their technical requirements, while the value of water in ecological reserves is highlighted in the PDM (art. 7.º, 12.º and 13.º).

The urban area of Santarém, and its “centro histórico” in particular, have had a long history in relation to water, not only commercially through its relationship to the river but, perhaps unusually, in its immediate hydrological conditions, with a high water table and numerous springs that can appear in the most unexpected of places. This is not recognised anywhere





in local policy documentation but constitutes a key distinguishing feature of the local environment.

An integrated approach would take the approach of a water cycle study, charting the passage of water through the city – including rainwater, surface water, groundwater and residual water – and exploring its trajectories and impacts along the route. The damaging impact of the mismanagement of all of these is evident in the *Mouraria* today, and so such a study would be of immense benefit to safeguarding the neighbourhood. One of the key active causes of the material degradation of the city is water and, therefore, it is surprising that it is mentioned only once in passing in the RMEU (CMS, 2013, art. 117.º 6) that the function of roofs is for water protection. Water is at once a resource and a threat and, again, while not relevant for the *Planalto*, the potential for flooding in parts of the city is a known reality.

The central role of water, and the miraculous retention of a green crown around the *Planalto* along its slopes (currently in the process of stabilisation works) are clearly undervalued assets in current local policy.

While attention is given to sustainable construction (RMEU, CMS, 2013, art. 37.º and 160.º), these are aimed at new builds mainly outside of the “centro histórico”. While tax breaks for rehabilitation works are dependent on increasing energy and thermal efficiency, still permission for the installation of environmentally sustainable technologies (e.g. Solar Panels, RMEU, art. 38.º) are dependent on their being hidden from view and not compromising aesthetic value.

It is encouraging, however, to find a discussion on the balance between social and environmental urban values in the regulations involving public lighting (e.g. RMEU, CMS 2013, art. 100.º). While there is a clear role for street lighting in public perceptions of safety, obtrusive lighting contributes to light pollution, has negative impacts on local flora and fauna, and consumes energy. An integrated approach to rehabilitation must weigh the relative balance of different requirements to achieve the sweet point for overall valorisation.

## **Governance and Political Value**

The management and delimitation of an ARU is a political decision, imbued with ideas around how an area can best be managed and, ostensibly, in the interests of the public good. The general public good to be addressed through ARU designation is the highlighted



problem of social, economic and material frailty in the “centro histórico”. While there is recognition of intersecting factors behind current urban problems, the response is an action-oriented ‘Euclidian’ conception of the city as objects and forms (Graham and Healey, 1999), rather than concern with relations and processes promoted by European spatial planning and even regional level Portuguese plans.

Within the ERUP (CMS/Viver Santarém, 2013), the PERU (CMS, 2015) and the PARU (CMS, 2015) there is recognition on a broad level of the governance and social dynamics that have led to the current degraded state of urban centres. However, given the list of individual projects detailed and budgeted for, albeit with a mixture of public and private funding, the focus on Santarém’s heritage is on the aesthetic image of individual heritage objects rather than addressing the underlying urban conditions that gave rise to abandonment and neglect in the first place. In fact, the ERUP highlights that the “centro histórico’s” three management instruments are the PDM (CMS, 1995/2019), RMEU (CMS, 2013) and the PPS *da Mouraria*<sup>17</sup> (CMS, 1994) which in their form and function cannot be but object-focused regulatory documents and, as such, are necessarily selective, *sic semper*, in their prioritisation of certain monumental objects over others<sup>18</sup>.

Monumental heritage, of course, is often imbued with political power and value as its very reason for being. In their very forms and construction, churches, palaces and defensive walls retained their hegemony in heritage studies above everyday dwellings and everyday spaces. This is partly due to their relative rarity (compared to a dwelling) or in their ostentation or superhuman scale. It is important that local strategy helps to clarify what these places mean today and how they can be incorporated into current urban value systems. In Portugal, the first legislation governing classification of national monuments emerged, as noted in the PDM (CMS, 1995/2019, art. 32.º), in the 1930s during the *Estado Novo*, with heritage restoration used as a political tool (Rodrigues, 1999). Rehabilitation is a political act imbued with political value(s). Therefore, while the ERUP (CMS/Viver Santarém, 2013) promotes the participation of three principle actors as the national government, the Council, and private property owners, the success of the wider objectives of rehabilitation and the RJRU depends on the expansion of this scope to include a wider group of stakeholders, along with a focus on individual projects only in context of wider processes.

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<sup>17</sup> Despite the fact that the PPS *da Mouraria* is de facto abandoned: not used as a material consideration in planning decisions.

<sup>18</sup> See PDM, art. 16.º for a long list of legislation governing classified National Monuments as special objects of value.



## The folly of the idea of Intrinsic Value

In the words of Thomas Mann (1924), “everything is politics”. The idea of an intrinsic, *a priori* value to heritage is problematised not only through critical heritage studies, and is wholly unsatisfactory in a context of integrated urban rehabilitation’s engagement with asking why and for whom do we need to intervene? “Heritage is a cultural process” and an everyday performed one, according to Smith (2006, p.44), which can also be understood as a culturally defined communicative practice (Dicks, 2000). In this conception of heritage, the idea that any “recognition of the *a priori* intrinsic value of the urban ensemble constituting the area of intervention” as promoted in the PARU (CMS, 2015, p.4), or the permission to demolish a building in this area only “if it is without intrinsic value” (RMEU, CMS 2013: art. 117.º) is meaningless.

The “intrinsic value” of the “centro histórico” of Santarém is assumed in a process of monumentalisation (Choay, 1992) and fetishisation of the pre-1945 city. While the term “intrinsic value” is not unique to Santarém, such an idea it ignores the social processes that underpin the invention of heritage. Heritage value is not a fixed and unchanging attribute that is “found” but is the product of the interaction of an object and its social and spatial contexts (Mason, 2002).

## General Framing and Integration

There is a clear sense in which decision-makers are encouraged to give precedence to Aesthetic, Amenity, Mobility and Associative (Historical-Temporal-Cultural-Identity) values, in broad terms, on the basis of an integrated reading of Santarém’s local documentation, and should be conceived as fundamental structuring urban values at the present time. The others, while playing their (often statutorily mandated) role, are more passively treated and, in the case of Environmental and Hydrological value, cannot be considered fit for purpose since there is scant if any treatment of urban ecology or sustainable drainage systems.

The main issue, however, is the contrasting normative view of planning and the urban environment between that delivered through the first generation PDMs as regulatory tools and the spatial planning view now embodied in regional plans and RJRU documents. The absence of a strategic plan for Santarém is a hindrance to effective integrated urban rehabilitation. As observed above, there are notable gaps in existing plans in relation particularly to social inclusion and cohesion, environmental and economic values and indicators which prejudices the Council’s ability to deliver sustainable regeneration of the historic environment. Despite the difficulties local municipalities have experienced in

**Main Objectives for Santarém's Centro histórico**

- 1. Based around an "identity matrix" of the city, namely through its uniqueness, authenticity and exceptionality;*
- 2. Encourage, conserve, rehabilitate and reuse of degraded building stock, increasing urban and environmental quality through incentive / benefit programmes;*
- 3. Strengthen urban heritage (historical, architectural and landscape), understood as an anchor for memory and spirit of place;*
- 4. Increase social cohesion, rejuvenate the Historic Centre, attract new families and foster sociability;*
- 5. Maintain, recover, enhance and revitalise public facilities and public space*
- 6. Promote the establishment of businesses and services (economic and social) in the Historic Centre and the creation of jobs;*
- 7. Ensure physical (slope consolidation) and public safety improvements;*
- 8. Support and boost cultural and religious tourism;*
- 9. Improve accessibility and urban mobility by promoting the use of intelligent means of transport;*
- 10. Consolidate an appropriate, diverse, participatory and inclusive cultural program for the Historic Centre.*

Figure 18: PACH General Objectives, as detailed in the PERU (CMS 2015).

reviewing their PDMs (*O Mirante*, 18 December 2019) in the local area, the integration of a municipal spatial strategy within the same normative frameworks as both higher level (PROT) and the well-resourced implementation of lower level strategies. Such integration carries with it potential for the rescaling of issues down from the national or regional level and up from the local level so that they can be dealt with at the most appropriate level.

Within Santarém's local planning documents, particularly the PERU, ERUP and PARU, (and even in some parts of the RMEU), there is a notable shift from regulatory technical thinking towards an integrated interdisciplinary approach. While the PARU pays lip service to integration, it stumbles over its concepts and terminology to the point of 'doublespeak' (c.f. CMS, 2015, p.4, from Orwell, 1949)<sup>19</sup>, the PERU brings together a series of objectives seeking to act on multiple urban values, including material, aesthetic, social, economic, mobility, amenity and cultural/identity. The set of ten priority actions, drawn from the shelved *Plano de Ação do Centro Histórico de Santarém* (PACH) provide the best sense that the situated process dynamics of this area of the city have been identified as a basis for defining policy support for addressing current intersecting urban problems and opportunities.

The PACH (*Unadopted*) appears to offer an appropriate vehicle for influencing and managing spatial change, building and carrying forward ideas and processes, and enabling mobilisation and participation of a variety of actors across different arenas. While such attributes are central to integrated and collaborative spatial planning (see Albrechts, 1999; 2006; Allmendinger, 2017, Faludi & van der Valk, 1994; Healey, 1997; 2004; Mintzberg, 2002), policy-led integration is not currently possible given the lack of effective policy at municipal level as the key missing link.

In addressing the *Mouraria*, previous responses to the more acute social and environmental problems of the neighbourhood were addressed under increased regulation through the PPS that was technically driven and limited and addressed aesthetic considerations above all other values involved in sustainable heritage management. A new approach should recognise the city-wide processes involved in creating and perpetuating this neighbourhood's reputation as a low-income ghetto with a rapidly crumbling building stock, identifying and addressing these processes through what is indeed a social process of plan making (Healey, 1997).

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<sup>19</sup> For example, "Através da valorização e requalificação patrimoniais geram-se oportunidades de retoma económica, fortalecimento do setor turístico, consolidação da autonomia funcional, promoção e difusão da culturalidade e recuperação do tecido social, comercial e habitacional, numa ótica de progressão e desenvolvimento proporcionada pela criação de sinergias entre atores"

Aesthetic	The ways in which people can draw sensory, emotional and intellectual stimulation from the place. This could involve historic stylistic or artistic movements, concepts related to an important event in the past, or engagement with landscape and setting.
Amenity and Use	Whether people can and do use a place in safety, comfort and free from negative externalities. Use value is a key determinant in an asset's survival.
Social, Community and Cohesion	Quality of social interaction in space, including the meanings and collective associations people have that are situated in this space which contribute to a sense of place.
Material	An original result of human labour or craftsmanship; technical or traditional skills and/or connected materials; integral materialisation or knowledge of conceptual intentions.
Mobility	Ability for people to penetrate and navigate the area with ease, and to access those essential daily services required to achieve a standard quality of life.
Economic and Commercial	The function and utility of a space, whether redundant, original, or attributed; the option to use it and/or retain value for future generations; the role it might have (had) for market or industry; property value.
Associative (Historical, Temporal, Cultural, Identity)	The illustrative or associative ways in which people engage with space. Spiritual, beliefs, myths, religions, legends, stories, testimonial of past generations; collective and/or personal memory or experience; cultural identity; motivation and pride; anthropological or ethnological value.
Scientific and Evidential	The potential of place to yield evidence about past human activity. And, importantly, the ability of current populations to engage with this directly, without the need for gatekeepers.
Environmental and Hydrological	The relationship between the building and its environment (natural and man-made); identification of ecological concepts on practices, design, and construction; manufactured resources to be reused, reprocessed, or recycled. The presence, impact, interaction with and integration of water resources.
Governmental, Political	Evidence of proactive public sector presence in an area, responsiveness and effective management and oversight (governmentality). Educational role for political targets (for example, founding myths, glorification of political leaders).

*Table 6: Santarém, historic and urban values definitions.*



However, while the analysis of urban and heritage values imbued in planning policy is one thing, how these are read, interpreted and put into practice is quite another. Chapter 7 examines all planning applications submitted to the Council for approval in Santarém's *Mouraria* over the past twenty years (during which much of the planning policy analysed above was already in force). This will ascertain to what extent those values established in policy were put into practice as material considerations in specific development projects in this area. In other words, it will compare the practical application of values with theoretical values.

## **Conclusion**

This chapter undertook a grounded analysis of regional, local and neighbourhood level urban, heritage and environmental planning policy documents, to establish which value categories are at play *de jure* in the management of the historic urban environment, and several themes were drawn out and assigned to fifteen distinct sections. Some of these categories appeared better suited to being merged with other broader value categories, leaving us with ten broad value categories:

In the next chapter, these categories will be operationalised within a series of condition surveys, co-produced with residents and other participants, to establish the significance of different locations within the *Mouraria*.



## Chapter 6

### Condition, Values and Significance Assessment

The previous chapter undertook a grounded analysis planning and heritage policy, distilling ten broad categories of urban heritage value, which are put to practical test in this section.

The act of conservation, or of development in general terms in a historic urban landscape, is a process concerned with conserving and/or enhancing aspects of value and, in the case of heritage, its overall significance. In this way, current residents can continue to benefit from the tangible and intangible aspects and understand the multi-faceted ways in which their meaning is constructed so that these landscapes retain value for the next generation.

(Watson, 2009; Harrison, 2013; Emerick, 2014). If values provide the reason and motivation for conservation, then those assets and locations demonstrating greater significance across a range of value types are logically the most valuable. In practice, though, integrated urban rehabilitation's object (of study) is not the individual monument, but the city as a whole. The concept of the city refers to "an entire urban and sometimes civilisational phenomenon, which means that it cannot be legitimately used when dealing exclusively with its structure and physical bases" (Rossa & Trindade, 2006:72). In other words, the city is more than its monuments; more than its tangible aspects, but also includes more intangible assets.

A survey that attends to the various intersections and complexities of urban condition is beyond the scope of this project. There are various elements of the urban experience of the *Mouraria* of Santarém that could be explored in greater detail and over a longer time horizon than the current parameters allow. However, the aim of this project is to understand and to try to establish an evidence base to enable the better management of a degraded historic environment through the planning and territorial management system within the context of the Historic Urban Landscape Approach and, more widely, through Sustainable Development. This requires an evidenced understanding of the significance of the space, and those values that act and interact in particular configurations to achieve this. This evidence should enable decisionmakers in various public functions to be able to more effectively assess the impact of a particular development and/or intervention in the historic environment through its potential to reduce or enhance its overall significance.

Such an approach has been promoted on a practical level by Historic England<sup>20</sup> (2008; 2019). It has suggested several features of the historic environment that should form part of

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<sup>20</sup> This is the organisation formerly known as *English Heritage*, the statutory advisory body for the historic environment in England.



a more textured analysis of such spaces. Taking my cue from this advice and its practical implementation, as well as cases across Europe in which the HUL approach was trialled (Buckley et al. 2015; Colavitti & Usai 2019), I piloted a Historic Urban Environment Condition Survey, refining and tailoring it to the specific context of Santarém and its *Mouraria*.

The survey was designed to enable clear and concise identification of features present in the *Mouraria*, inviting explanation as to how these contribute to or detract from its character, and ultimately to determine the extent to which individual locations demonstrate those values sought or said to exist within the local historic environment (as drawn out from the previous chapter). The survey, consisting of eight parts, requiring commentary not only on physical features, but also more sensory aspects, calling on emotions, perceptions or associations.

The survey was carried out at eight locations within the *Mouraria*. These locations were randomly assigned<sup>21</sup>, ensuring a distance of between 50-75m between each point. The map in Figure 19 shows survey locations.

These surveys were conducted with the collaboration of three groups on different occasions. Walkabouts consisted of an informal amble with some Council officers on 4th September 2019; formally with the Historic Centre Residents' Association on 28th September 2019; and an unexpected opportunity with a group from Aix-Marseille University on 20th October 2019. Surveys consisted of eight sections, covering a range of tangible and intangible objects relating to the historic urban environment. Self-completion instructions were provided on the forms (see Appendix 1), although these groups proposed additional/alternative categories more relevant to the neighbourhood. The sections comprised the following: 1) Initial Reaction; 2) Spaces; 3) Buildings; 4) Views; 5) Landscape; 6) Ambience; 7) Values; and 8) Significance and the Spirit of Place.

Furthermore, the walks enabled the questioning of different groups of people, with different technical backgrounds and interests, on their experience of the neighbourhood. These events provided opportunities for 'conversations in place', thus enabling the production of collaborative knowledge based on the 'constitutive co-ingredience' of place and human identity (Casey 2000, 2001; Anderson 2004).

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<sup>21</sup> For lack of a technical interface to ensure pure randomisation, a map of the *Mouraria* was placed on a dartboard. The location of each survey was assigned as the nearest part of the public realm, as the crow flies, to the dart. Where darts landed within 50m of each other, a coin toss decided the precise location.

## MO1 – View West

### Buildings:

- 3-4 storeys
- regular fenestration
- Muted colours
- Strong building line
- Wide plots
- No gaps between plots
- Largely C19th
- Residential

### Soundscape

- Pigeon activity/roosting
- Intrusive tinny music from radio pumped through city centre
- Doorstep conversation

Different views at MO1 appear to represent social divisions.



Views beyond *Mouraria* boundary obscured

A/C unit as visual intrusion

wide newer garage opening

### Materials:

- posts, lintels and sills are of moleanos limestone, except for garage with a lintel of reinforced concrete.
- Platband on the southern façades minimises the impact of later upward extension.
- Cobbles are characterful, but poorly maintained; covered in places with concrete.

Figure 21: View West at MO1

## MO1 – Detail

### Details and Infrastructure:

- Doors generally aluminium and painted either grey or green colour.
- Cabling hangs insensitively stapled to façades, even on newly rehabilitated buildings.
- Water meters on the southern side exposed behind double glazed window. This is full of condensation, and visually interrupts the façade.



Figure 22: Detail at MO1

## MO1 – Rua 15 de Março (western section)

Value	Comment	Rating
AESTHETIC	While the condition of the road detracts somewhat, there is positive aesthetic value to this space, through the interesting variety yet standardised palettes, proportions and materials used in buildings. These are somewhat marred by infrastructure, and by precarious the public building to the east. The standout feature of this space, however, is the unparalleled view of the <i>Torre das Cabaças</i> .	
AMENITY & USE	The majority of these buildings are occupied and handsomely styled residences, although the precarious situation of N° 1 Trav Surradores, the condition of the street, and disparate fouling and littering detract from the area.	
SOCIAL / COMMUNITY / COHESION	Doorstep conversations point to a moderate level of sociability and cohesion at this location.	
MATERIAL	Materials used, in general, appear to be appropriate to the location and setting, and even the use of concrete is hidden.	
MOBILITY	The condition, unevenness and narrowness of the street limit mobility, but still there is a certain circulation and on-plot parking.	
ECONOMIC / COMMERCIAL	There is limited economic and commercial value to this space in itself, although the presence of the <i>Correio do Ribatejo</i> offices at the end of this block and proximity to local services is an advantage.	
ASSOCIATIVE	The view of the <i>Torre das Cabaças</i> at this point makes this a privileged location, as one of the most recognisable symbols of the city's identity.	
ENVIRONMENTAL / HYDROLOGICAL	The trajectory of the street follows the natural topography of a gentle v-shaped valley. There is a good environmental quality, with positive contribution of climbing plants from domestic installations.	
SCIENTIFIC & EVIDENTIAL	There would have been a view of the medieval <i>Porta das Figueiras</i> , one of the key entrances to the <i>Mouraria</i> , at this point, but this does not figure in either as a physical or even symbolic part of this historic landscape.	
GOVERNMENTAL / POLITICAL	There is little governmental or political value in this space. This is particularly demonstrated by the relative neglect of public-owned assets detracting from overall environmental quality.	

Table 7: Condition of values, location MO1 [Green = positive; Amber = neutral; Red = negative]



### MO1 – View East

- Infestation of pigeons at nº 1 Tv. Surradores (likely sixteenth century).
- Appears perilously unsafe.
- Wooden windows with 3-pane single glaze. Many panes missing or hanging precariously over the public highway.



#### Views:

- Unfolding view of the *Torre das Cabaças*
- High drab façade and abandoned building detract from view
- High telecoms apparatus detracts
- Positive contribution of Wisteria,
- And greenery from private gardens.
- No public greenery

#### Topography:

- relatively straight descent, undulating with the natural terrain, to the valley bottom (*Vale do Gaião*)

#### Mobility:

- Uneven, broken carriageway, not engineered for vehicular traffic
- Spaces too narrow for turning
- Poor carriageway profile

#### Buildings:

- Narrower plots descending to east
- Generally older buildings

Figure 23: View East at MO1



## Significance

- View of the Torre das Cabaças to the west on the opposite side of an urbanised river valley, channelled and framed by low-rise buildings fronting R. 15 de Março. This singular view is the real focus at this location.
- Strong formalised street enclosure which, with the exception of the view to the Torre das Cabaças, is otherwise wholly visually self-contained and does not speak to the wider city beyond the *Mouraria*. Evidence that this is a legacy of Islamic principles of privacy and order (Trindade, 2013).
- Gateway location – This is space of transition, as soundscape and influences of the wider city centre intrude and interact. There is some economic use at the edge of this zone.
- Relative economic affluence – this location has been the subject of extensive rehabilitation to a high standard. However, the public realm and publicly owned buildings are highly neglected.

## MO2 – View North



### Ambience:

- Colourful and bright
- Private greenery softens space

### Mobility and topography:

- Narrow (~3m wide) cobbled
- Completely level (unlike at other locations)
- Generally in a poor condition
- Cobbles covered in moss
- ad-hoc patches of laid concrete in at many ground floor entrances.
- Pedestrian cut through between *Largo do Barão* car park and the city centre.

