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BEYOND LOSS

RACE, DISPLACEMENT AND THE POLITICAL

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Para elas, as primeiras – mãe e avó –
entre a pele e a memória, guardo o meu maior amor

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Abstract

Practically all destroyed today, self-produced neighbourhoods like Santa Filomena, Azinhaga dos Besouros or Fontaínhas, in Amadora – while formed, in large measure, by class and racial oppression – have become important locus of collective political autonomy, later to be perceived by national and local authorities as averse towards the State and its institutions. In the 1990s, the relation amid urban planning, migration fluxes and urban criminality set the tone of the public debate on housing precarity, turning rehousing processes – under the Special Rehousing Program (PER) – not only essential in fulfilling housing rights, but also as important tools in redesigning economic and political relations in urban space and ensuring surveillance over black and Roma populations, in particular. Rehousing was accompanied by the strengthening of an urban security apparatuses, answering to a socio-political consensus around (anti)blackness – grounded on a narrative (re)framing black bodies/territories as imminent threats to public security – mirrored in institutional directives, public policies and police interventions. In this context resistance became an essential condition of existence, namely through the rebuilding of *homeplace* where it was somehow possible to envisage black well-being under, but beyond, black loss. Portuguese black rap, mostly born within these territories and now continued in public housing quarters, has been responsible to retell and re-imagine this spatialized resistance, by opposing black humanity to black disposability.

While, throughout the decades, urban scientists accompanied both these territories and processes, academic debates have been largely evading/depoliticizing race and racism as a key political category and a socio-political relation in structuring and spatializing urban inequalities. Considering the key role played by academia in framing urban realities and informing public policies, this thesis analyses how racial violence and black authorship have been obliterated from the canon of Portuguese urban studies. Moreover, this project aims to understand the pervasiveness of antiblack governmentalities within contemporary urban space management and its continuous impact on reframing the livelihoods of black populations. Accordingly, the research focuses on unravelling the relationship between the Portuguese State and impoverished black populations of peripheralized neighbourhoods in the municipality of Amadora, by considering how contemporary urban dispossession, displacement, confinement, surveillance and violence – fostered by rehousing and security policies – are historically linked to State's efforts to disrupt and contain black political organization and solidarity. In dialogue with the experiences and analysis of black inhabitants which have been relocated in Casal da Mira, complemented by the knowledge production forwarded by black rappers and the analysis of academics, activists, public servants and politicians,

the project maps and analyses the relation between rehousing policies, urban security policies and (extra)legal racial violence, particularly police brutality.

KEYWORDS: Race, Space, State, Violence, Loss, Portugal

Resumo

Hoje praticamente destruídos, bairros autoproduzidos como Santa Filomena, Azinhaga dos Besouros ou Fontaínhas, na Amadora – embora, em grande medida, resultado da interseção da opressão de raça e classe – tornaram-se lugares fundamentais de autonomia política coletiva, mais tarde entendidos, pelas autoridades centrais e locais, como espaços de aversão ao Estado e às suas instituições. Nos anos 1990, a relação entre planeamento urbano, fluxos migratórios e criminalidade urbana ditou os termos do debate público sobre precariedade habitacional, tornando os processos de realojamento – ao abrigo do Programa Especial de Realojamento (PER) – essenciais para cumprir o direito à habitação mas também instrumentos para redesenhar relações económicas e políticas no espaço urbano e assegurar a vigilância sobre populações negras e Roma/ciganas, em particular. Os processos de realojamento foram acompanhados pelo reforço de um aparato de segurança urbana que procurava responder a um consenso sociopolítico em torno da (anti)negritude – que entendia corpos/territórios negros como ameaças iminentes à segurança pública – espelhado em diretivas institucionais, políticas públicas e intervenções policiais. Neste contexto, a resistência tornou-se condição essencial de existência, nomeadamente através da reconstrução da *casa* como espaço onde era/é, de certa forma, possível perspetivar o bem-estar negro sob mas para além da perda. O rap negro português nascido, na sua grande maioria, nos territórios autoconstruídos e agora continuado nos bairros de habitação pública, tem sido responsável por recontar e reimaginar estas formas de resistência espacializada, opondo humanidade ao descarte da vida negra.

Embora ao longo das últimas décadas pesquisadores/as dedicados/as aos estudos urbanos tenham acompanhado estes territórios e processos, o debate académico tem evadido e despolitizado a raça (como categoria política) e o racismo (como relação sociopolítica) como fundamentais na estruturação e espacialização das desigualdades urbanas. Considerando o papel fundamental da academia no enquadramento das realidades urbanas e na formulação de políticas públicas, esta tese analisa o modo como a violência racial e a autoria negra têm sido obliteradas do cânone dos estudos urbanos portugueses. Em seguida, este projeto procura compreender a persistência de governamentalidades antinegras na gestão do espaço urbano e as suas consequências na vida das populações. Deste modo, a investigação centra-se em explorar a relação entre o Estado português e as populações negras empobrecidas de bairros periferizados no município da Amadora, considerando o modo como a expropriação, o deslocamento, o confinamento, a vigilância e a violência – promovidos pelas políticas de habitação e segurança urbana – estão historicamente relacionados com os esforços do Estado em conter a organização política e a solidariedade negras. Em diálogo com as experiências e análises de pessoas realojadas no Casal da Mira, complementadas pela produção de conhecimento de rappers e as análises de ativistas, académicos,

funcionários públicos e políticos, o projeto mapeia e analisa a relação entre políticas de realojamento, políticas de segurança urbana e violência racial (extra)legal, em particular a brutalidade policial.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Raça, Espaço, Estado, Violência, Perda, Portugal

Acronyms

ACIME – High Commissariat for Immigration and Ethnic Minorities
BSF – Santa Filomena Neighborhood
CDU – Unitary Democratic Coalition
CMA – Amadora City Council
CNPD – National Commission for Data Protection
CPCJ – Commission for the Protection of Children and Young People
CPT – European Committee for the Prevention of Torture and Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment
CREL – Lisbon External Ring Road
CRIL – Lisbon Inner Ring Road
FCSH-UNL – Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities of the New University of Lisbon
GNR – National Republic Guard
IGAI – Directorate-General of Internal Administration
IGAPHE – Institute for Management and Disposal of State Assets
IHRU – Institute for Housing and Urban Rehabilitation
INH – National Institute for Housing
ISCTE - IUL – University Institute of Lisbon
JAE – Autonomous Road Authority
LMA – Lisbon Metropolitan Area
MAI – Ministry of Internal Affairs
MIPIP – Integrated Model of Prevention and Police Intervention in Problematic Areas and Places of Greater Criminal Incidence or Hostility towards Security Forces
NATO – North Atlantic Treaty Organization
PAAR – Self-Housing Support Program
PALOP – Portuguese-Speaking African Countries
PCP – Portuguese Communist Party
PER – Special Rehousing Program
PIPP – Integrated Program of Proximity Policing
PJ – Judicial Police
PSD – Social Democratic Party
PSP – Public Security Police
RAP – Rhythm and Poetry

SEF – Foreigner and Border Services

TIR – Statement of Identity and Residence

UEP – Special Police Unit

US – United States of America

ZUS – Sensitive Urban Areas

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I speak of this journey as a leading to my grandmother's house, even though our grandfather lived there too. In our young minds houses belonged to women, were their special domain, not as property, but as places where all that truly mattered in life took place – the warmth and comfort of shelter, the feeding of our bodies, the nurturing of our souls. There we learned dignity, integrity of being; there we learned to have faith. The folks who made this life possible, who were our primary guides and teachers, were black women (hooks 1990: 383).

She brought beauty into that house in every way that she could; she worked at joy, and she made livable moments, spaces, and places in the mist of all that was unlivable there, in the town we lived in; in the schools we attended; in the violence we saw and felt inside the home while my father was living and outside it in the larger white world before, during, and after his death. In other words, even as we experienced, recognized, and lived subjection, we did not *simply* or *only* live *in* subjection and *as* the *subjected* (Sharpe 2016: 5).

BEYOND LOSS: AN INTRODUCTION

1. Written Traces, Objectives and Pathways

Packed ferries, trains, buses. Black women in *capulanas*. Early riser people, aspirations and dreams tread the sidewalks of a phantasmatic town – it's dawn. For the time being, black women belong to the city and the city belongs to them, no other humans involved.[1] Racial capitalism requires from them a state of permanent rush: they work for their lives at the expense of their living; they come to the city to serve, to clean and to care; they dust administration buildings, vacuum universities, nurse the elderly or the children and clean the households of others, recurrently faraway from theirs. And, throughout these ordinary movements the past seems to be made every day continuous, as black women persist captive bodies[2] within the politics of melanin, echoing both the afterlife of property and their resistance to it (Spillers 1987; Sharpe 2016).

Tragically mimicking the movements of their ancestors, escaping drought and hunger, many black women and men coming from Cape-Verde docked, at first – in Alcântara – in the fifties and sixties (Carreira 1982; Gusmão 2004; Batalha 2004; Fikes 2009), as guest workers, while the vast majority landed uninterruptedly – in Portela – in the aftermath of the Carnation Revolution, looking for better working and living conditions, reuniting their families, fulfilling medical treatments or studying. Lisbon was, for many years, a fiction of the empire, as these women and men disembarked in a city which they imagined developed, to settle in neighborhoods they had never imagined could exist in the (once) heart of the Portuguese colonial empire. Indeed, besides pensions and rented rooms, there seemed to be no space for black presence in black people's own terms. Importantly, by 1960's, in Portugal, *preto* [black] was synonymous with *turra* [terrorist and guerrilla fighter], reflecting how, to borrow Enrique Dussel's expression (1993), under the Portuguese colonial *myth*

[1] I borrowed this expression from Sylvia Wynter's essay "'No Humans Involved': An Open Letter to my Colleagues", once it is a term commonly used by US judicial officers to describe unemployed black males of the inner-city ghettoes (Wynter 1994).

[2] According to Hortense Spillers there is a distinction between body and flesh: 'before the 'body' there is the 'flesh', that zero degree of social conceptualization that does not escape concealment under the brush of discourse, or the reflexes of iconography. Even though the European hegemonies stole bodies – some of them female – out of West African communities in concert with the African 'middleman', we regard this human and social irreparability as high crimes against the flesh, as the person of African females and African males registered the wounding. If we think of the 'flesh' as a primary narrative, then we mean its seared, divided, ripped-apartness, riveted to the ship's hole, fallen, or 'escaped' overboard' (Spillers 1987: 67).

of modernity – Lusotropicalism (cf. Castelo 1998) –, "guerrilla movements were seen as the proof that 'blacks' were not to be trusted, since many metropolitans saw in them a sign of ingratitude on the part of the Africans" (Batalha 2004: 138). While it is impossible to generalize the experience of Cape Verdean immigrants as tenants, anthropologist Luís Batalha (2004), argues that, by then, "it seems undoubted that 'race' played an important role" (Ibidem). Alongside precarious working conditions, difficulties in accessing resident permits and Portuguese nationality, lack of access my poor and migrant populations to bank loans and public housing, black migrants were pushed to the periphery of the city of Lisbon (Alves 2021). And, just like impoverished Portuguese rural migrants, particularly in the aftermath of World War II (Salgueiro 2001), and historically displaced Portuguese Roma people, many black women and men came to settle in and contribute to enlarge already existing peripheralized and precarious neighborhoods across the Lisbon Metropolitan Area (LMA). The fact that 'feeling cold' is commonly used to describe the arrival and the first evening spent in the diaspora, while 'being warm' is frequently used as a synonym of livelihood in self-produced communities is paradigmatic of how black families and neighbors – in a process of radical dependency, meaning solidarity (Gilmore 2022, headnotes[3]) – transformed extremely precarious spaces into *homeplace*, essential places for black well-being and resistance where "all that truly mattered in life takes place" (hooks 1990: 383). Azinhaga dos Besouros in the City Council of Amadora, Pedreira dos Húngaros in Oeiras, Marianas in Cascais, Cutelo in Seixal or Quinta do Mocho in Loures are just some examples among a total of 986 identified self-produced quarters existing in the LMA, in 1993 (Ascensão & Leal 2019), of which, some, as time went by, became *black geographies*, meaning "spatial expressions of those that recognize the inherent violence of modern territorial practices and notions of human hierarchy and seek to create a world not defined in these exclusive terms" (Bledsoe 2016: iii).

In the nineties, a public housing policy targeting self-produced neighborhoods in the metropolitan areas of Lisbon and Oporto was enacted by the Portuguese central government. The Special Rehousing Program (PER)[4] aimed at the eradication of these neighborhoods and the rehousing of all families into public housing quarters that would be built and directly managed by local authorities. Despite known precarious housing situations lived within self-produced territories, PER was also a tool in redesigning economic and political relations in the urban space, in tune with renewed capitalist anxieties, closely related to neoliberal approaches to urban redevelopment and real estate interests. While many individuals and families lost almost everything when evicted from

[3] Engaging with Roger Sanjek (1990) debate on a vocabulary for anthropological field notes and following Marshal, I consider headnotes to be "remembrances of, and reflections upon, my efforts as an anthropologist in the making" which describe encounters, and episodes "that are chiseled in memory" (1970: 167).

[4] The PER Programme was updated in 1996 with the launching of PER-families that contemplated the possibility of receiving compensations for their homes and buying a house in the private market (Self-housing Support Programme) or to return to their homelands (Returning Programme). Nonetheless, for several reasons, many families were left out of the housing census or later excluded, hence evicted without any viable solution, scattered throughout several self-produced and private neighborhoods in the LMA.

their homes without any housing solution provided by the Portuguese State (cf. Alves 2017, 2021), the wide majority was relocated into public housing quarters, such as Casal da Mira in Amadora, Bairro do Pombal in Oeiras, Adroana in Cascais, Cucena in Seixal or Terraços da Ponte in Loures – becoming States tenants.

In a southern European poor country, with a recent political claim equating (re)housing rights with democratization processes, PER was assumed as an important step to fulfil historical demands for decent housing and, therefore, red as a political victory, despite its underlying *constrains* and *shortcomings* and its obliviousness towards essential demands led by grassroots associations and resident commissions in the neighborhoods. Despite the lives of those waiting for or facing rehousing were publicly announced to be "under improvement", many people felt displaced as if time went backwards to that first cold arrival night: as if their lives were, once and again, left behind, calling to be rebuilt with (even) less autonomy than before, as people became old, and places became home. I recall the words of Luciano Carvalho, who once inhabited the self-produced neighborhood of Santa Filomena in Amadora, regarding demolitions: "when the neighborhood went down, it was as if a relative has died – we felt a void!" (cf. Henriques 2021). As his statement can be read as an analogy, indeed many people are said to have perished soon after the rehousing, *heartbroken*; others migrated to France or the United Kingdom, but most people stayed, and many have adapted to these new rehousing places claiming they wish not to be relocated anywhere else, unless it was to go back to Azinhaga or Santa Filomena. In any case, all mourned their loss of a place and a community that is not there anymore, something that has vanished forever – *homeplace*.

Being enduringly on the verge of homelessness and placelessness – first, for decades, as inhabitants of lands that they did not own and, later, in the City Council's public housing projects – is paradigmatic of how antiblackness entails living near uncertainty, violence and loss, meaning that terror and death are imminent and eminent features of black living, pushing impoverished black people into a permanent state of hold, anxiety, mourning and resistance.

According to geographer Ruth Wilson Gilmore "capitalism requires inequality and racism enshrines it" (cf. Card 2020: 0:01:40), meaning that – among other made vulnerable groups – black loss is not a *shortcoming* of racial capitalism, but one of its key components: losing one's income, one's home, one's community, one's health, one's relative, one's life or one's freedom – something I've witness, as an anthropologist, on a repeated mode, throughout these last years – is paradigmatic on racial capitalism as an ontological system of disposability. Such conditions demand black people to be in a permanent state of vigilance – *in the wake*. As Christina Sharpe frames it, different from the work of melancholia or mourning, *wake work* allows black living to take place under and despite black premature death (Sharpe 2016: 19-20). And so, it does, as emancipation and liberation are still unfinished businesses (Nimako & Willemsen 2011).

Long-lasting crossings, self-producing places, relocations or re-building *homeplace* illustrate the historical entanglements amid industrialization, urbanization, labor and black *bodies* as *flesh* (Spillers 1987) and resistance processes. From racial slavery in Guinea-Bissau or Brazil, to

Indentured Labor in São Tomé and Principe or postcolonial migration in Portugal, from ships to ferryboats or early morning buses, from kidnapping to forced work recruitment or precarious working conditions, from senzalas or slave quarters to public housing quarters, (extra)legal placelessness and homelessness seem to be a permanent condition to be imposed upon black populations in order to justify occupation and violence or as a means to re-enact it, via displacement and segregation. In the words of Jordi Rios, black populations were "conceptualized as lacking the capacity for culture and deterritorialized even from the map of Africa, commodified as labor to be bought, sold, and reproduced with no ties to geography or history" (Rios 2020: 25). While displacement disorganizes black communities by erasing what Katherine McKittrick (2011) calls a *black sense of place*, segregation seems to be effective in regulating black (i)mobility and retracing the *color line* (Douglas 1981; Du Bois 1899). Besides, segregation positions black people under unparallel monitoring and surveillance, often inhabiting urban panoptics, closely supervised by the authorities. In this regard, the production and management of legible – criminal or docile – black bodies, by the State, is not the sole responsibility of urban security policies, security forces, the justice system or the prison industry complex, as it is increasingly the role of rehousing policies, social policy institutions, high commissariats, local governments, schools and academia, among other public bodies (cf. Alves 2021; Maeso, Alves and Araújo 2021). Drawing on the work of philosopher Michel Foucault (2009)[5], and centering race on his analysis, Barnor Hesse argues that *governmental racialization* is characterized by the "social routinization and institutionalization of regulatory, administrative power (e.g., laws, rules, policies, discipline, precepts) exercised by Europeanized ('white') assemblages over non-Europeanized ('non-white') assemblages as if this was a normal, inviolable or natural social arrangement of races" (Ibidem). Hesse sustains that "it is governmental because it is concerned with regulatory and administrative rationales: assessing, determining, and controlling criteria of admission to 'European' conceptions of humanity, while shoring up colonially perceived deficiencies in 'non-European' other symbolized by the so-called but impositionally attributed racial difference" (Hesse 2007: 656-657).

Following the advice, given over a century ago, by W. E. B. Dubois (1899), the existence of self-produced and rehousing neighborhoods is not a simple *fact* but a *symptom*, and therefore, in order to understand it one has to stretch the analysis far beyond self-produced or public housing neighborhoods, towards the racial State. This means to stop staring at and framing black people as a *source of problems* and focus on the *problems faced by black populations*. While this might appear logical in the twenty-first century – as it did for many people by the end of the nineteenth –, the persistence of a white academic canon or the endurance of repressive public policies towards black individuals, families, communities and geographies, tell us otherwise: it discloses a story that insists

[5] Drawing on Michael Foucault, governmentality supports and is enacted by the State; it is an ensemble of institutions, rationalities and procedures that allow the exercise of State power over the population, having political economy as its major form of knowledge and apparatuses of security as its essential instrument (Foucault 2009).

on criminalizing blackness and in evading or depoliticizing race (and racism) as a key political category (and socio-political relation) in structuring inequalities under capitalist racial States, enduring black loss and prompting black resistance.

Philosopher David Theo Goldberg argues that the modern State is a racial State because it is racially configured in conceptual, philosophical and material terms as much as it has been directly involved in reproducing racist exclusions (Goldberg 2002). With this in mind, and focusing on the Portuguese urban context, this thesis was born out precisely of the willingness to understand the pervasiveness of antiblack governmentalities – as a form of governmental racialization – within contemporary urban space management and its continuous impact on *black lived experiences*, particularly in the municipality of Amadora (LMA). As psychiatrist Frantz Fanon (2008 [1952]) has once argued, the *lived experience of the black* entails the "imposition of race in black life", dehumanization and the constitution of black living as an object of surveillance, par excellence (Browne 2015: 7). More precisely, this thesis is an analysis of the Portuguese racial State, grounded on the lived experiences and analytical insights of black persons who have been relocated. By tackling how (once) self-produced black geographies and (now) rehousing quarters have become paradigmatic repositories of racial State violence (as well as sources of its legitimacy), this thesis pays particular attention to the role played by public institutions and authorities in shaping a socio-political consensus around (anti)blackness, grounded on a narrative that reframes black bodies and territories as imminent threats to national security and political stability. Particularly, it focuses on unravelling how the Portuguese racial State's antiblack urban order – through regulatory and administrative rationales and practices – has shaped, enounced and confronted black spatialities, so to confront any possibilities of liberation. And, more specifically, the study maps and analyzes the role played by academic knowledge production, rehousing and urban security policies, police brutality and its endorsement by Portuguese courts in not only perpetrating and sanctioning antiblack violence but also in denying black lived experiences, thus producing deafening silences.

These silences were first made evident in Portuguese public libraries, as I pursued books addressing the intersection between urban space and race/racism. Despite the fact it seemed to be evident that race played a major role in spatially organizing the LMA, its analysis was absent within academic knowledge production that I had access to in my undergraduate and postgraduate courses. And, even though these silences could be framed within broader lusotropicalist/intercultural debates in the country (cf. Araújo 2013, 2018), they could also reveal particular genealogies of knowledge within disciplines, such as urban studies or urban anthropology. Hence, Chapter I aims to tackle why Portuguese urban anthropology/studies has been evading race and racism as possible lens to understand urban segregation and inequalities. As I will be arguing further on, epistemic silences are a refraction of a more deep-rooted racist assumption about *who* and *what* is considered to be a worthwhile and pertinent subject of science, silencing both black authorship and racism, leaving racial dispossession, displacement and segregation unchallenged, in Portugal.

Contrary to what happens in academia, the debate on space and race thrived within black and antiracist grassroots collectives and associations, and the Portuguese black hip-hop movement. Particularly, rappers had focus on the *ghetto* as quintessential in addressing antiblack urban violence, displacement and black solidarity and resistance. In rap songs sung in Cape Verdean Creole, the ghetto is framed as an ambiguous place, as an *armor* and *grave* (Ne Jah ft. Euzy 2013), a subject and a verb, challenging mainstream political and academic approaches according to which the ghetto is frequently resumed to the outcome of ghettoization, meaning segregation. In this regard, Chapter II attempts to map different understandings on the ghetto as a socio-historical formation by drawing on diverse past and present academic approaches from Europe and the United States of America (US) to former African colonized territories, as well as to contemporary lived experiences and analysis in Portugal, predominantly put forward by Portuguese black rappers. Although there are many other designations to describe (mostly but not only) self-produced neighborhoods, the ghetto has been particularly embraced by black populations, public intellectuals and political activists as the ultimate word for resuming (anti)black spatialized experiences. Besides rendering visible how antiblackness is arranged throughout space, the notion of ghetto seems to simultaneously equal a place where black life and well-being are made possible.

Engaging with the ambivalence of the ghetto as a place and a concept, Chapter III analyses the rise of self-produced neighborhoods, relocation processes (as displacement and ghettoization) and public housing quarters (as segregation) by drawing on the lived experiences and analysis of black dwellers. Following bell hooks' idea of *homeplace* (1990), this chapter draws on the long-lasting history of the self-produced community of Santa Filomena, in the municipality of Amadora, as a paradigmatic example on how, under the structural racial pact, black persons – often reduced to immigrant workers facing housing precarity – transformed precarious territories into livable and joyful places. The chapter analyzes how the destruction of self-produced neighborhoods and the expulsion (as relocation) of populations to public housing quarters such as Casal da Mira, also in Amadora, reproduced displacement and homelessness as an imposed essential condition upon – not only – but mainly black communities. I engage with black inhabitant's housing histories where they unfold their analyses of the experience of displacement and rehousing under the PER Program, and explore how rehousing processes, regularly understood as improvement, can match dispossession, loss and confinement.

In this regard, urban management seems to entail both dispossession and displacement, complemented and justified by the criminalization of self-produced and rehousing quarters by the media, the Portuguese parliament and local authorities, through a set of public discourses and urban security policies and programs (e.g., Annual Internal Security Report, Sensitive Urban Areas, video surveillance programs), unleashing institutional violence. These measures aim, among other things, to contain black geographies, red as places menacing national stability. So, political disorganization through symbolic and material violence seems to be key in maintaining the racial order. Chapter IV tackles how the formation of a local, metropolitan and national political consensus around urban and internal security paved the way to a racial security contract that updated the terms of antiblack

terror within democratic Portugal. The chapter examines how the political criminalization of impoverished black bodies/territories by local authorities has publicly authorized (extra)legal police internal directives, surveillance projects and the scatter of police violence as institutional terror. Furthermore, drawing on archives on police brutality in the country, the chapter grasps the dimension of police terror at the national and municipal levels and its consequences on the way black populations analyze the State as a complex but somehow monolithic punitive institution that concurs to anti-black and anti-Roma premature death. Finally, it explores how racial violence has been re-produced by penal law and the courts, hindering black political claims to self and space and ensuring the protection of *whiteness as property.* Following the seminal work of Cheryl Harris (1993) in the United States (US),

> *Whiteness is not simply and solely a legally recognized property interest. It is simultaneously an aspect of self-identity and of personhood, and its relation to the law of property is complex. Whiteness has functioned as self-identity in the domain of the intrinsic, personal, and psychological; as reputation in the interstices between internal and external identity; and, as property in the extrinsic, public, and legal realms. Accordingly, whiteness actual legal status converted an aspect of identity into an external object of property, moving whiteness from privileged identity to a vested interest. The law's construction of whiteness defined and affirmed critical aspects of identity (who is white); of privilege (what benefits accrue to that status); and, of property (what legal entitlements arise from that status). Whiteness at various times signifies and is deployed as identity, status, and property, sometimes singularly, sometimes in tandem* (1993: 1726).

2. Method as a Political Place

Ten years ago, the self-produced neighborhood of Santa Filomena was collapsing. As a young researcher, completing her master's degree, I looked into the exercise of State sanctioned antiblack violence relentlessly spreading across the neighborhood of Santa Filomena, through evictions under the Special Rehousing Program, in the municipality of Amadora (cf. Alves 2012, 2021). By then, historian Sónia Vaz Borges (2010) was finishing writing her book, *Na Pó Di Spéra: Percursos nos Bairros da Estrada Militar, de Santa Filomena e da Encosta Nascente*, rescuing in time, with time, frames of the history of a place which was about to disappear, as people knew it. To be sure, around 2012, dozens of *non-rights* households were being evicted with no solutions, living side by side with those who were eligible for rehousing. The latter waited nervously to be rehoused (for years) in the municipal housing quarters of Casal da Boba and Casal da Mira. Whereas, as time went by, some were eager to leave a place that, indeed, was there but did not exist anymore as it was being destroyed, others expressed with unhesitating flow their preference to stay, arguing that even if life

could be tough in Santa Filomena, it would surely *worsen as they got out*,[6] especially if relocation happened in Casal da Mira, comprehended as an extremely faraway and segregated place.

Listening to the residents made me wonder how the denunciation of evictions as State violence and the constant urgent demands for rehousing as a solution – in a context of imminent homelessness and, by then, the only possible and viable alternative – were unable to tackle the apparent paradox: what the State claimed as an "improvement" meant also dispossession, displacement, the erasure of *black geographies* and the reproduction of the antiblack urban order by another name.[7] As this argument matured in my mind, it started to take shape during the writing of the PhD research project. And, when the time came, rehousing in Casal da Mira was *logically* chosen as the point of departure to analyze the pervasiveness of antiblack governmentalities within contemporary urban space management, namely housing and security policies, as well as its continuous impact on reframing black lived experiences under a narrative of improvement. Yet, following anthropologist Jaime Amparo Alves, choosing Casal Mira did not mean I intended to produce "an ethnography of a particular location, but rather a politically situated and multisided account of black encounters

[6] Interview with André and Ricardo, September 2013.

[7] While dispossession and displacement also affected poor white inhabitants as self-produced neighborhoods were destroyed (in the Lisbon and Oporto metropolitan areas) and people saw their homes being torn apart and were relocated in public housing quarters, the logics of dispossession and displacement seem to be more prominent when targeting black and Roma populations, particularly in the case of Amadora. First, throughout the decade I accompanied forced demolitions, only black and Roma families lost their homes without any housing solution, in Santa Filomena, 6 de Maio or Estrela d'África. Secondly, residential segregation (meaning, abandonment and surveillance) seems to be more evident in public housing quarters which are mostly, and almost exclusively, inhabited by black and Roma populations, of which Casal da Mira (Amadora), Cucena and Quinta da Princesa (Seixal) would be paradigmatic examples. Thirdly, building on previous academic works on self-produced neighborhoods (Cardoso and Perista 1994), black immigrant communities across the LMA were the ones who most cherished self-produced places as places where they felt secure, and where life could thrive. This is also evident when analyzing recent social protest on housing rights led by black and Roma persons, particularly the Dwellers' Assembly [*Assembleia dos Moradores*] – an initiative, launched in 2017, and prompted by collectives and inhabitants of four different self-produced and rehousing neighborhoods in the LMA, to claim collectively both the right to decent housing, water and electricity and the right to stay, in dialogue with Lefebvre's *right to the city* (cf. Falanga *et al.* 2019; Kühne 2019). Moreover, it is essential to understand that the *problem of shacks* was outlined differently when PER was enacted, if compared to the debate for housing rights in the aftermath of the Carnation Revolution, deeply connected with white poor workers and democratization processes. In the 1990's the enactment and implementation of the PER Programme, as we can see throughout several news reports and parliamentary debates (cf. Alves 2021; Maeso, Alves and Araújo 2021) was mostly framed within challenges brought by (illegalized) migrant flows, (illegalized) urban grow and *black crime*. Self-produced neighborhoods and their youth were understood as places and bodies outside the control of the State (Alves 2021). It is in this sense that dispossession and displacement targeted black populations as besides a class logic, evictions and relocations entailed a racial logic.

with the regime of terror that produces the city as an anti-black spatiality" (2018: 26). Aware of how Anthropology privileges microanalyses allowing to produce *thick descriptions* of everyday living, it appeared fundamental to take Arjun Appadurai (1988) critique of the *metonymic prisons for particular places* serious, as by confining subjects to particular locations (when delimiting a place of fieldwork), anthropologists run the risk of producing dominant representations of places and subjects. This is "particularly true to an anthropological imagination that insists on producing black communities as places of poverty, violence, and crime" and an urban order that within fragmented and multifaceted practices becomes "efficient in its promotion of life and (social) death" (Alves 2018: 27).

Maps 1, 2 and 3 | Portugal, Lisbon Metropolitan Area, Amadora and Casal da Mira[8]

More than a particular place or an exception – if and when compared to other rehousing processes or public housing quarters – I understood Casal da Mira as a possibility opened up by an antiblack urban order – a *symptom*. Therefore, the eviction and relocation processes occurred in the municipality of Amadora (e.g., in Santa Filomena or Azinhaga dos Besouros) were not framed as exceptions or shortcomings of democracy and capitalism but as consequences enabled by the rule of law and public policy making. I intended to understand the roots of residential segregation and how it entailed broader processes of racial inequalities and violence, under a grammar of social and human rights and improvement. Moreover, black encounters with the regime of terror spread beyond Casal da Mira. Indeed, I often left Casal da Mira to go to the self-produced neighborhood of 6 de Maio where forced evictions under the PER Program continued to take place; and, from there, to the City councils of Amadora or Seixal, the Ministry of Housing, police stations, cabinets of the Foreigner and Border Services (SEF), courts of justice in Amadora, Sintra or Loures, schools in Damaia, the Commission for the Protection of Children and Young People (CPCJ) in Amadora, the Cape-Verdean embassy in Lisbon or to demonstrations in the Lisbon city center where antiracist and black movements protested against institutional racism, particularly police brutality. These

[8] These maps were done with the precious help of Silvia Jorge and Aitor Varea Oro.

encounters revealed how black well-being in peripheralized territories (e.g., the self-produced neighborhood of Cova da Moura) was particularly under threat as these bodies and territories appeared to be paradigmatic repositories of State's surveillance and (extra)legal violence. To be sure, I argue that contemporary racist exclusions – just like historian Michel-Rolph Trouillot taught us for the production of silences within western historiography – do not require a conspiracy or even a political consensus, as "its roots are structural", exceeding "alleged conservative or liberal adherence" of the ones involved in public policy making or its implementation (2005: 106). The fact that modern rationalities and institutions have been profoundly shaped by colonialism, racial slavery and capitalism contributed to the globalization of racialized governmentalities, turning black communities potentially vulnerable anywhere across the globe (cf. Fanon 1969). So, electing race/racism as relevant lens to analyze contemporary power relations does not mean neglecting or silencing other political essential categories – as class or gender – but to focus on race as an essential political category in designing contemporary power relations. Besides, relating different territorial scales (e.g., urban, metropolitan and national) does not mean blurring local specificities but to explore how Amadora, and particularly its self-produced and rehousing neighborhoods, have been elected as key spaces in shaping urban and national debates on housing and urban security, allowing to explore how the racial order has been constructed in the national imaginary and experimented. Exploring the intersection between urban planning and urban security, urban and regional planner Simone Tulumello argues that "Portugal is one of the most centralized countries in Europe (and no regional/provincial-level government exists), as it is especially evident in its security policy" (2016: 5). And this is also true for the promotion and financing of public housing policies (Jorge 2022).

Engagement with previous and ongoing conversations as well as familiarity with literature and (re)housing processes or the materiality of resettlement neighborhoods in the LMA still seemed insufficient to draft a more concrete, grounded and meaningful project. Finally, after delving into more specific literature on these matters, in November 2016, I went to Casal da Mira with a friend, Natalia, to meet Emilia.[9] Emilia was generous and patient enough to listen to all my academic queries as I shortly explained my research ideas which, by then, involved meeting residents in Casal da Mira who were rehoused from the self-produced neighborhood of Santa Filomena. I told Emilia I was looking forward to understanding how people remembered their lives in places that did not exist anymore and conceived both rehousing processes and rehousing neighborhoods. Conversations on settling-relocation-resettlement would be a steppingstone to debate racial inequalities, homeplace, displacement, residential segregation and the specific contours of black impoverished people's encounters with the Portuguese State. It was not too long until Emilia interrupted me and started to share her thoughts on the self-produced neighborhood of Azinhaga dos Besouros and the municipal housing project of Casal da Mira, pointing out several injustices that she faced during the rehousing process. This immediately revealed that although more than a

[9] I chose to anonymize most people who collaborated in this work by using pseudonyms or point their positions in case they represent public institutions or collective organizations.

decade had passed, relocation and its reverberations were open wounds in her life, unsettling the present.

Afterwards Emilia invited us for a walk. As Natalia was looking for a vacant space where she could base her grassroots association, Emilia took us to different associations, projects and cabinets based in the neighborhood. While presenting me the area, she signaled and emphasized the high number of vacant houses so to illustrate City Council's *mismanaged* of municipal housing, in a context where many families were said to live in overcrowded apartments. Natalia and Emilia's detailed analyses during my first visit to Casal da Mira were of utmost importance to the writing of the *quasi*-final version of the thesis project proposal, which I later shared with Dina and Martinho. Drawing on their lived experiences as black persons born in the self-produced neighborhood of Fontaínhas, in Amadora, and later rehoused in the neighboring quarter of Casal da Boba, also in Amadora, as well as their long-lasting reflections as musicians and public intellectuals, we quarreled at length the pertinence of the thesis' proposal, looking for establishing a closer dialogue between academic knowledge production and everyday forms of local resistance. To be sure, we decided to enlarge the analysis contemplating several other rehousing processes besides the one from Santa Filomena, as well as emphasizing the debate on the notion of ghetto as a commonly used concept unveiling the relationship between space, race, belonging, institutional violence, neglect and resistance. Together with the recommendations provided by my supervisors, their insights were crucial for re-writing the research proposal and starting the project.

You paid for all those who came before you!

I would only return to Casal da Mira in June 2017. As, at first, I was looking forward to meeting people coming from Santa Filomena, Emilia took me to a ground floor apartment where she knew there was a family that was relocated from there. A man opened the door, and we immediately recognized each other, while Emilia kindly explained my project. I was sure I knew Antonio from Santa Filomena and asked him if he remembered me as well. He quickly replied he did remember me from the time the neighborhood was being destroyed and that he knew I was a good friend of his cousin, Angela. In Antonio's words, many (white) artists and researchers, just like myself, went to Santa Filomena over the years, usually demanding what they needed to know, never to set foot there again, nor even to share the results of their projects – showing a lack of commitment and solidarity with the dwellers. Hence, according to Antonio, *I have paid for all the one's that came before me* (conversation with Antonio and Emilia, June 2017). Indeed, contrary to the willingness of Emilia in helping me completing my work, as she believed it was a way to inscribe their (silenced) stories and critiques of the (Portuguese) national history (conversation with Emilia, January 2018), Antonio fiercely criticized academics and filmmakers who used the neighborhood as a place for extracting knowledge, offering nothing in return. Indeed, later, Antonio would sustain that *I was there to have what I needed, and once I finished no one would ever see me again*, adding that even if there could be exceptions to the rule, this was the standard procedure:

> *It's like many have done, many of you. You come to the neighborhoods: 'Ah... because we're going to do a cool thing and stuff" – help, what help?! We're the ones helping you to be somebody because tomorrow you'll have passed university, you'll have your degree, you'll never call a guy again [...] [I admit it's not] everybody - [it's] the self-serving ones, those who come in the interest of gaining something from us and then say: 'Hey, half a dozen cats and dogs, you can shoot them down because nobody needs them'. The answer is always the same, in the end they always do the same: 'they are black, it's nobody's business!'* (Interview with Antonio, September 2017).

Antonio's important criticism evoked colonial ghosts prompting fundamental debates on the work of (white) researchers on peripheralized and impoverished (mostly) black urban milieus. His analysis foregrounded the continuous epistemic and aesthetical extracting practices led by academia (and cinema) that are revealing of their close relation with power structures and the sanctioning of racial violence:

> *Because you have scientists studying black people, like they study rats in the laboratory – I know –, I see people on television talking... they are scientists studying the race of a guy. But you could not imagine that we are studying you as well [...] They study black people to understand how they are evolving, like studying a rat in a lab [...] But they never send a black to investigate blacks, they always have to send whites* (Interview with Antonio, January 2018).

Rooted and developed within imperial and colonial frameworks (Dussel 1993; Said 1995 [1978]; Bhambra 2010), modern science has been ontologically allied with processes of antiblack, anti-indigenous and anti-Roma political violence and inhumanness, something which non-white communities are predominantly historically aware. Hitherto the symbiotic relation between knowledge and power has been fiercely denounced by political activists and intellectuals particularly since the 1990s, the coloniality of power is still a haunting reality (Harrison 2010 [1991]; Quijano 2000), entailing the maintenance of a system of epistemic privilege through a *project of knowledge* (Silva 2007) that sustains/authorizes racial violence. I argue that this is the reason why *academic curiosity* despite being directed towards black persons, territories or cultural production, frequently does not match the interests, demands or expectations of impoverished black populations, as power conceals a particular agenda that insists on certain research frameworks, angles, problems and latitudes, consistently disregarding others. Endorsed by knowledge devices (e.g., canon or methodology), academic studies, particularly in Portugal, often leave aside power structures and relations, as it has been persistently the case of race/racism, a "relatively underdeveloped and sorely neglected domain" (Harrison 2010 [1991]: 3). Furthermore, science is often paralleled with police work (Santos 1994). This parallelism is not merely a question of

semantics,[10] but a racial issue. Often, while in neighborhoods such as Casal da Mira, 6 de Maio or Jamaika, I was mistaken for a City Council technician, a social worker or a policewoman. This is revealing of how (outsider) middle-class white bodies in impoverished black spatialities are framed as "out of place" because performing specific roles and occupying specific places outside the neighborhoods which affect its reality. To be sure, this not only confirms the existence of racial residential segregation in a country that persistently denies it, as it reveals how whiteness embodies (State) power, which is often acknowledged, because experienced, as repressive.

Overcoming White Curiosity: An Ethics towards Antiracist Political Solidarity

By understanding methodology as a political place, during this project tensions between theory and practice were considered, namely the relationship between an assembled antiracist theoretical framework and efforts to decolonize socio-anthropological work. Following Johannes Fabian's critique of how epistemological devices simultaneously weave *otherness* and deny *coevalness* – by placing the "referent(s) of anthropology in a time other than the present of the producer of anthropological discourse" (Fabian 2004: 31) – to sustain objectivity as distance, I was aware that rethinking and rehearsing new methodological approaches became mandatory. In order to overcome violent temporal devices as the ones identified by Fabian, despite spending a great amount of time in Casal da Mira, I decided not to develop a neighborhood ethnography. Time was essential to get to know the place and the people, mostly by engaging in routine conversations and activities with dwellers and grassroots collectives and by the assemblage of housing stories and interviews, but I was not interested in mapping or analyzing black livelihoods. Instead, the time spent together was translated on debating the intersection between space, race and the State, serving further analysis and political organization. Furthermore, these conversations were fundamental in retracing research priorities and focus, as housing stories were understood as windows into social and historical processes, as pieces "capable of engaging and countering the violence of abstraction" (Sharpe 2016: 8). Hence, more than analyzing people's accounts and reflections, I intended to dialogue with their stories and analysis – together with the ones produced by grassroots activists – in order to frame the terms of the production of a critical anatomy of the Portuguese racial State. This anatomy of the State is particularly focused on antiblack urban design and management, in a context where Portuguese academia has understood the relation between race, space and violence almost exclusively within the veil of class, poverty and urban exclusion, leaving race/racism, somehow, unchallenged. This thesis is an(other) effort to uncover and challenge the color blind terms of the Portuguese debate on urban inequalities. Accordingly, I have framed Casal da Mira not as *a fact* but as *a symptom* that called for centering the analysis on black displacement and black spatial captivities (Du Bois 1899: 6; Alves 2018: 26). To be sure, this method seemed more adequate for a thesis that aims to contribute to the creation of spaces of epistemological resistance

[10] It must be noticed how science is often paralleled with police work, as the word 'researcher' in Portuguese can both mean someone working for the police or the university

and antiracist struggle and liberation. Following João Costa Vargas "[...] rather than adopting the sadly commonsensical self-proclaimed detached social-scientific gaze", I stand "for an analytical approach that gains insight and depth precisely because it is informed by grassroots efforts, past and present, to analyze and intervene in racist genocidal projects" (2010: 5). Antiracist political solidarity, by white academics as myself, demands intellectual, political and epistemic honesty.[11] Producing antiracist knowledge, meaning knowledge towards/envisaging liberation, from where I stand, implies shifting the focus from black living as a source of academic curiosity towards the study of racialized power relations, entailing the production of long-lasting political solidarity, compromise, positioning, permanency, participation and the instrumentalization of white privilege in denouncing and combating racial violence – rendering political loyalty to the ones we work with and not to academia as an institution. It is also essential that one is profoundly aware that "to align oneself with a political struggle while carrying out research on issues related to that struggle is to occupy a space of profoundly generative scholarly understanding", but by positioning "ourselves in such spaces, we are also inevitably drawn into the compromised conditions of the political process", meaning that "the resulting contradictions make the research more difficult to carry out, but they also generate insight that otherwise would be impossible to achieve" (Hale 2006: 98).

Academia is a space of political dispute. Concerning racial capitalism, colonialism and racial slavery and its contemporary legacies, namely racial violence, this dispute became more evident over the last decade, in Portugal. A corpus of scholarship, led mostly by black and Roma academics has been uncovering colonial racial violence as well as black and Roma resistance and authorship. The work of Ana Cristina Pereira, Apolo de Carvalho, Aurora Almada e Santos, Bruno Sena Martins, Cayetano Fernandez, Cristina Roldão, Danielle Araújo, Flávio Almada, Gê Escobar, Grada Kilomba, Helena Vicente, Inocência Mata, Iolanda Évora, Joacine Katar Moreira, José Pereira, Jota Mombaça, Lívia Casimiro, Maíra Zenun, Raquel Lima, Sadiq. Habib, Sebijan Fejzula, Sónia Vaz Borges, Susana Gomes, Vânia Gala, Vânia Sanhá or Víctor Barros among others, have been essential scientific contributions in furthering black and Roma radical perspectives on the past, anchoring important debates on the present, to the present. Together with the works of Cláudia Castelo, Isabel Castro Henriques, Marta Araújo, Miguel Vale de Almeida, Pedro Almeida, Pedro Varela or Silvia Rodríguez Maeso to mention just a few, this new corpus of scholarship opened up possibilities to envisage more liberated futures. Yet, academia is just one of the fields were disputes over liberation take place. Public intellectuals, artists or journalists just like Anabela Rodrigues, Carla Fernandes, Mamadou Ba, Mónica de Miranda, Xullaji or Zia Soares illustrate how research and knowledge production takes place mostly outside the gates of research institutes and universities, broadening the pallet of resources and languages used. Moreover, all this is mostly

[11] Which can be translated in i) presenting, debating and, when necessary, readdress the focus of the research; ii) sharing analytical, academic and political, points of view; iii) negotiating the terms of the conversations and interviews; iv) understanding what should be kept in silence, now and then; v) respecting temporalities and losses.

possible due to the strengthen of grassroots, black, Roma and antiracist movements which through everyday radical dependency, public demonstrations, protests, memorialization processes and debates manufacture new political agendas and horizons on the quest for liberation and dignity, leaving an important legacy and archive for generations to come.

3. Research Design

This project is structured around three interconnected research moments. First, the mapping, compilation and analysis of narratives about self-produced and rehousing neighborhoods aims to discuss how academic, political, media and artist (counter)hegemonic images on black spatialities have been contributing either to hinder or denounce the outcomes of the relationship between space, race and the State. Secondly, the assembly of housing stories, lived experiences and conversations with dwellers in Casal da Mira focuses on foregrounding their analysis of (re)housing policies and mapping the problems faced by black relocated populations, namely displacement, segregation, racism and violence. And thirdly, the project focuses on understanding how the Portuguese racial State has been endorsing (extra)legal antiblack violence via urban managing, namely through the enactment of housing and urban security policies endorsed at the national and local levels. Following several events that occurred in Amadora between 2015 and 2020, a radiography of the Portuguese racial State regarding urban spaces aims to tackle how antiblack urban order has been enforced and justified, particularly in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area.

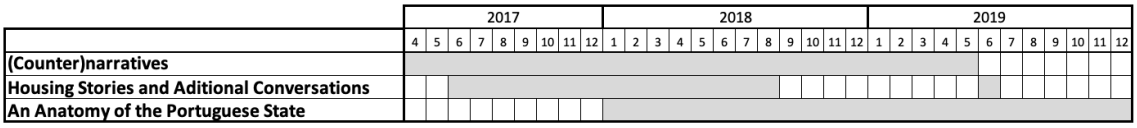

Figure 1 | Timeline Tasks

3.1. (Counter)narratives: Public Debates and Black Radical Thought

Over the last three decades a set of academic studies, media coverages and artistic pieces have been responsible in sediment, often, contradictory, images on black impoverished territories. Thus, their analysis is crucial on understanding the way (public) debates on black spatialities have been framed. Whereas Portuguese academic knowledge production was closely analyzed within the theoretical framework of the thesis, mass media productions, namely films and newspaper articles served to illustrate important contemporary and historical processes under debate considering the Portuguese context, in particular. Finally black artistic narratives, carried out mostly by peripheralized poets

and rappers (once) inhabiting self-produced neighborhoods allowed to grasp grounded and counterhegemonic approaches on the intersection between space and race.

Academia

Libraries are, somehow, starting and ending points in the process of writing a doctoral thesis: one starts by reviewing the literature and hopes to contribute to literature, by becoming literature. I started and finished mine at the National Portuguese Library. One of those days, while, distracted, my mind scanned the walls of the library, I came across a bookshelf, with a golden trim, that read 'Discoveries', right in the middle of two others 'Lisbon' and 'Portuguese History'. Apparently indifferent, in an almost sepulchral silence, dozens of thinkers, including anthropologists and historians, proceed their everyday work, while golden ghosts haunt knowledge production, conceal violence and legitimize genocide. Indeed, the fact that a shelf named 'Discoveries' can peacefully rest upon the major national library in the 21st century is particularly insightful on the absence of critical debates on race/racism in Portuguese academia. And, as a consequence, this is also true when analyzing urban spaces. And, while the scarcity of debates on Black Radical Thought, Black Marxism, Critical Race Theory or Afropessimism can be explained under the persistence of a lusotropicalist and Eurocentric academic rationality, understand how this became a reality for Portuguese urban studies, and more particularly Urban Anthropology, became mandatory. In order to do so, I built a genealogy on knowledge production, beginning in the end of the 19th century, in the US, until the 21st century in Portugal, so to explore the construction of the socio-anthropological cannon on urban studies. This genealogy was complemented by two semi-structured interviews conducted with academics in order to explore the antipodes and hegemonic traditions of urban studies in Portugal and the neglecting of race.[12]

Cinema

Between fiction and documentary, the cinematic gaze on the periphery of Lisbon has increased in recent years, especially since the year 2010.[13] This process testifies that for some reason or out of aesthetical, intellectual or political curiosity and interest, a wide range of film directors have turned their attention towards the material and symbolic margins of the city. This regard focuses its precarious fragments, namely self-constructed neighborhoods and public housing quarters. Digging in the archives of memory as well as on several webpages of cinema production companies, I

[12] A list of all the interviews conducted throughout the thesis can be find in the attachments.

[13] According to Susana Freire (2009) the Portuguese public of cinema is tendentially feminine, young and composed by groups of technical and management professionals, teachers, artists and cultural intermediaries which inhabit in the center of the city of Lisbon. Nonetheless, there is no mention to its ethnoracial composition.

realized that at least forty-four movies were recorded in the outskirts of the city, since 1989.[14] If, on one hand, some films denounced structural violence towards the communities or highlighted resistance processes in the face of forced evictions; on the other, some films reified gazes that essentialized the space and its inhabitants contributing to reaffirm certain pre-positions previously fixed in other spheres of public discourse. The way some stories had been constructed emphasized both the notions of enclosure and distance that, with some exceptions, denounce the position of the director as an outsider, implying that the one who (re)cognizes is always implied with what is known (Mignolo, 2007). Therefore, the neighborhoods are often represented as enclaves in the social tissue, where the notion of border is sometimes more political and symbolic than it is geographical. Hence cinematic productions seem to either embody a sense of eagerness to resist together with the people by exposing structural violence, or to be trapped in a colonial gaze, epitomizing an ontological "*hunger for otherness*" (Barriendos, 2001: 35), which either criminalizes or exotifies. While the thesis does not engage in film analysis, watching these films was fundamental to grasp broader perspectives on the periphery. An interview with a movie director which accompanied and documented the rehousing and evictions in a historical black neighborhood in Amadora was also key to understanding this particular moment.

Media

The self-constructed periphery reached the pages of the Portuguese newspapers mainly during the nineties. In the beginning, the articles seemed to be deeply concerned with understanding the living conditions of the people describing them as underprivileged African migrant workers (Alves 2016, 2021). However, as time went by, the neighborhoods started to be defined as racialized, clandestine and illegal places, which contributed to align the status of migrant with racial categorizations and to the construction of the neighborhoods as discontinuous from the corpus of the city and the nation, something intrinsically related to the political discourses that shaped the debate on the enactment and implementation of the PER Program (Idem). Accordingly, these spaces started to be understood as marginal, *foreigner* and *polluted* urban bodies on the outskirts of the city of Lisbon, something which fueled the idea that they represented a racialized danger to the wider society. Afterwards, this same mediatic discourse encompassed the social housing quarters as well, triggering a (still on-going) process of racialization and criminalization of the neighborhoods (Alves 2016). Although these discourses are clearly predominant, more recently due to a set of events, particularly the pressure exercised by black and antiracist political movements and the initiative of journalists, newspaper articles have been denouncing the precarity of living conditions in certain latitudes of this same periphery, contributing to forge other perspectives. Monitoring and analyzing relevant news stories will be an added value to this research project so to acknowledge the ways particular peripheral spaces are being represented within wider public arenas and its consequences in the way

[14] Movies have mostly been directed by white filmmakers which do not inhabit these latitudes, except for the ones by Leonor Teles and Welket Bungué.

such spaces are understood and shared by a significant part of society. Media monitoring was particularly important to understand the dimension of police brutality in the country. Therefore, fourteen different files from the archive of the Movement SOS Racismo dedicated exclusively to police brutality were carefully analyzed, allowing to compile a table of events regarding killings, shootings and aggressions.

RAP music

Before a public debate which highly obliterates racial violence (cf. Araújo & Maeso 2015, 2016), rap music, and particularly that sung in Cape-Verdean Creole mostly echoing from peripheralized spaces in the LMA, represents an utmost valuable analysis on antiblack urban governmentalities, following a long line of black radical thought which insists on pushing forward the terms of the antiracist debate worldwide. Therefore, a set of thirty-nine rap songs and poems were compiled and explored, with particular attention to the uses, debates and significances attributed to the terms: 'self-produced neighborhood', 'rehousing quarter', 'slum' or 'ghetto'. Moreover, I conducted informal conversations and interviews with four rappers and one poet coming from different self-produced or rehousing neighborhoods in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area (Fontaínhas, Jamaika, Cutelo, Fim do Mundo, Torre), acknowledging their pioneering, pervasive and key role in denouncing racial segregation, institutional violence and black resistance. These conversations and political texts unraveled diverse and divergent conceptualizations of *periphery* [*periferia*], *slum* [*bairro*] or *ghetto*.

3.2. Housing Stories: Lived Experiences of Collective Relocation

Case study research was carried out in the neighborhood of Casal da Mira intending to explore the relationship between this public housing quarter and self-produced neighborhoods such as Santa Filomena, Azinhaga dos Besouros, Tenda, Venda Nova or Katchupa Street. The case-study also constituted an in-depth grounded analysis of the history of relocation and rehousing in the municipality of Amadora that provided clues on broader processes of relocation and segregation directly managed by the State, in Portugal. Departing from the lived experiences and analysis of the dwellers, I will argue that the edification and destruction of self-produced neighborhoods and the relocation into public housing quarters constitutes a paradigmatic example that can illustrate historical relationships between the State and black populations. Considering the reservations towards conducting a neighborhood's ethnography, the stories assembled in Casal da Mira aimed to contribute to understanding different perspectives towards the interconnection between antiblack urban governmentalities and its impacts on black livelihoods. Further conversations with dwellers from other self-produced and rehousing neighborhoods as well as with grassroots collectives strengthened the analysis.

Thanks to the generosity of the inhabitants of Casal da Mira who have once inhabited self-produced neighborhoods, we were able to reconstruct housing paths, memories and perspectives, namely by

addressing the history of a place that isn't there anymore as well as the way its construction, life and destruction is perceived by former residents, exploring current understandings and feelings towards the neighborhood currently inhabited, and debating existent subjective and collective imaginaries on periphery, ghetto(ization), race/racism and the Portuguese State. The conversations with the dwellers started from their self-constructed house, and expanded towards issues such as housing conditions, space management, community building, solidarity, resistance, daily-paths, distances (e.g., to schools, medical canters), access to services (e.g., inside and outside the neighborhood) and relations with the State (e.g., municipality, social services, police). The assemblage of five long and different gendered housing stories prompted critically rethinking the terms of the national public debate on "relocation as improvement", unfolding different perspectives and issues to be further considered throughout the analysis. This process entailed a year of intense conviviality in Casal da Mira, from June 2017 to August 2018, that still continues nowadays in special occasions. Together with housing histories, my presence in the neighborhood and my involvement with local grassroots collectives and associations through several gatherings and the organization of events has been fundamental to diminish common gaps between the outsider/researcher curiosity and the expectations of the people participating in academic studies. Constancy is an attempt to reverse the tendency denounced to me by many dwellers and friends, according to which researchers come and go, investigate and catalogue, but their living conditions seldom improve. As this project can hardly improve people's lives, it constitutes an effort to enhance the terms of the conversation on racial oppression in Portugal. Besides, I argue that debating together these issues can strengthen engaged forms of seeing, knowing and acting, helping to build networks of solidarity, far beyond the temporality of the research and the academic space. All these conversations and experiences were fundamental in reframing the focus of the analysis.

In order to enhance the debate undertaken throughout the housing stories on dwellers' collective experiences and analysis on forced evictions and relocation, three other conversations were conducted with persons living in Casal da Mira and another with a former inhabitant of Santa Filomena. Moreover, four semi-structured interviews were conducted with key grassroots associations and activists from the neighborhoods of Fontaínhas, 6 de Maio and Casal da Boba (Amadora) and Torre (Loures). Seldom audible or hidden, their voices are fundamental in putting forward other frames of understanding the outskirts of the city, exploring past and present key political moments considering antiblack and anti-Roma urban governmentalities and correlated processes of resistance, just like the Assembly of Dwellers and the Caravan for the Right to Housing (cf. Falanga *et al.* 2019). Building conversations based on the lived experiences of collective resistance to forced evictions, relocation and (anti)racism was fundamental to foster further discussions on the way people experience State's power, dehumanization, rights and resistance. Furthermore, four interviews with antiracist, black and housing rights activists took place focusing on their historical accompaniment and engagement with the populations that have been targeted by (forced) relocation processes. This helped to unravel State's mechanisms in promoting racial

inequality in housing rights. All these additional conversations contextualized and complemented housing stories and set the grounds to analyze antiblack urban governmentalities.