### Built environment:

- Strong and uniform built line
- Height to width ratio means greater light penetration onto active façades.
- River sand and lime-based renders (eastern side, enriched with horse hair)
- Insensitive cabling exacerbates degradation
- Evidence of rising damp.

Figure 24: View North at MO2

(Former) workshops at ground floor level and residential accommodation on upper storeys. Use similarities between the *Tv. Surradores* (=tanners) and other tanning neighbourhoods (e.g. *Charmaina*, *Amfissa*, *Greece*, above) .



### Built environment:

- Interesting variety of forms, styles and volumes, almost invariably making positive design contributions
- Many buildings in a particularly poor condition.
- 2-3 storeys, buildings provide a proportionate enclosure
- Variety in roof gable types, although all in standard palette of materials, adds interest and maintains coherence



## MO2 – View South

### Ambience:

- Enclosure - no views beyond the space
- Numerous conversations between people in the street
- Assembled group of older people sitting on the steps.
- Substantial dog fouling

### Soundscape:

- Conversation
- Birdsong
- Enthusiastic barking dogs.

*Makeshift intervention and intrusive infrastructure*



Figure 25: View South at MO2

## MO2 – Travessa dos Surradores

Value	Comment	Rating
AESTHETIC	There is the appearance of a largely unchanged historic environment, with cohesion of styles with design interest, and an enduring ability to induce past uses from form.	
AMENITY & USE	Reasonably good local amenity, with the sun able to penetrate the street although local people are able to socialise in the shade. Mostly residential uses, although workshop units at ground floor are used as storage. This is not interrupted by traffic.	
SOCIAL / COMMUNITY / COHESION	Frequent animated street conversations between residents. Strong local cohesion, and regular assembly of neighbours (and sometimes non-locals) on the steps outside nº 17 Tv. Surradores.	
MATERIAL	Standardised palette of traditional materials and colours, including retention of traditional renders (coarse sand, or enriched with horsehair) add material interest to this location. The retained tethering rings on the façades of several buildings hold particular value to local people.	
MOBILITY	Given the width of the street, mobility value is generally low for the private vehicle, but this aids street activity.	
ECONOMIC / COMMERCIAL	Some properties on this street are on the market, including T1-T5 rehabilitated units. Workshop units are variously used for household storage or as stock storage for a city centre business.	
ASSOCIATIVE	There is reasonably high historical and identity value. There is strong local connection with this street as mercantile housing during the <i>Ribeira's</i> commercial boom, emphasising the strong historical connection between these nuclei. The value of historic interior features of houses on this street is also highly valued. Finally, it is one of the few streets in the <i>Mouraria</i> to have been photographed in the early twentieth century and to be almost unchanged since that period, leading to a sense of authenticity.	
ENVIRONMENTAL / HYDROLOGICAL	There is reasonable environmental quality, with private initiative adding to environmental quality. There is notable hydrological value, with several properties with ancient integrated cisterns due to the high water table in this valley. This, has resulted in damp problems and unexpected springs in workshop units.	
SCIENTIFIC & EVIDENTIAL	Nº 22-26 Trav Surradores has been declared a monument of local value. While two Roman corbels, incorporated into the façade of nº 7-9 Tv. Surradores, were recovered from an excavation.	
GOVERNMENTAL / POLITICAL	There is little governmental or political value.	

Table 8: Condition of values, location MO2 [Green = positive; Amber = neutral; Red = negative]



## MO2 – Detail

### Materials & Construction:

- Seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.
- Open ground floor doors reveal azulejo dating from this period
- Access to first-floor dwellings via external rear staircases (ground floor workshops)
- River sand and lime-based renders
- Ad-hoc patching with cement has occurred.
- Render enriched with horsehair.
- All posts, lintels and sills of *moleanos* stone.
- Horse tethering rings remain integrated into façades.
- Construction appears to involve brick-based rubble.

### Building details:

- Irregular window styles
  - Older unrehabilitated properties with wooden framed leave/flag style (*folha/bandeira*).
  - On western façades there is newer uPVC double glazing, some with and some without glazing bars (see photos).
- Doors are wooden, either with pillows (*almofadas*) or with a metal grilled glazing panel.
- Roof styles are interestingly varied, but generally of *canudo* tiles.
  - Open gable attractively framed at nº 19 is particularly pleasing, although this gable is façade only.
- Obtrusive cabling and street lighting has been attached to façades, notably increasing render deterioration.



Figure 26: Detail at MO2

### MO2 – View South over time

The scene has barely changed, save for the addition of a first-floor balcony on nº 20, and copious cabling and other utilities infrastructure. This is a view of a historic urban landscape, timeless, and suggestive of a slower pace of life. This feeling is reinforced by the lack of views out of the area, without the visual intrusion associated with modernity.



**Tv. Surradores, looking South:**  
Far left, 1947 from the *Plano Geral de Urbanização*; Left, 2020 (own photo); Above, 1989 (resident photo)

Figure 27: View South at MO2 in different epochs

## Significance

- Strong social cohesion and sociability that spans generations, making use of public space.
- Largely unaltered and coherent historic landscape consisting of largely eighteenth-century mercantile dwellings and tanners' workshops. Strong dialogue between the built environment, past uses and modern residential requirements.
- High material value, both evidential (in terms of render additives and construction techniques), and cultural (in terms of unaltered furnishings and decorative detail to many interiors).
- High historical value – remnants of Islamic plot layouts only partially overlaid over time. Such roots limit overlooking and maximise privacy between units, aiding amenity value.
- Underexplored hydrological value – while several cisterns are retained, locals report active springs impacting ground floor uses.
- Domestic greenery contributes positively in softening the urban environment.

### MO3 – View West

#### Constitution:

- Wide and open space.
- Mature trees within the car park contribute very positively to this otherwise chaotic space.
- Different surface treatments to delineate use.
- Limestone *calçada* car park (large blocks).
- Contrasting metalled carriageway.
- Dark stone of the retaining walls on three sides.
- Space created by demolition of buildings on this site to allow the construction of the current highway in the nineteenth century (Noras 2011).
- Acute problems with excrement.
- Colonised by a private enterprise.

#### Use and function:

- Elliptical car park overlooking a deep, verdant valley.
- Socialisation impeded by car parking.
- Some youth socialisation occurs in a niche hidden by the wall of cars at the northwest edge of the space along the walls.



Figure 28: View West at MO3

### MO3 – View South

#### Buildings:

- Two buildings in the foreground: one an eighteenth century 3-storey manor, its first floor with wrought metal Juliet balconies; the other a twentieth century 5-storey concrete building with modernist detailing and painted yellow, with ornate chimneys, formerly an ophthalmological clinic
- Plots appear generously wide, but in morphological terms the view here is of side façades to main entrances situated along the narrow Tv. Mouraria.
- Façades are either white or yellow render. All windows visible from this location are white framed uPVC.



#### Gateway:

- Visible, but narrow unmarked entrance to the Mouraria - entrance does not appear welcoming, with a severe trough at the junction with R. Luís de Camões.
- Contrast between this open space and the narrow entrance to Tv. Mouraria.



Figure 29: View South at MO3



### MO3 – Largo do Barão (on R. Luís de Camões)

Value	Comment	Rating
AESTHETIC	The setting of this location is unparalleled, and there are stupendous views to the north and a sense of openness in the space in general, marred markedly by chaotic parking and fouling. Views to the southeast of the layered historic landscapes are also valuable.	Green
AMENITY & USE	This is a well-used space but is wholly dominated by car and traffic use at the expense of public enjoyment. There is therefore low amenity value at location in itself.	Red
SOCIAL / COMMUNITY / COHESION	There is some social value for small groups to assemble unseen at the borders of this space, but there is generally low social community or cohesion value.	Red
MATERIAL	Material value is reasonably good. Buildings retain material integrity, while car park is surfaced in appropriate calcareous <i>calçada</i> , marking a distinct space from the metalled carriageway.	Red
MOBILITY	This is a well-used thoroughfare and car park serving the wider city centre. The space has high mobility value.	Green
ECONOMIC / COMMERCIAL	There is moderate commercial value given that the majority of cars are part of a local car hire company's fleet. However, this means that visitors and other users cannot use the space, diminishing wider economic benefit.	Amber
ASSOCIATIVE	The route was constructed in the nineteenth century to aid circulation around the city. This route ran along the former city wall, and the boundary of the <i>Mouraria</i> , but there is no evidence of this remaining. Much more could be made of this value.	Amber
ENVIRONMENTAL / HYDROLOGICAL	This location has high environmental value in terms of its setting and the sensitive tree planting, serving as a rural-urban interface.	Green
SCIENTIFIC & EVIDENTIAL	Evidence of this space comprising the medieval city wall, and another key gateway to the <i>Mouraria</i> .	Green
GOVERNMENTAL / POLITICAL	This space has little value, and use is largely uncontrolled and chaotic. However, there has been some recent tree planting.	Amber

Table 9: Condition of values, location MO3 [Green = positive; Amber = neutral; Red = negative]

### MO3 – View Southeast

#### Views and topography:

- Varying levels and rising relief establish the layered urban view rising up the ridge to the southeast.
- wonderful layered urban horizon to the southeast of rooftops.
- Dominance of Marvila's spire, and by the frontispiece of nº 14 Praça Visconde Serra do Pilar, peering over the roofline, and the subject of a recent rehabilitation, provide aesthetic and cultural importance to this view.
- buildings provide a generally positive or neutral impact in terms of sobriety, scale and proportion, and are in a visually good condition.
- Even the roofs of the *Casas de Atamarna* (new development) provide strong gables adding interest to the view of urban layering up to the ridge to the southeast.



Figure 30: View Southeast at MO3

### MO3 – View North

#### Landscape and View:

- Space is an urban/rural interface, with stupendous views cascading down a productive valley far to the north.
- Stutated at tip of a promontory.
- Precipitous drop
- Topography is the key determinant in the experience of this landscape.
- Medium-range views out to the north of S. Bento – the *Liceu Nacional Sá da Bandeira*, and the water tower.
- Long-range view of the River Tagus and its plains is channelled by the idyllic and unspoilt slopes ('*encostas*') and given proportion by the handsome *liceu* sitting on a promontory to the northwest.
- Another focal point visible at this location is the imposing *Governo Civil* building looking down from its own ridge to the northeast.



Figure 31: View North at MO3



## Significance

- Exceptional aesthetic and environmental value – both natural views to the north and layered urban views to the southeast are unparalleled and should be maintained.  
This is a light, pleasant space with mature trees on site.
- Amenity and Use value are exceptionally low, with public amenity subordinate to the unsociable use by one private company. Such singular use further compromises the viability of the wider local economy by blocking the ability of visitors and consumers to park.
- Although there is high evidential and historical value for this space, both the alignment of the medieval city wall, and the potential for a gateway transition for the *Mouraria* are absent.

## MO4 – View Southeast

### Character and Ambience:

- Space of intersection - culmination point of Calçada de Mem Ramires and Travessa 15 de Março as older routes, and the later more engineered R. Luís de Camões.
- Intersection ceremonially marked by the neglected monument and in the alignment of the raised platform (in brick, out of shot).
- Ground floor commercial units are empty, and hence there is no social animation.
- On-plot parking in newer buildings, therefore limited functional relationship between the space and these residences.

### View:

- Monument to the reconquest of the city from the Moors, erected at the beginning of the twentieth century, is framed by the aesthetically pleasing yet at-risk nº 30-36 Calç. Mem Ramires.
- Urban view, where the vivid orange colour of nº 27-29 Calç. Mem Ramires, adjacent to the modern 4-storey imposing block (*Casas da Atamarma*) overlook the space.
- Marred by fly-tipping

### Alterations:

- Water and electricity boxes are insensitively hewn into façades of older buildings.
- Signs of infilling of former windows.



Figure 32: View Southeast at MO4

## MO4 – Detail

### Buildings:

- Older buildings generally 2-3 storeys
- Relatively wide plots, particularly the sweeping frontage of the *Casas da Atamarma*.
- The new *Casas de Atamarma* building provides surveillance of this space, but has little to say to the historic environment.
- 4-5 storey *Casas de Atamarma*. masonry and lime render façades of older buildings
- Concrete, uPCV, metal and acrylic paints and composite cladding on newer buildings.
- Posts, lintels and sills may well be calcareous stone on older buildings, but this is painted.
- Windows generally uPVC and aluminium white framed, but nº 30-36 Calç. Mem Ramires retains some original wooden frames in a noticeably poor condition.
- Doors are uPVC. In residential buildings this is white and incongruous, but in commercial units doors are glazed with white frames.
- Roofs are hipped with *canudo* tiles on older buildings, and *canudo* tile detailing on *Casas de Atamarma*, with contrasting (though not uninteresting) roofscape.



### Uses:

- Primarily residential
- Partially occupied commercial
- One of the buildings is said to be used as a brothel.

Figure 33: Detail at MO4

## MO4 – Largo de Mem Ramires

Value	Comment	Rating
AESTHETIC	This is a mixed modern and historic environment. Although not unattractive, modern additions do not entirely complement older development, which is undermined further due to the generally poor condition and insensitive additions and fly tipping in the vicinity. In general, this is an amorphous space lacking a clear focal point with low legibility.	
AMENITY & USE	Vast hardstanding dedicated to car parking which is vastly underused.	
SOCIAL / COMMUNITY / COHESION	Diverse groups live in this location. There is evidence of socialisation, but not between groups, and locally known as a “no go zone”. Low cohesion value, but there is certainly some kind of social value in this area.	
MATERIAL	Neutral material value	
MOBILITY	There is clear potential to improve mobility at this location, as the historic main route between the <i>Ribeira</i> and <i>Planalto</i> parts of the city. However, links are currently inadequate, and the space has low mobility value.	
ECONOMIC / COMMERCIAL	There is low economic and commercial value here. Most commercial units are unlet, and those that are occupied are used for inward-facing office functions. No properties are currently on the market.	
ASSOCIATIVE	This space forms a historic intersection between several of the <i>Mouraria</i> 's streets culminating at the demolished Porta de Atamarma, site of D. Afonso Henriques' (mythological) storming of the city in 1147. There is therefore high identity and historical value to this location.	
ENVIRONMENTAL / HYDROLOGICAL	High environmental value of mature trees framing this space, complemented by the surrounding slopes characterised by wild and managed fig trees. Strong impact of birdsong on the location.	
SCIENTIFIC & EVIDENTIAL	Extensive archaeological studies were undertaken during the requalification of this space in the 1990s, yielding significant finds. High scientific and evidential value, although this is not manifest in this location.	
GOVERNMENTAL / POLITICAL	There is highly negative political value, with this space known for vandalism and public defecation. However, there are signs of maintenance and replacement of street lighting and landscape features.	

Table 10: Condition of values, location MO4 [Green = positive; Amber = neutral; Red = negative]



## MO4 – View East

### Characterisation:

- Urban-Rural transition
- An amorphous space lacking a clear focal point with low legibility
- Mature trees (*Ligustrum lucidum*) punctuate an otherwise empty expanse of hardstanding laid out as a car park.
- Surfacing consists of varied *calçada* cobbles

### Ambience:

- Little daytime activity/sociability
- Despite its considered design as a car park, it is eerily quiet (in contrast to MO3).
- Reasonably light and open.
- Enclosed views, restricted to immediate vicinity as a result of topography, sloping down to the north.

### Street furniture:

- Cut-off streetlights in stylised lanterns
- Ticket machine (*parquímetro*) (not present at MO3)
- Vandalised raised red brick platform with planting beds filled with nettles and enclosed by a green metal railing.
- A fountain has been infilled with *calçada* cobbles.
- Nowhere for visitors to sit



Figure 34: View East at MO4

## MO4 – Monument detail

A monument to the conquest of Santarém, inaugurated in 1920, stands strewn with washing, and an abandoned sofa.

The location of the Porta da Atamarma is marked with darker *calçada* cobbles.

Historical, symbolic and evidential value at this location, focused around the Porta de Atamarma, with its strong romantic associations (Garrett 1846; Herculano 1846) and archaeological evidence.

The space, redesigned in 1993, is intended to serve the city in both a functional manner in the provision of parking for the city centre, and in a symbolic, ceremonial gateway to give a sense of arrival in a historically significant place. It fails on both counts.



Figure 35: Detail of the Monument to the "Reconquest" at MO4

## Significance

- High environmental value potential, with an effective urban-rural interface achieved through the cultivation of mature trees on site as a precursor to the abundant woodland to the north on the slopes down to the *Ribeira*.
- Untapped mobility value, since this location is the closest part of the *Planalto* to the *Ribeira*, is currently underutilised and in light of poor connectivity between the two, there is high potential to cultivate improved connections between the two.
- There is high historical, symbolic and evidential value at this location, focused around the Porta de Atamarma, with its strong romantic associations (Garrett, 1846; Herculano, 1846). This is undermined by its current condition and, in particular the structural vulnerabilities of nº 30-36 Calçada de Mem Ramires.
- There is currently low social value, and the location is an area of high vulnerability. This has shaped the idea in local imagination that this is a stigmatised space populated by stigmatised groups (Goffman, 1963), as reflected in the low use and wider amenity value of the locality. This image is enhanced by the amorphous design and purposeless of public realm features, and sense of enclosure and isolation.



## MO5 – View North

### Characterisation:

- Highly degraded urban space
- Unsuitable for purpose as a thoroughfare
- Aesthetics of a disaster zone.
- Strong mythological/associative value - the armies of D. Afonso Henriques supposedly stormed the city using this street in 1147 during its "reconquest" (Herculano, 1846:367).

### Buildings

- Many buildings maintain architectural integrity and are attractive, yet very neglected.
- Façades consist of patchworks of brick and masonry (limestone) construction across most buildings, visible given degradation of lime render on several buildings.
- Appear eighteenth century in origin, but highly likely that some are much older than this, given extensive alterations to spans and masonry visible beneath crumbling façades.
- Some render replaced with portland cement.
- Heras type fencing provides permeable enclosure for the demolished buildings.



Figure 36: View North at MO5

## MO5 – View South



### Highway and Mobility:

- Main route out of the city from the *Portas do Sol*
- Highly confined
- Very narrow, steep and meandering
- Poor usability
- Motor vehicles struggle to navigate
- Surface broken, patchy tarmacadam, applied piecemeal at different occasions
- Cars and pedestrians cannot pass each other
- Material damaged caused by traffic in confined space.

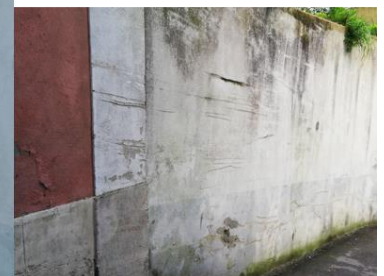


Figure 37: View South at MO5

## MO5 – Calçada de Mem Ramires

Value	Comment	Rating
AESTHETIC	While stylistically and architecturally this is an appealing location, the high level of decay and, particularly, the partially demolished buildings, make the area unattractive.	
AMENITY & USE	High levels of degradation, decay, and traffic impact mean this area has little amenity or use value.	
SOCIAL / COMMUNITY / COHESION	The enclosure of the public realm does not lend itself to socialisation. Diverse low-income groups reside in this location.	
MATERIAL	There is a high integrity to building materials, compromised only through the introduction of a concrete frame to allow interior car parking in a now demolished building (nº 16-18).	
MOBILITY	High vehicular mobility value to this space given it is the main route from the <i>Portas do Sol</i> out of the city. This is at the expense of other modes of transport.	
ECONOMIC / COMMERCIAL	There appears to be no economic or commercial value to this location, although many of the buildings are for sale and have been for some time. Former warehouse has now been demolished.	
ASSOCIATIVE	While this is ground zero in Santarém's history, with the mythological storming of the city in 1147 up this route, the condition and neglect diminish its importance drastically.	
ENVIRONMENTAL / HYDROLOGICAL	The little greenery and plant growth there indicates this is a hydrologically rich area, but it has low environmental or hydrological value.	
SCIENTIFIC & EVIDENTIAL	Given the archaeological finds at Largo de Mem Ramires, this location's connectivity with Marvila and the former nerve centre of the city, and the strong mentions of this area by Herculano (1846) in relation to early medieval and Beirante (1981, p.53) in relation to late medieval activity, there is very high (potential for) evidential value.	
GOVERNMENTAL / POLITICAL	Very low, and this space appears to have suffered total abandonment by local authorities, although the PSD offices are adjacent to this location.	

Table 11: Condition of values, location MO5 [Green = positive; Amber = neutral; Red = negative]





#### Local intrusions

- Visual impact of trailing cabling
- Accentuated corrosion and plant germination has occurred where cabling attached to building façades
- Water and electricity meter boxes hulled into façades, impacting visual and material integrity
- Prominent television aerials



#### Views:

- General decay and desolation
- Overriding focal point comprises partially demolished buildings at nº 16-18 and nº 22-24 Calç. Mem Ramires.
- Picturesque view of Santa Clara convent to the north, hovering over this space on a distant ridge, and framed by the greenery of the valley beyond the *Mouraria*
- View is channelled (and in some way complemented) by restored buildings on the western side of Calç. Mem Ramires.



Figure 38: Detail I at MO5

#### MO5 – Detail

##### Building details:

- Generally 3-storeys, but to south often 4-storeys
- Verticality of buildings to south emphasised by slope
- Strong frontages, often formal, ornate and aloof
- Damage evident on lower storeys due to scraping by vehicles descending the slope.
- The gabled chalet style roof, a later 1.5 storey vertical extension to Nº 9 Calç. Mem Ramires adds artistic interest and variety to the area, suggestive of the arts and crafts movement.
- Nineteenth century *belle époque* influences
- Several buildings have wrought metal balconies on upper storeys.
- Wooden single-pane leaf and flag is the dominant window type.
- Circular portholes protected by decorative metal grilles at ground floor level (n.º 9, see photo)
- Doors are wooden, either painted green or varnished, with a small glass pane (missing on some buildings) protected by a metal grille.
- Uniform *canudo* tile eaves, adding to the unity of the ensemble.