3.3. An anatomy of the Portuguese State: antiblack urban governmentalities

The project focused primarily on the municipality of Amadora (LMA) in order to identify and analyze how contemporary urban management has been reproducing dispossession, displacement, segregation and violence through both housing and urban security policies. The focus on the implementation of rehousing public policies and urban security policies in particular results from the fact that these processes have been largely and almost exclusively dependent on State's decisions, both centrally and locally, making it possible to detach and highlight modern State's rationalities. In order to map, select and analyze these policies, the combination of both ethnographic and archivist methods was paramount. Following Ruth Wilson Gilmore and Craig Gilmore, the State can be defined as "a territorially bounded set of relatively specialized institutions that develop and change over time in the gaps and fissures of social conflict, compromise, and cooperation" with the purpose to "to secure a society's ability to do different kinds of things: such as tax, educate, support, connect, exclude, criminalize, segregate, equalize, make war, and make profits" (2007: 143-146). Importantly, states are complex, scalar, non-univocal, centralizing and contradictory set of "institutions able to act with some autonomy and some impunity" while seeking to maintain supremacy "through consent and coercion", namely by regulating "who may commit violence, how, and to what end" (2007: 143-146). Consequently, conducing an analysis of State institutions and policies and on how the State makes certain subjects and territories legible – unveiling antiblack urban governmentalities – requires considering how these governmentalities have been reproduced over time and at different administration levels.

This analysis took around two years (2018-2019) and focused on the study of contemporary public rehousing and urban security policies: the implementation of the Special Rehousing Program (PER) under Decree-Law 163/1993 and the institutionalization of Sensitive Urban Zones (ZUS) under the Public Security Police (PSP) Strategic Directive 16/2006 as key frames of reference. Both policies responded to national/local political anxieties that reframe black spaces and bodies as places of immanent criminality. Moreover, they had severe consequences on the livelihoods of black populations, particularly monitored by the implementation of a video surveillance system in the municipality and policed through recurrent police actions in self-produced and rehousing neighborhoods and profiled across different latitudes of the municipality. In order to tackle dialogues across different administration levels, this ethnography was spread across different institutions, cabinets and rooms (e.g., Portuguese parliament, Institute for Housing and Urban Rehabilitation, Ministry of Internal Affairs, City Council of Amadora, Police stations and Courts), paying attention to a set of different policies, programs, reports, debates and legal processes,

focusing both on their rationales and consequences. The study relied on the analysis of primary sources, produced at national (central and local) and international level, namely relevant legal documents and governmental programs on re-housing, surveillance and policing, municipal reports and diagnosis, and international reports on discrimination and housing or police brutality. Moreover, public debates on re-housing and urban security were also monitored, mapped and analyzed (e.g., Annual Reports on Internal Security, parliamentary debates). As a complement, thirteen semi-structured interviews with key actors, such as politicians, decision makers, legal experts, municipal technicians, policemen and judges, took place. It must be noticed that some of these interviews were made in the scope of the Project "COMBAT – Combating racism in Portugal: an analysis of public policies and anti-discrimination law".[15]

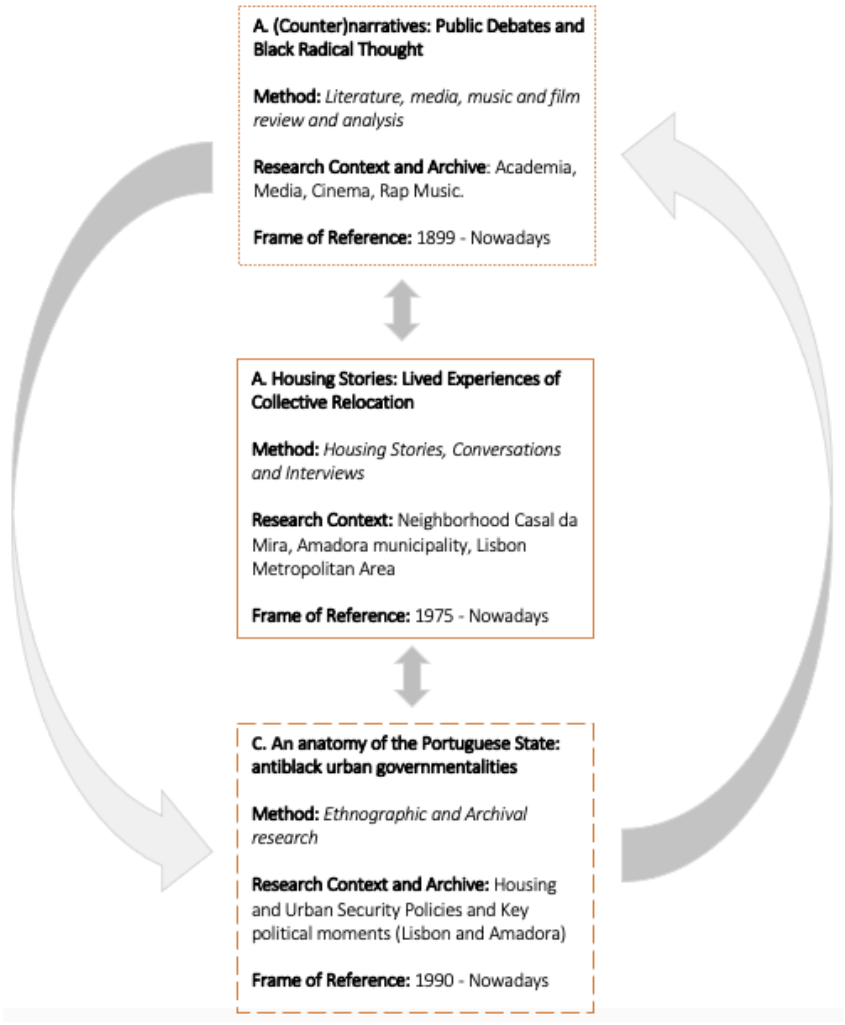

Figure 2 | Thesis Research Design

[15] The project *Combating racism in Portugal: an analysis of public policies and anti-discrimination law* (June 2016-April 2020) was coordinated by Silvia R. Maeso and funded by the Portuguese Foundation for Science and Technology – FCT and co-funded by the European Fund for Regional Development (FEDER) through the COMPETE 2020 operational program – PTDC/IVC-SOC/1209/2014 – POCI-01-0145-FEDER-016806.

Throughout this thesis, I argue that the annihilation of *black geographies* and their continuous monitoring, surveillance and harassment by Portuguese central and local authorities are aimed at preventing the existence of thriving black political spaces. Through an entangled relation between imposed dispossession, displacement, segregation, surveillance and violence there seem to be an institutional movement which insists to position black populations as aspatial, hindering political legitimacy in forwarding political claims. Under racial regimes, black self-produced territories and homes turn to be some of the only viable spaces of political encounter and solidarity from where to organize resistance, constituting, therefore, effective *abolition geographies* (Gilmore 2022) where black living was/is somehow made possible, beyond but not despite loss. According to Ruth Wilson Gilmore "abolition geography starts from the homely premise that freedom is a place" (2022: 474) and as such, self-produced neighborhoods are, here, understood as *abolition geographies* – places from where it was/is possible to ground and envisage political struggles and black liberation. The next pages essay to tell parts of this history.

I. WEAVING SILENCES THROUGH KNOWLEDGE PRODUCTION: DOES RACE MATTER?

> *Universities have historically been sites for the reproduction of White privilege, through the canonization of certain scientific theories and explanations. More importantly, they also provide the arsenal of categories to be deployed concerning the 'political', the 'religious', 'violence', and so on, all of which revolve around the question of Being Human* (Araújo & Maeso 2015: 17).

Disciplines have their myths of origin, canonical accounts that, far from innocuous, form and mold how bodies of knowledge exist, operate, and reproduce themselves today. Their (hi)stories should not be taken as given, but one should rather ask what debates and voices are being privileged and which ones are rendered as non-relevant to these histories, since past silences echo in present times and tensions.

By examining the racial contours of the debate on urban contexts in Portugal, it was made evident to me how race and racism were absent from academic knowledge production in Portuguese urban studies, particularly in Urban Anthropology. Despite the proliferation of academic studies on peripheralized territories in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area – many of which inhabited by black and Roma populations – there were practically no debates on institutional racism nor violence. Although these silences could be framed within the broader lusotropicalist debates in the country, they could also reveal genealogies of knowledge within disciplines, such as Urban Studies or Anthropology. Accordingly, this first chapter is a journey through several cities, public libraries, books, and authors. It is a journey to understand why Portuguese Urban Anthropology has been evading race and racism as possible lens to understand urban segregation and inequalities. As I will argue, these silences are a refraction of a more deep-rooted racist assumption about *who* and *what* is considered to be a worthwhile and pertinent subject of science. In short, I will show how epistemic silences are indeed issues that reveal the persistence of *epistemic apartheid* (Rabaka 2010) that has been silencing both black authorship and racism, thereby leaving racial residential segregation unchallenged, particularly in Portugal.

1. Building Genealogies under Epistemic Apartheid

Back in the days when I was an undergraduate student in Anthropology, I was taught that studies on urban sociology were first developed by the so-called Chicago School (1915-1945), established by scholars such as Albion Small, William Thomas, Robert Park or Ernest Burgess. These academics were inspired by the French school of social morphology, the German intellectual Georg Simmel as well as the Pragmatism of the philosophical current of Chicago (Bulmer 1984; Silvano 2001). I was also explained that, by electing the city as their quintessential social laboratory, they had the audacity to bring together theory and practice, developing their research through a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods, deepening the analysis on urban space, social interaction, and human nature (Bulmer 1984; Lutters and Ackerman 1996). For this reason, the Chicago School has been broadly recognized as the birthplace of modern Sociology, inspiring endless generations of scholars to this day. In the words of Martin Bulmer, "[t]he University of Chicago […] has exercised a quite disproportionate influence upon the course of empirical social science" and "between about 1915 and 1940 it dominated sociology and political science in the United States" (1984: xiii). According to the author, it was *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* ([1918-20] 1984), by Florian Znaniecki and William I. Thomas, which ensured the ascent of the Chicago School to a position of (inter)national leadership. Acknowledged as a "major macrosociological study [on] the interdependence of institutions in the context of […] social changes precipitated by urbanization and industrialization", the book was broadly recognized as a fundamental contribution to the development of the discipline of Sociology (Bulmer 1984: 58). Mainly by using personal documents (e.g., letters), it experimented new methods and hence suggested new directions towards which empirical Sociology could be developed, independently from historical and comparative directions. Moreover, by blending data and theory, it provided a basis for generalization and sociological theory-building. And by focusing the research on immigrants, it supported the growth of Sociology as an autonomous discipline, in a context where this "subject became institutionalized in America in separate departments in part because no other social science dealt with the problems created by immigration" (Bulmer 1984: 46). At last, it is also important to underline that, inspired by the work of Franz Boas[16], Thomas and Znaniecki became known for "reject[ing] entirely any element of biological reductionism and sought to explain social behavior in terms of sociological and social psychological categories" (Bulmer 1984: 58). And, as such, their work came to be considered a "road to an autonomous empirical sociology of race and ethnic relations and thereby to the secure establishment of an autonomous discipline" (Idem: 58-59).

In Bulmer's view, this position of leadership was further consolidated through the publication of Chicago's second major piece of empirical research, *The Negro in Chicago* (1922), written by the

[16] Khalil Muhammad argues that there were limits to Boas' culture concept since the "shift from a racial biological frame to a racial cultural frame kept race at the heart of the discourse" (2011: 9).

black sociologist Charles Johnson, as an outcome of a report commissioned by the *Chicago Commission on Race Relations,* following the Chicago Race Riots, in 1919. Urban studies were, by then, deeply associated with social surveys. Although these surveys concerned social reform and municipal efficiency and hence constituted a work of applied and policy-oriented research, Johnson's work was praised as an objective study, with no similarities with previous models, such as the ones "provided by The Philadelphia Negro, The Pittsburgh Survey or The Polish Peasant" (Idem: 74). It is worth noticing though that even if race relations were at the center of the inquiry, *The Negro in Chicago,* seems, according to Naomi Farber, not to have offered a "comprehensive theory of race relations in the urban context" (1997: 213).

While these two first major works developed by the Chicago School were not as influential as they could have been (Bulmer 1984), the same cannot be said about works such as *The Ghetto* (1998 [1928]) by Louis Wirth or *Street Corner Society* (1993 [1943]) by William Foote Whyte. Considered as masterpieces of sociological thought, these books became canonized, ascending to a position of what could be designated *sociological classics* – available at most academic libraries and widely taught in the disciplines of Sociology and Anthropology. In addition, all the studies and surveys undertaken within the scope of the Chicago School were deeply influenced by and related to Park and Burgess' theoretical framework and supervision, to the extent that their best-known general and major work – *Introduction to the Science of Sociology* (1921) – became popularly known as the "green bible". Moreover, the overwhelming majority of the monographs produced within the department had a written introduction by either Park or Burgess, setting out the general significance of the results (Bulmer 1984) and therefore establishing a particular way of framing the city. Robert Park's "The City: Suggestions for the Investigation of Human Behavior in the Urban Environment" (1968 [1925]), published in a first version in *The American Journal of Sociology* (1915), not only defines the city as a geographical, economic and cultural area – an expression of mankind – but also "defines a point of view" and proposes "a program for the study of urban life" (Park 1968 [1925]: 3), creating a frame for further gazes on city life and on the territorialization of social urban relations. Throughout my undergraduate years, I held this (hi)story as an uncontested truth.

With time, while the city started to emerge to me as a ground for developing research on institutional racism and State's rationalities, I thought of reopening my old and dusty books to start drafting my thesis project. When I did so, I came to acknowledge that amongst the authors I knew – mostly men and white[17] – neither the classics, nor the contemporary ones have addressed "race" as a significant political and sociological category in shaping contemporary urban landscapes. I remember clearly that I could not avoid asking myself that – even though there is no public systematic data collection on the grounds of racial/ethnic origins in Portugal – if it seemed so

[17] For instance, the work of Maurice Halbwachs (1950), Claude Lévi-Strauss (1953), George Simmel (1903), Edward Evans-Pritchard (1937), Henri Lefebvre (1974), Jean Remy & Liliane Voyé (1992), Michel Foucault (1984), Marc Augé (1992) or Arjun Appadurai (1997).

obvious that both black and Roma people inhabited in worse housing and living conditions and in more segregated and ghettoized spaces than whites[18], how could it be that social sciences overlooked it? How could scholars talk about space, city, periphery, migration, youth, precarity, (re)housing, poverty and social exclusion while neglecting the role of race and racism in such processes? Does only class matter? Even though I was uneasy, I was not surprised as over the years I had come to understand that race, as a political category, was mostly not deepened in scholarly analysis, at least in Portugal (Alves 2013; Araújo & Maeso 2015, 2016). I just didn't know exactly how this happened in the field of Urban Anthropology, even though I had some clues.

In a second hand-bookstore in Brazil, I came across a book called *The Souls of Black Folk,* written in 1903, by an author called W. E. B. Du Bois. The book appeared to me as an unorthodox piece of sociological literature, which captured my attention. It drew upon the condition of black populations in America, in the aftermath of the abolition of racial slavery. Following Frederick Douglass (1881), Du Bois stated that "[t]he problem of the twentieth century [was] the problem of the color-line" (Du Bois 1994 [1903]: 9), claiming that blacks were not only born with a *veil*, as they were *gifted with a second sight* – a *double consciousness.* Du Bois defined it as a "sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity" (Idem: 2). Therefore, *double consciousness* was the condition of black people in America – a twoness: "an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder" (Ibidem). After a quick reading I decided to take the book and stored it together with the older ones.

Shortly after, by coincidence, one of my supervisors mentioned to me another volume by the same author – *The Philadelphia Negro: a Social Study* (1899). Emphasizing the living conditions of black people in the city of Philadelphia, among other things, the book highlighted questions on space and race, arguing that *slums* were no exception to the urban tissue, but its bi-products – a consequence of complex and entangled processes of interaction between institutional racism and urban life organization. His argument was deeply connected with the historicity of racial slavery, migration, exploitation and segregation in the United States. In Du Bois' work, racism was understood as an ontological pervading mechanism of exclusion, which overcame formalized notions of apartheid and prevailed across time and space.

Indeed, I later came to learn that *The Philadelphia Negro* is "usually depicted as the first study of an urban black community" but that "it's status as America's first major empirical sociological study has rarely been acknowledged" (Morris, 2015: 45). In fact, in the Introduction to its 1967'

[18] This despite the fact that there is still no public data collection on the grounds of racial/ethnic origins in Portugal. Ba, Mamadou; Roldão, Cristina; Araújo, Marta (2019), 'Recolha de dados étnico-raciais nos Censos 2021: um passo à frente no combate ao racismo', *Público*, 16.04.2019, 21. Available at: https://www.publico.pt/2019/04/16/sociedade/opiniao/recolha-dados-etnicoraciais-censos-2021-passo-frente-combate-racismo-1869349.

Edition, written by E. Digby Baltzell (1967), it is argued that there was a direct and definite link between Du Bois' work and "a whole subsequent tradition in American sociology" (Baltzell 1967: ix-xliv *apud* Green & Driver 1976: 320) as well as in American Anthropology (Harrison 1988, 2012). This influence was evident in the work of the anthropologist Franz Boas, when he stated the need to explain the traits of black Americans on the basis of history and social status, rejecting Darwinist theories. It reverberated in the works of Thomas Znaniecki, the school of urban sociology led by Robert Park, and W. Lloyd Warner's school of community studies at Harvard and Chicago, which inspired books such as *Black Metropolis*, *Deep South* and the classic *Yankee City Series* (Baltzell 1967: ix-xliv *apud* Green & Driver 1976: 320). Accordingly, it could be argued that "[t]he origins, in both method and theoretical point of view of all these studies are to be found in *The Philadelphia Negro*" (Ibidem). If this is so, why didn't we learn about W. E. B. Du Bois' work as we did about Émile Durkheim's, Max Weber's, Franz Boas' or Robert Park's, since he seems to have applied the same methodological approaches as the Chicago School, in the same exact field of knowledge, but many years before? How is it possible that his work was disregarded in social sciences? Yet and again, I saved these questions in my mind.

A few months later, by chance, I found this subject brought to life by a book from sociologist Aldon Morris, *The Scholar Denied: W. E. B. Du Bois and the Birth of Modern Sociology* (2015), placed in a remote shelf at a bookstore in Oxford. The title of this recently published volume not only confirmed my then long-established suspicions, as it promised some concrete responses. According to Morris (2015), Du Bois was not just forgotten, he had been denied. It was tacitly implied that he was known to the public, namely to scholars, but that he had been consistently excluded. Was this related to some degree of academic skepticism towards his work, his political position, or the color of his skin? Did racial inequality or institutional racism play a part in academic canon construction? Could this represent a case of epistemological apartheid, as pointed out by Reiland Rabaka (2010)? And what are the consequences of these silences for social analysis and the perpetuation of racialized violences and its correspondent silences across time in urban spaces?

Echoing in my mind, these were the questions that led me to explore the works of Dan Green and Edwin Driver (1976), Faye Harrison (1988, 1992, 2012), Earl Wright II (2002a, 2002b, 2006, 2012, 2014), Reiland Rabaka (2010), Gurminder Bhambra (2014) and Aldon Morris (2015) which, among others, have been challenging this paradigmatic milestone of the history of sociological knowledge production. These authors put forward the importance of acknowledging the fundamental contributions and the pioneering role played by Du Bois in the emergence of the disciplines of Sociology and Anthropology. They argue that, in a context of pervasive institutional racism, epistemic obedience and epistemic apartheid, Du Bois' ground-breaking work has been constantly obliterated from the American (white) sociological canon (Bhambra 2014; Rabaka 2010; Wright II 2012). Along with him, many other scholars, namely the ones participating in the Atlanta Sociological Laboratory (1895-1924), as well as their contributions and perspectives on social research, methodology, urban space, family, religion, and race have also been broadly marginalized and dismissed in the history of social thought (Wright II 2002b, 2012). Rather, according to Earl

Wright II, this school comprised "the first collection of sociological scholars who systematically and scientifically investigated urban sociological condition" (Wright II 2002a: 167). To be sure, Wright II affirms that besides important theoretical implications, these studies corresponded to the institutionalization of method triangulation (questionnaires, interviews, and participant observation) and to debates on the limits of academic research and the benefits in using insider researchers (Wright II 2006). All of these have been chief queries within the scope of sociological knowledge production, particularly regarding debates on methodology. In addition, it should be noticed that these studies were deeply engaged in studying the "social, economic and physical condition of formerly enslaved Africans in America" mostly in the urban scenario (Wright II 2002a: 167), contributing to important debates on the consequences of racial enslavement in the aftermath of its formal abolition in the US. It must be further noticed that many of these studies were widely disseminated through the Atlanta University conferences and publications, which took place between 1896 and 1924 (Ibidem). To be sure, in the words of a former Atlanta University President, Horace Bumstead, in the *Proceedings of the Conference for Investigation of City Problems: Mortality Among Negroes in Cities*,

> *[T]his conference has its origin in several striking facts. One of these is the large proportion of the Negro population of the land now found to be living in cities […]. [W]e must remember that the condition and circumstances of Negroes living in cities differ widely from those of the plantation Negroes. They are thrown much more closely together in large masses on narrower areas of land and in more contracted tenements. Negro slums are already beginning to be found. […] Very little attention, too, has yet been given to the specific problems arising out of the changed conditions under which this large proportion of Negro population is now sharing the city life of their white brethren. […] [I]t is important to note another fact, and that is that nearly all the graduates of Atlanta University are living and working in the cities and larger towns of the South. This fact is very suggestive, for the problems of the Negro city life must be settled largely by Negros themselves, and the body of our alumni are in some respects specially fitted for this task. […]. Let us not forgotten that the general subject of this and succeeding conferences – the study of Negro city life – […] constitute a human problem far more than a Negro problem. We shall use the words "Negro" and "colored", not to emphasize distinctions of race, but as terms of convenience* (Chase 1896: 5).

Engaging in the study of the *Negro's problems* (Du Bois 1899), these meetings offered possible understandings and enabled solutions to the problems faced by black populations, throughout five areas of critical inquiry: (i) historical contextualization of African-American problems; (ii) the need for African-American Studies; (iii) critical review of previous social scientific studies on African-Americans; (iv) development of theoretical and methodological tools to be employed in African-American Studies; (v) emphasis on which "scientific workers" are best qualified to undertake authentic African-American studies (Du Bois 1898 *apud* Rabaka 2010: 309). As it seems, along the years, Du Bois and his colleagues pursued a line of research which centralized the importance

of the *color line* (Douglas 1881; Du Bois 1994) in understanding the reality of 20th century America. Furthermore, through scientific studies focusing on the problems faced by black populations in urban spaces, this body of work established the unavoidable importance of race and racism in grasping urban life organization. Therefore, they offer key evidence in comprehending the persistence of racial segregation within urban space, throughout time and different political and discursive regimes. Strongly rooted on Du Bois' queries and contributions, the Atlanta Conferences "could be said to be outgrowths or, at the least, indicative of the aftermath of his innovative research and analysis published prior to and in *The Philadelphia Negro*" (Rabaka 2010: 309).

1.1. Unearthing The Philadelphia Negro

To find a copy of *The Philadelphia Negro: a Social Study* (1899) proved to be a pointless task in the libraries I usually frequent, something I found indicative of and concomitant with the idea of denial. In this interdisciplinary research project, Du Bois aimed to ascertain the geographical distribution of African Americans in the city of Philadelphia and illustrate thoroughly their experiences, daily lives, homes, occupations, organizations and, most off all, the relation with their white fellow-citizens. For this purpose, an exhaustive study was performed in the city center of Philadelphia, in the Seventh Ward, a block historically tied to the black population. This empirical research comprised general observation and house-to-house inquires in the Seventh Ward and other parts of the city, in order to capture the various dimensions of black people's everyday living. This multi-situated methodological approach was complemented by an analysis of reliable statistics and historical data, in conjuncture with meetings with *experienced people* (Du Bois 1899), allowing for data triangulation. According to Faye Harrison (1988), Du Bois employed both sociological and anthropological methods, including participant-observation, map-making, census-taking, interviews, applied questionnaires and the collection and analysis of historical documentation as well as governmental statistics. Considering Du Bois' positivist approach towards science, particularly his quest for *the truth*, ethical issues were highly emphasized and debated through the research process. Notwithstanding, and assuming an intersubjective position towards knowledge production, he recognized and underlined the hypothesis of an ideological bias – inherent to any researcher in the field – which could, nonetheless, be minimized through a careful and attentive methodological research design (Du Bois 1899).

Besides Du Bois' significant methodological contributions, it is unsettling how his analysis on urban racialized experiences continue to impregnate present realities: the *color line* persisted across time and space, black people continued to inhabit the material and symbolic fringes of the cityscape and to be framed as a problem (to be solved). Over a century ago, Du Bois (1899) stressed that instead of talking about *black persons as a source of problems*, we should engage with the analysis of *the problems faced by black populations* – emphasizing obstacles and barriers and the importance of the historical context in understanding the marginal urban lives of African Americans. Du Bois also argued for the importance of not reducing the *black question* to specific geographies (slums) or issues (crime, poverty, idleness, or unemployment) that have led the average Philadelphian to

"look upon these slums and slum characters as unpleasant things which should in some way be removed for the best interest of all" (Du Bois 1899: 6). Accordingly, the slum could not be seen or understood as a *simple fact*, as it was a *symptom* of something broader than itself. Hence, to address such an entangled and complex issue, it required a study that took "one far beyond the slum districts" (Ibidem).

Du Bois understood *color prejudice* as a powerful social force, which regulated society in a structural fashion (Du Bois 1899). To support and illustrate his argument, he drew on fieldwork and exhaustibly depicted several cases illustrating both institutional and every-day forms of racism, prompting a dialogue between micro and macro-scale analysis and paving the way to a debate on institutional racism. Du Bois went on describing the (extension of) *prejudice* faced by African Americans in employment, housing, and education as well as in family matters, marriage, and intimacy (Idem). During this ongoing index of situations, he asserted how black persons were, *a priori,* excluded from the meritocratic system, regarding the educational system and the labor market, and he also acknowledged how discriminating housing processes could scatter blacks throughout an entire city, but still confine them to occupy the worst houses in the districts they live in. And, finally, how this system of oppression and segregation could increase discouragement, bitterness, over-sensitiveness, and recklessness amid black persons (Du Bois 1899). Here, his argument is near a Fanonian way of understanding colonial violence and, therefore, racial oppression (Fanon 2008 [1952]). Du Bois also underlined that albeit times of passionate and deep *prejudice* had vanished, racial discrimination persisted in structural forms, circumscribing places, roles, expectations, and opportunities (Idem). To disrupt this *state of affairs*, it would be mandatory to change perspective and acknowledge the every-day reality of black people, something that would require engaging in a socio-political and epistemological debate and a correspondent practice capable to contribute to widening the concept of humanity, so to include black persons, granting them full citizenship (Idem).

Du Bois seemed to understand race as the outcome of a prevalent historically racialized power relation, which compulsorily excluded black people from being (human), and therefore turning rights into a privilege of few white (medium class) fellow-citizens. In the course of his work, he exposed the fact that, as argued by Nimako and Willemsen (2011), emancipation was still an *unfinished business*. Accordingly, his contributions were of an utmost importance to unveil race relations and inequalities, emphasizing their historical character and their close relation with racial enslavement.

Following the work of Reiland Rabaka (2010), despite broader critique regarding Du Bois' conceptualization of race (which will be discussed later), his writings remain extremely relevant, particularly when re-articulated under the field of Critical Race Theory. Rabaka argues that as a black academic, Du Bois was one of the first to critically address issues on race and racism from his own standpoint in an "increasingly insurgent empirical and critical theoretical perspective" (2010: 108) and in a time "race science was racist science" – allowing for the re-establishment of

a dialectics of white superiority and black inferiority, under allegedly scientific categories (Idem: 113). Although Du Bois' 'gift theory' can be understood as somehow reifying race – by arguing that "each race ha[d] specific and special 'gifts' to contribute to national and international culture and civilization" – Rabaka maintains that Du Bois moved to a non-biological conceptualization of race, where common "social, political, historical, and cultural" characteristics and experiences stood for the representation of Pan-African peoples (2010: 109). Certainly, Du Bois' work is of great importance, since it can "offer models […] to further our critiques of race and to combat the seemingly omnipresent and omnipotent racism of the twenty-first century" (Idem: 110). Moreover, if we consider the "emergence of Critical White Studies and the emphasis on whiteness, white gracelessness or white neutrality and universality, and white supremacy", it is important to take into account that "Du Bois resented whites' racial mythmaking, and directed a significant portion of his writings on race and racism to critiquing whiteness and white supremacy", which prefigured and provided a "paradigm and point of departure for the contemporary discourse and debates of critical white studies" (Ibidem). Finally, the author pinpoints the intersectional character of Du Bois' work through the articulation of 'race', 'gender' and 'class', namely his analysis on the political economy of race and racism (Idem: 112). According to Du Bois, race mattered as it was deeply engraved in and structured social relations between black and white beings. Hence, even if it is fundamental to acknowledge Eurocentric deviances within Du Bois' work (cf. Rabaka 2010; Cohen 2003), it seems essential to underline the fact that it constituted a tremendous effort to change the terms of the conversation (Mignolo 2009), departing from his own standpoint as a black intellectual (Rabaka 2010, Ribeiro 2017).

Regardless, I could not find any of his studies in the libraries I usually frequent. As his contributions were expunged from the whitened academic canon, his studies are absent from school curricula, debates within the classroom and, in accordance, from the shelves of university libraries. Public libraries, and particularly academic ones, are, despite their common lack of funding in Portugal, the possible storefronts of the state of the art in a certain national or regional context. Their collection, in a way, establishes who and what is relevant, mirroring the canon in place and dictating what is to be academically remembered or soon to be forgotten. To be sure, the canon is not only what we learn as it has consequences on what we look for when engaging in academic knowledge production. The canon frames not only what we see but the ways in which we see what we see, with significant consequences in creating, by framing, reality. According to Guillory (1987), the canon can be understood as a body of *quasi*-consensual work, disseminated throughout the curricula in schools and universities, as well as through public discourse, such as in the case of media and politics. It comprises a specific body of norms and values that dictate what is included or excluded as scientific knowledge.

1.2. W. E. B. Du Bois and the Politics of Segregation

Du Bois was a prominent black scholar who started his undergraduate studies at Fisk University – an all-black Congregational Institution in Nashville (Tennessee) "deemed more appropriate for a

promising young 'Negro' of Du Bois's caliber and comportment" (Rabaka 2010: 7). After finishing his studies in philosophy in the US and in Germany, Du Bois engaged in a transdisciplinary approach (e.g., literature studies, political sciences, sociology, economics, and history), becoming the first black man in America to hold a PhD from Harvard University, with the dissertation *The Suppression of the African Slave Trade to the United States of America*, published as the first volume of the Harvard Historical Monograph Series, in 1896 (Idem). Under a strictly racist regime, nourished by scientific racism which depicted blacks as a *burden* and a *problem* (Du Bois 1899), and as an academic engaged in combating scientific racism, Du Bois aimed to demonstrate that, despite what social Darwinism and Eugenics might argue, racial inequality had nothing to do with biology, but rather with historical and ontological social dynamics and inequalities (Rabaka 2010, Morris 2015). He stressed that chattel slavery and the simultaneous relegation of black persons to the bottom of social structure was at the root of the disparities between blacks and whites. In fact, Du Bois emphasized the urgency to fight a battle against racism, a battle over humanity and against extinction (Du Bois 1899), challenging the foundations of a country trapped in a system of internal colonialism, based on a permanent circumscription of black people, spatially and socially, which undermined equality and reified white privilege (Ture and Hamilton 1992 [1967]). To be sure, the persistence of social-Darwinist and eugenicist principles in American society was the steppingstone for perpetuating the oppression and segregation of African Americans, either under *legal* apartheid in the South (Jim Crown's) or capitalist exploitation in the North. He argued that although they constitute two different systems of oppression, racism could be equally lethal under both (Du Bois 1899). Therefore, he asserted that inequalities based on and informed by racism could be challenged through scientific knowledge production, leading to the general enlightenment of (white) American population and contributing to end racial oppression (Morris 2015). Departing from a socio-constructionist approach towards race, Du Bois engaged in extensive empirical research that enabled a comprehensive and detailed depiction of black communities, their culture and institutions (Morris 2015), of which *The Philadelphia Negro* is quintessential. Accordingly, for the first time in the history of (American) Sociology, a black academic was engaged in empirical and grounded research on class structure, gender relations, health, mobility, slums, crime, and religion, at the heart of black communities (Idem).

The denial of Du Bois' ground-breaking work and, instead, the canonization of the Chicago School had several and entangled implications. Park's assimilationist framework on the city became dominant, as the evolutionary road to assimilation, through what Park called the *race relations cycle* (competition, conflict, accommodation, and assimilation), was, to some extent, institutionalized, impacting academic debates and research framed under logics of obliteration and exclusion (Lyman 1997, Morris 2015, Silva 2007). Indeed, according to philosopher Denise Ferreira da Silva, the *toolbox of race relations* produced "a particular kind of modern social subject, the racial subject, which does not actualize the principles of the transparent I, namely universality and self-determination" (2007: 154). Nonetheless, according to a political-symbolic arsenal attributing "racial subjugation to the cultural difference signified in their bodies", nor African

Americans nor Asian migrants were assimilating (Silva 2007: 158): as they "'fail' to lose the 'visible' signs (racial difference) of cultural ('social/moral') difference, blacks and Asians are the 'strangers' whose presence transforms an otherwise transparent social configuration into one that is pathological" – that, since, not guided by universality and self-determination, fails to fulfil the logic of obliteration (Silva 2007: 159). Furthermore, Park's theoretical framework carved a particular fashion to understand race through the study of migration[19], connecting racism to newcomers – despite the color of their skin – and moralizing racism, by understanding it more as behavioral than structural/institutional. In the words of the sociologist Oliver Cox:

> *[P]ark's theory of race relations is weak, vacillating, and misleading: and, to the extent that it lends "scientific" confirmation to the Southern rationalizations of racial exploitation, it is insidious. His teleological approach has diverted him from an examination of specific causal events in the development of modern race antagonism. It has led him inevitably into a hopeless position about 'man's inhumanity to man', a state of mind that must eventually drive the student into the open arms of the mystic* (Cox 1970 [1948]: 474).

It must be acknowledged that even if some authors within the Chicago School went further in their conceptualization and criticism, as was the case with Wirth's work (1998 [1928]), they used and applied Park's model of a natural history of race and ethnic relations (Etzioni 1997), strengthening a particular line to further understand, analyze and debate racial relations. Moreover, how Du Bois and Park framed the city was, in fact, opposed. While Du Bois emphasized structural inequalities and segregation, Park's proposal accentuated mobility and cosmopolitanism (Silvano 2001), which might have determined dominant frameworks through which social sciences have explored urban space and (power) relations within it.

In his book *The Scholar Denied* (2015), Aldon Morris illustrates these politics of knowledge and their uncontested regimes of truth, acknowledging how the contributions of Du Bois as an academic – more than as a political activist – undermined the racist foundations of (white) America, precisely because they were coming from within one of the most powerful and compromised institutions in legitimizing the privileges entailed by racial inequality: Academia. Silencing Du Bois is paradigmatic on the way cultural, governmental and epistemological racialization operate (Hesse 2007), carefully selecting the ones who are authorized to speak and are valid to be listened to, and the ones who must be pushed away, in order to sooner or later be forgotten. Following Michel-Rolph Trouillot (1995), the pervasion of silences in history making does not require a conspiracy, once they are structural to modern knowledge production. Accordingly, more than a simple fact, the denial of Du Bois' work is an important symptom to understand the occlusion of race as a

[19] Indeed, "Sociological criminology, the intellectual heir of Chicago sociology, was created by white, Anglo-Saxon, male, Protestant liberals who came to the city from the rural midwest, mostly with a European migration background" (Snodgrass 1972: 19).

(disrupting) mechanism of power and a vehicle of inequality within social sciences. As a result, processes of segregation and confinement of black populations within urban centers were expunged from many academic debates, something which is quite evident for the Portuguese context. As a matter of fact, the denial of Du Bois' contributions to the history of knowledge production is a symptom of a broader racialized amnesia that confined race to a phantasmagorical place in the history of modern (urban) studies. I contend that bringing Du Bois' work as a central reference to understand urban landscapes, is part of an urgent and, I must say, still insurgent, archaeology of absences (Santos 2002).

1.3. Who's Afraid of Race? Building a White Academic Canon

Du Bois sophisticated analytical framework is evident: slums were no exceptions to the urban fabric, but the result of entangled historical processes of institutional racism and urban life organization, which overcame formal notions of apartheid. Therefore, establishing continuities and uncovering legacies, routinely perceived by blacks and continuously ignored by whites, would require anchoring sociological analysis in historical grounds (Du Bois 1899). In this regard, Du Bois' scholarship can be framed as *epistemic disobedience* towards prevailing academic rationales. In line with Walter Mignolo, it is essential to take on civil disobedience to its point of non-return, to the edge of transformation, rather than reform (2009: 15). Silencing Du Bois can also be understood as part of a broader process of obliterating dissident black sociological thought, further continued by the erasing of the work of sociologists such as Oliver Cox (1901-74) and St. Clair Drake (1911-90) or anthropologists Allison Davis (1902-83) and Zora Neale Hurston (1891-1960), whose oeuvres were made irrelevant or unknown to the teaching of social sciences and urban studies. To be sure, Faye Harrison argues that many of these works "belong to an intellectual tradition too little known, understood, or appreciated beyond the boundaries of Black and Pan-African Studies, a framework for producing both knowledge and praxis" (Harrison 1988: 111). In the case of Anthropology, the peripheralization of these Afro-American scholars "is part of a larger phenomenon" and establishes a pattern that influences the character of social sciences and has to be understood in the "context of institutional racism and counter-hegemonic struggle" (Idem: 114).

In line with sociologists Marta Araújo and Silvia Maeso, if we understand Eurocentrism "as a paradigm for interpreting […] reality that uncritically establishes the idea of European and Western historical progress/achievement and its political and ethical superiority, based on scientific rationality and the construction of the rule of law" (2015: 1), we might argue that preventing the *subaltern from speaking* (Spivak 1988) is key for maintaining the canon in place, enabling the establishment of "which events and processes are scientifically relevant and how they are interpreted – simultaneously discovering and covering them" (Araújo & Maeso 2015: 1). Consequently, the denial of dissident black radical thought unveils the colonial roots of the (white) academic canon – a particular way of codifying and organizing knowledges that valorize *Europeanness,* while debasing and appropriating *non-Europeanness*, without ever referring to the impact of coloniality (Hesse 2007: 656). Hence, understanding the obliteration of black dissident

thought requires addressing the relationship between race, segregation and epistemology, grasping how the long-standing tradition of black radical thought has been displaced from the standard histories of disciplines such as Sociology and anthropology (Bhambra 2014, Harrison 1988). In fact, these processes are thoroughly associated with practices of disempowerment, operating through mechanisms of exclusion from "sites of institutional knowledge formation and dissemination" and, therefore, through processes of canon building (Bhambra 2014: 474) as a "process embedded in institutionalized relations of power and authority" which must be counteracted (Harrison 2010: 7).

During the civil rights movement, Kwame Ture and Charles Hamilton (1992 [1967]) advocated the need for political and epistemological decolonization. Together with the Black Panther Movement, they claimed that sociology had mostly failed to address race, therefore rendering the creation of Black and Ethnic Study Programs which addressed the condition of African Americans as an urgent matter (Bhambra 2014: 475). Although these programs were of utmost importance, the study of race became extensively isolated, meaning that the discipline of sociology "did not necessarily have to engage with arguments made by black sociologists or from the traditions of black sociology located in these other departments" (Ibidem). This cannot be seen as a necessary consequence of the creation of such programs and departments, but "rather stemmed from the continued failure of (mostly white) Sociology to engage with the scholarship on race" (Ibidem). Notwithstanding, as a consequence, the canon remained unchallenged, and, with it, black experience, black authors, and race continued to be either silenced or disregarded within the (white) Eurocentric canon (Ibidem). And, once the *coloniality of power* (Quijano 2000) continues to structure sociological discourse, it is not enough to solely add and include other (black) voices to the narrative, but to question why some of these voices continue to be systemically excluded (Bhambra 2014; Araújo & Maeso 2016). Ergo, it is necessary to "insist on the need to bring the relationship between knowledge and power to the center of disputes on national identity, cultural diversity and the validation of 'other' narratives" (Araújo & Maeso 2015: 3).

If we assume that thinking is truly connected with being, one must accept that the generation of knowledge "is a racially marked body in a geo-historical marked space that feels the urge to get the call to speak, to articulate, in whatever semiotic system, the urge that makes of living organisms 'human' beings" (Mignolo 2009: 2). Thus, it is paramount to acknowledge that, by denying the importance of race and racism, most academic knowledge production is also, in fact, reorganizing white privilege and supremacy. To be sure, we can argue that within the lines of *abyssal thinking*, the work of Du Bois was placed on modernity's other side of the line, comprising "a vast set of discarded experiences" through "forms of radical negation", which together "result in a radical absence" (Santos 2007: 52) – and that this had critical consequences. The obliteration of Du Bois' contributions corresponds to a historical process of silencing the memories of those who resisted and dare to affirm their humanity in a context where, as argued by Santos (2007), the colonial became an internal dimension of the metropolitan. Or, as Fanon (2008 [1952]) puts it, where fighting racialization (as dehumanization) means fighting disappearance. Moreover, failing to

incorporate Du Bois has serious consequences in the way race has been framed, since "contemporary accounts of inequality tend to assign 'race' and 'ethnicity' to 'ascriptive' identities that remain resistant to the otherwise impersonal processes of modernity. In current language, they are products of the 'life world' not the 'system'" (Bhambra 2014: 483).

In fact, mostly sociology moved from scientific racism – and its criticism – to state that race was an unscientific category that did no longer matter and reducing inequalities (once) assigned to race to the operation of class relations (Idem). Consequently, race seems to have vanished from sociological debates as well as anthropological ones and, inevitably, from Urban Studies. Urban studies, prompted by the Manchester School or the Rhodes Livingston Institute, deeply influenced by the Chicago School of Sociology (Cordeiro 2003) – repeatedly focused on contexts with a high rate of black people. Notwithstanding discussing "ethnicity" or "the urban poor", these studies rarely focused on questions of African descent (Harrison 1988). As such, it meant the neglecting of the role race played in urbanization processes and formations. In fact, anglophone traditions seem to have imposed a color blind gaze in the analysis of the city, rendering race (in)visible and allowing the unquestioned pervasion of institutional racism and white privilege. According to the French sociologist Loïc Wacquant (2008), it becomes evident how, in the aftermath of the World War II, nation-States such as the US, France and Britain "embraced a vision of themselves as increasingly democratic in Tocqueville's understanding of the term, that is, oriented towards the ineluctable reduction of inequalities of condition, particularly those derived from 'ascribed' positions and identities" (Wacquant 2008: 16). Drawing on the works of several authors, Wacquant argues that "one of the most salient dimensions of the self-understanding of First World societies during the immediate post-war period was that inherited statuses, such as class, ethnicity or 'race', were increasingly irrelevant for access to valued social locations and the attendant bundle of life chances" (Ibidem). In this line of thought, both poverty and racism were about to disappear and, therefore the "obsolescence of class was presumed to apply equally to ethnicity and 'race'" since "[t]o varying degrees, […] societies also took to seeing themselves as 'nonethnic' social formations, increasingly homogeneous and unified as *gemeinschaftliche* relations founded on ancestry, region and culture" paving the way to "instrumental affiliations based on interest, occupational specialization and the functional imperatives of a complex technological economy" (Ibidem). In such a context, "[a]*ssimilation for all* was the order of the day (Gordon 1961), and adoption of the national cultural patterns seemingly the only available course for outgroups that lived in, or entered into, these societies (Hirschman, 1983)". Accordingly, "[by] eliding the question of ethnicity, the ideologues of advanced society marched in the steps of classical and contemporary social science" (Wacquant 2008: 16).

> *Did not Karl Marx and Emile Durkheim, progenitors of the two main rival currents of sociology, agree that capitalist industrialization would result in the replacement of traditional social bonds by impersonal forms of identification and belonging rooted in commodity relations and increasingly abstract civic ideals? Likewise, the two paradigms*

> *of social change that dominated social science in the postwar era, structural-functionalism (and its offshoot modernization theory) and developmental Marxism (led by the work of the Latin American dependistas and world-system theory), postulated that ethnicity and race were fated to be eroded and eventually disappear. Thus, for the advocates of modernization […], the 'passing of traditional society' logically implied the dissolution of ascribed social ties and the concurrent emergence of the free, enterprising, 'achieving' individual, due to the rise of literacy, technology and the mass media.' For defenders of various Marxist theories of societal transformation, […], class formation was to wash away ethnicity and create a global class structure […]. Various theories of postindustrial society shared these assumptions and similarly conceived ethnoracial divisions, not as enduring bases of social structuring endowed with their own dynamic, but as 'backward', reactive or derivative principles of grouping, transitory impediments in the natural course of modern society towards universalism (Kumar, 1995)* (Wacquant 2008: 17-18).

Therefore, over time, class was consolidated as a fundamental sociological-analytical category, while race was dismissed in Academia, implicitly revealing the silencing of racism as well as the concealment of the historical relationship between transatlantic slavery, capitalism and the racialization of poverty (Cox 1953; Robinson 2020 [1983]; Mintz 1985; Nimako & Willemsen 2011).

2. Hide and Seek: Where's the Color Line?

In 2015, a debate on race and racism erupted in the Portuguese public sphere. Despite the voices being raised in different geographical and symbolic peripheralized latitudes for decades now, it was not until very recently that institutional racism and white privilege have begun to emerge as broader political vocabularies within a whitened Portuguese public debate on race.[20] This discussion was

[20] Cf. 'Aberto processo contra polícias acusados de racismo por jovens da Cova da Moura', by Joana Gorjão Henriques. *Público* February 11, 2015. Retrieved 8 March 2019, from https://www.publico.pt/2015/02/11/sociedade/noticia/acm-abre-processo-contra-policias-acusados-de-racismo-por-jovens-da-cova-da-moura-1685819; 'Incidentes com polícia na Cova da Moura "são um problema do Estado de direito"' by Ana Henriques. *Público* February 12, 2015. Retrieved 8 May 2019, from https://www.publico.pt/2015/02/12/sociedade/noticia/incidentes-com-policia-na-cova-da-moura-sao-um-problema-do-estado-de-direito-1685981; 'Racismo em 2017, um ano Negro?, by Mamadou Ba and Cristina Roldão. *Diário de Notícias*, January 5, 2018. Retrieved 8 March 2019, from https://www.dn.pt/opiniao/opiniao-dn/convidados/racismo-em-2017-um-ano-negro-9026534.html;''Há 'racismo institucional' nas escolas portuguesas', *Diário de Notícias*, March 6, 2018. Retrieved 8 March 2019, from https://www.dn.pt/portugal/interior/estudo-alerta-para-racismo-institucional-nas-escolas-portuguesas---9165385.html; 'A minha amiga negra' by Cláudia

largely propelled by a case of police brutality against six black men, in the afternoon of February 5, 2015 (cf. Alves & Ba 2015, Raposo *et al.* 2019), in the municipality of Amadora. The media set about to accuse five men of invading a police station, allegedly to rescue a friend arrested earlier that day, in the self-produced neighborhood of Cova da Moura, in Buraca. Apparently fueled by information given by the police, the official and mediatic version of the incidents reported that the visible and profound injuries displayed over the bodies of the detainees as well as the fact they were kept under custody for two nights were the consequences of an attempt to invade the police station of Alfragide. Immediately, however, another version of the events emerged. It asserted not only that the arrest of the first individual in Cova da Moura was brutal and illegal, but also that the five men detained at the entrance of the police station[21] were severely beaten up in front of the police headquarters and later tortured and racially insulted inside the building.[22] This description corresponded to a daunting scenario of (in)discriminated violence, abuse of authority and racism. Given the disparities between the two versions, an inquiry was opened.

After a thorough investigation the five men were cleared of all charges, while in July 2017 eighteen police officers of the Public Security Police [*Polícia de Segurança Pública*] (PSP) were indicted by the Public Prosecutor's Office. These officers were charged with crimes of forgery of reports and testimonies, kidnapping, qualified injury, qualified offenses to physical integrity and torture – all aggravated by hatred and racial discrimination. This historical accusation not only confirmed

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Silva. *Público,* 6 February 2019. Retrieved 8 May 2019, from https://www.publico.pt/2019/02/06/sociedade/opiniao/amiga-negra-1860674;

[21] It must be noticed that four of the men were detained while asking for the first one detained in the neighborhood, as another one was detained later in the surroundings of the police station, while passing by, coming from a mobile shop.

[22] For more information cf. "Kromo e LBC detidos, espancados e baleados pela PSP", *Blog Kufrontalidade*. Retrieved 12 January 2019 from http://ku-frontalidadi.blogspot.com/2015/02/kromo-e-lbc-detidos-espancados-e.html; "Mulher atingida por disparos na Cova da Moura", *Público*. Retrieved 14 January, 2019, from https://www.publico.pt/2015/02/05/local/noticia/mulher-atingida-por-disparos-da-psp-na-cova-da-moura-1685165?fbclid=IwAR1ot0yM3DHBuK8te7udYRLGAGkFyii8ah90CckrYDvwu5xxmsLGDFDYTw; "Uma 'invasão a esquadra' inventada – Relatos da Cova da Moura e de Alfragide", *Observatório do Controlo e da Repressão*. Retrieved 14 January, 2019, from https://observatoriodocontroloerepressao.Wordpress.com/2015/02/06/relato-da-cova-da-moura-e-de-alfragide/?fbclid=IwAR1BtY2qXoUDPWlGmdxD6u9GYTtdLmpocdz1XawXyFoTBA3TOLOWVIdGTDs; "Plataforma Gueto contraria autoridades e alerta para brutalidade policial", *Rádio Televisão Portuguesa*. Retrieved 12 January, 2019, from http://www.rtp.pt/noticias/index.php?article=803069&tm=8&layout=122&visual=61&fbclid=IwAR1mI4pnfOSDVVbzcRnW8OJeWeJvdcIVNBp53YUPOxECS67PEzJ9BcWarMU; "Violência Policial Racista em Portugal, by Ana Rita Alves, Marta Araújo, Mamadou Ba e Silvia R. Maeso. Retrieved at 12 January, 2019, from https://www.facebook.com/marta.araujo.ces/posts/10152551491546432?__tn__=K-R; "IGAI abre inquérito à actuação da PSP na Cova da Moura", *Jornal O Público*. Retrieved 14 January, 2019, from https://www.publico.pt/2015/02/08/sociedade/noticia/igai-abre-inquerito-a-actuacao-da-psp-na-cova-da-moura-1685487?fbclid=IwAR1tvMjf3cVeLxzFa8cLFq0arW1KsTcPCPwb4lmw3ys1DMTcWXdS6om4TA.

the version described by the men, but also (for the first time) opened up the possibility to question the (standard) narratives of security forces in similar cases, involving police brutality. In fact, this event seems to have unlocked the possibility to debate on how black racialized subjects have historically been constructed as the *usual suspect*s, in Portugal. As written in a manifest calling for a concentration on 21st of March, 2019 – International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, organized by black, Afro-descendent and Anti-racist collectives – "when going to the shopping mall is a *meet*, running on the beach is a *rampage*, going to a police station is an *invasion* and demonstrating peacefully in Avenida da Liberdade is a *riot*"[23] there is an active construction of black (peripheralized) presence as a menace and a threat to the body politic.

Exactly two years after the events at Cova da Moura and Alfragide – on February 7, 2017 – I received a phone call, this time from a housing rights activist who told me that Mr. Silva had been ruthlessly beaten by the authorities when he refused to get out of his home during a forced illegal eviction action, at the self-produced neighborhood of 6 de Maio – five minutes walking distance from Cova da Moura. In the next morning, the headlines of several newspapers announced the event as 'Three police officers assaulted during an eviction in 6 de Maio neighborhood'.[24] Nonetheless, in the aftermath of the indictment of the eighteen police officers of Alfragide, in July 2017, the same newspaper published a different version of the event with the headline: "Public Prosecutor's Office investigates a new case of police violence in the Police Station of Alfragide".[25] This editorial decision unveils how the terms of the public conversation on racism and police brutality were apparently changing. Nonetheless the debate was focused on the relation between the police forces and black men without an explicit reference to urban housing segregation or to urban security policies.

It was during this period that I went back to the library to finish writing the extended version of my doctoral thesis project. I was in the pursue of bibliography that could help me to (un)tie globalized historical knots precisely between racialized urban governmentalities and dehumanization processes. Drawing on readings and conversations with teachers, colleagues and friends, I had gathered valuable bibliographical references. Many of the names and works I was searching for were hitherto unknown to me, but apparently quite important within particular latitudes of academic research focusing on racialized territories, urban segregation processes, racism, ghettoization and their causes and consequences for the lives of black racialized subjects (Harrison 1988, 1992; Duneier 2016). I was looking for (other) classics and I recall that the references I managed to gather comprised mainly (male) African American authors concerned with the relationship between urban space and race. To be sure, I was searching for St. Clair Drake's and Horace Cayton's ground-breaking sociological study on *The Black Metropolis: A Study of Negro Life in a Northern City* (1993 [1945]) and Kenneth Clark's psychological approach to *The Dark Ghetto: Dilemmas of*

[23] Anti-racist Manifest, March 21, 2019.

[24] Cf. *Diário de Notícias*, 7 February 2017.

[25] Cf. *Diário de Notícias*, 26 July 2017.

Social Power (1989 [1965]). Nevertheless, I found none of these books in the libraries I used to frequent, and I decided to order them as I believed they were essential readings. By chance, a few months later, I went to the preview of Raoul Peck's *I'm not your Negro* (2016) – inspired by James Baldwin's unfinished manuscript, *Remember this House* – exploring the history of the Civil Rights Movement in the United States. At some point, I recall seeing Kenneth Clark on-screen interviewing James Baldwin, Malcom X and Martin Luther King in an excerpt of *The Negro and the American Promise* (1963).[26] At that moment I recall whispering to myself: 'It's Kenneth Clark, incredible!', and immediately wondering if most people had recognized him from that brief archive footage so enthusiastically as I did. In fact, did people know about his work and his important contributions to academic debates on Psychology and Social Sciences? If this was the case, how could he remain unknown to students who search for books on such issues? Was there a chance that Kenneth Clark was only valorized by his activism and ignored as the first black president of the American Psychological Association, therefore as a prominent scholar? Why was the movie theater packed while the bookshelves remained empty? To what extent is recent public debate on black intellectuals, race and racism mirrored within Portuguese academic space and queries? And, finally, what can these presences and absences tell us about the state of the debate on race and racism at universities, namely in the field of Urban Studies, Urban Sociology or Anthropology?

I went to the library looking for black academic legacies and traditions, but I found a void instead. The absence of a lineage of black critical thought regarding the city seemed to confirm that institutional racism insists on pushing non-white scholars away from academic spaces to the point that the only classic black authors working on the city I could find were American sociologists Elijah Anderson and William Julius Wilson, both associated with the Chicago School of Sociology.[27]

Curious by their titles, I opened the books, hoping they could help tackling debates on ghettoization and institutional racism. Elijah Anderson's *A Place on the Corner: A Study of Black Street Corner Men* (1981) is an exhaustive and inspiring urban ethnography on black men who regularly met at a barroom-liquor store in a black neighborhood in Chicago's South Side. In the tradition of the Chicago School, namely Whyte's *Street Corner Society* (1993 [1943]), Liebow's *Tally's Corner* (1967) and Suttle's *The Social Order of the Slum* (1968), Anderson describes "a complex underlying social order" by "challenging prevalent views of black street-corner life" (Allen 1978: 991). Concerned with the study of social relations within a context of precarity and social

[26] In the course of this video, professor of psychology Kenneth Clark introduces the segment "The Negro and the American Promise" from Boston public television producer Henry Morgenthau III, featuring interviews with Martin Luther King, Malcolm X and James Baldwin. For more information see American Experience, Introduction to "The Negro and the American Promise", Season 16 | 2m 13s. Retrieved at 09 March, 2019, from https://www.pbs.org/video/american-experience-introduction-to-the-negro-and-the-americanpromise/.

[27] I could also find the work of the Black Afro-Brazilian author Nilton Santos, *A arte do efêmero: Carnavalescos e mediação cultural no Rio de Janeiro* (2009). Race was not a central issue of inquiry.

oppression, Anderson's book highly contributed to a debate on social values and norms, "dynamic components of status groups", "primary groups" and "self-concept" (Dillingham 1980). In turn, William Julius Wilson's, *The truly disadvantaged: the inner city, the underclass, and public policy* (1987) is a landmark on the analysis of black inner-city poverty and public policies addressing the so-called *underclass dilemma* (Edmonds 1987; Boyd 1989; Linder 1989; Delclós 2011). In line with his argument on *The Declining Significance of Race* (1978), Wilson sustained that the problems of black underclass could not be entirely attributed to racial discrimination, as they cannot either be ascribed to an internalized 'culture of poverty' – meaning, the idea that "values and attitudes have been internalized and therefore influence behavior" (Linder 1989: 264). Instead, Wilson argues that the 'underclass' is the product of (bad) social policies and not a consequence of the attitudes of the poor (Carson 1988). To be sure, his analytical concept of 'social isolation' is focused "on the constraints and opportunities caused by concentration effects" and the way they are highly prompted by ghettoization (which made blacks prime targets for both discrimination and hostility) and advanced capitalism (Boyd 1989: 302). Wilson contends that poverty is chiefly the result of social, economic and demographic factors provoked by recent and major changes in the economic system (Edmonds 1987; Boyd 1989). He also suggests that past discrimination, and not contemporary one, is "the major factor in black disadvantage" (Boyd 1989: 302), decentralizing racism as an ongoing power relation used on shaping urban landscapes and urban inequalities:

> *Instead of talking vaguely about an economic structure of racism, it would be less ambiguous and more effective to state simply that a racial division of labor has been created due to decades, even centuries, of discrimination and prejudice; and that because those in the low-wage sector of the economy are more adversely affected by impersonal economic shifts in advanced industrial society, the racial division of labor is reinforced. One does not have to 'trot out' the concept of racism to demonstrate, for example, that blacks have been severely hurt by deindustrialization because their heavy concentration in the automobile, rubber, steel, and other smokestack industries* (Wilson 1978: 14).