##### Ambience:

- High building-to-highway ratio and strong enclosure make this a gloomy location
- Soundscape - motors reverberating off high walls.
- Aromas of damp and tobacco.

Figure 39: Detail II at MO5



## **Significance**

- This is a space of chronic decay, with exceptionally low value at present. It has the appearance and feel of a place from which government and governance has almost entirely withdrawn.
- While it is a vital artery for mobility through the city, its overall mobility value is low due the dangers present given the narrowness of the space and constant traffic flow.
- Rich materials value and aesthetic potential at this location, with an authenticity and integrity of architectural composition.
- Strong historic, symbolic and identity value associated with the reconquest of the city in 1147 (from Herculano, 1846).



#### Ambience:

- Portal provides central focus, and straight axis of street is channelled up to this illuminated feature
- Wider context, including high residences above it, provides a sense of a defended city wall, and therefore structural and symbolic segregation of the *Mouraria*.
- Sense of neglect, contrasted with humming activity beyond portal.
- Part of the western block demolished in 2015 due to structural insecurity, changing the visual character of the space.

#### Public space:

- Narrow (~2m) street consisting of deep-tread steps
- Climbs a gentle slope to the south.
- Surface alternately *calçada* cobbles with tarmacadam infill.
- Differently coloured *calçada* cobbles indicate there would have been a design here originally. This has since been jumbled without thought.

#### MO6, Escadinhas de S. António, View South:

Far left, 1947 from the *Plano Geral de Urbanização*; Near left, 2020 (own photo).

Figure 40: View South at MO6

#### MO6 – View North

##### Built environment:

- Overall condition is poor
- 5-6 storey block to south
  - Block-based development, functionally dependent on their frontages and activity on *Praça Visconde Serra do Pilar*.
  - Constitutes 'backland' to more erudite frontages beyond the portal.
- View framed by 1.5 storeys to west – unoccupied commercial/warehouses
- Up to 6 storeys to east - concrete blind elevation belonging to *Águas de Santarém*. Hostile and defensive, this building dominates and overshadows the space.
- To the north, along R. 15 de Março, is a two-storey inhabited building nevertheless missing its upper storey windows. In place of one window is a mattress.
  - Façade stylistically nineteenth century, although likely that buildings much older
  - this part of R. 15 de Março retains several medieval buildings, often masked with later façades (*INV2, interview*).

#### Escadinhas de S. António:

**Right (imagined) vs Far Right (reality)**, view north from the portal..

**Below left**, view north; below far left, ancient buildings fronting R. 15 de Março



Figure 41: View North at MO6

## MO6 – Escadinhas de S. António

Value	Comment	Rating
AESTHETIC	There is a visual discord at this location, with a discordant mix of architectural styles, low quality materials and poor twentieth century urban design intruding significantly in this area. However, the view of the portal to the south is iconic.	
AMENITY & USE	Low amenity value – blank walls and abandoned units encourage graffiti	
SOCIAL / COMMUNITY / COHESION	There is a residual community at this location, with numerous greetings between pedestrians as they pass. Overall, however, at this location community value is low.	
MATERIAL	Material value is generally low, with mass produced modern materials substituting much of the original. There remain vestiges of material integrity on properties to the north, albeit with insensitive modern intrusions.	
MOBILITY	Low mobility value – the area is only accessibly by pedestrians, many of whom struggle with the steps.	
ECONOMIC / COMMERCIAL	Little economic or commercial value. Commercial units are empty, while <i>Águas de Santarém</i> building does not relate to this location.	
ASSOCIATIVE	Steps leading to portal at the south and through to Largo Marvila have strong symbolic value as the only “surviving” gateway into the <i>Mouraria</i> . Artistic sketches are made of this view. Its adjacency to the former municipal and social heart of the city adds additional historical-temporal interest.	
ENVIRONMENTAL / HYDROLOGICAL	Low environmental value. Despite hosting a building belonging to <i>Águas de Santarém</i> , there is low hydrological importance.	
SCIENTIFIC & EVIDENTIAL	This location has been substantially altered through demolition and insensitively designed modern development. However, some of the oldest buildings in the <i>Mouraria</i> adjoin this location.	
GOVERNMENTAL / POLITICAL	The location constitutes the backlands of block-based development fronting Largo Marvila, relating to its former municipal importance. This value has substantially diminished even further with the relocation of the <i>Câmara Municipal</i> .	

Table 12: Condition of values, location MO6 [Green = positive; Amber = neutral; Red = negative]

## MO6 – Details

### Building details:

- No uniformity of windows anywhere in this location. These are generally crittall-style single glazed or uPVC double glazed.
- High defensive concrete walls marking the eastern boundary, without animation apart from graffiti.
- Piecemeal replacement of windows to east has further exacerbated negative impact of *Águas de Santarém* building.
- Doors heavily fortified with green metal cages
- To the north, windows and doors framed by *moleanos* limestone, painted yellow in keeping with the limited palette of colours for this row (yellows and greens).
- First floor balcony grilles of decorative metal.

### Infrastructure:

- Cabling is visible across all façades, with attachment marks and scorching visible where cables have detached above empty commercial units
- Prominent plastic electricity and water meter boxes are visible set into façade.



Figure 42: Details at MO6

## Significance

- Strong symbolic and aesthetic value focused on the portal, set amid a monumental façade fronting Largo Marvila, as the “surviving” gateway to the *Mouraria*. The view down to frontages on R. 15 de Março is also important but degraded.
- Low amenity and material value, given the proliferation of blocky disproportionate and poorly designed buildings both on eastern and western sides, as “backland” development relating to Largo Marvila at the expense of this space.
- While the steps have aesthetic value in relation to the portal, their current condition does not facilitate local mobility.



## MO7 – View North

### Space and its ambience:

- Potentially characterful alleyway.
- Narrow space is divided down the middle by a rusty metal railing, coming apart in places, constricting the space's use and penetration.
- Surface of *calçada* cobbles, rough cut and bound in with sand as the traditional paving material.
- While there has been some private rehabilitation work, publicly maintained materials are highly degraded.
- The group of buildings visible to north fronting Beco dos Agulheiros is vividly bathed in light. The open gable of n° 5 in particular is particularly fine.
- Pedestrian space, but undesigned parking obstructs navigation.
- Street was never intended to provide any primary frontage, constituting side elevations for R. Serpa Pinto.



Figure 43: View North at MO7

## MO7 – Detail

### Infrastructure:

- Generally detracts from the scene
- Cabling runs 2m above the street in mid-air untidily connecting between the corner of R. Serpa Pinto and Beco dos Agulheiros.
- Insensitively inserted water systems have been set into masonry walls and infilled with concrete.
- Water and gas meter boxes similarly are inserted insensitively into building façades.
- An A/C unit has been built into one wall, but disguised as a shuttered window, and therefore only its humming sound intrudes.
- Drainage downpipes discharge directly into the street, eroding the sand holding *calçada* cobbles in place.



### Building details:

- Some first-floor windows are single glazed with degraded wood frames.
- Later high-quality imitations are double glazed, either resin or uPVC frames.
- Doors are either wholly uPVC green imitating original wooden pillows (*almofadas*), or metal with opaque glass frame with a metal grille.
- Roofscape consists of overhanging high eaves of the *canudo* roofs of *palacetes* on R. Serpa Pinto are attractive.
- Variety of roof styles on Beco dos Agulheiros adds interest.



**Right:** View north of Tv. Boleta from R. Serpa Pinto

Figure 44: Detail at MO7

## MO7 – Travessa da Boleta

Value	Comment	Rating
AESTHETIC	This narrow passageway divided by a rusty metal barrier does not entice pedestrians away from the main drag. It gives the impression of a marginal space.	
AMENITY & USE	Infrequent pedestrian traffic along route, but there is newer housing accessible off this alleyway.	
SOCIAL / COMMUNITY / COHESION	Little evidence of socialisation or community at this location.	
MATERIAL	While traditional materials are evident in this space, there is a notable intrusion of concrete infill on masonry and lime render walls, and plastic infrastructure boxes compromise material integrity. This is a recognisably historic environment, but modern insertions including metal railings diminish this value.	
MOBILITY	The width of this street makes it unsuitable for vehicular traffic (although informal parking at the northern mouth of the street). The rusty barrier makes pedestrian and bicycle journeys more challenging. Low mobility value.	
ECONOMIC / COMMERCIAL	Despite its adjacency to the main shopping street, there is no direct commercial value at this location. This is backland to the primary façades on R. Serpa Pinto.	
ASSOCIATIVE	This is one of several very narrow alleyways historically providing a restricted entrance to a marginal zone – the <i>Mouraria</i> . There is very high symbolic value in this location of the <i>Mouraria</i> as a ghettoed space separated from the rest of the city not by distance but by morphology. The view to the north of Beco dos Agulheiros provides symbolic value.	
ENVIRONMENTAL / HYDROLOGICAL	Little value.	
SCIENTIFIC & EVIDENTIAL	There is little evidential value to or signs of general engagement with this location.	
GOVERNMENTAL / POLITICAL	Notably inferior public infrastructure at this location than on adjacent streets. Low value.	

Table 13: Condition of values, location MO7 [Green = positive; Amber = neutral; Red = negative]

**Use:**

- Shadowy pedestrian link, connecting the heart of the *Mouraria* to the city's commercial centre at R. Serpa Pinto.

**Views & Topography:**

- Longer views, beyond main thoroughfare of R. Serpa Pinto to Tv. Hera.
- Enclosure casts a notable shadow.
- Slope accentuates the feeling of dislocation (and hierarchy) between the main artery above and the *Mouraria* below.

**Ambience:**

- Slope, combined with blank façades and narrow shadowy streets, does not help feelings of security.
- Space of transit, not socialisation.
- Humbler entrances to fine buildings fronting a grander street – subservience.

**Soundscape:**

- Hum of A/C units, contrasts with chatter and commercial activity on R. Serpa Pinto, and church bells beyond.

**Buildings:**

- Imposing and dominate the public sphere
- Nineteenth century in the main, although with earlier structures in many cases rebuilt following historic disasters.

**MO7 – View South***Figure 45: View South at MO7*



## Significance

- There is symbolic and historic value as a space of transition from the commercial heart into the marginalised space of the *Mouraria*.
- Aesthetic value is moderate, in that attempts have been made to standardise materials and to hide intrusive modern infrastructure, and therefore the integrity of views of the interesting ensemble at Beco dos Agulheiros is retained. This provides an interesting internal perspective on the *Mouraria*, both stylistically and as a space bathed in light in contrast to the shadowy feel elsewhere.
- There is emerging amenity and use value as there are signs of increased investment in the built fabric over the past few years.

## MO8 – View West

### Landscape and ambience:

- Very light space, bathed in sun.
- Main focal point of this area is the large crater filled with water.
- Surrounded by a ragged and perforated aluminium fence.
- Particular ecosystem, comprising verdant landscape due to the build-up of algae on the accumulated pool and associated rampant brambles.
- Water is a key determinant of this landscape, as groundwater upwelling cause by excavation is now a key negative local landscape factor.
- Moderate south to north slope - limited landscape impact in this location save for its impact on groundwater flows.
- Greenery in the medium range view up to rear gardens and triple hipped roof of Tv. Surradores nº 22-26.
- Damp-related smells.

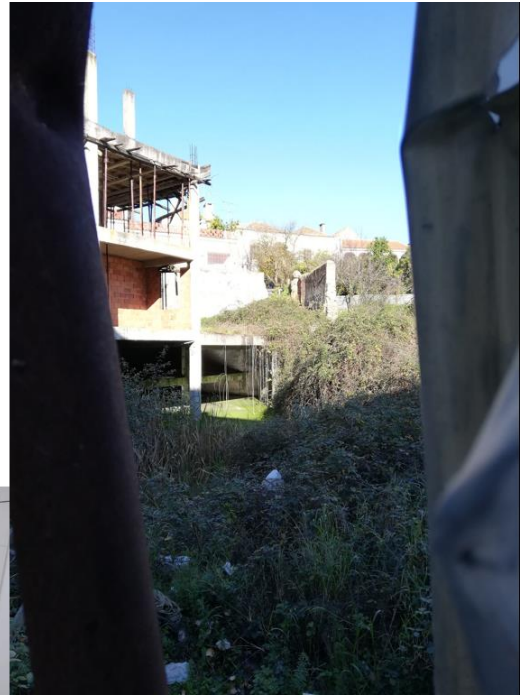


Figure 46: View West at MO8

## MO8 – Highway

### Highway and mobility:

- Formal carriageway delineated in *calçada* cobbles, though heavily degraded with large missing chunks constituting public danger.
- Sweeping corner from west to north at the junction between R. 15 de Março and Tv. 15 de Março, due to overrun onto abandoned site (*right*)
- Junction going east (*below left*) is more challenging/tight.
- 30cm wedge of cement overlying the *calçada* cobbles on the Beco das Olarias (*below right*).



Figure 47: The Public Highway at MO8

## MO8 – Travessa 15 de Março

Value	Comment	Rating
AESTHETIC	While older buildings are appealing, their degraded state, combined with the poor condition unfinished modern buildings enclosed by broken aluminium fencing, and stagnant water, gives this area an overall low aesthetic value.	
AMENITY & USE	There is negative amenity and use value of this space due to unfinished abandoned development of the “ <i>prédio charco</i> ” (n.º 17-21 R. 15 de Março), resulting in stagnant water, pests and littering.	
SOCIAL / COMMUNITY / COHESION	Little evidence of this, save for some washing drying outside abandoned buildings.	
MATERIAL	There is relatively low material value here due to the general tendency to demolish older buildings and rebuild on their plots.	
MOBILITY	While several of the buildings have inbuilt garages, the quality of the road makes vehicular transit very challenging. The same is true of pedestrian movements. The space therefore has low mobility value.	
ECONOMIC / COMMERCIAL	Several of the buildings at this junction are on the market, either as development projects or, following rehabilitation, for housing. There is economic value in this space.	
ASSOCIATIVE	The historic environment is generally degraded and undermined by the poor environmental condition. Identity value is somewhat bestowed in the road name, commemorating the reconquest of the city on 15 March 1147, while medieval street layouts remain, albeit degraded. This, however, is likely to have been the ceremonial centre of the medieval Islamic ghetto.	
ENVIRONMENTAL / HYDROLOGICAL	The impact of high groundwater on this space is overwhelming, with upwelling resulting in a significant negative impact on the space, and exacerbated by fly-tipping and graffiti, and the use of low-quality industrial materials in new development.	
SCIENTIFIC & EVIDENTIAL	While the ancient street pattern remains, the ‘beco’ street systems are highly degraded and, given deep excavations for underground parking, little archaeological potential remains. Material of interest, previously planned to be returned, remains in storage off site.	
GOVERNMENTAL / POLITICAL	Little interest or value, although continued interest in creating a car park on the site of the current pond. There is highly negative political value, with this location described as “Syria” in local discourse (relating to the appearance of a war zone).	

Table 14: Condition of values, location MO8 [Green = positive; Amber = neutral; Red = negative]



## MO8 – Built environment

### Buildings:

- Unfinished concrete frame and brick structure dominates.
- Several other distinct styles of building, of varying ages.

### Building details:

- On all completed buildings, posts, lintels and sills are of moleanos limestone
- Wider construction of masonry with sand and lime render.
- Window types are varied
  - Majority have wooden frames and are single glazed
  - Rehabilitated residences uPVC double glazed.
- Doors variously uPVC with a glass panel, or metal framed with metal grille and a glass panel.
- All use *canudo* tiles, and individual examples of hip roofs provide the most endearing finishes.
- Older characterful materials are neglected.

### Infrastructure:

- Overburdened with copious cabling stapled crudely to building facades and with ragged wires left hanging
- concentration of high television aerials dominate the roofscape visible along Tv. Surradores
- substantial garage doors on more modern buildings also interrupts appreciation of the historic environment, although more proportionate garage openings sit more easily on newly rehabilitated buildings.



Figure 48: The Built Environment at MO8

## MO8 – View North

### Buildings:

- Positive contributions in terms of scale, condition and proportions from n° 2-4 Tv. 15 de Março.
- Positive contributions of scale, artistry and detailing from 2-4 Beco das Olarias, though condition is poor.
- These provide proportionate enclosure and scale to the public highway, cascading down the hill.

### Highway & Mobility:

- Public realm full of holes
- Rusty metal containers filled with water, sand and refuse.
- Metalled to north along Tv. 15 de Março
- Degraded aluminium fencing and concrete breeze blocks define the remnant structure of the Beco das Olarias.

### Views:

- Positive contribution of domestic greenery.
- Glimpse down to Largo de Mem Ramires and the treed valley below (neither historic nor romanticised).
- View channelled and framed nicely by the pleasing architectural detailing of the deserted 4 Beco das Olarias.
- Poor overall streetscene is poor, due to wider condition.



Figure 49: View North at MO8

## Significance

- This is a highly compromised and long neglected urban environment which, in its current state, appears almost entirely without social, amenity, mobility, or economic value, resulting from stall construction.
- The space is highly significant politically, used as constant ammunition for claims-making against the current administration as an example of urban failure.
- There is clearly real social and amenity potential, given that this is one of the few wider open spaces in the *Mouraria*.
- While the ancient street pattern remains, the 'beco' street systems are highly degraded and, given deep excavations for underground parking, little archaeological potential remains. Historically, this is likely to have been a symbolically important space for the Islamic and other past communities (INV2, *interview*). However, there are remaining historical structures with potential to enhance.

	MO1	MO2	MO3	MO4	MO5	MO6	MO7	MO8
AESTHETIC								
AMENITY & USE								
SOCIAL / COMMUNITY / COHESION								
MATERIAL								
MOBILITY								
ECONOMIC / COMMERCIAL								
ASSOCIATIVE								
ENVIRONMENTAL / HYDROLOGICAL								
SCIENTIFIC & EVIDENTIAL								
GOVERNMENTAL / POLITICAL								

Table 15: Condition per value type of each survey location

[Green = positive; Amber = neutral; Red = negative]

	POSITIVE	NEUTRAL	NEGATIVE
<b>AESTHETIC</b>	2	4	2
<b>AMENITY &amp; USE</b>	1	2	5
<b>SOCIAL / COMMUNITY / COHESION</b>	1	4	3
<b>MATERIAL</b>	3	3	2
<b>MOBILITY</b>	1	2	5
<b>ECONOMIC / COMMERCIAL</b>	0	4	4
<b>ASSOCIATIVE</b>	5	3	0
<b>ENVIRONMENTAL / HYDROLOGICAL</b>	3	1	4
<b>SCIENTIFIC &amp; EVIDENTIAL</b>	3	3	2
<b>GOVERNMENTAL / POLITICAL</b>	0	2	6
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>33</b>

Table 16: Establishment of baseline conditions per value type in the Mouraria

## Comparison and Discussion

This exercise undertook an in-depth survey into the material condition of the *Mouraria*, applying a value-based approach in evaluating tangible and intangible attributes in the historic urban environment. While the survey reflected local discourse in finding the area in a generally poor condition, there is a marked difference in results between locations, while the area demonstrates particularly high values in some categories. Table 15 compares these results.

On the basis of these outcomes, we can superficially determine the overall state and valorisation across the area through adding the scores achieved in each area. Where there is a tie, the higher outcome is awarded. This result should not be taken as final, but merely offers a snapshot as to perceptions and experience of the *Mouraria* at this moment in time. Nevertheless, it has instrumental value in establishing the main areas in which attention is required and improvements can be made.

By aggregating the results of this exercise (Table 16), it is clear that the *Mouraria* as a whole is an area of negative value, subject to continued physical, social and political isolation from the remainder of the *Planalto* to which it adjoins. However, disaggregating the results by value category, it is clear that there are various local strengths. There is particularly strong historical, cultural and symbolic value, much of which can be associated with the high material value, ironically with much of the built environment not having suffered intensive alterations given the relative neglect of this space. The area also benefits from reasonable scientific and evidential value, with local people having engaged with the place and are able to find solutions to problems that they know the local authority is unable or unwilling to resolve.

Moderate results for social and cohesion values stem mainly from the strong sense of community in the western part of the *Mouraria*, and the diverse residual communities entrenched in the eastern areas. There is evidence that these communities, particularly in the eastern part, are highly vulnerable, but their persistence in a space of low amenity or governmental value is admirable. Environmental value in the area stems from its privileged location, albeit only fully experienced at its northern extremity, overlooking the *area non aedificandi* comprising the Gaião valley and its slopes, and with long ranging views across the Tagus valley, with shorter views to the *Liceu Sá de Bandeira* and the Santa Clara Convent. Water is certainly a liability in this area, given the amount of façade exfoliation and water ingress during rain. This, combined with the high water table and problems associated with it, should invite the need for an integrated model of water flows and/or a water cycle study to inform future policy.



*Figure 50: Walkabout with Associação de Moradores do Centro Histórico de Santarém (AMCHS), 28th September 2019*



*Figure 51: Walkabout with students from Aix-Marseille Université, 20th October 2019, keen to explore the well-tended interior courtyards beyond the public realm*



Perhaps most importantly, the area is weakest on amenity/use; mobility; and governmental/political value. These three are key rallying points for the Historic Centre Residents' Association (*Associação dos Moradores do Centro Histórico*). When invited to offer their opinions on the most pressing problems in the area (30 respondents, AMCH, 2019), the results were as follows:

- Lack of feeling safe/security (18.2%) – linked to social/cohesion, and governmental/political values.
- General grot and lack of cleaning of public spaces (16.7%) – amenity/use, and governmental/political values.
- Lack of parking (15.2%) – mobility value.
- Lack of street lighting (9.1%) - amenity/use value.
- Degradation of heritage assets (9.1%) – associative (historical/ temporal/ symbolic/ identity) value and material value.