Moreover, Wilson argues that to explain the reality of the 'ghetto underclass', scholars should "emphasize the dynamic interplay between ghetto-specific cultural characteristics and social and economic opportunities" (Wilson 1987: 18) – a discussion he will continue throughout *More than just race: being black and poor in the inner city* (Wilson 2009), a book which I have further found in the library.

In addition to the value of their works – which constitute important historical contributions to discussions on race relations, white racialized imaginaries, urban segregation and poverty –, their presence had the power to evoke the absence of (other) black authors, and particularly the ones who have placed institutional racism at the center of the inquiry. Drawing on the work of St. Clair Drake and Horace Cayton, in its Introduction for the *Black Metropolis*, Richard Wright poses this question: "it will be but natural for this honest question to be asked by both whites and blacks: If

the racial scene depicted here is true, if the points of view presented here are valid, if the meanings deduced here are real, then why have we not been told all this before? (Wright 1993 [1945]: xx).

In this regard, the presence of Elijah Anderson and William Julius Wilson can be read as symptomatic on how academia – as a modern institution of knowledge production – has historically marginalized black presence, through epistemic apartheid, but as well avoided debates on institutional racism – *more than just race* –, as a part of broader socio-anthropological discussions regarding power relations, governmentalization, violence, segregation, social exclusion and poverty. Therefore, even if their works are capable, until some extent, of changing the terms of the conversation on black populations by *emphasizing the problems of blacks instead of taking blacks as a source of problems* – as earlier suggested by Du Bois –, racism remained somewhat unquestioned, submerged under debates on urban poverty. Accordingly, immersing in this bibliographic universe became mandatory.

3. In the Library: Debates on Urban Anthropology and Racism

At this point I was determined to grasp how the books available on the shelves of urban anthropology could help to disclose contemporary tendencies in urban studies, allowing for the identification of main historical references and debates, and landmarks in framing contemporary urban research in the Portuguese context. Moreover, I was particularly devoted to tackle an apparent pervasiveness of a color blind tradition within the field of Urban Studies – even when race is present as a sociological reality – and understanding its consequences in the lived experiences of black subjects. Considering the impossibility of analyzing all archives of all libraries dedicated to social sciences, I've chosen to map, cartograph and examine existing books on Urban Studies, and more particularly on Urban Anthropology, in two important academic ones. First, I went to the University Institute of Lisbon (ISCTE - IUL) and, later, to the Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities of the New University of Lisbon (FCSH-UNL). Besides old habits, choosing these libraries had to do with the fact that these universities conjointly offer a master and a doctoral program on Urban Studies, which embrace interdisciplinarity and favor an ethnographical insight in framing urban spaces and dynamics.[28] Additionally, these are the same universities hosting several key researchers and research-groups in developing Urban Studies, from within several disciplinary traditions and research contexts. Ergo, they have become references in the way the city is being studied in the

[28] Cf. Video presentation of the Master's in urban studies at Nova FCSH. Retrieved 02 March 2019, from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GBIJMoBRirc and Video presentation of the PhD in Urban Studies at NOVA FCSH. Retrieved 02 March 2019, from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vIzgBYgZWwE.

Portuguese context.[29] Therefore, even if I was aware that public libraries in universities are normally poor in bibliographic references due to the shortage of public funds, the existent book collections, resulting from purchases or donations, are a product of predominant relations and influences within academic knowledge production and they continue shaping future academic imaginaries too.

The library of the University Institute of Lisbon (ISCTE - IUL) is a large and sunny three-store building, where a great amount of people finds their place to study and research. Knowledge production is organized through countless bookshelves which materialize disciplines and subjects, comprising a specific place for studies on Urban Anthropology. Additionally, students have access to online catalogues, where through names, titles or subjects they can look for more particular issues, oeuvres or authors. The library of the Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities (FCSH-UNL) is a tiny space filled with bookcases where most of the bibliographic collection is kept in a warehouse. Therefore, it is not possible to find a specific corner or bookshelf explicitly dedicated to Urban Anthropology, making it necessary to search for the books through the available online catalogue, which hindered the analysis. Because of this, I decided to focus my attention particularly on the bibliographic collection of ISCTE, having FCSH's collection as baseline and term of comparison. Hence, little by little, I took a great majority of the books placed on the shelves of ISCTE and compiled a sample list of fifty different titles in Urban Anthropology[30], entailing book titles, author's names, years of publication, main subjects of interest and main bibliographic references for each work. With this exercise I aimed at mapping main classic and contemporary influences in anthropological literature on cities – authors, theoretical frameworks and key subjects. The main objective was to ascertain continuities between historical and contemporary narratives on Urban Anthropology, with particular attention to the place and the importance given to debates on race and institutional racism.

Arriving at ISCTE, my attention was immediately caught by six copies of Ulf Hannerz' *Exploring the city: inquiries toward an urban anthropology* (1980), justified by the fact that Hannerz' oeuvre has been considered a masterpiece within an intense corpus of debate on the relationship between Anthropology and the city (Cordeiro 2003). Its table of contents revealed the historical importance of both the schools of Chicago and Manchester of Urban Studies (or Sociology) in framing the interdisciplinary field of Urban Anthropology. Following Graça Índias Cordeiro (2003), the history of Urban Anthropology was deeply influenced by a set of diverse historical, geographical and cultural approaches to the city, as well as by a corpus of sociological and ethnographical debates produced within the scope of the Chicago School of Sociology and the first 'Community Studies' in the US (Cordeiro 2003). This debate was further strengthened by contributions from British Social Anthropology, particularly through debates brought by the School of Manchester, in the

[29] For example, the Centre for Sociological Studies (CESNOVA, UNL), the Centre for Research and Studies in Sociology (CIES, IUL) or the Centre for Socioeconomic and Territorial Studies (DINAMIA-CET, IUL).

[30] The complete list can be found in the attachments.

scope of the Rhodes Livingston Institute (1937-1964), where urbanization and ethnicity were analyzed through innovative and interdisciplinary methodologies, favoring situation and network analysis (Cordeiro 2003; Tembo 2014). Likewise, there were also important contributions from research on urban development in Latin America, particularly in Mexico.

Still, Cordeiro (2003) underlines the strong influence exercised by theoretical and empirical contributions of Chicago and Manchester schools to the development of Urban Anthropology. To be sure, the birth of Urban Anthropology can be understood as a direct consequence and a historical product of a series of diverse processes which led to the increasing centrality of urban spaces and urban living in the academic sphere. The development of this still recent and autonomous field of study within the discipline of Anthropology reflected the end of colonialism, the intensification of migrant flows to European cities and the emergence of a new series of problematics within urban spaces, which deserved increasing attention from anthropologists (Cordeiro 2003). Moreover, Urban Anthropology can also be said to be responsible for reshaping the discipline's epistemological approach, since it prompted an Anthropology *at home*, responsible for narrowing the (constructed) distance between the *researcher* and its *subject of study*, confirming that it was not the subject matter, but the approach which "unwittingly […] defined the anthropological endeavor" (Peirano 1998).

There were plenty of other books next to the six volumes of Ulf Hannerz. In total, there were seven bookcases dedicated to Urban Anthropology, comprising around 225 books. Besides the several names engraved in the history of Urban Studies, such as the above-mentioned Louis Wirth's *The Ghetto* (1998) or Anthony Leeds's *Cities, Classes, and the Social Order* (1994), the prevalence of oeuvres from anthropologists Michel Agier and Gilberto Velho was quite evident. There were five different books by Agier, and six volumes written or organized by Velho. In addition, there were six copies of Gilberto Velho's *A Utopia Urbana* (1989 [1973]) and eight volumes of Michel Agier's *Esquisses d'une anthropologie de la ville* (2010) together with its corresponding Portuguese translation *Antropologia da cidade: lugares, situações, movimentos* (2011). This wealth of (repeated) books pointed out the possibility that both French and Brazilian Urban Studies on Anthropology – besides classic anglophone influences – could also be predominant in the Portuguese urban anthropological context in both researching and teaching. This is echoed in the analysis of an urban anthropologist, when arguing that,

> *[I]n Portugal, the big influences [in urban anthropology] are Brazil, […], and then, the Spanish. In Brazil, Professor Gilberto Velho... he was in the US in close contact with urban anthropology – still in the reflects of the Chicago School [...]. In the past, one of the most important references was Anthony Leeds… and then, many others of the Chicago School: [Robert] Park of course, [George] Simmel and William Foote-White – a compulsory reading in classes [of urban anthropology]. And then, more recently, Michel Agier. Then, several other references […][Christian] Topalov. Then, there are people in Spain, as Joan Pujadas [...]. And, then, there's not much else. It is Spain, Brazil, the US through the*

> *inference of the School of Chicago, some English authors who studied urban contexts, poverty, housing, vicinity, [social] networks […]. And the French for housing* (Interview with urban anthropologist, 6 June 2018, translation by the author).

After giving it some thought, I started by focusing my attention on the work of the renowned anthropologist Michel Agier. Initially dedicated on studying marginalized spaces within major cities in Togo (Lomé), Brazil (Bahia) and Columbia (Cali), he explored social, cultural, ethnic/racial mobilizations in the context of ritualistic contexts, such as religious holidays, or the Carnival. Driven precisely by his work on the neighborhood of *Agua Blanca* (Cali) and the arrival of the *desplazados* – displaced people produced by the increasing armed conflict in the region –, Agier took interest in forced displacements, refugees and refugee camps. Engaged in an *Anthropology of the city* which departed from studying poor and marginalized urban spaces to (re)think the city, Agier prompted innovative analytical approaches "towards the creation of new urban contexts, particularly in vulnerable and adverse situations" (Damasceno *et al.* 2010: 813). Agier examined the interaction between spaces which symbolized the *antithesis* of urbanity and urban living (e.g., poor neighborhoods, banlieues, favelas, townships) to understand how cities are being produced (Lepoutre 2001; Agier 2015). He also conceptualized the importance of the city as a possible refuge and reflected upon how States invest on the management of the *undesirables* through processes of spatial segregation (Agier 2015). Among his far-reaching body of work, there were several titles at the library of ISCTE: *L'invention de la ville: Banlieues, townships, invasions and favelas* (1999), *Aux Bords du Monde, Les Réfugies* (2002), *Esquisses d'une anthropologie de la ville* (2010), *Antropologia da cidade: lugares, situações, movimentos* (2011) and one of his more recent investigations, *La condition cosmopolite* (2013). Although Agier's earlier works revolved directly around issues such as race relations and black cultures[31] (Damasceno *et al*. 2010), none of his past or recent books seem to problematize race nor racism, even if his work continues to take place in black impoverished territories and orbiting around issues such as border control regimes, dehumanization processes and (the denial of) citizenship rights. Lastly, it is important to highlight the chief impact of the School of Manchester[32] in the course of his work, particularly the influence of anthropologist Clyde Mitchell, on his situationist approach towards the city and his interest on

[31] Particularly in Bairro da Liberdade, in Salvador da Bahia, considered the first black neighborhood in Latin America. Cf. *Banzo, quilombo: a lógica simbólica do "Mundo Negro"*, 1990. Revista da Bahia, Salvador, n17, p.23-28; Ethnopolitique - Racisme, statuts et mouvement noir à Bahia (Brésil). 1991. Salvador: [s.n.]. 36 p. mimeo; *Anthropologie du carnaval. La ville, la fête et l'Afrique à Bahia*. Éditions Parenthèses: Marseille, 2000.

[32] The Manchester School emerged in the aftermath of World War II as "a major" and "coordinated project of urban and rural" socio-anthropological research, in what was then British Central Africa (today, Zambia, Zimbabwe, and Malawi), coordinated by the Manchester University department of Social Anthropology and the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute (cf. https://anthropology.ua.edu/theory/the-manchester-school/). Led by Max Gluckman, the Manchester School was mostly concerned "with social process and the theme of conflict and conflict resolution" (Werbner 1984: 157).

issues related to sociability and family networks (Lepoutre 2015; Diéz 2015). Moreover, and considering his microsocial approach to the city methodologically, epistemologically and politically, Agier underlines the pioneering role of the Chicago School in pushing forward urban ethnography (Damasceno *et al.* 2010).

In the shelves of the library of ISCTE, I was also able to find the work of anthropologist Gilberto Velho. Considered as the founding father of Urban Anthropology in Brazil, Velho became widely known due to a pioneering study carried out on an apartment block in Copacabana, Rio de Janeiro (Velho 1989 [1973]; Bastos 2017; Castro & O'Donnell 2012). Drawing on different territorial scales in order to contextualize the everyday living of people inhabiting *Edifício Estrela*, he focused his analyses on urban middle-class trajectories and expectations. His work became a major source of inspiration for many students and researchers engaged in exploring the city through an anthropological gaze. In fact, *A Utopia Urbana: um estudo de Antropologia Social* (1989 [1973]) can be read as a milestone in the history of Urban Anthropology in the Brazilian context and, later on, in Portugal as well (Castro & O'Donnell 2012; Bastos 2017). Transatlantic relations were particularly important since, according to anthropologist Cristiana Bastos,

> *[w]e had nothing similar in Portugal – but as did some pioneers of urban sociology and anthropology in Portugal, the Urban Utopia by Gilberto Velho was an inspiration, a model and a key to read some Lisbon neighborhoods, solving the paradox found on the ground that typical Lisbon neighborhoods are mostly populated by migrants from the rural world. So did sociologists António Firmino da Costa and Maria das Dores Guerreiro on their works about Alfama (Costa e Guerreiro, 1984, 2014), and anthropologist Graça Índias Cordeiro for Bica, not before having worked on urban leisure in Campo de Ourique (Cordeiro, 1993, 1997 e 2014). After all, there were Lisbon versions of urban utopia, obviously contrasting with Copacabana. There were neighborhoods of destiny, epitomes of urbanity, of living differently, of realizing projects and materializing trajectories. They also had their own sociability, sounds, smells, tensions, latent and manifest, parades, parties, leisure, daily life, associations, images made for the exterior of a parochial authenticity and a tradition that, like the others, is made in the present with the idea of the past. Neighborhoods, practices, rituals, collectivities and recreational groups, still composed in the wake of the "community" that traditional ethnographic studies required, but also interactions, differences, conflicts, dispersions, multiple identities, breaking with the traditional demand for "communities", became part of the research agenda – and anthropology in Portugal also became urban. And, undoubtedly, and without needing to justify itself, in good proximity with sociology* (Bastos 2017: 169).

Along the years, increasing dialogues, collaborations, movements and personal friendships have led to different synergies – as proven by the edited volume *Antropologia Urbana: Cultura e Sociedade no Brasil e em Portugal* (1999). It epitomizes epistemic, theoretical and methodological exchanges between two national contexts, irretrievably joined by a past of violent colonial

processes and racial slavery. Because of this, the large number of works from Gilberto Velho at the library is symptomatic on how his "oeuvre would contribute to the ripening of the new Portuguese anthropology, well after 1974" (Bastos 2017: 165). In order to contextualize Gilberto Velho's oeuvre, it is also important to acknowledge the influence exercised by authors such as Georg Simmel, Robert Park, Everett Hughes and Howard S. Becker (Peirano 1998, Castro & O'Donnell 2012).[33] Moreover, the influence of Chicago's interactionist Sociology is, again, prominent in Velho's edited volume *Rio de Janeiro: Cultura, Política e conflito* (2008), considering its focus on metropolitan diversity and its repercussions over individual trajectories or on selecting several research topics, closely related to the Chicago's tradition – including issues of 'deviation' or 'presentation of the self' (Coelho 2007: 312). I was further able to find Gilber Velho's *Nobres & Anjos: Um estudo de tóxicos e hierarquia* (1998), his co-edited volume (with Karina Kuschnir), *Mediação, Cultura e Política* (2001), and a compilation of a series of old writings discussing 'complex societies', as is the case in *Um antropólogo na cidade: ensaios de antropologia urbana* (Velho 2013; Becker 2013). And, at a certain moment I could not avoid noting that Gilberto Velho had developed most of his work in the Brazilian context, which is considered one of the countries with the largest number of black-diaspora communities in the world inhabiting *anti-black cities* (Alves 2018) where they *were never meant to survive* (Vargas 2010). Nonetheless, Velho never explored the role of race or racism in the making of Brazilian cities and urban dynamics, raising the possibility that, just like him, many others have done the same, even if working on hyper-racialized black contexts. It is as if blackness is always hyper-present while racism remains always absent, lying underneath.

Alba Zaluar, another major reference in contemporary Brazilian Urban Anthropology – and a strong presence at the library of ISCTE as well – has developed most of her work on hyper-racialized territories (e.g., Cidade de Deus). Trained as a social anthropologist at the University of Manchester, alongside with intellectuals such as Max Gluckman, Clyde Mitchell or Peter Worsley (Zaluar & Torres 2009), she was the author of several books, that became milestones in Urban Studies in Brazil and Portugal. While Zaluar studied popular culture, popular organization, poverty, crime, urban violence and drug trafficking (Zaluar 2000, 2004) and the history and conceptualization of Favelas (Alvito & Zaluar 1998), she never problematized race nor racism. Indeed, according to Brazilian geographer Renato Emerson dos Santos, "gathering articles on urban issues and racism […] puts us face to face with a contradiction", namely "the amplitude and multiplicity of possible thematic unfolding" or the "dismissal of the theme in different areas" (2012: 27).

[33] I read an interview conducted by several academics with Gilberto Velho, in 2010 (Bomeny *et al*., 2010) and when Velho was asked to select a major canonical oeuvre in Anthropology he was incapable of pointing only one, choosing Evans-Pritchard' *The Nuer: A Description of the Modes of Livelihood and Political* (1940), Leach's *Political systems of Highland Burma: A Study of Kachin Social Structure* (1964), Whyte's *Street Corner Society* (1993 [1943]) and Becker's *Outsiders: Studies in the Sociology of Deviance* (1963).

The prominence of Michel Agier's and Gilberto Velho's work at the library indicates their significant influence in contemporary Portuguese Urban Anthropology. In line with preceding traditions of both the Chicago and Manchester schools, these works further testify of and reflect the extension of the influence of earlier sociological traditions until present days, deepening continuities and particular frames through which urban spaces have been understood until the present.

Urban Anthropology was institutionalized in the US with subsequent contributions from the English, Brazilian, Mexican or French contexts, among others (Cordeiro 2003). This specific gaze on urban landscapes and dynamics came to consolidate a somewhat controversial and interdisciplinary field of work, permeable to several disciplinary influences and which has elected ethnography as the more adequate method to dive into cities and urban living. Until mid-1970's, anthropological urban studies where focused on rural-urban migration, urban problems (e.g., poverty, minorities and so-called deviant groups) or on (transposing) classic subjects of anthropological research, such as the study of kinship and rituals to the city (Cordeiro 2003). Back then, the city was merely conceptualized as a "locus of activity, but not the focus of research" (Cordeiro 2003: 9). To be sure, between 1950 and 1970, urban anthropology was mostly an *anthropology on the city*, later giving rise to an *anthropology of the city*, capable of relating microscale phenomenon throughout ethnography with macroscale structures and processes through context analysis (Agier 1999; Cordeiro 2003). Besides epistemic shifts, urban matters and interests broadened in the course of the years and with them several thematic lines of study took shape. While many interests mirrored a certain anthropological and sociological tradition that continues to invest in classic lines of urban research (e.g., masculinities, poverty or migrations studies), others invested on developing new lines of inquiry by studying institutions such as prisons or the police, where race remained, apparently, a silent matter. These major lines of inquiry reflected, particularly, the impact of Chicago, Manchester, Brazilian and French schools of thought and their (in)direct influence on the course of contemporary Portuguese Urban Anthropology. This becomes even more evident if we take a closer look at the fifty books selected from the shelves of urban anthropology and analyze their main research subjects and themes. The cluster of the research topics – illustrated by the next figure – is an attempt to map prevalent national and international debates in urban anthropology, occurring at the bookshelves of ISCTE (in orange are the most prevalent ones).

Written mostly in English, French and Portuguese, and ranging from classic works to recent publications, these fifty books evoke past and current trends on exploring the city, from Chicago to São Paulo, Paris to Lisbon. Despite the multiplicity of perspectives and approaches, the vast majority of the works engage in methodological and epistemological debates on the challenges posed by urban anthropology (as a recent field of study within the discipline of anthropology), the city (as new subject of research), and urban anthropologists themselves (as social scientists engaged in a new context of research) (Hannerz 1980; Southall 1998; Low 1999; Lepetit & Topalov 2001; Raulin 2001; Agier 2011). Neighborhood ethnographies appear as the most appropriate

methodological approach to analyze urban spaces and urban dynamics. The neighborhood – as a porous border – appears to be a place from where it is possible to explore and analyze urban lifestyles (Velho 1989; Wilson 1991; Sennet 1994), social and cultural urban identities (Signorelli 2000; Agier 2002; Velho 2008), urban popular cultures – namely through a series of artistic practices and sociability networks (Zaluar 1985; Tanenbaum 1995; Santos 2009; Biondi 2010), drug consumption and trafficking (Chaves 1999; Bourgois 2003), (ethnic) ghettos and marginalized neighborhoods (Suttles 1968; Zaluar & Alvito 1998; Hannerz 1989), violence (Agier 1999; Zaluar 2004), youth (Sullivan 1989; Cordeiro *et al*. 2003; Velho 2008) or migrations (Lamphere 1992; Repak 1995; Agier 2002). The above-mentioned subjects appear to be the most common interests of research among urban anthropologists, according to the books available at the library. Nevertheless, these debates overlap as there are debates on several other issues, such as institutions, public policies, religious practices, memory, gender, class or social exclusion.

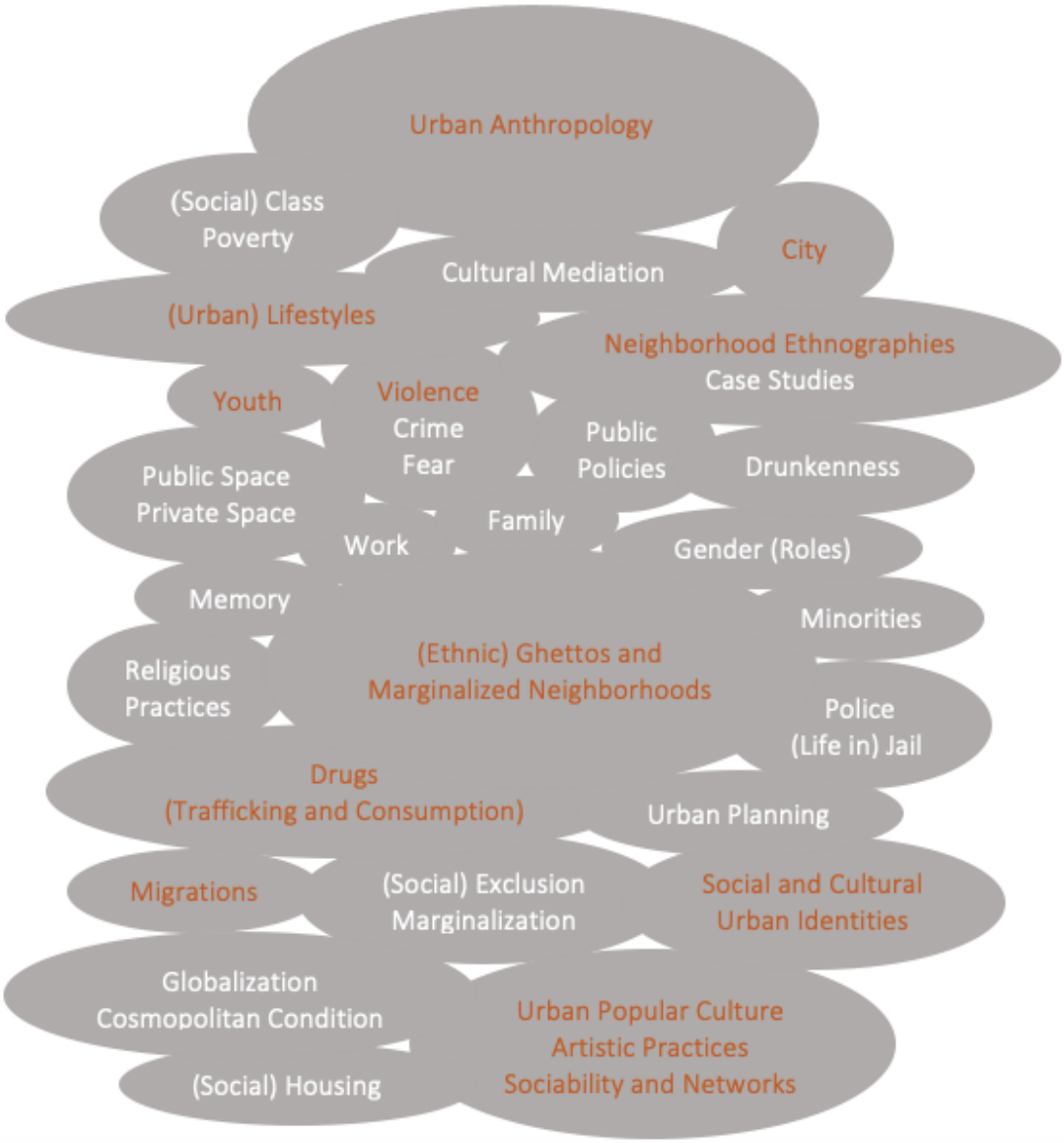

Figure 3 | Main subjects among Urban Anthropology books at ISCTE

Absent among these works are any bibliographic references to the intellectual W. E. B. Du Bois, except for the book edited by Frederick W. Boal, *Ethnicity and Housing: Accommodating Differences* (2000), but none to *The Philadelphia Negro*. There are also practically no debates on race or institutional racism, except for Ulf Hannerz' *Soulside: Inquiries into ghetto culture and community* (1989), where there are several references to the black intellectuals Stokely Carmichael and St. Clair Drake. In this context, even if terms such as 'race', 'ethnicity, 'minorities', and 'racism' are mentioned throughout the selected works, they are more descriptive than used to unveil ongoing power relations within urban realities. The terms seem to be used more to describe and characterize particular populations and contexts, than to analytically understand how historical processes of racialization have been used to unbalance access to citizenship or rights. In this sense race seems to be either absent or rendered as non-relevant within the socio-anthropological debate. And, if this is the panorama for urban anthropological studies in a general (inter)national perspective, will there be a place for Critical Race Studies in Portuguese urban studies?

4. The Specific Case of Portuguese Urban Studies

In Portugal, urban ethnographies, and particularly Urban Anthropology, emerged mostly during the nineties (Cordeiro 2003) providing an in-depth analysis of urban processes and dynamics. In fact, using ethnography represented an opportunity to address microscale processes and dynamics by looking into urban living in detail. In line with previous works and debates, particularly in anglophone and Brazilian traditions, anthropologists Joaquim Pais de Brito (1983) and Graça Índias Cordeiro (1997) or sociologist António Firmino da Costa (1999) were responsible for developing urban studies in Lisbon. Electing historical and emblematic quarters from the center of the capital – as Bica or Alfama – these authors conduced lengthy ethnographies in a context were cultural identities, forms of popular culture and organization were under the scope of analysis (Cordeiro *et al.* 1983; Cordeiro 1997, 2003; Firmino da Costa 1999). Graça Índias Cordeiro, for example, argues that it was precisely "the emergence of popular parades within popular quarters" which gave rise to their naming, delimitating, somehow, what was porous (Cordeiro 1997: xx) and rebuilding notions of territory and belonging within the cityscape. By drawing on different disciplinary traditions to understand these changing urban realities, these authors were in a way responsible for blurring disciplinary borders and amplifying debates on the city. They have become classic references in exploring the city:

> *[António] Firmino da Costa wrote that book that is like a bible for the sociology students here at ISCTE – A Sociedade de Bairro – and has a selection of very important articles, some [of them] are in English, but very few (...) and he is one of those you can't avoid. Another [author] is Graça [Índias Cordeiro] for matters of methodology, mostly. What did she bring to urban anthropology? She was trained with other anthropologists and was*

> *almost the only one who proceeded to the field of urban anthropology as such. This doesn't mean there weren't others who would have worked in the urban context, they just simply (...) didn't refer to international Urban Anthropology. She used references from international urban anthropology and used methodologically references from social anthropology as researchers used to do at that time. And of course, Luís Fernandes. He's from the area of Psychology and he did long-term ethnographic research in a neighborhood in Porto regarding drug consumption. And he is essential to the clarification of methodology and the use of fieldnotes* (Interview with urban anthropologist, 6 June 2018, translation by the author).