These results indicate that residents, with exceptions, could actually support the status quo in the area. However, the walkabout revealed more detail, which served in the completion of the above location assessments. Some key points from this walkabout are as follows:

- Safety and security: There is a feeling of disorder and neglect here, most visibly in the proliferation of canine and human excrement in the public realm, but also in graffiti, vandalism, and recent cases of attacks and assaults. (AMCH, 2019; Rede Regional, 2019)
- Grot and cleaning: Inefficient waste management, cleaning and general grot, alongside the actions of local people through illicit dumping and cat feeding, have contributed to chronic plagues of pigeons, rats (*“ratazanas” / “ratos-coelhos”*) and cockroaches.
- Parking: While there are sufficient car parking spaces, these are poorly managed and controlled, and in general precedence is given to the motor vehicle above the pedestrian. Car parking in the “centro histórico” should be restricted to residents, at least overnight, and car circulation through the city should be reconsidered. The presence of cars in the historic environment, although beneficial for local businesses, currently creates a highly hostile pedestrian environment.
- Lack of street lighting: While acknowledging recent improvements, the historic environment at night is perceived as unsafe, partly due and intention of street patterns around historic requirements for privacy. Recent equipment is good, and avoids obtrusive light, but the way these and other infrastructure are integrated onto historic façades is highly problematic in the Association’s view.

	POSITIVE	NEUTRAL	NEGATIVE
MO1	3	6	1
MO2	6	3	1
MO3	4	3	3
MO4	2	5	3
MO5	3	0	7
MO6	0	5	5
MO7	1	3	6
MO8	0	3	7
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>33</b>

Table 17: Definition of three distinct Character Area defined on the basis of the results of the Condition and Character Survey (Blue, Yellow and Red)

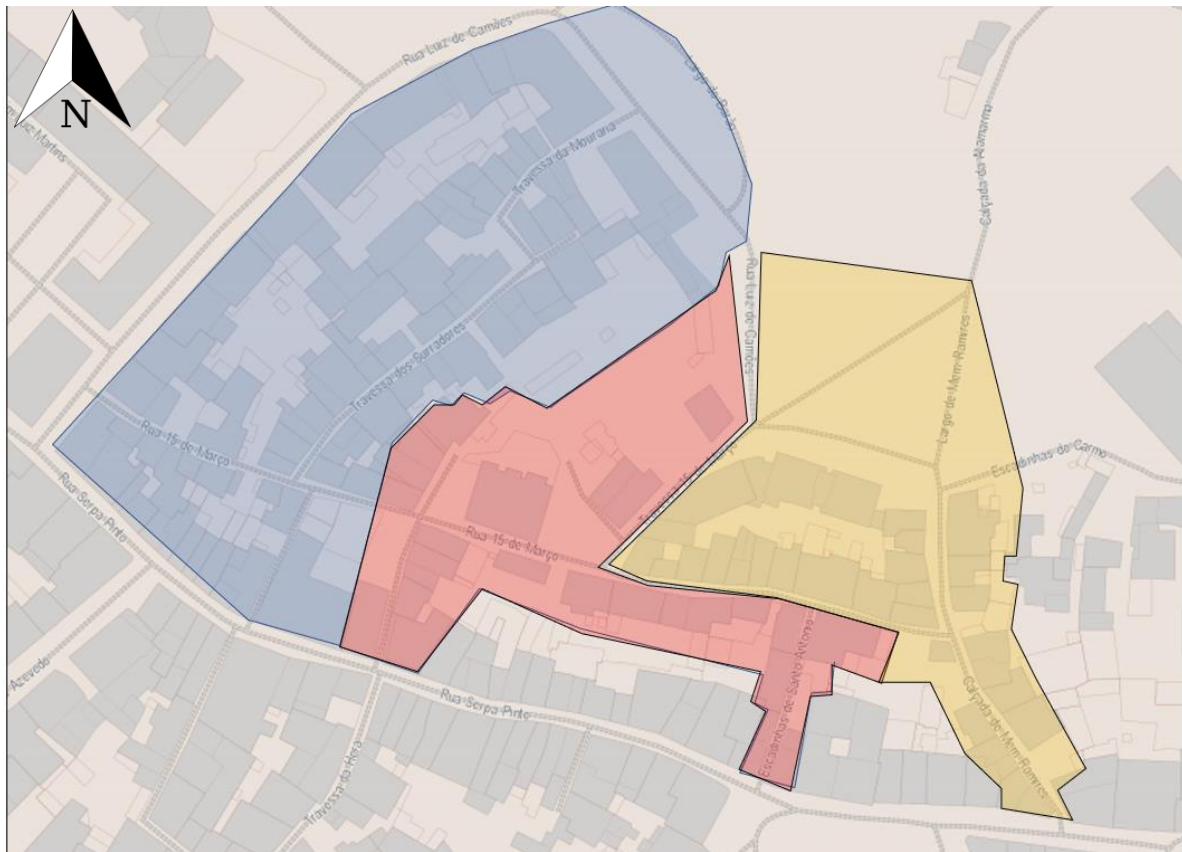


Figure 52: Map delineating three broad Character Areas within the Mouraria

- Degradation of heritage assets: The lack of a Detailed Plan for the “Centro histórico” is perhaps the biggest risk to heritage. Without this, each decision has to be submitted to IGESPAR/DGPC, which leads to unnecessary blockage in the process at critical junctures, and often this delay makes a project unviable. This is exacerbated by a feeling that the Council is disinterested in the maintenance and management not only of the historic environment, but specifically in maintaining the structural integrity of those buildings in its ownership.

More generally, the walkabout further revealed the marginality of the *Mouraria*. Many of the participants, born and bred in Santarém, had never been to this part of the city before. This is not unusual, and further interviews with stakeholders in the city revealed that, while exciting and innovative work involving cultural promotion is being undertaken in adjacent areas, nothing is planned for this area (INV4, *interview*).

Conversely, the group from Aix-Marseille University had made a specific journey to Santarém to investigate historical religious diversity as part of their studies in heritage-led tourism. In looking for evidence of a vital and tangible Islamic legacy in the *Mouraria*, the group was sorely disappointed, and the impression they shared was that this place is “unattractive”, insalubrious and deserted<sup>22</sup>. Despite its current state, what mattered to this group was the material, historical-symbolic and any residual evidential value relating to the past, and the potential for this to be recuperated in “authentic” ways.

This group prioritised certain locations as having a high aesthetic and historical-symbolic value, particularly the portal and steps at location MO6 as being the image *par excellence* of the *Mouraria*, although the recent road sign denoting the “*Travessa da Mouraria*” provided an exceptionally popular photo opportunity. Furthermore, the insights gained at location MO2 which allowed participants to appreciate the remnants of an Islamic-based block structure onto which subsequent additions did not obliterate their ability to read the landscape. The overwhelming concern of this group was that intervention to retain those surviving buildings retaining their material and architectural integrity should be the priority, and that no further demolition and replacement should be allowed.

On the basis of these results and dialogue with these groups and other stakeholders, a division of the *Mouraria* into three character/condition areas emerged as detailed in Table 17. The delineation of these Areas is based on the ratio between positive, neutral and negative results, and results in a spatial distribution as per the Map (Figure 52):

It is important that any public policy intervention should be attentive to the processes through which spatial inequalities and neighbourhood deprivation are perpetuated. But there are

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<sup>22</sup> “*A l'air un peu insalubre et parfois déserte*”

	BLUE	YELLOW	RED
AESTHETIC	Cohesive historic environment with a feeling of authenticity and unity of design and palettes. Excellent views of beyond the area to cultural and natural heritage. Undermined by the poor state of specific properties.	Visual decay and degradation to the built environment. Modern development not entirely successful and often obtrusive in the historic environment.	Poor and disjointed visual environment. Newer development seldom conserves nor enhances the historic environment.
AMENITY & USE	Good levels of occupation and use, with a mix of residence tenures (rent/owner-occupier, etc). Private efforts to improve and soften spaces.	Low levels of use and feelings of insecurity as a result of the highly degraded built environment.	Strong negative externalities impact on desirability and use.
SOCIAL / COMMUNITY / COHESION	Strong interpersonal relations and evidence of community integration and support. Little formalised space to facilitate this.	This zone is important to diverse marginalised groups and remnant communities, but there is low cohesion value.	Underoccupied and marginalised space
MATERIAL	High interest and variation in materials, and evidence of attention to detail in recent rehabilitations.	Mixed material value, with use of incompatible materials resulting in further physical and visual decline.	Limited identity and symbolic value as the central area of the <i>Mouraria</i> , particularly morphologically as confined entryways present onto an open central area.
MOBILITY	Challenging terrain for pedestrians, but the zone provides for the mobility needs of the wider city centre.	Low mobility value, with unrealised potential for connectivity to the <i>Ribeira</i> , and current a hostile environment for all road users.	Negative environmental and hydrological value. Unmanaged groundwater and significant refuse.
ECONOMIC / COMMERCIAL	Limited commercial value, but reasonable market interest in properties in this zone.	Low economic and commercial value, with a proliferation of long-term unsold or unlet dwellings. High potential for pump priming through investment or policy guidance in this location.	Degraded but still present ancient street pattern. Low possibility for local engagement.
ASSOCIATIVE	Mercantile dwellings remnants of functional relationship between this area and the <i>Ribeira</i> . Plot layouts speak to different influences and uses of this area at different times (palimpsest). Archive photographs reveal an area almost unchanged during the twentieth century.	High value associated with the reconquest of Santarém in 1147 and its role in national history and identity, as promoted during the romantic era (Herculano, 1846). High cultural and identity value of the portal as the defining image of the <i>Mouraria</i> .	Notably inferior public provision in this zone, and little political receptivity to local claims.
ENVIRONMENTAL / HYDROLOGICAL	High environmental value as an urban-rural interface. High hydrological value given high number of cisterns and high level of groundwater.	Currently low value, but great potential in the cultivation of vacant plots and enhanced relationship with the valley slopes.	Low material value. High attrition of historic structures, and deep excavation.
SCIENTIFIC & EVIDENTIAL	High archaeological potential, and this zone has various items/monuments of local interest.	Highly known and untapped archaeological value. However, low capacity for local people to engage with this.	Very low mobility value given poor condition, instability and narrowness of the public highway.
GOVERNMENTAL / POLITICAL	Little evidence of political interest or regard. Local monuments and publicly owned dwellings the most compromised.	Largo de Mem Ramires is highly politicised, but in general this zone is viewed as marginal backland, the recipient of negative externalities without a stake or a say in them.	There is high potential for investment and development at this location, and apparently reasonable interest. Potential to benefit from expanded commercial activities on R. Serpa Pinto.

Table 18: Condition of value categories by Character Area

clear lessons within this assessment as to how these processes work and play out in this space in intersecting yet distinct ways. Each zone exhibits distinct characteristics, and a more targeted approach to monitoring should be able to measure the success of planning and territorial management policies by improving indicators. The key characteristics of each Character Area are compared in Table 18.

This chapter took the value categories established in planning policy, testing them for their relevance to understanding the current dynamics of the *Mouraria*. From this assessment, three distinct character area, with compatible but distinct strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and challenges, were discerned. The following chapter examines these three Character Areas in further detail. It looks at development projects submitted to and approved by the Municipal Council divided by area, asking what their impact on these defined urban and heritage values would be. It will also address the “how” of urban rehabilitation, looking at which processes undertaken in decision-making could be refined to ensure more positive outcomes in terms of balancing values and ensuring a more integrated approach to rehabilitation.



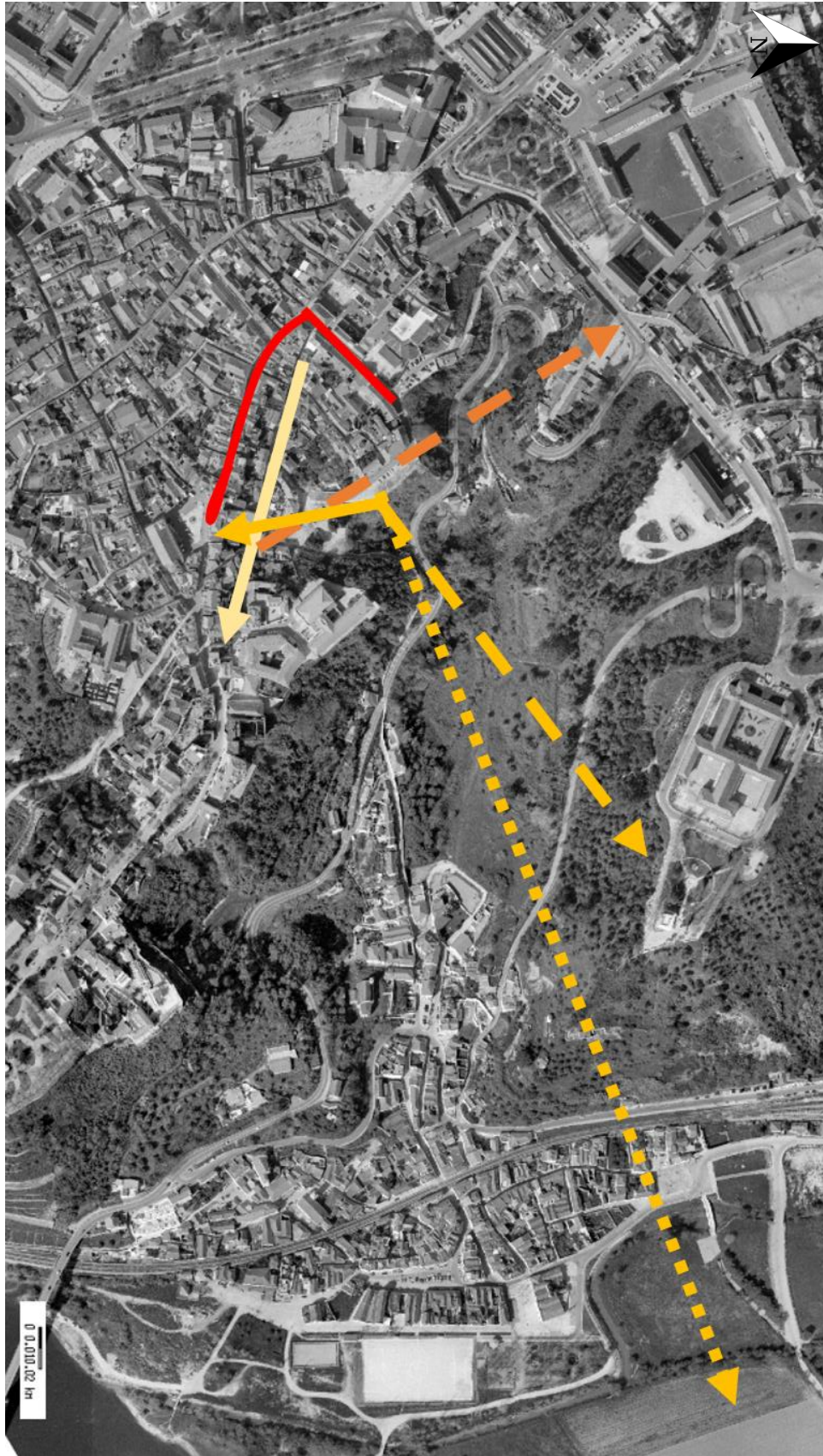


Figure 53: Important views out of the space: 1) from MO1 to Torre das Cabaças (solid cream); 2) from MO3 to Marvila (solid yellow); 3) from MO3 to Liceu Sá da Bandeira, medium view (dashed yellow); 4) from MO3 to Tagus Valley, long view (dotted yellow); 5) from MO5 to Convent of Santa Clara, medium view (dashed orange). Line of visual impermeability, indicated in red.

## Chapter 7

### **The impact of development on the conservation and enhancement of neighbourhood values and significance**

In the previous chapter, three Character Areas were defined within the Santarém *Mouraria* according to their current condition and performance with regard to those values identified as important in planning policy, and to the UN's sustainable development goals and the UNESCO Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape.

This chapter looks at development projects submitted to and approved by the Municipal Council divided by area, asking what their impact on these defined urban and heritage values would be. It also addresses the “how” of urban rehabilitation, looking at which processes undertaken in decision-making are effective or which could be refined to ensure more positive outcomes in terms of balancing values and ensuring a more integrated approach to rehabilitation.

The data sources for this chapter encompass Project applications submitted to Santarém Municipal Council for development within the *Mouraria* in the period, on the whole, since 2000. The logic for this is to balance a longitudinal understanding of the developmental dynamics of the place with the time limits of this project. Some cases that predate the turn of the century are considered here, where their impacts have a continued relevance to the value of the historic urban landscape to this day.

There are clear limitations in using project application data to understand how different thematic aspects of an urban neighbourhood have and are continuing to change. First and foremost, the documents required by the Council do not exceed the requirements of national legislation, and therefore these are limited to some of the following:

- Location Plan
- Proof of ownership/stake in property
- Existing and Proposed Plans and Elevations (including minimum space standards)
- Planning Statement (*Memória Descritiva*)
- Timetable for project completion
- Table of costs and viability
- Statement of professional competency and liability
- Ventilation report (not required for all applications)
- Thermal and acoustic report
- Structural stability report
- Infrastructure and sanitation report





While the above list is not exhaustive, these documents cannot hope to be able to engage in the impact of a proposed development on the whole array of values detailed previously. For example, little attention is given to mobility (with the exception to some extent of accessibility as per current legislation) and the impact of increased traffic movements. More interestingly, however, is that while IGESPAR/DGPC is a statutory consultee for proposals within the designated “Centro histórico”, there is no requirement for the submission of a heritage impact statement. While some projects do in fact supply reports relating to heritage assets and archaeological walkovers/excavations, these are routinely separated from project files and are held by the DGPC<sup>23</sup>. Furthermore, while planning applications are ostensibly objective documents simply detailing the proposed development, some applications are more akin to a work of fiction in light of what is ultimately delivered in practice.

Santarém’s planning application/project reference system has three components. The first indicates the type of application being made, allocated to one of the categories presented in Table 19.

Reference codes are made of three elements, 1) category code; 2) year of first submission; and 3) process number (e.g. 01-2020-001).

Details of planning applications are not made public in Portugal. This is unfortunate for a number of reasons, but I am grateful for the cooperation of the Municipal Council for making relevant applications available for the purposes of this study. With project details treated as sensitive data, alongside the requirements of the *General Data Protection Regulation (EU) 2016/679 (GDPR)*, addresses and names are omitted from the subsequent discussion, and case references are anonymised.

The following exercise compares the balance given to types of values in development management decision-making. While not all values may be invoked or relevant to a particular application, it is useful to compare the relative weight given the particular values over others during in proposals for change in the historic environment. This gives an indicative appreciation of the cumulative impact of individual projects on outcomes for each character area.

## **Blue Zone**

This zone comprises the western area of the *Mouraria*, covering an area of 1.2ha, currently in generally reasonable-good condition and home to an integrated community. Many of the buildings have recently undergone rehabilitation works. The applications presented in Table 20 are relevant to this zone and its current condition.

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<sup>23</sup> Multiple attempts were made to contact the DGPC, by multiple actors involved in this project, to try to gain access to any such reports relevant to the Santarém Mouraria. No response was received.

	<b>Case Ref</b>	<b>Type of Work</b>
B1.1	01-2000/1*	Remodelling of building and grounds for use as creche and primary school
	---	---
B1.2	01-2001/3**	Remodelling and alteration to a building for conversion to 7 dwellings, and the installation of a swimming pool
	---	---
B1.3	01-2004/2**	Remodelling and alteration to building for the creation of a 4-star hotel.
	--	---
n/r	07-2006/1**	Complaint of colonies of rats on site
	--	--
B1.4	35-2008/2**	Demolition of the existing building for the construction of another, with the maintenance of the principal façade and the alteration and amplification of buildings in the area of open space hardstanding. Use as offices.
	---	---
B1.5	35-2013/1*	Rehabilitation, alteration and extension of main building, annexes, cistern and open space, to make a condominium of 10 dwellings complete with cistern and open space.
	---	---
B1.6	35-2019/1**	Amended proposal for the rehabilitation, alteration and extension of main building, annexes, cistern and open space, to make a condominium of 10 dwellings complete with cistern and open space.
B2	01-2000/3*	Remodelling of a ground floor commercial space
B3	01-2000/2**	Prior approval for the alteration of the façade, including the creation of an opening for the creation of a garage
B4	01-2001/2**	Remodelling of the interior and extension of a house, including the provision of an internal bathroom, and the demolition of an outhouse
B5	01-2002/9*	Rehabilitation of a three-storey building, including internal rearrangement and the construction of an area of adjacent open space
B6	08-2008/2*	Demolition of an existing two storey dwelling. Construction of a new surgery consisting of 4-storeys above ground and 1-storey (garage) below ground. Demolition and reconstruction of adjacent building, maintaining façade, and the construction of a recessed additional storey.
B7	01-2006/1**	Substitution of a wooden surface slab for a concrete one (second floor)
B8	35-2016/1**	Rehabilitation of the building involving the reconstruction of the interior of the property and the maintenance of the façade
B9	35-2019/2**	Rehabilitation/Conservation works to façade, interior and roof, including removal of internal glazed veranda.

*Table 20: Schedule of relevant planning applications (Blue Character Zone)*

The Blue Zone is the area of highest dynamism and vigour. This characteristic was detected in the previous chapter but is supported through it being the zone with the highest number of applications, relating to nine different buildings. It is the largest (slightly) in terms of area, however a handful of buildings in this area have recently undergone rehabilitation works without submitting a planning application – so-called “clandestine” works. While some of these have been embargoed, others have involved substantial internal restructuring that fell under the Council’s radar.

Planning is a balancing exercise. Indeed, “planning balance” related to the process of weighing relevant factors in an application to come to a final decision (Planning Aid, 2018; also, for principles see Venice Charter, ICOMOS, 1964). Taking the public good as a baseline, sometimes it is not possible to preserve or enhance indicators for each category of value. However, special care is required in cases impacting the historic environment. Once heritage is lost it cannot be recovered. A balanced judgement is especially important in these scenarios, having regard to the scale of any harm or loss and the significance of the heritage asset.