Apart from these references within the fields of Urban Anthropology and Sociology in Portugal, there are many others who inscribed their works within the context of urban Portuguese ethnography, as Eduardo Ascensão, João Pedro Silva Nunes, Lígia Ferro, Luís Vicente Baptista, Miguel Chaves, Otávio Raposo, Rita Ávila Cachado, Simone Frangella, Susana Durão or Tiago Neves, among others (Cordeiro *et al.* 2003; Cachado 2012; Ascensão 2013; Frangella 2014; Raposo 2015; Ferro & Gonçalves 2018), showing how, over the past few decades, ethnographic approaches became common across different disciplinary traditions, challenging disciplinary borders and prompting new approaches towards the city:

> *[...] I am beginning to hypothesize very strongly that one thing that happens to people who work ethnographically in urban contexts is interdisciplinarity (which they then manage to put in practice more thoroughly or not). And this gets people to debate interdisciplinarity, something I believe it's an [reflexive] advantage brought by the disciplinary field of urban ethnography. In urban contexts we feel very permeable [to interdisciplinarity] because we want to, we have to know more about urban history, geography [...]. [Urban ethnography] it is not necessarily a scientific field, but it is an academic field where interdisciplinarity is possible, why? Because people come from geography, social work, psychology, history, architecture and anthropology but they all want and do ethnography. Anthropologists will say: "Ah, they say they do it, but they don't" – but this expresses a bit of fear... regarding the monopoly of methodology, I think* (Interview with urban anthropologist[34], 6 June 2018, translation by the author).

To put in dialogue, map, and systematize the diverse approaches to urban spaces, several books and dossiers on Urban Studies were published across the years. In this context, I'd like to highlight two, which are the result of conferences and academic meetings that had the city as quintessential subject. As a first attempt to map the state of the art of debates on the city in Portugal, I would

[34] This interview reveals to be of particular relevance as this academic is presently mapping and analyzing the history of Portuguese Urban Studies in Portugal.

underline the *Proceedings of the Colloquium Living in/the City* (1991)[35] and the book *Urban Ethnographies* (2003)[36] – fundamental efforts in contextualizing and mapping the history of urban ethnography. Analyzing these books – present at both libraries – will allow to map major debates on Urban Studies within the Portuguese context. Furthermore, understanding how classic references of the discipline reverberated in the way the city is being gazed, allows for understanding the emergence of the socio-anthropological debate on urban spaces and dynamics, and allows highlighting its main actors.

The volume *Living in/the City* (1991) is the result of a colloquium with the same name, hosted by the Group of Social Ecology of the National Laboratory for Civil Engineering and the Group of Territorial Studies of the University Institute of Lisbon, in October 1990. This book brings into dialogue those 'who act upon the city' (e.g., architects) and those 'who think about it' (e.g., social scientists). This book reflects how most social scientists and architects attempted to keep up with the constant urban changes which characterized the past few decades. While predominantly focused on processes of urbanization and (re)creation of sociability among lower and middle-class people, race is, again, never present as a possible lens of analysis. Even if Roma and black people were living and building the city, race seems not to play a part in it. This happens even when territories mostly inhabited by these populations are directly addressed, as in the case of the work developed by Maria Toscano (1991) in the self-produced neighborhood of *Fim do Mundo* (Cascais, LMA). In the chapter "Uncovered but not 'Discovered': mechanisms of (dis)integration of African migrants in the diaspora – sociological understandings of a case of intervention"[37], which focuses on precarity, poverty and social exclusion and tries to denaturalize accounts that see them as results of either identity or culture, racism is not taken into consideration even though the territory was mostly inhabited by black and Roma populations. Roma culture is portrayed as non-European, while Afrodescendants are consistently framed as immigrants, even as we can assume that many youths of *Fim do Mundo* were already born in Portugal, therefore being black Portuguese and not migrants. Toscano's paper seems to define the borders of the neighborhood according to the terms of Eurocentric academic production. Roma and black subjects are placed outside *portugality* – a Euro-imagined fiction of a racial (white), historically and culturally (Greco-Roman and Christian) homogeneous national community (Alves 2013, 2021). This colonial matrix of thought places non-white bodies outside the *zone of being*, reproducing their dehumanization through notions of Europeanness and non-Europeanness (Fanon 2008; Hesse 2007).

The book *Urban Ethnographies* (2003) is the result of a workshop organized by the Centre for Research and Studies in Sociology of the University Institute of Lisbon, that brought together different generations of anthropologists, sociologists and psychologists around the theme "Cities

[35] *Viver (n)a Cidade*.

[36] *Etnografias Urbanas.*

[37] "Descobertos mas não 'Descobridos': mecanismos de (des)integração dos imigrantes africanos em diáspora - leitura sociológica de um caso de intervenção".

and Diversity: Development Perspectives on Urban Anthropology"[38], in September 2001. The book reveals the predominance of an ethnographic approach to exploring the city, rendering it a strong area of confluence among different fields of knowledge production (Cordeiro, Baptista and Costa 2003). Dedicated to debating territories, images and power(s), and addressing the city both as a place and an idea, the book explores issues of migration and integration, policewomen, social control and drug consumption, the role of architecture and habitational strategies, sociability and ethnicity, belonging, youth, identity, new consumptions and psychedelic expressions. But, again, race is not central, even when present. In the paper "Processes of integration of immigration"[39], Rui Pena Pires (2003) debates immigrants' integration in host societies and defines migration processes as 'disintegration processes', which demand new forms of interaction, either with Portuguese nationals or other immigrants. This results in processes of 'assimilation' or 'ethnicization' which can coexist and help in understanding the formation of 'ethnic identities' (Pires 2003). By relying on such debates, Pires reorganizes colonial categories and processes in post-colonial times. Nonetheless, the author also acknowledges that what he understood as challenges for 'systemic integration' of immigrants – related to an (in)compatibility between 'ethnicized' identities and 'national' ones – and the persistence of 'ethnicization processes' can mirror phenomena of stigmatization and discrimination. Either way, racism is never problematized. In "Ethnicity and sociability of Guineans in Portugal"[40], Fernando Luís Machado (2003) focused on analyzing the relationship between sociability and ethnicities which, according to him, can result in 'separatist multiculturalism' or 'irreducible individuality' (Machado 2003). By studying the network composition of migrants from Guinea-Bissau in Portugal, he argues, among other things, that residential proximity does not always mean good neighborhood relations – once 'intercultural' conflicts can occur as they also happen in spaces without ethnic diversity (Machado, 2003). Black migrants are the target of research, leaving aside racial residential segregation, and most of all, the impact of whiteness through institutional and everyday racism on the living possibilities and sociability of black immigrants in Portugal. Racism is therefore absent from debates over immigrant presence and city planning, meaning that blackness is being consistently expunged from debates over nationhood, even though black people have been present in Portugal since at least the fifteenth century (Henriques 2009).

Sociologist Marta Araújo argues that in some sectors of Portuguese academia "there is a tendency to historicize the tolerant nation and attest a vocation to interculturality that circulates presentist accounts of immigration and evades historical roots of contemporary, Portuguese racism" (2013: 41). To be sure, by focusing on a culturalist approach to *difference*/*diversity*, the construction of an academic immigration industry in Portugal, has been evading race and concealing (post)colonial violence and its legacies by: (i) neglecting the role of colonialism in *ideological construction of*

[38] Cidades e Diversidade: Perspectivas de Desenvolvimento em Antropologia Urbana.

[39] Processos de integração da imigração.

[40] Etnicidade e socialibilidade dos guinenses em Portugal.

race; (ii) resorting to lusotropicalist narratives to forward the *tolerant character of the nation*; (iii) assuming the homogeneity of the Portuguese nation; (iv) building migration as a new/recent phenomenon, in a context where black migrants in particular, shall pursue the road to assimilation or else be *blamed for failure to integrate* (Araújo 2013).

To be sure, none of the books at ISCTE addressed issues of race and institutional racism as key research-subjects while exploring cities. And the same must be said for the library of the New University of Lisbon. Consequently, the city is being analyzed through several other lenses, with particular emphasis on (mostly whitened) urban popular cultures and (mostly whitened) urban popular sociability (such as fado or popular parades), space production and appropriation, tourism, gentrification, migrations or ethnicity. All these studies seem to be color blind. Nonetheless, when racism is introduced, it is mostly ascribed to its moral and individual dimensions while institutions are never made accountable. This suppresses broader debates on the role of race in shaping the urban landscape of centers and peripheries through racialized urban governmentalities which make racialization to be directly experienced as *spatial* (Razack 2002). The operation of race seems to be reduced to the operation of class, in a context where racialized poverty remains unquestioned.

As a result, few masters and PhD thesis have been addressing race or racism even when analyzing mostly black territories, such as self-produced neighborhoods or public rehousing quarters. In a brief search on theses produced around themes such as city, periphery, neighborhoods, social neighborhoods and searching for the name of specific neighborhoods, in the first months of 2018, I was able to find 75 Master's and PhD theses among which 43 were done in/about Cova da Moura and 17 in different neighborhoods of LMA, namely Bairro 6 de Maio, Estrela d'África, Santa Filomena and Casal da Mira (Amadora), Quinta da Fonte and Quinta da Vitória (Loures), in Arrentela (Seixal), Bairro Alto da Loba (Odivelas) and Quinta da Holandesa and Bairro Alfredo Bensaúde (Lisbon).[41] By then, apart from three of the dissertations, none of them dealt with institutionalized racial violences, even when working in territories which have become mostly black and Roma throughout the years. As such, both self-produced neighborhoods and social rehousing quarters, which pervade in the cityscape and constitute the quintessential imaginary of periphery are never understood through the lenses of race/racism in urban studies/ethnographies:

> *I believe that this happens because there is a lack of post-colonial reflection, isn't it? [In Portugal, the postcolonial debate] happens late, in the late nineties. However, I think that there are people paying attention to these debates who are not [working] in urban studies or housing. Indeed, I am beginning to see there is a lack of reflection as well as a lot of preconceptions and very little historical notion[…]. As an example: something missing is […] postcolonial literature, subaltern studies… because, regarding housing, we quote Appadurai, but we ignore where he is coming from, where his interest in housing is coming from. […] Sometimes we only know [Frantz] Fanon or subaltern studies, but we don't know*

[41] The compilation of these theses can be found in the attachment section of this thesis.

> *any African authors. It seems that the notion gets stuck, doesn't it? We know the most recent issues of the 'place of speech', in Brazil, but we ignore [the sociopolitical context] in Brazil. Your question is: why does this happen? It happens because of the lack of deepening of the issues, isn't it?* (Interview with urban anthropologist, June 2018, translation by the author).

I argue that the self-produced neighborhoods stand as cartographies of denunciation of institutional racism: they materialize Kafkaesque processes of regularization, labor precarity, difficulty in accessing bank loans and public housing programs, as well as everyday discrimination in accessing private rental market (Alves 2013, 2015, 2018). Later, the social housing quarters built to rehouse the people who inhabited in self-produced neighborhoods seemed to correspond not only to the institutionalization of racial residential segregation but also to the whitening of city centers. Nonetheless, none of the processes was analyzed under such optic, contributing to leaving institutional racism and racial residential segregation, once and again, unchallenged.

In the specific case of Portuguese Urban Studies – particularly in Anthropology – the absence of debates on race is pervasive, suggesting that historical and global processes of epistemic apartheid, which silenced both black scholars and institutional racism, have rendered racial segregation unquestioned, promoting the reading of urban inequalities through the lenses of migration studies and broader processes of socio-economic exclusion. Considering the (mis)matches between academia and politics (Alves & Falanga 2019), and particularly its influences on public debate, public policies and programs, by silencing racialized residential segregation, academia is, in fact, actively contributing to its perpetuation once the persistence of academic silences around racism and the institutionalized spatialization of blackness highly contribute to leaving racism unchallenged. In the words of geographer Katherine McKittrick:

> *Our long history of racial – sexual condemnation reveals a system of knowledge that cannot bear to embrace the ways in which blackness (and therefore the plantation) has produced untidy historically present geographies that are predicated on difficult encounters and our entangled and common histories (Walcott 2000; McKittrick 2006). Instead of encounter, in fact, our present system of knowledge, inherited from enlightened colonialism and Eurocentric modernity, repetitively constitutes blackness as a discreet (and hostile) racial category that routinely 'troubles' an already settled whiteness (Morrison 1992). This paradigmatic perspective on race and blackness, in its denial of an entangled racial history produced through geographies of encounter, normalizes practices of colonization as it naturalizes overdevelopment, accumulation, and land ownership as identifiable – seeable locales of emancipation. Put differently, a differentiated bifurcated – segregated social system prevails, analytically, as the precedent to contemporary racial violences. This stance reinforces a singular analytical strand of the plantation economy and plantation pasts: that which profits from chained and unfettered blackness 'troubling' stable whiteness. In this formulation, liberation can only be conceptualized within a framework that honours one side of the bifurcation – segregation system. That side which is honoured*

> *is, of course, that which profits from being 'with'. Being 'with' under this system requires land exploitation, colonialism, and racial condemnation while being 'with' is, paradoxically, cast as the ontological condition of liberty. In this commonsense formulation, slave and post-slave black geographies are rendered extraneous and unfree sites of violence and danger* (McKittrick 2011: 950).

In this context, silencing W. E. B. Du Bois, St. Clair Drake, Horace Cayton, Kenneth Clark or Faye Harrison is more than a simple fact: it is a symptom of a problem broader than itself. To be sure, epistemic apartheid is actively contributing to the persistence of past and contemporary racialized apartheids and violences in cities. This is even more evident if we draw on episodes of forced evictions or anti-black and anti-Roma police brutality – paradigmatic on how the color line (Du Bois 1899) is being constantly redraw – reinforcing racialization as dehumanization and enabling the pervasiveness of ungrievable lives, unevenly subjected to State's control, repression and death (Butler 2009). Nevertheless, as argued by Faye Harrison, "periphery, while formed in large measure by discrimination and exclusion, has historically been an important locus of critique and creativity. And it has been a significant intellectual front for anti-racist, anti-colonial, and anti-imperialist struggle" (1988: 114). Throughout the next chapter I will be drawing on the different meanings and imaginaries on what peripheralized neighborhoods can be by exploring the concept of ghetto as quintessential in addressing the ambivalence articulated by Faye Harrison.

II. UNPACKING THE GHETTO: A SOCIO-HISTORICAL FORMATION, A LIVED SPACE

> *A neighborhood, a ghetto – maybe I'm wrong – but I believe it's not the same thing. As an example, the neighborhood of Casal da Boba, it's well served regarding [public] transport […] and it is a neighborhood where the houses were built to accommodate different types of families. People are not isolated, at least not as much as in Casal da Mira. In Casal da Mira, yes, people are poorly served by [public] transport and in terms of maintenance, … A ghetto? I would define the ghetto, for example, the Ghetto Six (the neighborhood of 6 de Maio) or Cova da Moura it's also a ghetto. Where people are left; [where] people who are not accepted anywhere else find refuge in a ghetto, [find] a home, a house. It's where people are welcomed/accepted and in a neighborhood, I don't know… In Casal da Boba we can find people of several nationalities, light-skinned Portuguese which live together with blacks. I would not say that in 6 de Maio there were not white people…* (Interview with Lina, black grassroots activist for housing rights, March 2018).

> *When I think about social [public] neighborhoods and social [self-built] neighborhoods obviously I am thinking about a ghetto because it does not matter how well it is projected, it's always marginalized since it does not even have access to public transports. Even in the case it is located in the city center – and I know a few cases –, it still ends up being a place where you put together mostly poor persons, who are easily stigmatized: blacks, Roma and also when you have whites. […] Even if you don't look Roma, even if you're not black, there's always that stigmatization. As such, I would tell you that a neighborhood is always… in this context, a ghetto* (Interview with Roma antiracist grassroots activist Pedro, June 2018).

Critic is one of the most praised, as well as criminalized, features of rap music. In Portugal, *Creolean rap* in particularly, meaning rapping lyrics in Cape-Verdean, has been historically

criminalized and largely associated with *gangsterism* – an imported institutional semantics to refer to *black urban group criminality* – recently endorsed in courtrooms and by national security reports (Court of Sintra 2017, headnotes; SIS 2022). Particularly targeted by the police, as a criminal marker, rap concerts (drill, in particular) have been recently prohibited in certain geographies by the police, such as Casal da Mira, on security grounds (headnotes notes 2022). Echoing mostly from self-produced and public housing latitudes, Portuguese black rap has been historically re-telling and dissecting the intersection between race/racism and space, contrasting the silences produced by Portuguese academia, and in line with black radical thought by anticolonial, antiapartheid and antiracist thinkers from Martinique to the United States. While many designations have been used to denominate self-produced and segregated public quarters – *slum* [bairro], *blighted* area [bairro degradado] or *shantytown* [bairro de barracas] –, historically the term *ghetto* seems to be the most common designation used in public debates on historical processes of racial residential segregation. Furthermore, the *ghetto* seems to constitute, particularly for black populations, intellectuals and political activists, a quintessential word in paradoxically resuming and denouncing the entanglement between race, space, violence and homeplace. To be sure, on the one hand the *ghetto* renders visible how race/antiblackness is disposed throughout space (race as a fundamental and historical principle in organizing residential segregation) and, on the other, the ghetto reflects the emergence of a *black sense of place*, where life and well-being is, somehow, made possible (McKittrick 2011). Accordingly, this chapter maps different understandings of the *ghetto* as a socio-historical formation by drawing, first, on diverse past and present academic approaches from Europe, the United States (US) and former African colonized territories and, secondly, on contemporary lived experiences and analysis in Portugal, mostly put forward by Portuguese black rappers.

1. 'White Talk': Ghettos as Crime or Segregation

The ghetto does not feature high in private or public dialogues about peripheralized Portuguese geographies. Individuals as well as institutions commonly use the terms *neighborhood* or *social neighborhood* [*bairro or bairro social*] when referring to self-produced places or public rehousing quarters, even if often blurring evident structural differences among the two of them. Nonetheless, in particular contexts and situations, the concepts *ghetto* or *ghettoization* have been used, mostly to referrer to *enclaves* in urban landscapes, frequently located in the LMA, which have been the target of public intervention, through urban security or (re)housing policies. These urban *enclaves* are usually portrayed as poor and hopeless, where poverty, marginalization, disorganization, precarious housing, violence and crime strive and mingle, and that are mostly inhabited by impoverished Roma, black, white and migrant populations, as well as drug traffickers and users (Guia & Pedroso 2016; Malheiros & Mendes *et al.* 2007; CM 2004; DW 2016). In the public imaginary, *ghetto*s seem to be perceived as non-white dangerous places closed in on themselves. However, in a context

where racism no longer dares to appear without disguise (Fanon 1969), and possibly because the term ghetto became profoundly associated with genocide in the aftermath of the Holocaust, in Europe, other designations have been used to describe places imagined as *ghettos*. Indeed, self-produced and rehousing political geographies have been differently named as 'shantytowns', 'slums', 'clandestine', 'informal', 'illegal', 'social', 'precarious', 'dangerous', 'problematic', 'critical', 'priority' or 'sensitive' neighborhoods and urban areas. And nonetheless many of these denominations are commonsensical and generic, some come directly from institutional apparatuses, namely public bodies, policies or programs targeting particular territories (e.g., Critical Urban Areas Initiative or Communitarian Initiative URBAN II). In this regard, while nomenclatures might constantly change, overlap and mingle, they bound narratives on race/crime/space to specific areas of the city. This is particularly the case in mass media, political discourses, academic literature or security reports, which persistently allure white audiences and engage white voters, retracing the color line by reassuring notions of (white) Europeanness and (non-white) non-Europeanness (cf. Hesse 2007), through the naming and management of the territory.

These accounts might use the term ghetto to describe spatialities of crime and despair, inhabited by *ungovernable subjects* in *need* to be monitored, managed, controlled, civilized or incarcerated by the racial State (Alves 2013, 2016, 2021; Raposo *et al.* 2019) – showing how even if not "homogenously white, civil society is essentially anti-black" (Alves 2018). As a result, any future (extra)legal forms of institutional harassment, abuse or brutality perpetrated against black, Roma and even poor white persons – understood as *dirty* (whites)[42] – become *automatically justified* in the eyes of the (white) civil society. Thus, by making self-produced and rehousing neighborhoods (and their inhabitants) permanent repositories and prime targets of State violence, whiteness calls to itself the unquestionable power to rule. To be sure, by fixing a tacit relationship between race, crime and space, "the fact that a Black person is more likely to be arrested, tried, convicted, sentenced [and] imprisoned […] than are others" can be understood as inequality, but never as an injustice (Gilmore 2002: 21). A paradigmatic example on how self-produced (and public housing) quarters are being framed in public discourse could be José Ferreira's photographic documentary research: "Out of law: life in what remains of 6 de Maio" (Vice 2019). The photographer claims to have spent one year "documenting the lives of drug dealers and their families in what is left of the clandestine neighborhood of 6 de Maio", 'diving into' the reality of the neighborhood through a kind of extended ethnographic approach (Idem). Although institutional violence towards the inhabitants is a constant reality, Ferreira chose to focus on black men's routines, portraying their

[42] In particular cases, space has the power to racialize white populations as well. In fact, policemen can refer to whites inhabiting the ghetto as 'dirty whites'. According to some inhabitants of Mira, whites in/from the ghetto are treated the same way as blacks. Ruben's death, on 16 March 2013, during a police chase in Manteigadas, in Bela Vista, municipality of Setúbal, constitutes a paradigmatic example on how places becomes race (Razack 2002) (cf. https://plataformagueto.wordpress.com/noticias/o-caso-ruben/). This point would deserve further research.

bodies as the *criminal body* par excellence. A constant presence of guns, drugs, and hyper-masculinized/sexualized men merge to form a war-like scenario, triggering both (white) curiosity and (white) fear. Apparently, Ferreira immersed in an 'underworld', pointing out that if in the beginning these persons were "mistrustful and reticent", they soon became "humble and friendly" (Idem). By deciding to tell us the history of this relation, Ferreira first bestializes these men in order to later certify their humanity as docility. In a staged reality, the pictures transform black men's bodies into (white) iconic (fantasied) ghettos (cf. Anderson 2012). Through a violent spectacle of racialization and criminalization, the photographer reveals us the *white ghetto*, a place that, somehow, does not exist outside colonial eyes (Barriendos 2011), thus rendering, through his lenses, black ghettos as sources of white fears and preferential (because *legitime*) targets of white institutionalized action/intervention/violence. Photography becomes, in the anti-black polis, a Eurocentric topography of 'otherness' in a similar fashion cinema did for colonial contexts (cf. Shohat & Stam 1994). Ferreira's fiction strongly contributes to the stability of whiteness as an unquestioned state of privilege, by convoking it through the colonial palette of exotification and fear. To be sure, race is never mentioned but it "works as a political resource" enabling, at once, the "production of Black enemies, civil society, and state sovereignty" (Alves 2018). And as a consequence, (what is often simply depicted as) white innocence or white curiosity is directly harming black people and strengthening white privilege. In this context, despite the concepts used to depict self-produced and rehousing territories, the terms of the conversation seem to persist, no matter what.

The term ghetto can also be invoked as a synonym of political forgetting and abandonment of self-produced and rehousing neighborhoods (cf. Miguel 1993; Cidrais 1995; Pereira 1998; Simões & Ventura 2019). Indeed, while politicians have used the term 'ghetto' to call attention to precarious living conditions and the need to fulfil housing rights, 'ghettoization' has been used by politicians, academics and activists to name (possible or effective) the *negative* consequences of resettlement. Here ghettoization is equated to residential segregation, implying mostly spatial isolation and socio-economic marginalization (cf. GPPS 2018[43]; Cachado 2012; Caravana pelo Direito à Habitação 2018). Nevertheless, both politicians and academics can depict processes of ghettoization as exceptional or contingent phenomena under modern-capitalist urbanized societies. As politicians justify the creation of ghettos as non-intentional and circumstantial, a result of lack of material and human resources at central and local levels, academics tend to frame it as a consequence of urban management and planning, disregarding race. Understood as a consequence of bad and inadequate public policies, it becomes implicit that ghettoization – analyzed through the lenses of class and social inequalities – could be prevented by universal public policies and programs. Framed as episodical and moral, *ghettos* and *ghettoization* are never understood as resulting from structural and institutional management of the intersections between race and class inequalities. Yet, besides some academic works focused on urban youth cultures (Cidra 2002; Raposo 2007) and urban

[43] Cf. https://www.helenaroseta.pt/documentos/1527768029Z1yVY1fc8Qw63DP6.pdf.

segregation (Malheiros & Vala 2004; Malheiros & Mendes *et al.* 2007), a systematic analysis on the ghetto is mostly absent in Portuguese academia.

Studies on Youth Cultures briefly engage on discussions on the ghetto based on conversations with its interlocutors, namely rappers; while studies on urban segregation discuss the ghetto in a way that tend to deny its racial character. To be sure, some academic literature argues the existence of 'polarized (minority) enclaves' in the LMA – where a minority group represents over 60% of the total inhabitants – or the presence of 'exclusionary ghettos' as "stigmatized places at the eyes of society", defined as:

> *[P]laces that just by their name [...] produce disturbance, as they are perceived as a societal evil. Any negative event takes on an inordinate media focus, turning that event into a 'spectacle of violence or antisocial behavior'. Often the inhabitants of these places are not seen publicly as people with an individual personality, but as a social category. The stigmatized also defend themselves from the outside that repudiates them, and may adopt behaviors and attitudes of non-communication, since the outside may be perceived as 'enemy' (politician, social intervention technician, journalist, etc.). In spite of living in spaces of constraint, the residents may also put into practice forms of resistance against the way they are perceived and treated by the outside that, in the extreme, end up leading to or accentuating the behaviors of 'provocation and violence', especially among (some) young people* (Malheiros & Mendes *et al.* 2007: 86-87).

As the definition of exclusionary ghettos de-historicizes urban power relations without addressing its structural racial character, the authors Jorge Malheiros and Manuela Mendes further refuse the existence of 'so-called ethnic ghettos' as social formations in the LMA (Idem), uncritically working the notion of ethnicity as a *proxy* to national belonging. Besides, by approaching segregation as immigrant clusters within a semantics of immigration and integration, race is, once and again, elided from the debate. All in all, ghettos are understood as existing poor, stigmatized and marginalized segregated areas, even if the concept does not really thrive in academic spaces of knowledge production. While, instead, the term ghettoization is frequently used to depict situations of urban and residential segregation. The simultaneous acknowledgement of processes of ghettoization and the denial of the existence of ghettos as places seems to create a paradox as processes (as ghettoization) usually originate social forms or structures (as ghettos). This paradox might arise from a non-systematic conceptual academic approach to the ontological relation between ghettos and religious and racial discrimination.

Sociologists Loïc Wacquant and William J. Wilson (1989) have previously argued that the ghetto has mostly been used as a descriptive concept rather than defined in analytical terms, as academics have failed to specify what makes the ghetto a social form – meaning what are its constitutive and derivative characteristics (Wacquant 2015). Moreover, if we consider that the concatenation of space and race can be understood as a definitive characteristic of the ghetto, the historical denial of

institutional racism in Portugal can also contribute to explaining why the term is seldom used by academics, but nonetheless present in broader public imaginaries and discourses. However, this is not specific to the Portuguese context. Indeed, many sociological and anthropological Urban Studies seem to understand contemporary ghettos mostly as urban American institutions, resulting from black migration in the aftermath of the abolition of racial enslavement. In the book *The Two Faces of the Ghetto* (2008), Wacquant takes American ghettos as historically black structures and compares them to what he calls the French popular *cités*, by grading racial segregation or violence. The author concludes that French popular *cités* can hardly be equated to ghettos since, besides questions of proportion and scale, they "are not institutional settlements topographically separated as the result of racial or ethnic restrictions imposed by [the] State" (2008: 19). It is interesting to notice that Wacquant discloses the spatialization of blackness in the US as a consequence of institutional racism while denying the role of race in the formation of European political geographies, reflecting the silencing of the racial State as a modern European institution and the pervasion of racism within the making of Europe (Goldberg 2002). Hence, racism is positioned, once and again, outside European borders (Araújo & Maeso 2015), while class is centered as the most significant category to analyze urban enclaves – downplaying the role of race in the making of European urbanities. And, Wacquant's influence is evident, for example, in the analysis coordinated by geographer Jorge Malheiros and sociologist Manuela Mendes,

> *[...] the importance of racialization or ethnicization as distinctive social marks is of much less significance in Southern European societies than in North American and even in English or Dutch societies, with their categorizations of ethnic groups or minorities* (2007: 43).

Secondly, Wacquant acknowledges the role played by enslavement and migration in the making of black American ghettos, while he fails to conceptualize their consequences in the European space, where colonial history lasted until the mid-20th century. Wacquant ignores the persistence of coloniality within contemporary European urban forms, by overlooking the legacies of colonialism and racial enslavement within institutional practices and rationalities. Finally, his approach to the ghetto privileges a white and institutional gaze paving the way to disregard fundamental narratives on the ghetto, namely those produced by black and Roma people, which have been insisting on denouncing the existence of ghettos within democratic Portugal (PG 2017; Gonçalves 2019).

2. Tracking the Academic Genealogies of the Ghetto

2.1. Early Uses

According to Wacquant and Wilson (1989), the ghetto is a particular social form dating back to the sixteenth century. In 1516, the Venetian Senate enforced the relocation of all Jews in the gated

community of *Ghetto Nuovo*, in the Island of Cannaregio. Sociologist Mitchell Duneier argues that the imposition of residential segregation through ghettoization can be comprehended as an outcome of increasing anti-Semitic Catholic interventions that defined Jews as polluted bodies, threating "the purity of the individual Christian", in the aftermath of the First Crusade (1096) (Duneier 2016: 5). So, the history of the ghetto is, first and foremost, a history of religious discrimination. Under anti-Semitic measures restricting contact by impelling displacement and confinement, through high closing gates, segregation was enforced. And, because framed as polluted, Jews became closely monitored and prevented from circulating freely in the urban space, particularly at night, turning the ghetto into a model of governance that "legitimized but carefully controlled" the presence of Jews within the cityscape (Idem: 7). Placing Jews in a "social and spatial limbo" turned into a mechanism of distinction between *us* (outside the ghetto) and them (inside the ghetto) (Ibidem). However, this model was not restricted to Venezia, as it later "spread in cities throughout Europe and around the Mediterranean rim", turning ghettoization into a regional practice (Wacquant 2015: 122). Yet, it must also be highlighted that (i) practices of residential segregation of Jewish people, such as the creation of Jewish quarters [*Judiarias*], were, by then, already in place in the Iberian Peninsula and particularly in Portugal, at least since 1175, even if it only became mandatory in 1215 (Silva 2013; Tavim 2016); (ii) and that similar practices were a reality regarding Muslin populations, through the creation of Moorish quarters [*Mourarias*] in the same period. Besides imposing an unpaired system of control over Jewish presence in the city, the establishment of the ghetto lead to a "pernicious and circular logic" which provided public justification for the *original* segregated condition", delivering a teleological explanation of its purpose and existence (Duneier 2016: 11). I argue that these logics will be a constant in the history of ghettoization throughout time, competing for the naturalization of violence and entailing the denial of citizenship and rights of the ones inhabiting the ghetto. In 1870, as a result of several protests and demonstrations (just one year before the end of the Italian unification process), the Venetian ghetto was formally abolished in what was to become Italy.

Nonetheless, by then, residential segregation based on racial discrimination had become a practice across different political geographies. It must be noticed that in the (then) colonized territories, and particularly in cotton, coffee or sugar plantations in what were to become the US, Brazil, Haiti or Cuba, slave quarters were built to accommodate enslaved populations. By using race to enforce housing segregation, black persons were mostly prevented from living together with their *white masters*. In the words of Joe Feagin, these logics will be further continued as "[…] contemporary housing discrimination and residential segregation are the modern descendants of Monticello's Spartan slave quarters" in the United States (1999: 79), the slave rooms [*senzalas*] in Brazil or the neighborhood of Mocambo in Portugal.

2.2. The Modern Metropolitan Ghetto: An American History?

The formal disappearance of the (religious) ghetto in southern Europe seems not to have matched its extinction throughout other urban geographies. In fact, two decades later, in the 1890s, the term ghetto re-appears in the US as vocabulary to depict the intersection between so-called 'ethnic neighborhoods' and 'slums' (Wacquant 2015). In this context, Mitchell Duneier (2016) stresses the importance of the publication of Michel Gold's bestseller, *Jews Without Money* (1930), where the novelist equates the ghetto to a slum, and uses the term to illustrate intersections between violence, segregation and poverty. In Gold's words, the ghetto was "a dirty, violent place, full of desperation and poverty, where children stole from pushcarts, threw cats of rooftops, organized gangs against other children from rival blocks, and locked out the window as gamblers shot at each other" (Gold 1930 *apud* Duneier 2016: 13). And, as this narrative persisted in global public imaginaries until nowadays, it is mandatory to understand, besides its historicity, what is, in fact, the ghetto.

According to Wacquant's analysis, the ghetto entails four essential elements: stigma, constrain, spatial confinement and institutional encasement. In his words, the ghetto

> *is a social-organizational device that employs space to reconcile two antinomic purposes: to maximize the material profits extracted out of a group deemed defiled and defiling and to minimize intimate contact with its members so as to avert the threat of symbolic corrosion and contagion they carry* (2015: 122).

This dual rational to maximize material profits and minimize contact, entailing economic exploitation and social ostracization, "governed the genesis, structure, and functioning of the African-American ghetto in the Fordist metropolis during most of the twentieth century" (Ibidem).

A paradigmatic example for the context of the US is the recruitment of black workers into northern US cities after World War I and the increase of urban segregation in cities such as Chicago. Nonetheless, although black families have been historically (and unparallelly) targeted by housing segregation in the US, race was not immediately regarded as a central mechanism of segregation and ghetto formation in the country, something which can be in part explained by the increasing hegemony of the Chicago School of Sociology (as analyzed in the previous chapter).

Deeply influenced by Park's model of a natural history of race relations, Louis Wirth – one of the most influential theorists on the ghetto – conceived it both as a geographical-physical unit and an ethnic group. In his own words, the ghetto was "a place and a state of mind, an area and an institution" (Etzioni 1997: 76). Wirth stated that as an institution the ghetto translated compulsory and voluntary practices of control and isolation and subordinated and conflictive forms of accommodation "between divergent population groups" (Wirth 1998: 5). However, within the walls of the ghetto (that time has made more and more invisible) life thrived, and the ghetto also became a synonym of growing self-consciousness and self-preservation (Idem: 36; Duneier 2016). Nonetheless the important contributions put forward by Wirth, I argue that the notion of the ghetto as the consequence of a moral and individual choice – the 'voluntary ghetto' – appears as

particularly problematic. By sustaining that populations voluntarily segregate themselves, Wirth discards the role of white power structures in ghettoization processes, blaming the populations for their own, so often precarious, condition. In this regard, Massey and Denton (1993) argue that racial segregation, through its characteristic institutional form – the black ghetto – has been a key structural factor in perpetuating black poverty in the US. Yet, beliefs on "the 'voluntary' and 'natural' origins of black segregation" persist "deeply ingrained in popular thinking" (Massey and Denton 1993: 9-10). Following Wacquant,

> *The error of the early Chicago school here consisted in falsely 'converting history into natural history' and passing ghettoization as 'a manifestation of human nature' virtually coterminous with 'the history of migration' (Wirth, 1928: p. 285) when it is a highly peculiar form of urbanization warped by asymmetric relations of power between ethnoracial groupings: a special form of collective violence concretized in urban space. That ghettoization is not an 'uncontrolled and undesigned' process, as Robert E. Park asserted in his preface to The Ghetto (Wirth, 1928: p. viii), was especially visible after World War II when the black American ghetto was reconstructed from the top down through state policies of public housing, urban renewal, and suburban economic development intended to bolster the rigid separation of blacks from whites* (Wacquant, 2015: 123).

Louis Wirth also sustained that the ghetto was, by then, no longer a concept applying only to officially regulated settlements of Jews, but rather to local immigrant cultural areas (1998: 4). By doing so, Wirth changes the focus from the analysis of ethnoreligious segregation to ethnonational segregation, downplaying the role of race, while allegedly addressing it. Indeed, Wirth ignored the segregation of African Americans while underlined the ghettoization of Jews, Polish, Irish or Italian immigrants. So, the ghetto became a proxy for immigrant *slums*, recentering the experience of poor European immigrants, as latter illustrated by William Foote White's *Street Corner Society: the Social Structure of an Italian Slum* (1993 [1943]). On the contrary, sociologists Douglas Massey and Nancy Denton argue that "immigrant enclaves in the early twentieth century were in no way comparable" to black ghettos, being more fictive than real (1993: 32). Indeed, most European migrants did not inhabit immigrant 'ghettos' or, if they did, they wouldn't stay long. While for most white migrants these enclaves "served as springboards for broader mobility in society", black persons "were trapped behind an increasingly impermeable color line" (Ibidem):

> *The emergence of severe racial segregation in the north was not primarily a reflection of black housing preferences or a natural outcome of migration processes. On the contrary, as the ghetto walls grew thicker and higher, well-to-do class blacks complained bitterly and loudly about their increasing confinement within crowed, dilapidated neighborhoods inhabited by people well below their social and economic status. Although they fought the construction of the ghetto as best they could, the forces arrayed against them proved to be overwhelming* (Massey & Denton 1993: 33).

In fact, across time, racial capitalist forces, particularly the persistence of race restrictive covenants in the case of the US continuously prevented black persons from accessing decent housing. Endured by racism and enforced by violence, these covenants not only limited the movements of Blacks in the US cities through territorial restrictions, but also promoted both "overcrowding and misery in black neighborhoods" and the existence of exclusive white zones (Duneier 2016: 31; Vargas 2010). Nonetheless, when compared with the fences that surrounded Venice or Polish' ghettos, these democratic agreements (Welsh, 2018) were much more invisible, contributing less and less to the recognition of the ghetto as a socio-political "instrument of siege and control" (Duneier 2016). This is visibly expressed in hegemonic perceptions on the ghetto and its decay.

Indeed, by this time, it was believed that the ghetto mirrored the natural way blacks lived in, strengthening the idea that if they moved to any other neighborhood the same process of deterioration will further occur (Ibidem). Even if racial restrictive covenants were not present in other contexts, self-denominated color-blind laws – targeting particular territories or populations – seem to have been equally effective in tracing the color line. Indeed, the ghetto seems to be always reproduced and recreated through the pervasiveness of ideas of pollution embodied by particular segments of the population understood as potentially dangerous and as a threat to the body politic (Goldberg 1993).

2.3. The Modern Colonial Ghetto

While the US is usually depicted as an exception, when analyzing, in detail, what several authors have said about the North American context, it does not seem very different from what was taking place, by then, across African urbanities under colonial ruling. Indeed, cartographies of power started to be drafted, organized and rearranged according to colonial (policy) rationales precisely across the first decades of the 20th century.

Urban planning emerged as a paradigmatic example of western-centric modern scientific thought, consistent with late enlightenment philosophy, as well as with the development of modern science and western imperialism (Bissell 2011a). At that time, particular notions of hygiene, the human body, were read through notions of class and race, central to enforcing order and control in the urban milieu. Indeed, urban spaces under colonial administration were carved in accordance to imposed external binaries, deeply entrenched in Eurocentric notions of race, social medicine, pollution and contagion. As a result, territorial divides and borders were established and the communication between them managed by racialized power structures and institutions (cf. Alves 2021). On his book *The Wretched of the Earth* (2005 [1961]), psychiatrist Frantz Fanon argued how this contributed to engrave colonial thinking on urban spaces and reified the fact that the colonial world was 'a world cut in two', separated by a 'dividing line' (a color line) that established the existence of non-complimentary, opposed and reciprocal exclusive zones:

> *The settlers' town is a strongly built town, all made of stone and steel. It is a brightly lit town; the streets are covered with asphalt, and the garbage cans swallow all the leavings,*

> *unseen, unknown and hardly thought about. The settler's feet are never visible, except perhaps in the sea; but there you're never close enough to see them. His feet are protected by strong shoes although the streets of his town are clean and even, with no holes or stones. The settler's town is a well-fed town, an easygoing town; its belly is always full of good things. The settlers' town is a town of white people, of foreigners. The town belonging to the colonized people, or at least the native town, the Negro village, the medina, the reservation, is a place of ill fame, peopled by men of evil repute. They are born there, it matters little where or how; they die there, it matters not where, nor how. It is a world without spaciousness; men live there on top of each other, and their huts are built one on top of the other. The native town is a hungry town, starved of bread, of meat, of shoes, of coal, of light. The native town is a crouching village, a town on Its knees, a town wallowing in the mire. It is a town of niggers and dirty Arabs* (Idem: 39).

By depicting how racial inequalities were mirrored in colonial urban landscape, Fanon (2005 [1961]) acknowledged the extension of urban divisions within the colonial project. And by exceeding the local and the particular (while describing a concrete place within a colonial-global imaginary of difference as distance), the author seemed to envisage the system. He acknowledged that the divided city was an extensive metaphor, a pervasive materialization and a particular rehearsal of a set of colonial intentions, projects and expectations, which were applied as a model of segregation and oppression throughout colonial territories (a symptom).

Moreover, colonial administrations came to understand these territories as threats to public health and, as such, they engaged in an effort to contain them by adopting two different strategies. First, by prohibiting the building of huts in arbitrary places, in some cases regulating particular zones for that purpose. Secondly, by engaging on the idea that it was necessary to create zones of order from scratch (Bissell 2011a). This was organized through the construction of *compounds* and *indigenous neighborhoods* (e.g., Munhuana, in Maputo, Mozambique), aiming to contain by relocating and to control by (dis)organizing. Even if some of these projects where never accomplished, it is paramount to understand the rationales which allowed for the establishment and naturalization of the dual city as the idyllic model of management of colonial urban milieu. Hence, William Bissell argues that within colonial contexts, improvement and development of urban space became synonyms of evicting and withdrawing indigenous populations out of the city, since "urban disarray and disease" started to be "insistently linked" and consistently "projected onto the bodies of 'uncivilized natives'" (2011a: 150).

This was deeply connected to a *sanitation syndrome* which equated "black urban settlement, labor and living conditions with threats to public health and security" (Swanson 1977: 410). Eventually, these rationalities came to shape modern spatial technologies in once colonial territories, in accordance with particular narratives on salubrity and public health deeply influenced by social medicine, particularly urban medicine that focused on the relationship between the environment and the individual (Foucault 2001). To be sure, the habitat started to be conceived as a major

influence in people's behavior, costumes and manners (Bissell 2011a) and the body as a permeable, interactive and porous entity, widely vulnerable to the environment (Ibidem).

> *But by this juncture the perceived locus of harm had shifted in significant ways from places to people - and particularly those seen as less civilized, poorer, or racially other. Indeed, from the later nineteenth century on, a newly assertive scientific racism only served to reinforce established colonial beliefs and practices, as security fears, sanitary concerns, and segregationist planning all came together to promote policies seeking to isolate and insulate Europeans from native influences* (Bissell 2011a: 166).

Despite the fact that these rationalities and mechanisms were first imposed within European territories on impoverished populations, they were later exported and reshaped in accordance to colonized territories. Moreover, urban segregation had been justified, in some cases, as a way to improve the life of indigenous peoples (cf. Rita Ferreira 1967-1968) and as a contribution to the colonial civilizing mission (Bissell 2011a). Such arguments legitimated segregation practices and the reproduction of social, political and economic privileges according to the colonizer's best interests. City planning emerged as an *accepted* totalizing form of addressing public health, urban order and race (Ibidem).

In a context of difference and distance, undoubtedly marked by the invention of 'race' as a category and racism as a mechanism of structuring power relations – modern science and colonial ideologies emerged as entangled institutions. The outbreak of scientific racism has underpinned and justified previous racialized discourses (Ibidem). In this regard, "urban planning and sanitation were never just technical measures or tools for improvement, but instead were strategies of power intimately linked to the essential inequalities of colonial rule" (Idem: 167). This process took the colonial divisions and by helping to naturalize them reinforced the structure of colonial power, unveiling important cartographies of colonial rationalities and intentions:

> *The degree to which sanitation-as-segregation was imposed varied widely throughout colonial Africa, producing a whole range of forms: green belts, garden suburbs, and administrative districts; native locations, reserves, and townships; mining and industrial enclaves. Achieving strict segregation was, of course, easier in a newly laid out site than in an established city [...] and colonial administrations mostly lacked the necessary financial capacity to underwrite projects of urban segregation on an extensive scale* (Bissell 2011a: 168).

By mixing European experiences of class segregation at home with racist rationales in the colonies, urban planning in the African continent became a form of ethnic cleansing (Ibidem) and a "[racist] socio-spatial tool of colonial power" (Bissell 2011b), which reinforced racial supremacist ideologies as well as capitalist interests:

> *If natives, as they claimed, were infectious agents and their houses the breeding grounds of disease, didn't it make sense to exclude indigenes completely from "white" areas? But few Europeans went so far as to take the argument to its logical conclusion. Colonial officials and residents were not so obsessed with their health and the "threat" posed by natives that they were willing to dispense with their native servants and to wash their own dirty laundry. And yet if natives caused disease, and proximity to them posed a risk, why did Europeans continue to surround themselves with native domestic labor?* (Bissell, 2011a: 179-180).

In this context, I argue that both ghettoization and residential segregation in the colonial period were similar State procedures to manage indigenous and black populations over time. As philosopher David Goldberg argued in relation to the pervasiveness of residential segregation in the colonial period, the question seems to be that "whether the bodies of the racialized other were to be killed or colonized, slaughtered or saved, expunged or exploited, they had to be prevented at all costs from polluting the body politic of sullying civil(ized) society" (1993: 187).

The fact that racial slavery and colonialism are not considered in a wider history of ghettoization is striking and should involve further theoretical research. To some extent, Du Bois (1889), Clark (1989 [1965]) or Ture and Hamilton (1992) brought up parts of this story when they invoked the *color line* or the *internal* or *powerless colony*. However, they were never further disclosed, perhaps they are evident legacies. The foundations of the ghetto seem to be persistent in both time and in arguments by entailing the invention of *polluted bodies* (through religious or racial discrimination) further explored, brutalized, animalized/dehumanized to fulfil white political/economic stability. As argued by Robert Bernasconi, the ghetto "arises as the dominant group solution to the problem of how to contain that which it wants to exclude but is unable to do without or eradicate", it is "the location handed over to 'the others' so that they disappear into it" (2002: 336).

2.4. The Nazi Ghetto and Race

The ghetto reappears in Europe under German National Socialism. Duneier (2016) contends that by drawing *on centuries of catholic practice* and founded mostly on racial difference, Nazi ghettos became entirely different structures, regarding efficiency and function, mostly. Under Nazism, "it was possible to control a segregated population with absolute efficiency", mostly due to major technological advances (e.g., means of communication and transport, barbed wire) which allowed translating "ideas into action with greater speed and efficiency than had ever been possible before" (Duneier 2016: 18). In addition, this efficiency introduced a "as complete a segregation as the world had ever seen" (Ibidem) once the inhabitants were fenced day and night, turning Nazi ghettos into total institutions (Goffman 1961). And, in cases where "Jews were not hermetically sealed and worked elsewhere, they were usually escorted to their jobs in columns" (Ibidem: 19). Another major difference was function. Built in anticipation of the expulsion of the Jews, in the beginning, just like Medieval ghettos, Nazi ghettos were rooms for labor exploitation, while expulsion was not

possible. Nonetheless, over time, Nazi ghettos became rooms for extermination, where violence was continuously perpetrated, and inhumaneness reproduced:

> *The Nazi ghetto, furthermore, marked the first time in history when a series of oppressive features were brought together in their purest form. Physical space had been organized through the power of the state in fifteenth- and sixteenth- century Frankfurt, Venice, and Rome, for example, but conversion had always been an option. The Nazis' anti-Semitism transformed the ghetto into a means to accomplish economic enslavement, impoverishment, violence, fear, isolation, and overcrowding in the name of racial purity – all with no escape through conversion, and with unprecedented efficiency* (Duneier 2016: 22).

Under German National Socialism, from "sites of compulsory residence and regulation", ghettos turned into sites "of slave labor, torture, disease, and death". And, while early modern ghettos were established as "permanent institutions", Nazi ghettos "lasted but a few years" (Idem: 23). Thus, according to the author, "failing to acknowledge that the Nazi ghetto was an extreme type unlike any other ghetto in history elides the difference between it and the earlier communities, in which Jewish life was able to survive and even sometimes flourish"[44]. And, as such, the Nazi ghetto was "an epoch unto itself" (Ibidem), a condensed tragical translation of possibilities opened by the persistence of racist governmentalities and rationalities. From the Renaissance onwards "[r]ace was invoked to delineate a European 'we' in defining contrast with those considered its constitutive outsiders" (Goldberg 2015: 7). As race is smoothly incorporated as a technology of modern States' constitution and reason, Jews, Indigenous Muslims and black populations became the targets of conversion and expulsion:

> *As religion did for medieval, race now offered for modernity the imagining of mass community out of the individualized social anonymity. […] Race now shaped romanticized belonging, sanctified exclusion and expulsion, and legitimated death as religion had done* (Goldberg 2015: 7).

Hence, race corresponds to "the secularization of the religious" in two modernizing ways: (i) by increasingly turning race into a governing technology in States' formation; (ii) by elaborating racial identification through schemes of classification implying the hierarchization of populations (Idem: 8-9).

[44] Although, the history of the Holocaust has been mostly told through the dreadful living experiences of Jewish families and individuals, living aside the genocide of Roma populations – Porajmos.

2.5. The Ghetto and Race: Re-Centering Antiblackness in the Making

In 1945, sociologist Horace Cayton and anthropologist St. Clair Drake published *Black Metropolis: Study of Negro Life in a Northern City* (1993 [1945]). A milestone in the history of black urban studies, this book explored the historical causes and consequences of the emergence of a black Belt – Bronzeville – in Chicago[45]. The city was, by then, the second major black city in the US and the most segregated one. Its black district was immense and unbroken, making isolation to be felt as paramount. In the words of Richard Wright (1993 [1945]), by combining history and social statistics with first-hand observation and interviewing, the authors produced a document of agony of black men in a white world. To be sure, by mapping and analyzing the history of the emergence of the Black Belt in Chicago and exploring the differences between black neighborhoods and other impoverished quarters, the authors aimed to understand until what degree were blacks subordinated and excluded in relation to white people in society, to map the mechanisms by which the system was maintained and how the lives of black persons reflect subordination and exclusion (Drake & Cayton, 1993 [1945]: 776). Indeed, the black Belt corresponded to a color line, which: (i) marked/distinguished blacks as a segregated group deemed undesirable for free association with white people; (ii) served to subordinate blacks by denying them the right to compete, as individuals, on equal terms with white people for economic and political power; (iii) made clear that blacks (should) have a (material and symbolic) place in US society; (iv) showed how segregation continued in the north, at the beginning not by law, but by custom (Idem). Nonetheless, the color line is 'not static; it bends and buckles and sometimes breaks. This process results in tension; but the very existence of the tension – and even of the violence that sometimes results – is evidence of democracy at work' (Idem: 101).

In a context where the black Belt is equivalent to a black ghetto, the ghetto is described as a place with poor living conditions, a low-income area, with high rates of sickness and death, inadequate recreational facilities, lack of building repairs, neglect of garbage disposal and street cleaning, overcrowded houses and schools, high rates of crime and juvenile delinquency, suffering a rough treatment by the police. These characteristics were related to poverty, overcrowding, lack of health education leading to high rates of sickness and death (tuberculosis, then). And this social disorganization resulted in high illegitimacy, juvenile delinquency and high incidence of mental health issues, transforming black areas in congested and undesirable areas, rough neighborhoods or 'blighted areas' later to be reclaimed (Drake & Cayton 1993 [1945]: 207).

[45] The so-called black belt emerged, in Chicago, by the end of the 19th century (between a fire which hatched in Chicago (1874) and the first World's Fair (1875-1893) and gradually expanded throughout the 20th century, as black persons occupied the homes of whites who were moving to more desirable lake-front neighborhoods and to the suburbs. By then, Chicago was considered the second major black city in the US (after New York City) and the most segregated, as its black district was immense and unbroken.

In Drake and Cayton's view, the ghetto was the by-product of economic and social forces that effected a "vicious cycle of outside repression and inside decay", crucial to understanding the problems faced by black populations (Drake & Cayton 1993 [1945]; Duneier 2016). Moreover, the ghetto was described as a compulsory space and equated to a racialized slum by stressing the relationship between racism and (un)employment, segregation and *racial purity* (Duneier 2016). To be sure, the existence of the black Belt is the most expressive and strong visual evidence of a *color line*, in the sense that it marks Blacks "off as a segregated group deemed undesirable for free association with white people in many types of relationships" (Drake & Cayton 1993 [1945]: 101). Nevertheless, this color line is not static, underlining the idea that there is/should be *a place for* black people:

> *The very existence of a Black Belt leads the public to feel that Negroes should have their own schools and public recreational facilities and should not "invade" those in other sections of the city. When negroes do use such facilities outside of the Black Belt, attempts are sometimes made to segregate them or to limit their activities* (Cayton & Drake 1993 [1945]: 103).

Their work constituted a major contribution in "introducing the concept of the ghetto into the discussion of racial inequality" (Duneier 2016: 82) in the US, framing the ghetto more as a symptom of wider structural phenomena, than as a simple fact. Drake and Cayton's work is a paradigmatic illustration and analysis on how racial segregation/apartheid is ontological to urban development, in the sense that there is a pattern across the globe: labor shortage, industrialization, urban development, (internal or external) racialized migration, urban segregation. It links race with capitalism in a radical form, since just like in plantations and colonies, modern cities (within the European and north American industrial cities), labor relations bind and bring closer whites and blacks through relations of racial subordination.

In the 1960s, Kenneth Clark's *Dark ghetto: dilemmas of social power* was also a key contribution in establishing the ghetto as the institutionalization of a *powerless colony*:

> *The dark ghetto's invisible walls have been erected by the white society, by those who have power, both to confine those who have no power and to perpetuate their powerlessness. The dark ghettos are social, political, educational, and – above all – economic colonies. Their inhabitants are subject peoples, victims of the greed, cruelty, insensitivity, guilt and fear of their masters* (1989 [1965]: 11).

Besides, Clark also emphasized that the ghetto was a dehumanizing place where people both suffer and resist, explaining the disparity of the living conditions inside and outside the ghetto (1989 [1965]). He stressed that besides the objective dimensions of American urban ghettos – overcrowding, deteriorated housing, high infant mortality, crime and disease – there were also subjective dimensions – resentment, hostility, despair, apathy, self-depreciation, and ironic

companion, compensatory grandiose behavior (Idem: 11). In this sense, he stated that the ghetto was ferment, paradox, conflict, and dilemma, but that, yet through human resilience, it was also hope and despair, churches and bars: "[i]t is aspiration for change, and it is apathy. It is vibrancy, it is stagnation. It is courage, and it is defeatism. It is cooperation and concern, and it is suspicion, competitiveness, and rejection" (Ibidem).

Later, in the 1980s, William Julius Wilson's *The Declining Significance of Race* (1980) brought up another important debate on ghettoization and racism. Wilson argued that the ghetto could no longer be understood by only looking at racial discrimination due to (then) recent economic and political transformations. He proposed that racism was not as significant as it was in the past, calling for an intersectional approach between race and class (Duneier, 2016). I argue that this is one of the arguments that will further persist in debates about the ghetto. Albeit the fact the ghetto must be read through the lenses of both class and race, I argue that race should not be understood as a thing of the past, but rather, that both must be analyzed in tandem, giving particular attention to race as an ontological factor that determines the bodies targeted by ghettoization.

In response to Julius Wilson, scholars Douglas Massey and Nancy Denton launched *American Apartheid* (1993) pointing out that racial segregation was ghetto's main defining feature (Duneier 2016) and focused on the importance of addressing white discrimination against blacks in present times: "Black segregation is maintained through ongoing institutional arrangements and contemporary individual actions, while in fact most people understand segregation as something from the past that will tendentially disappear" (Massey & Denton 1993: 1), while it was, in fact, a principle of organization,

> *Our fundamental argument is that racial segregation – and its characteristic institutional form, the black ghetto – are the key structural factors responsible for the perpetuation of black poverty in the United States. Residential segregation is the principal organizational feature of American society that is responsible for the creation of the urban underclass* (Idem: 9).

According to the authors, "the term ghetto means different things for different people". While to some people it means a black residential area, to others "it connotes an area that is not only black but very poor and plagued by a host of social and economic problems" (Idem: 18-19). Accordingly,

> *In order to distinguish clearly between race and class in discussing black residential patterns, our use of the term "ghetto" refers only to the racial make-up of a neighborhood; it is not intended to describe anything about a black's neighborhood's class composition. For our purposes, a ghetto is a set of neighborhoods that are exclusively inhabited by members of one group, within which virtually all members of that group live. By this definition, no ethnic or racial group in the history of the United States, except one, has ever experienced ghettoization, even briefly. For urban blacks, the ghetto has been the*

> *paradigmatic residential configuration for at least eighty years* (Massey & Denton 1993: 18-19).