It has been established that the *Mouraria* is part of the Santarém *Planalto* historic environment, and therefore a heritage asset in itself. In such circumstances, it could be reasonably expected that for an application or project to be approved, it should not demonstrate a substantial adverse effect on any one of the value indicators without exceptional circumstances. This would ensure policy compliance, and perhaps more importantly ensures that the significance of the historic environment is not compromised.

Table 21 presents the results of the analysis of the documents contained in the planning applications for each building/case within the Blue Zone, analysing their impact/effect on each value. Green indicates enhancement (positive benefit); Amber indicates conservation (neutral benefit); Red indicates adverse impact (negative); and White indicates insufficient data within the case file.

Exploring the applications in the Blue Zone in more detail, these cases conserve or enhance amenity and use, social and economic values. We can therefore claim that these three values are primary in decision making. The only exception to this is the unusual case B2 during which a commercial unit was created and fitted out without authorisation which resulted in overlooking. Enforcement action and criminal prosecution followed, but the “damage” had already been done, only the worst of which had to be put right.

Aesthetic and mobility values are also primary. In cases B5 and B6 successful discussions between applicants, architects and local interest groups (esp. *AEDPHCS*) resulted in redesigned schemes that integrated better into their overall contexts (especially roofscapes).



Figure 55: Rehabilitated property B8. Original spans (vãos) maintained, and there is a positive overall effect, but this is marred somewhat being laden with intrusive infrastructure.

	B*	B1.1	B1.2	B1.3	B1.4	B1.5	B1.6	B2	B3	B4	B5	B6	B7	B8	B9
AESTHETIC															
AMENITY & USE															
SOCIAL / COMMUNITY / COHESION															
MATERIAL															
MOBILITY															
ECONOMIC / COMMERCIAL															
ASSOCIATIVE															
ENVIRON. / HYDROL.															
SCIENTIFIC & EVIDENTIAL															
GOVERN. / POLITICAL															

Table 21: The impact of specific planning applications and developments on the Blue Character Area (\* = character area baseline) [Green = positive; Amber = neutral; Red = negative]

In cases B3 and B5, the Council stated that on-plot parking was “a component of the utmost importance in the historic centre”. This interpretation of mobility value as the prioritisation of the private motor vehicle at set onerous conditions to rehabilitate a dwelling without interrupting the potential for traffic circulation along a narrow (almost dead-end) street; while on the other hand permitted the opening of a garage without an evidence of an adequate turning circle and requiring a slope to climb 2.8m to enable it to access its plot. This project was never implemented due to the technical challenges associated with the works. On plot parking in this zone has been accepted for some time, but more recently (e.g. B1.6) there has been a re-orientation of priorities so that historic and evidential values are starting to be prioritised above a fetishisation for private parking.

Needless to say, the most successful applications in terms of their implementation and outcomes for the present – based on current values and standards - have been those which have achieved positive (or neutral) outcomes across the value categories listed above. However, in several cases in this zone there has been a privileging of certain values over others, leading either to manifest downstream problems or of the reduction of local historic significance.

	Case Ref	Type of Work
R1	01-1993/6**	Clearance of degraded buildings, and construction of a building consisting of 3 above ground storeys with 12 dwellings and 3 commercial units, and a 3-storey subterranean car park.
R2	01-1994/6**	Construction of a building to consist of 5 commercial units, 1 restaurant >100sqm, and 10 dwellings, on vacant land.
R3.1	01-2003/5**	Installation of restaurant in a commercial unit
R3.2	03-2017/1**	Conversion of restaurant to dwellinghouse
R4	01-2005/4** 04-2002/5* Enforcement process 07-2010/8*	Demolition of 2 buildings (7 dwellings) and construction of 1 building (3 dwellings) and a garage
R5	04-2003/* Linked 01-2006/1**	Survey, linked to Compulsory notice to undertake works to safeguard public safety.
R6	35-2006/4**	Conversion of second floor (365sqm) to 5 dwellings

Table 22: Schedule of relevant planning applications (Red Character Zone)

	R*	R1	R2	R3.1	R3.2	R4	R5	R6
AESTHETIC								
AMENITY & USE								
SOCIAL / COMMUNITY / COHESION								
MATERIAL								
MOBILITY								
ECONOMIC / COMMERCIAL								
ASSOCIATIVE								
ENVIRONMENTAL / HYDROLOGICAL								
SCIENTIFIC & EVIDENTIAL								
GOVERNMENTAL / POLITICAL								

Table 23: The impact of specific planning applications and developments on the Red Character Area (\* = character area baseline) [Green = positive; Amber = neutral; Red = negative]

## Red Zone

This zone comprises the central area of the *Mouraria*, covering an area of 0.8ha, currently the most degraded part of that zone. The applications listed in Table 22 are relevant to this zone and its current condition. Table 23 presents the results of the analysis of the documents contained in the planning applications for each building/case within the Red Zone, analysing their impact/effect on each value. Green indicates enhancement (positive benefit); Amber indicates conservation (neutral benefit); Red indicates adverse impact (negative); and White indicates insufficient data within the case file.

The Red Zone has not seen nearly as much dynamism as the others, at least formally through the planning system, despite its adjacency to one of the city's main shopping streets, R. Serpa Pinto. This zone is home to two of the key misadventures in the whole *Mouraria*, corresponding to proposals R1 and R4 and, while each case played out rather differently, the common value that was largely overlooked but ultimately came to be responsible for their eventual abandonment was that of environment and hydrology.

This zone was not alone in suffering from a long-term lack of maintenance stemming, according to local stakeholders, from the pre-1990 rent controlled "life contracts". This both disallowed and discouraged landlords either from investing in maintenance or from selling on properties to those who would. However, there had been a strong community dynamic through to the 1990s in this area, despite social challenges (INV6, INV8, *interview*). As tenants aged and departed (often to care homes), this presented new opportunities for investors.

Ambitious proposals for the clearance of the old and the reconstruction with new, supposedly visually compatible constructions, built of wholly industrial materials (reinforced concrete, steel, brick), which could accommodate the necessities of modern life. In the case of R1, a publicly accessible park and commercial area was supposed to provide a community benefit, opening up the interior of a block. However, to support the construction of 12 dwellings a three-storey subterranean car park was approved for the site. Dwellings dating from at least the sixteenth century were lost in 1992 and, due to groundwater flows amid the layers of sand/clay, an upwelling of water submerged the excavated site and, almost 30 years later, receives an annual visit from the *Bombeiros* to pump it out. The "aggressive impact"<sup>24</sup> of the development was not limited to this site, and caused land slippage and significant material damage to adjacent blocks. At the heart, this was caused by the privileging of private car parking over other uses. The developer later applied for bankruptcy. A similar phenomenon occurred in relation to R2, and a landslide delayed works

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<sup>24</sup> Comment within case file received from the AEDPHCS.





*Figure 56: Current condition of buildings R1 (left) and R4 (right)*



*Figure 57: Vanished streetscapes and roofscapes on R. 15 de Março*



by nine years. This development was completed, but its lack of attention to local social and commercial dynamics (and its lack of policy support) led to its under occupation.

The case of R4, similarly, prioritised the provision of private on-site parking above environmental and other value considerations. However, the situation played out slightly differently in this case. The original building was demolished, and work had advanced rapidly on the approved design, but development embargoed for environmental and stability reasons. This, in itself, could have been overcome partly because the scale of development was smaller than R1 or R2. However, upon the submission of a slightly amended plan with additional supports the DGPC, having not responded to the initial plan, objected to the demolition of the now-demolished original building. The case ended up in court and, ten years later, the hollow shell of the new building is a home for stray cats and a support for washing lines.

The successes of R3.1, R3.2 and R6 in conserving and enhancing the historic environment are, in part, helped by their being relatively small-scale developments. The experience of the Red Zone of development in the historic urban landscape should serve as a parable for the importance of considering all aspects of value and significance in an integrated manner, rather than prioritising current urban problems (i.e. the need to provide additional parking) in isolation from its impact on other indicators.

	Case Ref	Type of Work
Y1	01/1983/4** 03/2006/1*	Change of Use from warehouse below to dwelling; amalgamation of two dwellings to form a single 2-storey dwelling.
Y2	01/1992/2** 10/2018/9*	Expansion of Headquarters of a political party
Y3	01/2000/3**	Restoration and conservation works including the addition of concrete flooring, ceramic mosaic and painting.
Y4	04/2000/5* -- 05/2007/*	Inspection, given roof partial collapse, leaks in bathroom and holes in kitchen. Roof reconstruction had been undertaken – retrospective permission granted.
Y5	35/2016/1**	Rehabilitation of two dwellings in one building – like for like
Y6	35/2018/2**	Rehabilitation of the façade with complete interior demolition and rebuilding to T3 with open space
Y7	No reference	Public realm improvements, to include preservation and rehabilitation, at Largo de Mem Ramires.
--	04/2003/2*	Inspection (demolition)
--	04/2015/1*	Inspection (demolition)
--	04/2010/7*	Inspection (use by drug users)
--	04/2010/0*	Risk of collapse, and therefore an urgent inspection required (partial demolition).

Table 24: Schedule of relevant planning applications (Yellow Character Zone)

	Y*	Y1	Y2	Y3	Y4	Y5	Y6	Y7
AESTHETIC								
AMENITY & USE								
SOCIAL / COMMUNITY / COHESION								
MATERIAL								
MOBILITY								
ECONOMIC / COMMERCIAL								
ASSOCIATIVE								
ENVIRONMENTAL / HYDROLOGICAL								
SCIENTIFIC & EVIDENTIAL								
GOVERNMENTAL / POLITICAL								

Table 25: The impact of specific planning applications and developments on the Yellow Character Area (\* = character area baseline) [Green = positive; Amber = neutral; Red = negative]

## Yellow Zone

This zone comprises the eastern area of the *Mouraria*, covering an area of 0.9ha, currently in a degraded condition but home to diverse communities and some commercial activity. The applications listed in Table 24 are relevant to this zone and its current condition.

Table 25 presents the results of the analysis the documents contained in the planning applications for each building/case within the Yellow Zone, analysing their impact/effect on each value. Green indicates enhancement (positive benefit); Amber indicates conservation (neutral benefit); Red indicates adverse impact (negative); and White indicates insufficient data within the case file.

This zone, like the Red Zone, has not experienced the same dynamic and developmental demand as the Blue Zone or the wider *Planalto*. Many of the full planning applications have been triggered by proactive intervention by outside bodies, either the Council or others, who have felt this area does not meet the required levels of amenity & use, aesthetic, or environmental conditions for habitation. A further five cases involve surveys into the need for the demolition or urgent intervention in the built fabric. In all cases, these have been followed with a complete or partial demolition, through which material and historical/identity value of the site and ensemble has been lost, and the significance of this area has been undermined.

Applications Y4, Y5 and Y6 were all exceptions to this, all managing to intervene or to reconstruct to save the dwellings involved. Y4 was able to rebuild with equivalent materials, while Y6 removed incompatible modern materials replacing them with compatible ones. In this zone, it is material value that is particularly significant, yet particularly vulnerable. These materials and their composition yield vital information about past uses and activities of these spaces, yet are either hurriedly demolished or, in the case of Y3, obliterated by clandestine development.

The case of Y7 is different, yet particularly illuminating with reverberations for the whole *Mouraria* and its potential rehabilitation. This involved the project to preserve and rehabilitate the Largo de Mem Ramires. Funded through PRAUD (Programme for the Recuperation of Degraded Urban Areas), the concept was firmly anchored in maintaining and enhancing historic morphological patterns and inviting better public use of a space wholly dominated by car parking (see Figure 60).

This case has relevance to the current condition of the Largo do Barão in the Blue Zone. The design and implementation of the project was technically led and based on modern interpretations of the historic urban environment. However, evidence from local people or engagement with the social demographics of the area and its role in the wider urban system was lacking. The result, twenty-five years later, has been the almost complete abandonment.



*Figure 58: Rehabilitation of building Y5, complete with on-plot parking.*



*Figure 59: Falling masonry and demolition on Calç. Mem Ramires, 2010 and 2015*



*Figure 60: Largo de Mem Ramires, 1991*

## Conclusions and Lessons

This chapter highlights the importance of knowing and having due regard to each of those values of the historic urban landscape and how these intersect and contribute to the specific significance of that place (or character zone). The above discussion demonstrates a clear general link between the prioritisation of certain values over others in development control decision making and the ongoing deterioration of significance. This is especially true for large scale developments, and those involving the demolition of existing structures, that should be required to submit additional data on the impact of development which provides a robust assessment as to how the development is likely conserve or enhance each identified value category and the overall significance of the area.

In such a degraded urban environment, there may be cases in which urgent demolition is unavoidable for reasons of public safety. While such cases have become all too common given the long-term neglect of Santarém in general and the *Mouraria* specifically, an integrated plan with a strong evidence base and monitoring component should allow managers to identify and plan for the proactive rehabilitation of “at risk” constituents. A group, not necessarily formally part of the Council, should identify heritage at risk and be responsible for its advocacy (along the lines of the Historic England “Heritage at Risk Register”). This would be appropriate for the Yellow Zone in particular.

The Blue Zone seems to be reasonably sustainable and appealing to the private sector for its rehabilitation. However, the risk here is that the social balance is indirectly disturbed through rapid change and potential gentrification. This does not appear to be an imminent risk, although the poor evidential values even in recent applications – i.e. the lack of input of local people in providing their testimony and knowledge about the site as part of the decision making process – is a risk for the ongoing feeling of ‘authenticity’ going forward. It is unfortunate that the biggest single material risk to the area remains the Council-owned building at nº 1 Tv. Surradores. While an inspection was carried out in 2015 to secure the site from further decay, none of its recommendations have to date been carried out, so that there are renewed calls for its demolition. This would be a tragic failure of management.

Finally, the Red Zone appears to be a cautionary tale in the importance of an integrated plan for the historic environment, respecting its environment and setting. Santarém’s slopes are notoriously unstable, and since 2014 an international multi-partner multi-million Euro project to stabilise these has been ongoing. At the same time, however, the city has been occupied for millennia, and those same buildings that were demolished in the Red Zone had stood for several centuries. The privileging of private vehicular mobility and of modern materials over other values has damaged the historic environment in the Red Zone particularly acutely, not



only depriving future generations of material and evidential insights in the place, but also having wider impacts in making this area variously uninhabitable and undesirable.

During past two decades, it appears that there has been increased consideration of a broader range of issues in local planning in Santarém. However, there is still a lack of an integrated approach that continues to mean that decisionmakers do not have access to all the information they need to make an informed decision. Furthermore, in several cases the lack of a detailed heritage plan for the city has resulted in avoidable misunderstandings and miscommunications between public bodies (i.e. R4) that have perpetuated negative externalities onto the rest of the local population. This lack of plan also means that the Council can be less responsive in cases of planning breach (e.g. B7). The significance of Santarém's historic urban environment is, as a result of this cumulative attrition.

This chapter has established the importance of considering planning applications with regard to all value categories in a context of understanding the significance of the historic urban landscape to ensure that it is conserved or enhanced. The *Mouraria* has been subject to a substantial reduction in its significance as a result of ill-informed and inappropriate development, particularly in the Red Zone. While the Council appears to have reasonable processes in place for making a decision on applications, it is failures in the project management coordination of applications that in some cases has meant that the public interest has not been served, and the reverberations of which have left investors more reluctant to invest in the city. This could be avoided through the adoption by the Council of a positively prepared (i.e. spatial) plan (*Plano de Pormenor*) establishing the urban parameters – based on values – expected of development, which would be co-produced and agreed not only with the statutory heritage body, but also the *AEDPHCS*, the local residents' association but, fundamentally, with the evidential testimony of residents.

This brings up a wider point, that of social and community engagement and testimony is development. This is covered in two value categories (Social, Community & Cohesion; and Scientific & Evidence), each focusing in slightly different way. While many of the planning applications approved above provided a social or community benefit, either through the provision of community facilities (e.g. B1.1) or the rehabilitation of dwellings for social housing or to maintain a community *in situ*, the community benefit has come in spite of rather than because of local engagement with the process. In many cases, negative social and community impacts could have been avoided or mitigated were local people involved and engaged in the process, rather than excluded through a lack of political receptiveness at the level of planning policy and development management, most evident in the failure to make planning applications public.





## Chapter 8

### Discussion and community involvement

During the course of this study, everyday conversations and participant observation had yielded a certain amount of data and insight that informed the previous chapters. By way of consolidation of this data, my preferred route for interrogating the value categories and wider issues at stake was through a set of focus groups, bringing people together in a deliberative event. One of the notable complaints of local people was that there are few and restrictive ways for them to convey their concerns or opinions to decisionmakers, and in any case they largely felt abandoned by the Council. As outlined, these events were set up and invitations sent out to provide a space for local issues to be discussed. While the response rate was reasonably low, at eleven, only two people attended. This was disappointing, and the high local enthusiasm for intervention in the area was not matched by direct participation.

A survey, based on the discussion points prepared for the Focus Group, was designed as a series of open questions ( $n=18$ ). Such an approach allowed people, within thematic parameters, to talk on their own terms on the basis of their own experiences, and to escape positivistic ontological confines (Lefebvre, 1974; 1990). While there were worried complaints that this was daunting, but my approach was to let people talk (albeit in written form) as freely as they cared to, serving as an interesting component of the data in itself. The responses received pointed to the different perceptions people have about the area, about urban rehabilitation more generally, and about the importance of the neighbourhood. Likewise, there were some striking and marked similarities in responses (and tropes) as well.

The data outputs presented in Chapter 6 were collaboratively produced with local and visiting actors in the field. This section goes deeper in addressing some of the specific key points, concepts and reflections on the identified values resulting from the more ethnographic methods (i.e. surveys; observation and interview). While Chapters 4-7 traced the value and significance of the *Mouraria* through the planning process, through context, policy, (co-produced) evidence, and development management, this chapter attends to the specific issue of how intervention in the historic urban environment “learns from the traditions and perceptions of local communities” (UNESCO, 2011: parag.13).

Nine questions were presented to participants, which covered the *Mouraria* in the context of urban rehabilitation. These questions also sought input on what constituents made this area significant or important, what were the most pressing challenges, and how improvement programmes should be targeted. The questionnaire schedule is provided in Appendix 3.

Type of property	Price / sqm (€)
Ruin	200
Standard house	400
Rehabilitated house	600
New house	700
...with garage	+demand and financial premium

*Table 26: "Rule of thumb" property values for the Mouraria, used by local estate agents (INV11, interview)*

## Local economic considerations in rehabilitation

In light of the shortage of commercial and administrative uses in the area, it was proposed that the public sector should establish a presence and thereby encouraging the co-location of wider dependent services. The example of the rehabilitation of the *Matadouro Municipal* for use as the *Loja do Cidadão* in 2016 outside of the “centro histórico” was cited as a magnet for the agglomeration of copy shops and the final exodus of the last Notary from the centre. Something similar, providing a reason to visit the neighbourhood, could attract investment.

Many noted the importance of safeguarding existing communities in the area from the (negative) impacts of gentrification. Respondents noted that current and planned rehabilitation in the neighbourhood has been a result of the property boom in Lisbon. Projects have been completed by developers from Lisbon or elsewhere in Portugal and are often marketed well beyond the affordability of existing residents. The 2019 Price to Income ratio in Santarém was 15.14<sup>25</sup>, meaning that affordability is particularly low in the city. While more affordable than Greater Lisbon (City 18.25; Amadora 26.15), the only other location in Portugal with such acute affordability issues is Viana do Castelo (16.7), while the Portuguese average is 12.7 (Worldwide Housing Affordability Index, Numbeo 2019). Data shows that prices per square metre increased 12.1 percent in the city of Santarém between December 2018 and December 2019 to an average of €890/sqm (Idealista, 2020). In the *Mouraria*, estate agents assess local values under the rule of thumb thresholds provided in Table 26 (INV11, *interview*).

This is a clear threat to the physical fabric of the *Mouraria*, since even a rehabilitated house cannot fetch as much as a premium as a new build, while the premium on homes with a garage shows the economic gain brought about through private mobility. Such an economic premiums, as visible in the neighbourhood today, are continuing to encourage the piecemeal attrition of the material historic environment through demolition and complete reconstruction. Perhaps worse still is the approved demolition and reconstruction of dwellings to make private car parking, or the attrition of (Islamic legacy) internal courtyards for use as parking. This is not helped by the PDM (CMS, 1995/2019, art. 57.<sup>o</sup>, 77.<sup>o</sup>-96.<sup>o</sup>A), and the PPS da *Mouraria* (CMS, 1994, art. 13.<sup>o</sup>) promoting such an approach. Policy intervention is required, based on an understanding of the specific characters of individual neighbourhoods within the “Centro Histórico” so that this dynamic is inverted, and that economic and mobility values do

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<sup>25</sup> Based on current conditions, a person would need the equivalent of 15.14 years' salary to be able to afford an average priced home in Santarém. Other Portuguese cities score much better for affordability as follows: Porto (13.18); Coimbra (9.83), Braga (6.84), Faro (11.85), Guimarães (5.29), Leiria (7.78), Caldas de Rainha (10.51), Setúbal (6.25), Aveiro (7.60).



not negatively impact material, evidential and associative values. This will require a radical solution given the “savage parking<sup>26</sup>” across the public realm in the city (QRP15).

Another distortion caused by the configuration of current economic dynamics is a result of the relatively low land values. Local people have identified several units, not only commercial but sometimes whole houses, in the neighbourhood currently in use for “storage”. People have noted that owners often live in other parts of the city or in Lisbon, require storage, but that paying for commercial storage units would be more expensive than either the rents or the freehold on premises in the *Mouraria* (INV10; INV13). This implies a market failure that, in the context of relatively cheap land, a premium can still be applied to storage facilities which is having a negative impact on cities.

### **Valorising the *Mouraria*: What type of interventions are needed, and by whom?**

The *Mouraria* either was or still is “one of the more characterful neighbourhoods in the city”<sup>27</sup> (QRP9), but that now is continuing to suffer from a “complete state of neglect”<sup>28</sup> (QRP9) and degradation. There is an overriding notion that this neighbourhood should undergo material intervention and improvement. Most respondents, given the material state of the building, see little aesthetic value left in the neighbourhood at present. However, there is a feeling that all is not lost, that this is not beyond restoration to a more desirable condition, which would be possible given the high level of integrity and perceived authenticity remaining in the material environment. Overriding opinion is that the area’s aesthetic value can be restored through operationalising scientific and evidential data. This should be drawn from archaeological and historic studies, ensuring evidential fidelity in particular to the built footprints of housing. Such an approach is promoted by respondents as a means to remind people that this was a space of inclusion, diversity and difference.

Such proposals do not accord with the Venice Charter (ICOMOS, 1964) foundations of conservation and subsequent charters, given that this would involve the removal of “the valid contributions” of all building periods to the area. Arguably, also, the buildings that make the strongest individual contributions to the aesthetic character of the area are of eighteenth and nineteenth century construction. Respondents were not overly concerned with the strict maintenance of the original materials but did feel that evidence of traditional construction

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<sup>26</sup> “Os automóveis tomaram conta do CH, e o estacionamento selvagem está por todo o lado, sem qualquer intervenção da CMS nem da PSP, sabe-se lá porquê (ou talvez se saiba!). Até as passeadeiras para peões são mero estacionamento automóvel.”

<sup>27</sup> “Um dos mais característicos bairros da cidade.”

<sup>28</sup> “no mais completo estado de abandono”



and techniques should inform works and the substitution of original materials when necessary to ensure the integrity of the built environment. The material intervention in the historic environment, it was agreed, should be undertaken by suitably qualified professionals. A focus on amenity and, above all, use value should inform intervention according to most respondents, with a plan for how objects of intervention (including infrastructure) will realistically be used by residents and tourists; public and private sector.

One response established an antagonistic link between political value, perceived lack of social value, and its consequences for the material environment and the erasure of history, expressed thus: “Given that much of this heritage is in danger of collapsing and disappearing, I cannot agree with the management that has been carried out over the years in the Scalabitano historic zone”<sup>29</sup> (QRP5).

It is speculated that a lack of intervention in this neighbourhood has been as “a result of the Scalabitano social fabric that considers these [sorts of] zones as less worthy.... associated with negative connotations...”<sup>30</sup> (QRP5). This sets up a moralistic argument. While the *Mouraria* is associated closely and even today with sex work and, despite being looked upon with an element of nostalgia by some inhabitants, this has served to create a sense of this space as an “immoral landscape” (Ashworth et al., 1988). As contrasted with a historic landscape which is deserving of assistance, this landscape is a place of social and cultural exclusion.

The *Mouraria* is an area that is considered politically marginal, as it has always been on the fringes of the occasional interventions that have taken place in the “centro histórico”, which always stop at R. Serpa Pinto on its southern boundary. It is also socially marginal, an aging area with a preponderance of retired individuals, (although some working age population can be found) and an area of some social problems and pockets of deprivation.

In living memory, “Rua 15 de Março, the main street of the neighbourhood, was called “Rua das Raparigas” [Street (of) Girls] during the Estado Novo period, because that was where the activity of prostitution was confined” (QRP9). ‘Loose women’ worked this street in stark contrast to the Islamic *umma* and the principal of *haram* that restricted women to the private sphere and left the public sphere for men (INV2 interview; Trindade 2013). While morphology relating to the former remains to some extent in the Blue Zone, the living activity persists in the Yellow Zone.

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<sup>29</sup> “Tendo em conta que muito desse património está em risco de ruir e desaparecer, não posso concordar com a gestão que tem sido feita ao longo dos anos da zona histórica escalabitana.”

<sup>30</sup> “...devido ao tecido social escalabitano que considera essas zonas menos meritórias de intervenção...”





In Portugal, while prostitution is legal, it is illegal for a third party to benefit from this (*DL n.º 48/95*). As such, current establishments are almost certain not to be paying taxes and formally contributing to the improvement of the area or the city as a whole and has the potential to be bound up in other forms of criminality and exploitation (Wagenaar, 2006). One recommendation is that the Yellow Zone at least should be considered as both – as a historic urban “immoral” landscape - interrogating and working with those factors perceived as “immoral” (including sex worker and gypsy groups). Intervention should focus on providing support to ensure exploitation is not occurring while not impeding freely chosen non-maleficent employment (Kilvington et al., 2001). Particularly since this is the main highlighted form of intangible heritage in this zone.

A different type of marginality is projected onto the Red Zone. As a result of the demolition of a block there “in the 1980s<sup>31</sup>” (*QRP9*, ref: Planning Application R1 in Chapter 7), this area became associated with a lack of hygiene and a space of disease resulting from “an infected puddle that oozes contagion through mosquitos and crane flies as well as rats<sup>32</sup>” (*QRP9*), and “is a menace to public health<sup>33</sup>” (*QRP15*). This is not a social marginality but an environmental one, redolent of the choleric slums of Manchester (Engels, 1885) a result of the failures of the capitalist system. At the same time however, the link between hygiene, salubriousness and morality is an ever-present reminder of the social hygiene movements of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and the ever-present link between ‘dirt’, ‘disgust’ and stigma (Curtis, 2007, p.663).

In the Blue Zone, evidence of acute distress, including interviews during which respondents were in tears due to perceived failures in public support, as well as a case of domestic violence, demonstrate challenges for mental health in the area.

The approach hitherto adopted by the Municipal Council towards its “historic” areas is been described most concisely as “incipient” (*QRP1*). Various piecemeal projects and programmes are developed and promoted, but either shelved or scrapped before they have had a chance to prove their worth. This has been explained as there being “no continuity among the various city council executive [administrations].” Even when successive administrations have belonged to the same party, the predecessor’s schemes are not carried forward. This has had the result that: “The Council has not intervened in the *Mouraria* since the 1990s (GTL da *Mouraria*) and in *Ribeira* and *Alfange* since 2001 (GTL da *Ribeira e Alfange*), so we can’t consider that there has been a strategy apart from the odd intervention in situations where there’s immediate risk or necessity” (*QRP13*). Furthermore, the short-

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<sup>31</sup> Although actually in the 1990s.

<sup>32</sup> “uma poça infecta que exala miasmas de mosquitos e melgas para além de ratos”

<sup>33</sup> “é um atentado até à saúde pública”



and medium-term opportunities for the area are not hopeful “given the total absence of Council initiative<sup>34</sup>” (QPR15).

Within the *Mouraria*, recent apathy shown by the Council is reflective of a wider apathy for the space. “These are areas that Scalabitanos simply don’t frequent” (QRP2). There’s a clear relationship between the priorities of the administration and the movers and shakers in town, none of whom appears connected with the *Mouraria*. This is without doubt, according to respondents and residents alike, a marginal and forgotten zone that the Council and much of the wider community does not value (QRP2, QRP4, QRP8, QRP11, QRF1). It is not the only part of “historic” Santarém where this is the case, and *Ribeira* and *Alfange* are described in terms of horror story narratives (Fine, 1995) as places “where whole blocks have fallen into ruin<sup>35</sup>” (QRP9), and which should have been integrated (in terms of mobility and functionality) a long time ago.

There is no doubt, however, in the mind of respondents and residents, of a need for an integrated strategy for the historic nuclei (*Planalto*, *Ribeira*, *Alfange*): “...there needs to be a reason to believe in their potential. This requires a socio-demographic and economic survey that identifies the main targets of intervention and need to identify the principal objects of intervention...” (QRP13)<sup>36</sup>

In terms of who should be responsible for this, and the production of a plan, while it was proposed that this should be a technical exercise and needs specialist skills, there was a suggestion that the community could play a role. In light of the Council currently being perceived as unable or unwilling to fulfil its statutory duties with regard to maintenance of public space and utilities, it was proposed that (grassroots) citizen groups could be better trusted with cleaning and maintenance, or even have a stake in the monitoring of a neighbourhood plan.

In terms of interventions, respondents note that even the smallest of interventions in the *Mouraria* are hard fought. A hole in the road appeared during prolonged rains in November 2019 on Rua 15 de Março. The road was closed, but “nobody can agree who will pay for it, whether it is Águas de Santarém or the Council. But they are both the same company with the same director. Surely it’s in the public interest to fill the hole and then sort the money out later?” (INV7, interview). Meanwhile, the hole has become a receptacle for refuse and deceased rodents.

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<sup>34</sup> “Oportunidades, poucas, ou nenhuma, no curto e no médio prazo, dada a total falta de iniciativa da Câmara Municipal.”

<sup>35</sup> “onde caem quarteirões inteiros.”

<sup>36</sup> “Para que exista uma estratégia para os núcleos históricos é necessário acreditar no potencial dos mesmos, sendo para isso necessário o levantamento sócio-demográfico e económico que permita definir os pontos principais de intervenção”



*Figure 61: A pothole/sinkhole on R. 15 de Março awaiting repair.*

Other responses detailed residents' calls for illumination:

"There was no lighting here until recently. We were in complete darkness. The lady who restored this house [in the Blue Zone] had to keep going to the Council and saying we couldn't see, and it wasn't safe given the bad condition of the street. They came and installed these lights, but she had to fight hard." (INV5, interview)

Residents were at once grateful for the intervention but dismayed at the design and mode of installation, with another noting that, "Honestly, even street lighting could easily and inexpensively have used historically more sensitive infrastructure"<sup>37</sup> (QRP4). It is felt that local people have to fight over scraps, and that these are tossed blithely and piecemeal by the authorities without regard to a systematic improvement programme. It was suggested that, *"Instead of a series of random projects, a coherent medium-term works programme would be extremely beneficial, encourage investment and avoid regression"*<sup>38</sup> (QRP4).

It was agreed that it could be advantageous for a multidisciplinary team to produce a strategy, the consensus was that having simply any type of strategy would be a good start. The view being that for many years at a political level the Council made piecemeal promises to appease populist sentiment, but that the city in its current condition can no longer tolerate<sup>39</sup> such disjointed lowest common denominator approaches that push "vulgar" interventions in the name of "modernisation" and under the auspices of "rehabilitation"<sup>40</sup>. Such interventions must be more joined up and must have regard to local context and specificity if there is any chance of retaining "our memory and the memory of our ancestors"<sup>41</sup> (QRP15).

Not a single respondent offered a word of support for the Council's strategy (inasmuch as one exists) for this zone, and the wider "centro histórico", during the past twenty years. While the administration has been working on restoration and reopening of individual monuments during its tenure, these often have not been planned with people and with use in mind. "If you look at [Palácio] Landal, which was opened in 2013. There is already rising damp, salt exfoliation, and the floors have been flooded. The entry of water happened because it rained, water got in and there was nobody using the space to notice this until a few days

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<sup>37</sup> "Sinceramente, mesmo a iluminação da rua poderia facilmente e a baixo custo ter usado uma infraestrutura historicamente mais sensível. Em vez de uma série de projetos aleatórios, um programa de trabalho coerente a médio prazo seria extremamente benéfico, incentivaria o investimento e evitaria a regressão."

<sup>38</sup> "Em vez de uma série de projetos aleatórios, um programa de trabalho coerente a médio prazo seria extremamente benéfico, incentivaria o investimento e evitaria a regressão."

<sup>39</sup> "...mas que se apresentam como mais favoráveis eleitoralmente, num populismo que a cidade já não está em condições de suportar."

<sup>40</sup> "Em reabilitação, o bom senso é imprescindível, sobretudo para que não haja concessões ao "modernismo", apenas vulgar e com pouco ou nenhum contexto, confundindo-o com o moderno."

<sup>41</sup> "...se não houver a preocupação de respeitar o que recebemos, perderemos a nossa memória e a memória dos nossos antepassados, e acabaremos por acabar com os regionalismos e a "reabilitar" tudo ao molho..."



later” (*INV7, INV17, interviews*) Aside from this, the restored lobby of the building was the subject of vandalism in November 2019, perhaps speaking to the wider social context of the city or the amount of local engagement with the historic environment.

However, it is not only the physical state of the environment that is put at risk by a lack of political interest. There is even concern over social and functional abandonment of Largo de Mem Ramires, despite the relatively recent public realm works there, that “runs the risk of disappearing<sup>42</sup>” (*QRP9*). That is, political apathy, perpetuating this as a marginal space, fosters social and associative apathy and a complete loss of identity in this area. Low political value is viewed as perhaps the key weakness in this area, putting at risk and heralding decline in many other value categories. While there is a clear acknowledgement that the area “has potential” (*QRP5; QRP8; QRP11; QRP12*), this will never be realised without governmental brokerage, which would help to stimulate wider recognition of its “history, experiences and memories” (*QRP12*).

### **What would make you want to live here?**

Given the general complaints about the area, participants and respondents were asked what would make them want to live in the *Mouraria* or, if they already do, why, and what are the factors that (would) keep them here? All responses focused on amenity, seeking more political interest in the space through Council Action. This could be through cleaning the zone, restoring the buildings it owns within the area, or by incentivising relocation of other people and businesses to the *Mouraria*. Despite the often-poor state of the historic environment, some respondents stated that they would happily live in the area without any change, while others commented that several recent rehabilitations show there must be demand. Those with young families often had different views:

“It’s the same across the centro histórico. If you have kids you have to stop by your door, let them out and unload your shopping. At the same time people can’t pass you on these narrow roads so you have to hold up the traffic. When you finish you have to go and park far away and walk back. No. Some people choose that, but it isn’t for me.” (*INV11, interview*)

Mobility is therefore a limiting factor preventing families with children settling here. This is more acutely felt since the closure of the *Escola básica de São Salvador*, now the *Incubadora d’artes* on R. Luís de Camões, and the relocation of students to Sacapeito in 2015. This move means that children residing in the “centro histórico” cannot walk to school so easily, thereby increasing car use in the city. The importance of former nearby educational establishments, including *São Salvador*, but also the former *Girassol* nursery

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<sup>42</sup> “está em risco de desaparecer.”





school and the private *Colégio de Santa Margarida*, which all closed within the last 15 years, should not be underestimated. A number of the older ladies still living in the *Mouraria* (particularly the Blue Zone) spent their professional lives employed at one of these institutions, where shared memories persist mixed with sadness over the absence of children in the zone today (*INV5, INV6, INV8, INV9, INV12, interviews*).

Retired teachers remain in this zone and state they would never move away. However, in the Blue Zone, some have moved from first storey flats to ground floor units elsewhere in the same street due to mobility limitations. Another group comprises established families of medical professionals, having co-located living and work premises. This group has been active in the private rehabilitation of their properties (both homes and workspaces), contributing to the improved appearance of the Blue Zone in comparison to the remainder of the *Mouraria*<sup>43</sup>. This relatively affluent group had until recently been the only major driver of considered rehabilitation. The ophthalmological clinic and the analytics laboratory remain, but the family of the only paediatrician in town, who passed away in 2009, relocated to Cascais last year. Their former house, however, holds important associative memories for *Scalabitanos* between their 30s and 50s, whose first medical experiences occurred here: “It’s a beautiful house. You enter the atrium, pass by the courtyard garden, ascend the stone steps and wait in a chamber with a hipped ceiling” (*INV13, interview*). The family’s patriarch is commemorated in the *Ribeira*, in “the only square in Portugal not named after the person commemorated in the statue<sup>44</sup>” (*INV18; INV1, interviews*).

The links with *Ribeira* are not, therefore, only historical through the trade link, but within very recent memory they have been social in nature. The most commented-upon material feature of the Blue Zone by local people is related this link, with residents pointing out on several occasions the remaining tethering rings on building façades where horses bringing goods would be tethered. This small detail forms an important part of community associative understandings of place, the loss of which, then would be more impactful than its material value.

Other groups living in the Blue Zone include “traditional families” with long-held interests in lands across the city; recently-arrived artists and “artisans” who have taken advantage of the ready-made live-work units available in here; and some younger childless families – commensurate with a nascent “creative class” (Florida, 2002), injecting a fresh perspective on the immaterial culture of production associated with the zone (and particularly with the

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<sup>43</sup> *There is now a very limited level of wider interest, but this is acknowledged to be for the following reason: “resulta apenas da iniciativa de um ou outro investidor, “à boleia” da “bomba” turística que, mesmo assim, mal se nota na cidade. Nada disso resulta de qualquer programa elaborado e prosseguido pela CMS” (QRP15).*

<sup>44</sup> *Praça Oliveira Marreca*



Figure 62: Tethering Rings are particularly important and valued by residents in this neighbourhood.



Figure 63: Relationship between the city centre (green) and areas of expansion (superimposed plans). New development is being encouraged far from the city, focused around highway infrastructure.

ground floor level units characteristic here). Some of this younger demographic appeared to choose the area by chance, in that an apartment of the right size was available at the right time and had been newly restored: “We didn’t choose this area specifically. I was working in Lisbon, but I found it too chaotic. We came up here, but I’m not from here, and this place was available and it’s fine” (INV19). Others, however, seized on the opportunity to rehabilitate what they perceived as “heritage interiors”, consisting of azulejos or artistic mouldings that have been in situ for hundreds of years and wanting to be good custodians of them even in the face of perceived municipal apathy (and, in some cases, perceived obstruction).

Within the Red Zone, an established generally “middle class” and retired community persists in the relatively fewer dwellings that remain, although incomers comprising students at the *Instituto Politécnico* reside in some units due to low rental prices. Portuguese investors have recently purchased some long-unoccupied units in the space for rehabilitation, given the space’s proximity to the city, acute local need for rental units, and reasonable links to the train station. However, there is no prospect of intervention at the “Puddle Building” or other previously demolished sites in this zone.

As discussed, the population of the Yellow Zone is linked to marginal activities, and the unwillingness or inability to leave this area for some, despite its precariousness, is a direct result of the impact of the social, economic and health impacts of marginality spanning generations. While there are several exceptions to this depiction of the social constitution of the Yellow Zone, there is an acute need for state and third sector social support and enforcement processes to support the human elements of this historic environment. The overall target must be, to paraphrase one respondent, the cultivation and support of balanced communities<sup>45</sup> (QRP12).

## **Integration & management through establishing a permeable boundary**

Many respondents, and every older person interviewed stated that they would not consider moving away from this neighbourhood. Those respondents who had in fact relocated looked back fondly at the special nature of the community of the *Mouraria*, emphasising its special nature. While the zone as a whole is characterised by prostitution and other marginal activities, there remains elements of intangible culture without such a heavy moral baggage. While much of the *Mouraria*’s cultural practices have passed into memory, as noted above, a new group of artists and artisans is slowly making inroads into the area. Meanwhile, there is

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<sup>45</sup> “Divulgação do conhecimento actualizado relativamente às suas características, acessibilidades, atracção de jovens casais, recuperação de vivências e introdução de novos hábitos, de modo equilibrado e no respeito pelos outros”





Figure 64: Location of commercial and services uses, from the AGU, CMS, 1947.

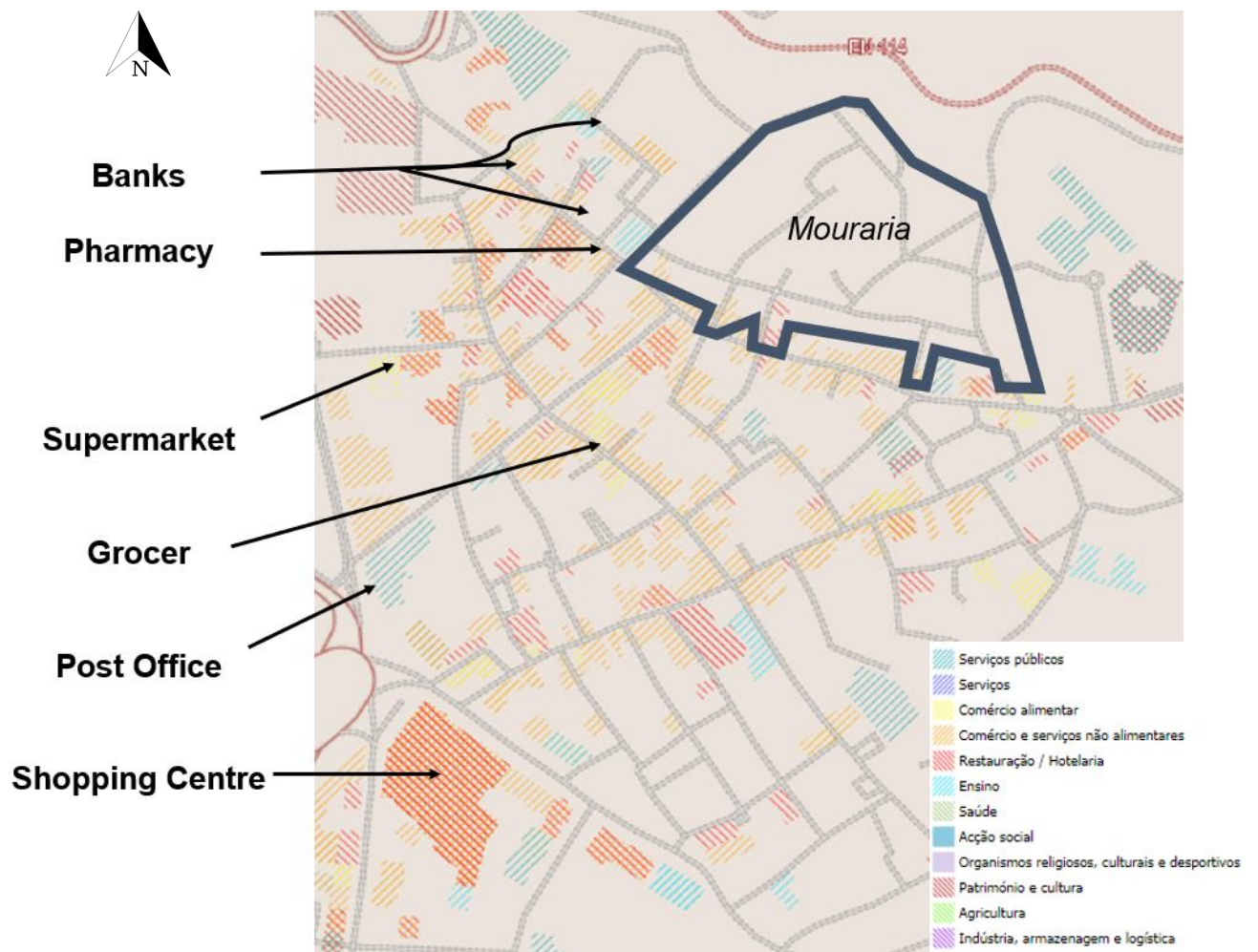


Figure 65: Location of key local services in relation to the Mouraria

an informal trade in fruit and vegetables as many properties retain cultivatable land, a legacy from those fertile (Islamic) internal courtyards evermore threatened by a push to encourage on-plot parking. Perhaps most atmospherically, on sunny days the vibrato hum of traditional acapella folksongs permeate and reverberate through these spaces, as ladies sing work songs as they undertake their daily tasks (sewing, hanging washing). These are timeless melodies which in many modern city centres would be drowned out by the hum of motors, yet here form endearing parts of the local soundscape. An ethnomusicologist would be well placed to talk with interviewees *INV6*, *INV9* and *INV12* to be able to more adequately record and archive this immaterial culture.

However, to the outside, this sense of community is not immediately obvious, and several respondents who lived outside this area claimed this place was “*deserted*” (*QRF1*) and having undergone “*complete abandonment*” (*QRP7*; *QRP9*). The difference between the two can be located in terms of functional value. This, unlike many of the other value categories detailed above, is more relational. It is intimately related to the idea of “use” value, and as such is necessarily connected to amenity value. Functional value is the level to which a place/space is dependent on another for its use (Feilden 2003, Gómez Robles 2010; Szmelter 2010; ICOMOS New Zealand 2010). As Fredheim and Khalaf (2016, p.474) note, “the functional aspects of [assets]... perpetuate ‘processes’ that in turn establish and sustain ‘relationships’ and valorise ‘forms’ of heritage.”

While the *Mouraria* is dependent upon the wider *Planalto* for services, a proportionately small number of people are dependent upon the *Mouraria*. Such a relationship supports the disparity in perspective and is one of the key barriers for effective engagement in the neighbourhood. While the city’s cultural project, *in.Str*, has a healthy budget for cultural events, these wholly miss out the *Mouraria* because, “to be honest, I don’t really know specifically where it is” (*INV4*, *interview*). It was not always the case that the *Mouraria* was without services. The 1947 *Anteplano Geral de Urbanização* highlights several commercial establishments within the zone (Figure 64). The contrast today, in Figure 65, is disheartening in comparison.

Even today, despite having lost all of the restaurants/tabernas it had in 1947 and being totally devoid of services, “its location is quite favourable, as well as the ease of access and exit from this old neighbourhood<sup>46</sup>” (*QRP 15*). It is adjacent to three main banks and a host of shops. However, it continues to suffer from the gradual migration of goods and services to the south and west, “lá para baixo”, as the perception of the *Planalto* being “full<sup>47</sup>”

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<sup>46</sup> “a sua localização é bastante favorável, bem como a facilidade de acesso e de saída deste velho bairro”

<sup>47</sup> “Desde logo porque o Planalto está esgotado e a cidade cresceu “lá para baixo””



perpetuates (QRP15). Residents feel this shift, and are grateful for the remaining pharmacy (*Batista*), one of two remaining in the “Centro Histórico” as the others resettled elsewhere, and for the one remaining supermarket (*Minipreço*), considered to be better value than the local grocer (*Pérola*, known locally as *Wenceslau*). There is an impression that, eventually, the majority of commerce will leave the “Centro histórico”, and public policy must ensure this tendency of abandonment is reversed within an integrated approach for the whole city. There is clear opportunity for *in.STR* and the *Circulo Cultural Scalabitano* to encourage cultural events in Largo de Mem Ramires, while *ACES* and the Council, in can actively encourage start-ups and companies looking for premises to use the empty units within the *Mouraria*.

Functional considerations are also key to boundary work – in this case, the merits of establishing a boundary so that it can be made permeable to new functional relationships while at the same time not undermining the area’s significance. The medieval ghetto did have clear gateways for entry and exit, sealed after the *Angelus* sounded (INV2, *interview*). These boundaries and sense of exclusion were intentional, and the neighbourhood developed along a principle of separateness emphasised through morphology and topography. One of the reasons the neighbourhood is under threat is because of precisely this, and the challenge within this project has been how do we integrate the neighbourhood (functionally) without destroying its significance and particularity?

While the term “boundary”, as some people noted, implies exclusion<sup>48</sup> (QRP13), others proposed a boundary (whether demarcated on site or simply on a map) to delimit functional or character zones, while the overriding opinion was that a boundary should be scientifically and evidentially based in a historical context. Luckily, the current morphology provides a useful indicator which, along with topography and archaeological evidence as to the broad alignment of the city walls, establishes a character- and evidence-based boundary, expanded to include those properties on R. Serpa Pinto with a functional relationship with the zone as per Figure 66.

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<sup>48</sup> “Não creio que se deva delimitar mas sim integrar.”

## Statement of Significance

The *Mouraria de Santarém* is an example of a medieval Portuguese “ghetto”. It has retained a morphology reflective of medium to high population density, co-location of workshops/retail and habitation, and visual isolation from the wider city.

Its functional relationship with *Ribeira* and its interface with the wider *Planalto* explain its evolution over time. The presence of mercantile housing in the Blue Zone is coterminous with the boom in commercial river trade. Changes and alterations can be interpreted within the context of the wider evolution of Santarém.

Substantial damage has been caused both by neglect and by insensitive development over the past 30 years. The result is that the Red Zone is a highly compromised historic urban landscape, impacting the integrity of the *Mouraria* as a whole. This has exacerbated social and economic inequalities in the neighbourhood, while stifling investment.

Damage and erosion of character has resulted from poor management of city centre car parking, lack of coordinated planning for vehicular mobility through the “centro histórico”, and by a local over-reliance on the private car.

OVERALL	BLUE	YELLOW	RED
AESTHETIC			
AMENITY & USE			
SOCIAL/COMMUNITY / COHESION			
MATERIAL			
MOBILITY			
ECONOMIC / COMMERCIAL			
ASSOCIATIVE			
ENVIRONMENTAL / HYDROLOGICAL			
SCIENTIFIC & EVIDENTIAL			
GOVERNMENTAL / POLITICAL			
TOTAL			

Table 27: Baseline conditions in the Mouraria and each Character Area, 2020.

[Green = positive; Amber = neutral; Red = negative]



The neighbourhood has a high potential for rehabilitation on the basis of the following:

- High remnant material value, although this needs urgent attention.
- High associative values, not only in the context of the city, but in the story of Portugal itself.
- Unparalleled environmental context, with spectacular quality natural views over the Tagus Valley, while screened from the wider city. There is opportunity to capitalise on these topographical advantages as a “garden neighbourhood”.
- Active, yet often vulnerable, resident community.
- Examples of high architectural integrity, with fine period detailing.

The current baseline condition for each individual value category, and separately for each Character Area, was outlined in Chapter 6, and is presented here in synthesis in Table 27.

Development projects in this area should aim to conserve or enhance each of these value categories, feeding into the conservation and enhancement of the overall significance of the *Mouraria*’s historic urban landscape.

The dominant discourse today among many participants, and not necessarily challenged in this project, is that the *Mouraria* is degraded. To some, it is even degraded to the extent of having “lost its heritage<sup>49</sup>” (*QRP3*), and that “it is a disgrace to see the state to which the area has reached, probably being the most degraded in Santarém<sup>50</sup>” (*QRP15*). While this point is rather an extreme case formulation (Pomerantz, 1986), and arguably other parts of the “centro histórico” are in a similarly precarious position, there is widespread agreement as to the causes of the area’s low amenity and use value, due to its social, physical and political marginality as a proxy for its status value. The intersection of value indicators is a key determinant in the current state of the historic landscape today. To this end, and building on the data established and analysed in this study, a baseline has been established, from which targeted objectives can be extracted as monitoring indicators for each value measure.

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<sup>49</sup> *É uma zona que infelizmente perdeu o seu património*

<sup>50</sup> *“é uma vergonha ver o estado a que a zona chegou, sendo mesmo, provavelmente, a mais degradada de Santarém.”*

## Key proposals for an integrated approach to safeguarding the future of the Mouraria

### Immediate priority

The following measures are required over the short term to safeguard the Mouraria from further immediate negative impacts.

Value Category	Focus	Action	Example Indicator (as relevant)
** Amenity & Use Material Associative Scientific & Evidential	<p>The Council should create and maintain a Local List of Heritage at Risk. The List will include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Buildings in a 'very poor' state of conservation</li> <li>• Unoccupied buildings</li> </ul> <p>This register should identify property owners and liaise directly with them to establish a tendency in favour of rehabilitation. The Council will expedite and prioritise the approval of planning applications leading to the rehabilitation of these structures.</p>	<p>As allowed by law, the Council should increase the <i>/M/</i> on all unoccupied dwellings. Criminal and financial penalties should be enforced against landowners of buildings at risk of collapse that could have been mitigated.</p>	<p>Nº buildings on this Register.</p> <p>Nº buildings removed from register within a period of x years.</p>
** Mobility Environment & Hydrological Amenity & Use	<p>The Council should work with <i>Abispark</i>, the private management company awarded a twenty-year management contract, on a city parking strategy to reduce car dominance in public spaces outside of designated car parks.</p>	<p>A renewed tariff scheme could entice people towards less used car parks. Proper enforcement could resolve chaotic parking at Largo do Barão and create amenity space to enjoy natural setting.</p> <p>There is a clear need for public transport efficiency improvements, and a "shuttle" service connecting the dispersed "centros históricos".</p>	

Value Category	Focus	Action	Indicator
<p><b>**</b></p> <p>Scientific &amp; Evidential</p> <p>Social, Community &amp; Cohesion</p>	<p>Significant “communities of knowledge” exist which address, discuss and are responsible for different aspects of the <i>Mouraria</i>’s evidential value. These include the following:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Historians, regarding origin stories (i.e. <i>Mouraria</i>)</li> <li>• Architects and engineers for current material state and improvement strategies</li> <li>• District archaeologists for care of objects of material value</li> <li>• DGPC for archiving of archaeological and heritage assessments</li> </ul> <p>Access to each of these professionalised communities is highly controlled, through professional category identities and gatekeepers. However, an undervalued chunk of this zone’s significance resides in local knowledge, experience and familial connections.</p> <p>This is a clear example of “authorised heritage discourse” (Smith 2006); the delineation of communities of knowledge through the exclusion of those who do not appear to meet the right technical and professional behaviours (Housley 1999) often established through specialised vocabularies or lexical choice (Levinson, 1997). Such restrictions result in unnecessary hierarchies where residents feel powerless and ignored, and valuable local evidential knowledge is lost.</p> <p>(While the <i>Associação dos Moradores do Centro Histórico</i> exists, it is an advocacy group with paid membership and no formal role in the development process.)</p>	<p>Establish a centralised multidisciplinary information system through which all groups with pool information about the city’s heritage offer, as a “one stop shop”. The <i>Arquivo Distrital de Santarém</i>, which is already open to the public and incidentally is situated on the boundary of the <i>Mouraria</i>, appears best placed to host this.</p> <p>Given the advanced age of many residents of the <i>Mouraria</i> and wider “centro(s) históricos(s)”, a programme of oral histories should be pioneered at the earliest opportunity to document local living memories so that they are not lost to future generations.</p> <p>Make all planning applications/project publicly available for consultation, both at the <i>Loja de Cidadão</i> and online. Advertise submitted projects publicly and invite comments for a determined period prior to decision. In this way, residents can become more engaged in where they live, and technical officers can make more informed decisions.</p> <p>Efforts should be made to encourage the use of straightforward language (“plain Portuguese”) in public sector communications and reports. Professionalised modes and styles of communication, the resulting “institutional talk” has established restrictions on the nature of interactional contributions from those outside these communities (Drew and Heritage, 1992), perpetuating exclusion.</p>	

Value Category	Focus	Action	Example Indicator (as relevant)
** Scientific and Evidential	<p>Seek the retention of the morphological integrity of the Blue Zone.</p> <p>The Blue Zone retains the greatest integrity with regard to Islamic-type plots and street enclosure. This is combined and overlaid with evidence of epochal alterations and changes that have maintained or enhanced the evidential qualities of the area.</p>	<p>Urgent intervention is required at Council-owned nº 1 Tv. Surradores to avoid collapse (Drone survey 170120). This building serves as integral to the morphological structure and integrity of the streetscape at the junction with R. 15 de Março in the middle of the Blue Zone. Such action, or its facilitation, would demonstrate a positive example in the rehabilitation of the city's historic urban landscape.</p>	<p>Successful integrated rehabilitation of n.º 1 Tv. Surradores, and monitoring of use (e.g. as an Asset of Community Value.)</p>
** All	<p>There is a perception by all stakeholders that the Council, despite playing lip service to its commitment to the "centro histórico", is disinterested.</p> <p>Current rehabilitation in the <i>Mouraria</i> is undertaken solely on a case-by-case basis by private individuals or developers. Despite administering financial instruments including IFFRU through the GTC, this body is under-resourced. The disbandment of the GTC in early 2020 appears regressive and misconceived given that this is the main point of contact between local residents and merchants with the Council.</p>	<p>Adoption of a new PDM as a positively prepared and evidentially sound spatial strategy, thereby demonstrating conformity with national and regional level policy. Most importantly, this will be up to date, and attention will be given to regular monitoring.</p> <p>The Council should consider a "scheme of delegation", through which officers are given greater autonomy to facilitate cooperation with applicants and the issuing of permissions for the "Centro histórico".</p>	

Value Category	Focus	Action	Example Indicator (as relevant)
<p>**</p> <p>Governmental &amp; Political</p> <p>Social, Community &amp; Cohesion</p>	<p>Citizen-centred approach to management. The Council and municipal companies are currently neglecting their statutory duties relating to keeping their buildings and the public highways safe. This not only puts citizens at risk, but these agencies could put themselves at risk of legal action.</p>	<p>Development of managerial skills, capacity building, monitoring systems, performance indicators.</p>	<p>% n° and size of holes/irregularities in the public highway</p> <p>Amount of time taken to resolve issue (target: 1 week)</p> <p>N° publicly owned buildings unoccupied (target: 0)</p> <p>N° publicly owned buildings in poor state of conservation (target: 0)</p> <p>N° ways in which citizens can contact the Council</p> <p>N° days to wait before receiving an acknowledgement of query/ complaint/ suggestion (target: 3 working days)</p> <p>N° days to wait before receiving a considered response (target: 15 working days)</p>

Value Category	Focus	Action	Example Indicator (as relevant)
<p>**</p> <p>Aesthetic</p> <p>Governmental &amp; Political</p>	<p>There is evidence that projects for the <i>Mouraria</i> have been impeded both during the application process and post-permission. Adoption of a PPS for the “Centro histórico” would avoid delays and miscommunications due to the need for the DGPC to be consulted on each planning application.</p> <p>Design guide parameters could be useful, including the maintenance of strong street enclosure with active façades. This guidance would establish a level of certainty to investors and residents that their improvement project would be acceptable in principle.</p>	<p>Adoption of a PPS for the “Centro histórico” . This would constitute a positive strategy for the conservation and enhancement of Santarém’s historic urban landscape, with specific advice for development specificities in each zone. It would, importantly, establish certainty for investors and residents in the design of rehabilitation projects.</p>	

## Other priorities

The following measures are required over the short to medium term to safeguard the *Mouraria* from further immediate negative impacts.

Value Category	Focus	Action	Example Indicator (as relevant)
Aesthetic Associative	View of the Torre das Cabaças to the west on the opposite side of an urbanised river valley, channelled and framed by low-rise buildings fronting R. 15 de Março. This view is at once important yet potentially most at risk from inappropriate development. (see Figures 53 & 67a)	As such, projects involving the alteration to building heights fronting R. 15 de Março or development on plots to the rear of R. Serpa Pinto should consider the visual impact on this viewpoint. The objective being that eastward views of the Torre from R. 15 de Março are conserved and enhanced.	
Amenity & Use Social, Community & Cohesion Environmental & Hydrological	Some dwellings within the <i>Mouraria</i> are still without internal bathrooms or kitchens, particularly in the Yellow Zone (Figure 67c). More properties are either uninhabited or are in a poor state of conservation. And many more are without “safe” electrical, gas or ventilation arrangements.  The efficiency of water systems should be improved in tandem with other improvements, in this context of water inefficiency and stress.	Proactive efforts should be made to encourage improvements in safety, amenity and efficiency by public bodies.  Water efficiency measures should be encouraged and built in to all new installations.	% properties achieving current standards in terms of: 1) Private bathroom and kitchen 2) State of conservation 3) Safety of electrics, gas and ventilation % properties achieving average water consumption of 110l per person per day (Águas de Portugal, 2019).



Figure 67: a) View of the Torre de Cabaças should be conserved and enhanced; b) there is opportunity for community assets, like these steps in the Blue Zone, to be registered as Assets of Community Value; c) efforts should be focused to ensure all dwellings, like this unit in the Yellow Zone, should be equipped with a functioning bathroom and kitchen.



Value Category	Focus	Action	Example Indicator (as relevant)
Amenity & Use Social, Community & Cohesion Scientific & Evidential	The socio-economic and demographic profile of the <i>Mouraria</i> is mixed, largely distinct between Character Zones. Ongoing monitoring of these dynamics is necessary to be able to better target support and resources.	Consideration should be given to the use of properties in the <i>Mouraria</i> . Applications for Change of Use (e.g. Commercial; Tourist) should be considered in the context of the immediate neighbourhood/ character zone.	% occupation of properties by type, (esp. owner-occupied or rented housing) per Character Zone.
Social, Community & Cohesion	Promote and support measures by which local heritage can be used to improve public health and wellbeing. In light of the physical and mental vulnerability of local populations, support is required.	<p>This could take several forms:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>To support the vitality of “Centro histórico” populations, proportionate financial contributions could be sought from new development outside this area (e.g. through <i>peregrinação compensatória</i> – Art. 5.º &amp; 18.º <i>LBOTU</i>; Art. 135.º - 142.º <i>RJIGT</i>)</li> <li>Heritage is able to address challenges such as social isolation, low self-esteem, mental health difficulties such as depression and anxiety and physical health challenges including increasing physical activity in children and adults (Heritage Counts, Historic England 2014). The AEDPHCS is perhaps best placed to lead engagement programmes, including volunteering, for local communities, and to seek funding to support such programmes.</li> <li>Encourage third sector support for communities</li> </ul>	Health outcome indicators (SNS) Nº financed social projects in the <i>Mouraria</i> .



Figure 68: a & b) Efforts should be made to avoid the exploitation of public parking by private enterprise; c) Streets are highly permeable, and with a high water table, contamination of groundwaters through the use of herbicides and other urban pollutants is probable.

Value Category	Focus	Action	Example Indicator (as relevant)
Social, Community & Cohesion	A key objective should be the avoidance of loss of the few locations for social interactions in the public realm, specifically spaces where people can sit and chat comfortably (Figure 67b).	Particularly important identified spaces of congregation should be designated as “assets of community value”. Such designation could mean that, if a developer wanted to remove this asset, s/he would be required to compensate for the loss of this asset within the neighbourhood.	Each character area (Red, Yellow, Blue) to retain at least one Asset of Community Value.
Aesthetic Material Associative	Current infrastructure is visually intrusive and damaging to façades. Older cabling is simply overlaid with the new, further compromising integrity. Agreements should be made with EDP, <i>Águas de Santarém</i> and telecommunications companies regarding the integration of infrastructure into the historic environment.	Companies should be encouraged to sustainably dispose of outdated infrastructure. Companies should collaborate to ensure supply solutions are provided that integrate utilities as far as possible, without aggravating damage to the built environment.	
Material Aesthetic Amenity & Use	Use of materials and construction that do not aggravate known (or likely) environmental problems. There should be an assumption against the replacement of functionally effective materials.	The Council/DGPC should research and promote a range of suitable materials available on the market.	% dwellings demonstrating structural integrity in terms of materials, with encouragement for like-for-like replacements.
Scientific & Evidential Associative Mobility Environmental & Hydrological	On-plot and subterranean parking should be discouraged in this area, given their negative impact on historically significant plot configurations and the strongly negative environmental and hydrological impacts.	Efforts should be made to promote Modal Shift through alternative modes of transport. The <i>Santarém Acessível</i> scheme should be resurrected and implemented, better enabling vulnerable residents navigate the <i>Mouraria</i> especially in wet weather.	% journeys made to work / school / shops per mode of transport.

Value Category	Focus	Action	Example Indicator (as relevant)
Economic and Commercial Mobility	<p>“Problematic” city centre uses that disproportionately block the number of spaces for resident and visitor parking should be enforced against, while given support for reasonable alternatives. (See Figure 68a)</p>	<p>Commercial operations reliant on motor vehicles should be required to supply evidence of their ability to operate without a significant impact on the availability of public parking. This evidence should be made binding/ enforceable to avoid losses to the local economy and reduce pressure for on-plot parking in the historic urban landscape.</p>	
Economic and Commercial Mobility	<p>The loss of local services has precipitated a loss of residents in the <i>Mouraria</i>. To stem this tide, in commercial, retail or office projects submitted in the city of Santarém, an “impact assessment” should be submitted which assesses the impact of the proposal on the ARU’s vitality and viability, including local consumer choice and trade in the town centre and wider area, up to five years from the time the application is made. It should also consider the impact on existing, committed and planned public and private investment in the centre.</p>	<p>The Council should apply a “sequential test” to applications for city centre commercial and retail uses. That is, sequentially, it should require applications for compatible uses to be located within the ARU; if it cannot be accommodated there, then edge of centre locations should be considered. Only if suitable sites are not available should out-of-centre sites be considered. When considering edge of centre and out-of-centre proposals, preference should be given to accessible sites that are well connected to the town centre by pedestrian, cycle and public transport.</p> <p>Policy should determine appropriate main city centre uses (i.e. retail, entertainment, health, office and cultural facilities) that people rely on, aiming to keep these concentrated within the existing city (especially the “centro histórico”), avoiding new development on ‘greenfield’ sites in areas of expansion (as Figure 63).</p>	<p>% of City Centre commercial and retail uses retained within the “centro histórico” ARUs. (Target: “Centro histórico” first)</p>

Value Category	Focus	Action	Example Indicator (as relevant)
Historical, Temporal, Cultural, Identity	<p>Efforts should be made to interpret and integrate the multi-faceted urban story of this zone within the wider urban narrative. This could take the form of interpretation boards, trails, or even the hosting of cultural and community events in this part of the city. Attention should also be given to such structuring physical components of this narrative include street pattern, enclosure, wider connections and select architectural details (e.g. tethering rings).</p> <p>Show support to private initiative to open to the public/community locally significant interiors (e.g. Monument of Municipal Interest at N.º 22-26 Tv. Surradores).</p> <p>Actors should consider and promote local heritage in a thematic way to provide greater opportunities to link assets and co-ordinate activities.</p>	<p>Private and public projects should have regard to this narrative. Major development (e.g. &gt;20dw or &gt;0.5ha) should submit a "heritage assessment" detailing how each heritage value/significance will be conserved and/or enhanced.</p> <p>This should include the following:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1) Explanation of overall objective, including why changes are desirable/necessary; 2) Demonstrate understanding the significance of the historic urban landscape, and site location's role within that; 3) Identify proposed changes 4) Assessing the impact of proposals against each value category; 5) Set out justification for preferred option in light of this assessment.</li> </ol> <p>Any intervention that would result in negative harm to this should not be permitted. And efforts should be made to maintain (Blue Zone), rehabilitate (Yellow Zone), and comprehensively reconstruct (Red Zone) spaces of collective associative memory for the benefit of and with clear input from the local community.</p>	
Economic and Commercial; Associative	Red Zone: Clear potential for signs and markers and even a more attractive or greener streetscene to draw interest from shoppers along R. Serpa Pinto	As part of an integrated 'trail', footfall could be increased in the <i>Mouraria</i> with animation of Tv. Caldas, Tv. Boleta and Esc. S. António. This could be done through the cultivation of greenery in the public highway (Figure 69a)	





Figure 69: Minor measures, such as the encouragement of a) street greening (Óbidos), or b) & c) interpretation boards (Silves) can encourage an increased interest and valorisation of heritage.

Value Category	Focus	Action	Example Indicator (as relevant)
Economic and Commercial	The tourism potential of the zone should be explored as a key priority for local people.	Support and assistance should be given for rehabilitation of properties and facilities for touristic purposes, avoiding negative impact. Priority should be given to projects in the <i>Mouraria</i> which incorporate public access to private space. e.g. reconnection of Beco das Olarias & Tv. Surraiores via improvements on the site of the “ <i>Puddle Building</i> ”; opening of nº 22-26 Tv. Surraiores to the public.	
Environmental & Hydrological Aesthetic	Greenery within the historic environment was observed to soften the hard landscape in the <i>Mouraria</i> and is an associative quality with Islamic urban design. There is a vast quantity of emerging literature establishing a positive correlation between greenery within the urban environment and positive mental and physical health outcomes, increased consumer spend, and higher climate change resilience (e.g. Kabisch et al., 2017)	Encouragement of “urban greening” by private stakeholders. In public policy and decision making, there should be a presumption against the replacement of private gardens or greenspaces with hardstanding.	
Environmental & Hydrological Material Amenity & Use	Water is at once the biggest physical risk and the most vulnerable resource in the <i>Mouraria</i> . While sewers were installed in the 1990s, it is still unclear how properties discharge to these, and whether there are any missed connections. It is also highly variable as to whether buildings have adequate protection from water damage. At the same time, streets here are ancient and highly permeable. This, combined with a high groundwater, means that pollution resultant from vehicular runoff and the use of glyphosate herbicides contaminates water systems (Figure 68c).	A clear target should be to avoid mutual deterioration of the historic urban landscape and water resources caused by the improper management of water in the urban environment. Consideration should be given to sustainable urban drainage systems (SuDS) to mitigate the impact of pollutants on the wider environment, while in the Red Zone rehabilitating the “ <i>Puddle Building</i> ”.	% properties with integrated and mapped water supply, drainage and wastewater systems

Value Category	Focus	Action	Example Indicator (as relevant)
Economic and Commercial Social, community and cohesion	Yellow Zone: Measures should be taken to encourage the formalisation of existing economic activities in the area in accordance with national law.	Cross agency support should be provided to support vulnerable persons, while working with landowners and business owners on regularisation.	Health outcomes (SNS) % increase in (tax) revenues from commercial establishments ( <i>Finanças</i> )



## Chapter 9

### Conclusion

Through this dissertation, a grounded approach was taken to the operationalisation of the HUL approach to conservation. It distilled the value and significance of heritage locations and the historic urban landscape of Santarém's *Mouraria*. In Chapter 5, it drew out how this was expressed in existing subnational policy and practices in the management of urban resources. It prepared an implemented a practical tool to measure value and condition of the area in practice in Chapter 6. The question of which urban and heritage values are prioritised over others in decision making, and how does this impact the significance of the historic environment, as the focus of Chapter 7. And key proposals for how an integrated approach, based on a grounded understanding of locally produced heritage values and significance, could assist in plan-led integration of this neighbourhood into the wider "centro histórico", and sustainable placemaking, were outlined in Chapter 8.

To this end, the value and significance of the historic urban landscape constituting Santarém's *Mouraria* was co-constructed, through an intertextual engagement between policy, public and private sector stakeholders and the community and, of course, me as researcher. Aside from the recommendations presented above, some of the key outcomes of this work are as follows:

- The *Mouraria* is a historically significant landscape comprising three distinct Character Areas based on current differences in morphology, socio-economic status, marginality and level of degradation.
- Planning policy relating to this historic urban landscape is out-of-date. At best it has been unhelpful, but at worst it has aggravated and hastened the decline of the neighbourhood over the past 20 years. This is due to the unbalanced way that local heritage values are considered in the determination of planning applications.
- There is little interest shown by the Council (and other public bodies responsible for management) in this area. Tangible and intangible interventions are focused elsewhere in the city in a piecemeal fashion, with no consideration of how the whole city can benefit from an integrated approach.
- There is diminishing scope for integrated improvement. Individual rehabilitation projects in the *Mouraria* have been privately led and have been highly variable. Rehabilitation is undertaken primarily because 1) the neighbourhood is 'cheap'; 2) ARU designation provides tax breaks. However, they have not been planned or phased, and respondents are clear that many have only occurred due to the property boom in Lisbon and the city's proximity to the capital (e.g. QRP15).



- With the disbandment of the GCH, and the previous reduction in competencies of Viva Santarém as ARU managers, it is unclear from where the impetus for integrated management of the HUL can come, nor how the Council can encourage emerging associativism among local residents and stakeholders. This is likely to disenfranchise people further, exacerbating problems, since there will now be no dedicated and approachable Council function to manage this zone. Although the GCH was a toothless agency, its symbolic value was high as a sign that the Council considered the “Centro Histórico” important. What is actually needed is a multidisciplinary, and citizen-inclusive municipal agency with some actual power and agency to undertake integrated planning and management of this space. This organisation would play a key role in evidence-based rehabilitation and would monitor the impacts of the measures proposed above. There is a need, given the acute state of decline not only of the *Mouraria*, for this agency to be resourced for at least a decade, albeit subject to performance review.

Despite problems, the *Mouraria* of Santarém is an area viewed with affection and with a remnant and evolving community. It is at the same time historic environment in that we know people have lived here for millennia, and a lot of material reminders of previous epochs remain *in situ*. Residents still have stories to tell relating to tangible and intangible engagement with the environment. Much wonder remains in exploring the local built environment, appreciating how bits of it seem to be just the same as it was when beyond historical memory; the structures, houses and workshops where our ancestors lived, worked and socialised are still there. And the quality of materials, too, even if they weren't particularly refined, even if we can now only wonder how they're still standing today, speak to a different type of quality that is highly valued today. The historic urban landscape speaks of skilled artisans using local resources and, in doing so, shaping the built environment as a distinct work of art firmly rooted in place.

This is so incredibly different from the mass housing development and a developmental logic so fundamentally centred on the motor vehicle that have changed our experience of the city since the mid-twentieth century. But these spaces represent a special place in our imagination. As the postmodern condition disconnects us further from our rootedness in place (Harvey, 1989), the symbolic value of the historic environment either pulls us back to the ground or, at least, gives us a sense of connectedness to others calling this place home.

We realise that ever-increasing land take is not sustainable and nor, in an era of environmental crisis and fossil fuel exhaustion, can there be a justifiable case for increasingly dispersed development. A re-concentration is required, and different models of mobility need to be investigated as a priority. The case for physical expansion of



development in Santarém is not supported by population growth data (stagnant population, see Table 2), and a planning process which fast-tracked development in its central areas could help exponentially in the integrated sustainable rehabilitation of the city. The promotion of re-concentration in Santarém could offer the following benefits:

- Relieve public finances through reduced need for maintaining (and construction of) new roads and utilities;
- Co-location of homes and jobs and existing physical and social infrastructure;
- Promote walking and cycling (improved health and well-being) and encourages the use of public transport (less traffic);
- Enable vibrant communities and supporting town and city centre activities;
- Enhance feelings of safety and security through passive surveillance (i.e. more people are around to notice anything untoward);
- Conserve rural and agricultural land and the consequential environmental, ecological and economic benefits of this;
- Encourage greater design innovation, efficiency and local distinctiveness through site-specific development.

At the same time, there remains a lot we do not know about the historic environment, or things that simply are not included in a narrative for the area. Similarly, we know there is likely to be layers of archaeological material underneath the surface, or behind a façade, but we often don't know what it's likely to tell us about the place. This needs interpretation in the present, on the basis of current knowledge and evaluative techniques. However, engagement with this historic urban landscape should proceed with the integration of the community at its core, rather than despite it which is the case at present. While the *Mouraria* was historically constructed as a ghetto, there is no justification for this to be perpetuated in the marginality of this space in the present day, given its proximity to the wider city centre.

This dissertation, despite its limited spatial scale, has revealed a host of thematic information about this rich historic environment. Separately from the schedule of interventions detailed above, there is scope for further study focusing on the following features:

- Private spaces, currently invisible to the public sphere, nevertheless can contribute to the character and significance of the area. While some of these were considered in this study, access to and views of other private spaces known to demonstrate artistic and constructive interest were currently not possible. This was a significant disappointment for the group from Aix-Marseille University, who sought a greater evidential and aesthetic insight into the construction of the historic environment. A subsequent study could focus on “private spaces” (often outside of the purview of



- planning policy) to assess their significance in the context of the overall heritage offer of the *Mouraria*.
- The topic of 'marginality' emerged as an important socio-spatial characteristic of this neighbourhood. The outcome of this project is that this marginality, although historic in origin, is not necessarily geographically determined, but rather perpetuated by failures or disconnects between current management regimes. However, due to the complex sociological tapestry present in the neighbourhood, an interdisciplinary yet sociologically led study should deepen knowledge of the *Mouraria* gaining a more nuanced understanding of its intersecting yet distinct types of intangible culture. This future study could collect oral histories and testimony, it could also critically address the 'public good' or opportunities of marginality as 'authentic' space of sociability, or as being able to cultivate 'artistic' values (e.g. for a 'creative class', Florida, 2002) in contrast to the neoliberal impacts of regeneration (Smith, 1995; Bain, 2003, Lovering and Türkmen, 2010).
- One of the main and ongoing risks to the *Mouraria* is the lack of engagement and effective management leadership by the Council. There is a timely need to propose a culturally and contextually appropriate model that takes a panoramic view as to what tools and claims-making repertoires a bottom-up movement would need to take the lead in the improved management of this and other areas in the city. Such a study would also consider how a citizen management group could be legally constituted and structured so as to be able to provide a more responsive driver of the conservation and enhancement of the historic urban landscape.





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## Appendix 1: Condition Surveys, *pro forma*

CHARACTER AND CONDITION SURVEY		
LOCATION		
<b>1 INITIAL REACTION:</b> What do you first see as making the most important contribution to the character of the area? Is the area's character defined by the public or private spaces, groups of buildings or particular views, the presence of particular materials or its trees and greenery? Do these reflect particular aspects of the area's history? Are less tangible features, such as the activity, noises and smells of the area significant? Provide some brief justification for your choices.		
FEATURE	COMMENTS	VALUE (inc. +/-)
SPACES		
BUILDINGS		
VIEWS		
LIGHT/DARK		
SURFACES		
GREENERY & LANDSCAPE		
USES AND ACTIVITY		
NOISES AND SMELLS		
GENERAL COMMENTS		

**2 SPACES:** A 'space' is normally the gap between buildings and other features. They may be formally designed or develop informally over time. They may be enclosed by surrounding buildings, trees and foliage, have structure created by the alignment and spacing of surrounding buildings or property boundaries, and be narrow or wide and open. The character of areas can depend on their uses and vibrancy, as well as the choice of paving, kerbs, seating, street furniture or the presence of formal planting or other greenery.

<b>FEATURE</b>	<b>COMMENTS</b>	<b>VALUE (inc. +/-)</b>
FORMAL / INFORMAL SPACES		
GAPS BETWEEN BUILDINGS		
MEANS OF ENCLOSURE		
BUILDING PLOTS		
WIDE/OPEN SPACES		
NARROW / ENCLOSED SPACES		
WINDING / STRAIGHT SPACES		
RELATIONSHIP OF THE SPACE TO BUILDINGS AND STRUCTURES		
USES AND ACTIVITY		
PAVING MATERIALS		
STREET FURNITURE		
IMPACT OF VEHICLES AND TRAFFIC		
USABILITY AND ACCESSIBILITY OF THE SPACE		

**3 BUILDINGS:** Do buildings make an important contribution to the character of the area and if so what features are significant to their contribution? Do buildings reflect an important period in the area's history and is this reflected in their past or current use? Do buildings share a uniform scale and size, or is there a high degree of variation that is visually attractive? Are the buildings very old or do they form a single development with shared or similar architectural detailing? Do styles of windows, doors or other features add to the visual interest of the buildings, reflect their origins and use, or form part of a designed scheme? What condition are the buildings in? Have changes increased or reduced their interest, or have they lost important features?

<b>FEATURE</b>	<b>COMMENTS</b>	<b>VALUE (inc. +/-)</b>
CONTRIBUTION OF BUILDINGS TO THE SPACE		
SIZE/SCALE		
AGE		
MATERIALS (façade)		
WINDOWS		
DOORS		
INFRASTRUCTURE (Telecoms, water, electrics, drainage)		
ROOFS / CHIMNEYS / GABLES		
USES (PAST AND PRESENT)		
CAN YOU TELL IF A BUILDING HAS BEEN ALTERED?		
CONDITION		

**4 VIEWS:** Are there views of interest and distinction? Is a view well known because of a historical event, painting, prose or poetry, or is it popular with local residents as a part of a public place? Are views glimpsed through gaps between buildings, channelled by lines of trees or buildings, or open and expansive? Does the shape of a street create a series of views, or is a single viewing point particularly important? What features of the view contribute to its interest? Does a landmark, such as a building or group of trees, form a focal point? Does the view include an attractive frontage or roofscape? Is the view urban or rural in character? Do background features like the city's rural setting contribute to the view's attractiveness?

<b>FEATURE</b>	<b>COMMENTS</b>	<b>VALUE (inc. +/-)</b>
HISTORIC / POPULAR VIEWS		
FORM OF VIEW: SHORT OR LONG, UNFOLDING, GLIMPSED, CHANNELLED OR WIDE AND OPEN		
FOCAL POINTS		
STREETSCAPE and/or ROOFSCAPE		
URBAN/RURAL VIEWS		
VIEWS OUT OF THE SPACE		



**5 LANDSCAPE:** What landscape features contribute to the area's character and how do they affect it? Do hedgerows or grass verges create a rural feel or do street trees provide a leafy suburban character. What hard surfaces are present, are they attractively designed or do they use materials that are out of keeping with the area? Does their maintenance affect their contribution? Is a river or canal a significant feature in the area? Does it have scenic or wildlife value?

<b>FEATURE</b>	<b>COMMENTS</b>	<b>VALUE (inc. +/-)</b>
LEAFY / GREEN		
HARD URBAN LANDSCAPE		
PUBLIC/PRIVATE GREENERY		
IS WATER A KEY FEATURE OF THE AREA		
TOPOGRAPHY		

**6 AMBIENCE:** Many less tangible features, such as activity, changes in light during the day, shadows and reflections affect reaction to an area. How does the area change between day and night? Do dark corners or alleys feel unsafe at night? What smells and noises are you aware of and is the area busy or tranquil? What affect, if any, does vehicular traffic have on character?

<b>FEATURE</b>	<b>COMMENTS</b>	<b>VALUE (inc. +/-)</b>
ACTIVITIES / SOCIALISATION		
LEVEL OF ACTIVITY		
TRAFFIC		
DARK, SHADY, LIGHT, AIRY		
DAY / NIGHT		
SMELLS		
NOISES		

**7 VALUE:** Look at the notes and scores that you made, in your initial reactions survey sheet and the subsequent pages. Please distil and summarise what you perceive as the significance of this location in terms of the ten value categories presented below, noting where relevant whether you consider this makes a positive, negative or neutral contribution to the quality of place.

AESTHETIC	
AMENITY & USE	
SOCIAL / COMMUNITY / COHESION	
MATERIAL	
MOBILITY	
ECONOMIC / COMMERCIAL	
(ASSOCIATIVE) HISTORICAL / TEMPORAL / CULTURAL / IDENTITY	
ENVIRONMENTAL / HYDROLOGICAL	
SCIENTIFIC & EVIDENTIAL	
GOVERNMENTAL / POLITICAL	

**8 SIGNIFICANCE, AND THE SPIRIT OF PLACE:** Having undertaken the survey and scoring now try to sum up the character of the area in a few brief sentences, picking out the most significant positive and negative features of the area.

--

## Appendix 2: Schedule of Participants

Certain names are omitted, given the need to balance a clear and accurate presentation of the setting, with the ethical requirement to ensure beneficence and a lack of potential harm to respondents.

QRP1 - 16	Questionnaire respondents (Portuguese)
QRF1-2	Questionnaire respondents (French)
INV1	*****, CMS
INV2	Filomena, Univ. Évora
INV3	Inês, CIMLT
INV4	****, CMS
INV5	Deolinda, Resident
INV6	Victória, Resident
INV7	Tomás, Resident
INV8	Maria 1, Resident
INV9	Irene, Resident
INV10	João, Landowner
INV11	Sônia, Estate Agent
INV12	Maria 2, Resident
INV13	Lurdes, Resident
INV14	****, CMS
INV15	Bruno & André, Loja de Reabilitação
INV16	Dr Ferreira, Medic
INV17	*****, CMS
INV18	****, CMS
INV19	Young Woman, Resident
INV20	Luísa, Municipal Library
INV21	Catarina, Resident

Table 28: Schedule of respondents and participants

## Appendix 3: Schedule of Interview Questions

### Inquérito sobre a *Mouraria* de Santarém



1. Sendo que a "*Mouraria de Santarém*" abrange R. 15 de Março, Trav. Surradores, Trav. Mouraria; Trav. 15 de Março; Calçada de Mem Ramires; Beco dos Agulheiros; Beco das Olarias; Escadinhas de S. António; Trav. Caldas; Trav. Boleta; Largo de Mem Ramires; Largo do Barão; R. Luís de Camões....Faça um comentário geral sobre a zona da *Mouraria* de Santarém
2. Sendo o mais específico possível, indique sua percepção das forças / fraquezas / oportunidades / ameaças dessa área.
3. Considerando que os "valores" são definidos como "um aspecto de valorização atribuído pelas pessoas a um bem patrimonial, usado para justificar a importância do património", quais são os valores mais importantes na *Mouraria* de Santarém? E porquê? [i.e. *Quais aspectos ou características da Mouraria considera importantes ou valiosos, e porquê?*]
4. O que considera reabilitação urbana?
5. Na reabilitação urbana do edificado, considera que os fins, ou seja, para quem, que, onde e como, são factores prioritários na operacionalização actual do processo de reabilitação urbana? Explique a sua resposta.
6. Olhando para o panorama em específico da *Mouraria* e geral da Zona Histórica (*Planalto e Ribeira/Alfange*) qual é a sua opinião sobre a estratégia, intervenção e gestão da autarquia até agora? Concorda/discorda? O que faria diferente?
7. Considera que as intervenções pontuais, que têm vindo a ser efetuadas e que estão previstas, se traduzem em melhorias em termos de valorização do significado e do uso do lugar, a curto, médio e longo prazo?
8. Considerando a planta acima qual considera que deve ser a delimitação da área do *Mouraria*? E porquê?
9. Considerando a situação existente na *Mouraria*, que factores ou mudanças o atrairiam para morar ou visitar nesta área?

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