In that same year another important contribution came from an edited book by Malcolm Cross and Michael Keith, *Racism, the City and the State* (1993), focusing particularly on the racialization of the urban space and State's management. A major contribution to "strip the image of natural succession away from the reality of manufactured transformation of urban form" emphasizing the role of the racial state in shaping residential segregation and perpetuating racialized violences (Cross and Keith 1993: 2). And, in between these contradictory positions and frameworks, Arnold Hirsch wrote *Making the Second Ghetto: Race & Housing in Chicago 1940-1960* (1998 [1983]). Hirsch addressed the emergence of housing projects in the city of Chicago in the aftermath of the World War II. The importance of his analysis lays on his focus on the edification of ghettos by the State giving evidence that ghettoization is not something of the past, but a contemporary "dynamic institution that was continually being renewed, reinforced and reshaped" (Hirsch, 1998: xvi), through, for example, white people's political decisions related with broader processes of racial urban gentrification. This, he claims, gave rise to housing projects – institutionalized ghettos, a "city within the city" (Idem: 15). Accordingly, the emergence of the second ghetto is deeply intertwined with the emergence of the first (the Black Belt), this time through a combination of racism, violence and urban planning:

> *The establishment of racial borders, their traditional acceptance, and the conditions spawned by unyielding segregation created an entity that whites feared and loathed. Those who made it were soon threatened by it, and, desperately, they both employed old techniques and devised new ones in the attempt to control it* (Hirsch 1998: 15).

Building on these historically important milestones of knowledge production, more recently, in *Never Meant to Survive: Genocide and Utopias in Black Diaspora Communities* (2010), anthropologist João Costa Vargas elaborates on how blackness has been historically produced through a violent dialectics between white supremacy and black resistance. Focusing specifically on the history of hypersegregation and revolt of Los Angeles black ghettos, Vargas defines residential segregation as the translation of "institutional and everyday discriminatory practices of state and society" into spatial arrangements, thus, rendering black ghettos and black communities a product of antiblack genocide (Vargas 2010: 41). In fact, the existence of this "legally sanctioned delimitations" and the later "intensification of segregated subdivisions" in the city emerge as the "necessary outcome of the formation of White, class-homogeneous heteronormative patriarchal neighborhoods" (Idem: 48). By exposing this correlation, Vargas underlines the impact of institutionalized white power in city-making and urban planning. Hence, ghettos are the result of ontological, legal, administrative and economic structures of racialized power, which sustain white privilege through anti-black segregation and genocide. In the words of Ruth Wilson Gilmore, "racism, specifically, is the state-sanctioned or extralegal production and exploitation of group-

differentiated vulnerability to premature death" (2007: 28). Accordingly, Nation-States have been mostly responsible for re-producing "geographies of death and privilege" in a context where spatial segregation – together with mass incarceration, urban security policies and police killings – have been key in prompting urban order (Alves 2018: 2). Furthermore, anthropologist Jaime Amparo Alves sustains that these devices of white power create "conditions of possibility for the making of the 'city of man', an anti-black social formation where whites exercise civil rights" (Idem: 3). Thus, the white racial order turns the *polis* into a spatiality where "white life is produced, and white supremacy comes into full display" (Ibidem). According to activists and political scientists Kwame Ture and Charles V. Hamilton, this "white power structure" is perceived by the black community in very concrete terms and, more particularly, within the ghetto:

> *The man in the ghetto sees his white landlord come only to collect exorbitant rents and fail to make necessary repairs, while both know that the white-dominated city building inspection department will wink at violations or impose only slight fines. The man in the ghetto sees the white policeman on the corner brutally manhandle a black drunkard in a doorway, and at the same time accept a pay-off from one of the agents of the white-controlled rackets. He sees the streets in the ghetto lined with uncollected garbage, and he knows that the powers which could send trucks in to collect that garbage are white. When they don't, he knows the reason: the low political esteem in which the black community is held. He looks at the absence of a meaningful curriculum in the ghetto schools [...] and he knows that the school board is controlled by whites. He is not about to listen to intellectual discourses on the pluralistic and fragmented nature of political power. He is faced with a 'white power structure' as monolithic as Europe's colonial offices have been to African and Asian colonies* (1992 [1967]: 9-10).

Hence, through the concatenation of space, race and class, the ghetto emerges as an extremely racialized place and idea, a lived experience and an imaginary to depict scenarios where the violent spectacle of race takes place. Although the works of Vargas (2010) and Alves (2018) are essentially focused on the Brazilian and American contexts, their analysis on black ghettos and the anti-black city provide important clues to examine the Portuguese reality. Yet Portuguese academia seems to have neglected not only a debate on processes of ghettoization, but, in particular, the role played by race as a political category of hierarchization and segregation (Alves 2013), in more peripheral latitudes of knowledge production, outside the academia, other forms of knowledge production, namely rap music, mostly sang in Cape-Verdean Creole and echoing from peripheralized latitudes of the LMA, have been putting this debate forward.

3. Back to the Future: the *real ghetto* in Portugal

> *Guetu nha kultura, nha armadura, nha sepultura. Lei di rua kin konxi, foi na guetu ki n'studa, foi na guetu ki n'odja modi ki vida eh dura, Krioulo dialetu ki dentu di guetu ta perdura. Na varios tipuz di kor, nasionalidade eh rua. Krioulo é guetu, guetu é rua ki nos tudu nu xplora, Ki pa el dja nu tchora é dentu del ki nu ta djuguta pa nu sai di porra. Foi dentu guetu ki nu vivi. E dentu guetu kin ta fronta e na guetu manu ki n'ta spera pa nha ora. N'ka ta vivi na guetu, guetu sta dentu mi, guetu ten nomi di Euzy. Ku doiz dodu sima mi nu forma FDIB, F di barrakada kutelo azk, margem sul na mapa, margem sul nos kasa, margem sul nos arma, margem sul nos patria, foi li k min deta nha primeiru lagrima... Foi li na margem qui nu prendi luta por tudo akilu ki nu ta ama, a nóz nu é fidjus di barraka… So nha guetu ki ta pom ta navega* (Ne Jah & Euzy 2013).[46]

In their wonderful song *Ghetto* (2013), rappers Ne Jah and Euzy transmit the ghetto as a cathartic landscape. The ghetto is portrayed as their home, "their culture, their armor, [and] their grave", epitomizing strong memories of belonging and nostalgia by evoking the old, and almost entirely destroyed, community of Cutelo, in Rio de Judeu, Seixal (LMA). By addressing the destruction and disappearance of a self-produced neighborhood as an imminent threat to who they are (Ne Jah & Euzy 2013), the rappers call into question the relationship between space, place and being. Simultaneously, the song is a tale of a (black) city – already told – and yet to be told on their own terms.

Another methodical sketch on the ghetto has been offered by rapper Beto di Ghetto in *Vida di Ghetto*. The song exposed the historical and intricate relation between race and urban space, emphasizing how impoverished blacks systematically "born, live, walk and die" buried in the ghetto (Beto di Ghetto 2012). For Beto di Ghetto, the ghetto is somehow quintessential to black

[46] In English: Ghetto my culture, my armor, my grave. The law of the street that I know, it was in the ghetto that I studied it. It was in the ghetto that I realized how hard life is, (Cape-Verdean) Creole is the dialect that endures within the ghetto. In the various types of color, nationality, and street, Creole is ghetto, ghetto is the street that exploits us all. He (the ghetto) is the one we have cried for. It is inside the ghetto that I struggle/draw to get out of the shit; It was inside the ghetto that we lived; It's inside the ghetto that I've been affronted (be distressed); It's in the ghetto, bro, that I wait for my time. I don't live inside the ghetto, but the ghetto lives in me. The ghetto has the name of Euzy, and with two more crazy people it becomes FDIB (Sons of shacks). South Edge (of Tagus River) on the map, South Edge our home; south Edge our weapon; South Edge our homeland. That's where I laid my first tear. It was there on the margin that we learned to fight for everything we love. We are songs of shacks. Only my ghetto is what makes me navigate (Ne Jah & Euzy 2013, translation done together by myself and Ne Jah).

experience since, just like a self-fulfilling prophecy, it precludes and imposes particular (tragic) fates on black living.

The 'black ghetto' is a pervasive theme across rap narratives produced by Afro descendent rappers in Portugal. Allusions to 'blackness' and to the 'ghetto' are common features throughout a series of different rap songs, particularly those written in Cape-Verdean Creole and echoing from the outskirts of cities such as Amadora, Seixal, Loures or Cascais, in the LMA. They are mostly written by black Portuguese youth, and they stand as (partly) marginalized narratives of resistance and denunciation (Raposo 2015; Brito Guterres 2015; Simões 2018), in a country trapped in particular cornerstones of colonial history and memory. The ghetto is one of the silenced memories of Portuguese urbanity: a place where precarious housing and race are interwoven, simultaneously producing deafening 'sounds of poverty' and daily practices of conscious resistance (KBA ft. Loreta ft. Tchapo 2013; Boss & Yaroshima 2013). It is precisely because of its urbanity that the ghetto is deeply intertwined with the history of the city of Lisbon, both as a place and as an idea (Duneier 2016).

Rap music emerged in the late eighties in Portugal, and the ghetto seems to have been an ever-present issue. According to anthropologist Rui Cidra (2002), criticism towards rappers such as General D or Black Company soon appeared, denouncing their mainstream approach to the ghetto (Cidra 2002). Attempting to counteract external discourses on the ghetto, rap groups such as T.W.A. framed the ghetto "departing from their lived experience, participant observation and analysis" (Idem: 204). By doing so, they underlined its dimension as a home(place) (Sayyid 2014; hooks 2015 [1990]) – where communitarian organization, solidarity networks and freedom were key, by opposition to their experience outside the neighborhoods (Cidra 2002). Until the present moment, the official origins of Portuguese rap music are located in the south riverside of Tagus, in-between Almada and Miratejo (LMA). Nonetheless, while some of these first rappers were becoming professional musicians (Idem), groups of underground rappers were appearing in several places. And, by this time, rap became more present in impoverished and suburban spaces. Places such as Arrentela (in the municipality of Seixal, LMA), where African immigrant populations and their descendants lived with Portuguese populations that had recently arrived from African countries; areas such as Santa Filomena, where African migrant presence was predominant, but not exclusive – "slums composed by illegal houses […] where African immigrants of lower economic status, co-inhabit with poor Portuguese populations" – were "the areas that more or less consensually the rappers named 'ghettos'" (Cidra 2002: 201). If it's true that from then on rap songs mostly associated the ghetto with self-produced neighborhoods,[47] others maintained that the ghetto could also be found on other parts of the city, namely in rehousing neighborhoods.

Self-produced neighborhoods were originally founded in the mid 20th Century by poor white and Roma populations, as a result of internal migrations (cf. Navarro 1948, Cardoso & Perista 1994)

[47] Such as Bairro das Fontaínhas or Bairro 6 de Maio (Amadora) (Putos Qui Ata Cria 2006).

and historical persecutions (Bastos 2007), respectively. Later, during the 1970's, these neighborhoods expanded with the post-colonial immigration from Cape-Verde, Guinea Bissau, Mozambique or Angola who thickened the mass of people without formal access to decent housing in Portugal (Saint-Maurice 1997; Gusmão 2004). In the 1990s a massive rehousing program was enacted by the Portuguese State. The PER Program would be responsible for the eradication of several self-produced neighborhoods in the metropolitan areas of Lisbon and Oporto, relocating the populations in resettlement neighborhoods. Together with those built previously, these neighborhoods enlarged the number of public houses directly managed by the Institute for Housing and Urban Renewal (IHRU) and the municipalities. In this context, most rap songs invoke and locate the origins of the ghetto in places that don't exist anymore – 'in a time named shacks' (G Fema 2008; KBA ft. Loreta ft. Tchapo 2013; Landim and Progvid 2021). And, therefore, in the words of rapper Nando, the *real ghetto* is the place where it all begun:

> *It is the cradle! The ghetto is the cradle! [...] The definition I have of ghetto... For me it's what I have embraced: the family; it's where I was born and raised. So, my desire is to have my house in a ghetto, but ... when I say a ghetto, I mean a real ghetto, [...] a ghetto of good things ... of family, of seeing my child grow up. [...] It's just my neighborhood that makes me navigate, that calms me down, that is ... wherever it is, wherever I am ... but when I go back to my neighborhood, I'll be home – I'll see my mom, I'll see my dad, I'll see my brother, I'll see my friends ... we grew up together – and that's where? That's the ghetto! [...] That is, my ghetto, the ghetto I speak of is my Cutelo, my shack, my family, my family right there beside me... it is nostalgia [saudade]! That's why I say, "only my ghetto is what makes me sail!" That is, only my ghetto is what makes me feel a hug, the longing, that longing. [...] My ghetto - that one I talk about - is a guy feeling good there, it's those jokes and the sister that grow up in the neighborhood ... we are all the same age ... the developments [...] and that all happens, it's the ghetto ... it's the nostalgia I feel, it's all that!!!* (Interview with rapper Nando, June 2019).

Moreover, the ghetto is community, horizontality, togetherness, well-being:

> *For me, ghetto? I don't know what you want to call ghetto. I, for me, is community! For me when they say ghetto, it's house structure, it's horizontal structure. For me the ghetto is this, living together. For me it's not degradation, because for me I didn't see people's houses by their conditions: it's my friend's house, my neighbor's house, for me it's all the same. Of course, there were better houses than others, but it wasn't like that, all the same. Here I don't know even 20 houses of people that lived in Fontaínhas: which is the floor, which is the number? I don't know... that's the building, which floor, I've forgotten. Not in Fontaínhas! First alley, thirteen houses, go up... because in terms of organization, even less, community, you felt connected to everything, here, I don't feel connected, because they cut that when I came here, because you can't be 22 years, I came to Boba with... in 2001, I*

had my horizontal way of living and they moved me to the vertical, like that (Interview with Black grassroots activist Paulo, April 2018).

In this regard, the ghetto figures either (i) as an existing (cherished) self-produced place, (ii) a materially destroyed self-produced space (therefore, entailing nostalgia), (iii) a place that was not self-built, namely a mostly black rehousing neighborhood or an impoverished peripheral area. However, according to rapper Martinho, there are fundamental differences to be addressed between these definitions that raise an important debate over the notion of 'ghetto' as a noun, and of 'ghettoization' as a verb:

> *The Ghetto? Some people say: "they want to ghettoize us; they want to close us down". But the ghetto, the origin of the neighborhood, it was us, there - Nos Ku Nos! because it was where we felt safe, where we felt secure; it was where we were at peace with our friends. We left one neighborhood to go to another, another and another. Only in the need to buy things that we didn't have access inside the neighborhood, we had to go outside. [...] Now, here, in the neighborhoods... in the so-called neighborhoods.... because the ghetto, for me, is Fontaínhas! – "Vida di ghetto!" It's life, you know? That good [firmeza] life that we have lived. To ghettoize is to cage the community, it's different, you know? [...] It was something that the State built, not the elderly. It was in a place that they, the state chose, not the elderly... so it's totally different, you see? It's those two parameters. We have the ghetto, the real ghetto, our neighborhood, our area, what the elderly built, where they said: this is where we are going to have our children, our grandchildren, our family, and we grew up here! Another thing is what the State built to put us there, closed* (Interview with rapper Martinho, March 2018).

Firstly, his critique is fundamental to understand how rehousing processes where directly experienced by many dwellers of self-produced neighborhoods. It subverts white hegemonic approaches to the ghetto, and calls attention to material and symbolic processes which are closely related to the building (and destruction) of a *black sense of place*:

> *the racial underpinnings of modernity, of which transatlantic slavery and colonialism are salient features, situate black people and places outside modernity just as black people and places serve as the unspoken labourers of modernity, just as black people and places fully participate in the intellectual narrative of modernity. With this in mind, a black sense of place can be understood as the process of materially and imaginatively situating historical and contemporary struggles against practices of domination and the difficult entanglements of racial encounter. Racism and resistance to racism are therefore not the sole defining features of a black sense of place, but rather indicate how the relational violences of modernity produce a condition of being black in the Americas that is predicated on struggle* (McKittrick 2011: 949).

Secondly, Martinho underlines how the notion of *refuge* is closely related to the idea of ghetto. Therefore, under a state rationality which privileges incarceration, rehousing neighborhoods could only hardly correspond to ghettos. As it seems, they are the result of ghettoization, which can be equated to segregation and fragmentation, not to *lived experienced ghettos that mean black liveable life*. Drawing on his analysis, one must ask: who is actively producing the ghetto – people or institutions? Is the ghetto produced through State's (in)action and people's reaction? Did ghettoization processes produce or destroy the ghetto? Until what extent is the ghetto a synonym of residential segregation? Do rehousing processes corresponded to ghettoization, or did they, in fact, destroy the ghetto in order to try to erase, once and again, a *black sense of place,* that thrived in self-produced neighborhoods, throughout time? Moreover, Martinho sustains that the ghetto can be, in fact, a process of circumstantial space appropriation under globalized forms of racial ruling, highlighting how different generations, in different parts of the world, signify the ghetto, illustrating an on-going and daily process of antiracist struggle:

> *Martinho – The ghetto is a generational process. The ghetto, maybe, for my grandparents, great grandparents... is a bad thing! Like us... this ghetto of Casal da Boba was bad! But for my kids, for the younger kids... it's their ghetto, because that's where they stop, that's where they live, where they are calm, where they are at peace. It's a generational thing! The ghetto wasn't born here, it didn't grow up... this scene is not from here, it's a scene built outside. The scene that grew out of ghetto... it's like I told you, it's that thing that came from the elderly to do for a living. It was for them to take refuge, not to be locked up - you realize it's totally different. Now: E na nos ghetto, pamodi na único cao ki nu sta djunto, qui nu sta unidu, ki nu sta forti, e la!. [...] The ghetto is a thing with meaning, a thing with purpose. Our scene is a global scene, within Afro[descent]. You have it in the States, in Brazil, anywhere, in Africa, anywhere! Go ask anyone in the community what the ghetto is (laughs)?!*
>
> *Rita – Well, according to people, [the public housing quarter of] Mira is a neighborhood, it's not a ghetto...*
>
> *Martinho – Of course! They built it - it's a state scene. How can it be a ghetto? It can't, sister! Our ghetto does not have the same meaning of the ghetto you're thinking of. So, simplify this: how many words in the world have different meanings? The part about the state ghettoizing the community is different. Social inclusion was to grab each one of them, get them into the city, get them scattered here and there. It is not to arrive, to hide, as they did now with Casal da Mira. The ghetto is not Casal da Mira! [...] to put people who have a conflict together, you know?! That it is ghettoizing... something they invented to repress people, is not what we, our people created to live together, to live, to survive! It's totally different, isn't it? But it is connected, isn't it?* (Interview with rapper Martinho, March 2018).

In this context, for older generations, who have built the neighborhoods – and even if their definition of the place is deeply connected to the one narrated by the youngsters – the neighborhood is no ghetto. In their minds, they did the (im)possible: they built a place where they could raise their children, enjoy their lives and survive in (post)colonial times. Instead, for the ones who were born there, the ghetto is their home in a country that persistently delegitimized their national belonging and monitored their existence. The ghetto is their home. It is from where they depart every day to claim their existence and where they seek refuge from whiteness. The ghetto is the place where they can truly thrive as black Portuguese, where both their origins are respected and intertwined. Lastly, for the ones who were born or mostly grew up in resettlement neighborhoods, the ghetto is there, since most of their living conditions can be equated to the one's in self-produced neighborhoods, namely through processes of racialization and State´s control. In this sense, the ghetto is something that grows old, feeding on racial (and class) tensions and inequalities. Several generations, starting with the work of General D or Djoek in the nineties, have praised solidarity and resistance within the ghetto, as they exposed anti-black urban governmentalities and violence. Even if things have (supposedly) changed, black youth insist on telling the same stories as their ancestors, by using the ghetto as a synthesis. In this sense, rappers illustrate both colonial continuities and the institutional and systemic character of racism.

Rap is a quintessential expression of youth culture (Raposo 2010), its narratives are simultaneously contextual, transnational, intergenerational. Besides unfolding and analyzing daily experiences, rap songs in Portugal are one of the possible archives during times of democracy. They frame their present according to a sharp criticism towards colonialism and racial enslavement. They retell histories of hunger, war and migration. They retell the rise and fall of ghettos, and, finally, they voice fear for black children (Mynda'Guevara 2018; Karlon Krioulo 2017; Puto G, Timor & Ridell 2013; Chullage 2012; Klicklau 2008; Tumy 2008).

In this context, albeit some rappers might name these places as 'neighborhoods', 'suburbia', 'zone', 'slum' or 'periphery', most songs depart from and predominantly refer to them as poor and black (and, sometimes, Roma) spaces in peripheralized milieus, (a)part from the cityscape, where labor precarity, institutional abandonment and brutality are pervasive (Valete 2006; Nigga Poison 2011; Tropas di Terrenu 2011; Halloween 2018). Accordingly, acute descriptions on the living conditions on the ghetto seem to be aligned with some of W. E. B. Du Bois' suggestions when he points out that to uncover such complex and entangled realities, one has to go "far beyond the slum districts" (Du Bois 1899: 6). Accordingly, criticism towards media coverage (Hezbollah, Chullage & Loreta, 2011) or State's (in)actions (Juana na Rap 2016) cut across several of the songs, producing a wider analysis on the forces that have historically constituted the ghetto. This is clearly reflected on the lyrics of 'Kriminosus Legal' when LBC Minao Soldjah (2009) sustains that "socio-political indifference on the ghetto betokens institutional racism". In fact, day to day relationships between inhabitants and State's institutions are often narrated. In the song 'Tardi pa bu txora', Xina RBL (2017) illustrates the close relationship between racialized neighborhoods and the prison industrial complex, while in 'Fronta' (2012), the group Kova M powerfully denounces constant police

profiling, harassment and chasing within the neighborhood of Cova da Moura (Amadora). Police brutality is also severely criticized by the voices of Primero G, Loreta, Monica and Landim in the song 'Ser Polícia' [Being Cop] (2011). They equate police actions with abuse of authority, which operates particularly against black bodies within the suburbs of the city; and the same can be said about Allen Halloween's (feat General D & Buts Mc) 'Bairro Black' (2015). Finally, police brutality is enunciated by Souljah in 'Pa Nha Rapaz' (2007), Primero G, Klicklau, Jamaika and Lord G in 'Lembranças' (2012) or Fidjuz di Barraka and Vado Mas Ki Ás in 'N'cre Odjau' [I want to See You] (2013), when the harmful consequences of antiblack police brutality are remembered by evoking the memory of several friends that police seized and killed – such as, Elson Sanches (1995-2009), Nuno Rodrigues (1979-2010) or Diogo Seidi (1998-2013). And it is precisely because "blacks are abused and suppressed by the State" that according to Cabral, Ne Jah, Tunto and Euzy (2013) life in the ghetto "is a life without cuddles". This comprises that precariousness is a politically induced condition on "those whose lives are not 'regarded' as potentially grievable" and that are "made to bear the burden of starvation, underemployment, legal disenfranchisement, and differential exposure to violence and death" (Butler 2009: 25).

As a result, the ghetto is mostly narrated, in rap songs, as an ambiguous place. They voice happy nostalgic childhood memories and deep forms of belonging and fruition while denouncing daily encounters with the racial State as dehumanization and terror. The ghetto seems to stand as a metaphor and a common language to denaturalize and analyze the *spatiality of the racial order* (Razack 2002) within urban Portuguese landscapes.[48] Being it a cherished refuge or a repository of antiblack violence, the ghetto results as the material paradigm of racialized tensions within worldwide urban landscapes (Picker, Murji & Boatcă 2018). It provides a quintessential cartography on internal colonialism which is simultaneously endured by and enduring race. Despite the evidence, according to musician Chullage (2006), it is still a story to be told once "you don't read [nothing about the ghetto] at school, you don't watch [it] on TV, but only the ones who don't want, are the ones who do not see". Chullage comprehensively zooms on Arrentela's daily life for problematizing the proliferation of ghetto realities within the LMA and its tragic effects on the lived

[48] Cf. "I remember the time where we pretend to be men, when, in fact, we were kids-men. But life in the ghetto is as sad as that. […] If you were born there, you were like me. If you were born there, you would think like me. If you were born there, you would be real *nigga* […]. [It was] where I felt and raised, [where] I learnt to have hope, [and] fight for everything I was taught since childhood. […] You have to survive inside of [Pedreira dos] Hungaros, ghetto G. (T.W.A – Miraflor, 2002) or "We live in the ghetto, proud to be black/ Discriminated all the way, this is how it is in the ghetto/ We can't do anything, they say we're doing wrong, If we go to a store, they say we're going to steal/ If we walk in a group, they say look, there's a gang/ When the police act, it's a big bang!/ Save yourself if you can, who rules is the power/ Nobody wants to love us, let alone help us/ If we do evil, it's not the fault of age / Something is wrong, and it's here in Portugal/ I'm the one who tells you that, because this is my world/ Racism is worldwide, not only here in Portugal! (Never recorded song of Little BFH, circa 1996).

experiences of black dwellers (Chullage 2006). In this context, these songs have distinctly appropriated the ghetto by emphasizing structural race and class violence, and memories of the ghetto are a form of resistance through which people claim their full right to exist (G Fema 2008; Vado Mas Ki Ás 2017), in a social and political context where there is very "little space to breath" (Nicholas, Flavio MC, LEV & Seth 2018).

The situated knowledge produced by black Portuguese rappers stands as a possibility to rethink racialized relations within urbanscapes, uncovering what white, Eurocentric and racist academic narratives have historically/ontologically concealed. Considering the hyperpresence of race/racism and the near absence of a debate on institutional racism and the city in the Portuguese academic sphere (Alves 2019) – contrarily to its prominence within rap music – it is important to understand the possibilities on using the ghetto in framing racialized urban realities in Portugal, particularly in the LMA. Correspondently, and considering its longevity as both a place and an idea (Duneier 2016) and its inherent relation with historical processes of racialization, space management and resistance, it is also key to unveil how States and institutions have been using processes of ghettoization as a form of territorializing political distance (Agier 2015). However, people have distinctly appropriated these places to resist institutional racism, in a context where fighting racialization constantly means fighting disappearance (Fanon 2008 [1952]).

In this context, is the ghetto a place, a home, an idea or a racialized institution? How is the ghetto retracing the color line and, at the same time, relegating race to a phantasmagorical space in contemporary urban geographies? Is the ghetto a space of conviviality and solidarity or a violent segregationist project? Is the ghetto one of the means through which black genocide is contemporarily imposed, as sustained by João Costa Vargas (2010)? Or can the ghetto, as the quilombo, be understood as a circumstantial process of space appropriation under globalized forms of racial ruling, created through different forms of land expropriation and residential apartheid – *senzalas*, ghettos, reservations or refugee camps? Can we understand the urban transformations that have taken place in peripheralized latitudes of the LMA through the lenses of the ghetto? Has the Portuguese racial State used the ghetto as a tool to freely manage and legitimize urban planning and ensure racialized labor supply? Does ghettoization lead to the existence of ghettos later destroyed under a second process of ghettoization, being rehousing a white solution for White problems?

I argue that rather than a place, the ghetto can be better understood as an *embodied condition of black (and Roma) people* in Portuguese urban escapes. The ghetto seems to stand as a metaphor on how the creation of carceral spaces have constantly retraced the color line but have simultaneously contributed to the creation of spaces of resistance that could not be totally erased by the demolition of the self-produced neighborhoods. The ghetto is a lexicon which allows for talking about global experiences of antiblackness, dehumanization and resistance – it stands as a form of dialogue about the lived experiences of racism and segregation faced by black people worldwide. In this sense, while racism persists, the ghetto will continue to (re)exist. Because all of this was brought to me

by black Portuguese rap music that has accompanied me in my daily journeys through many of the peripheralized landscapes which I got to know in the past decade, rap is part of the state of the art to read antiblack relations within the city. The reflections provided by mostly black rappers in the last three decades are an essential theoretical anchor to revisit the histories of black, Roma and peripheralized people that resiliently insist on producing a sense of place and affectivity in front of a State that constantly demands their displacement, incarceration and disappearance.

4. Racializing Places, Whitening the City

> *São Paulo Square, Lisbon. Two people are quietly waiting for the bus when a third person – a white male – arrives, euphoric. He starts making conversation with a man – a black male – sitting at the bus stop right next to a woman. At some point, out of nowhere, the white man asks the black man if he is Cape Verdean. He gently replies he is not. The white man insists, invoking a long list of different possible African nationalities – ranging from Cape-Verdean to Senegalese – while the black man patiently shakes his head, denying all the hypothesis advanced. At some point the white man quits asking. He is, in fact, trying to guess, as if it was some kind of contest. Sitting near to the black man, a woman – a white woman – wonders how it is possible that the white man does not equate the possibility that the black man right in front of him is most probably Portuguese. The conversation is finally interrupted as the bus arrives* (Headnotes, Lisbon, 2017).

Along the years as a white Portuguese researcher, I've been told a countless number of stories. This one was told to me by the silent woman at the bus stop. The reason why I have never forgotten it is probably because it illustrates paradigmatically how white people mostly perceive and make sense of black people in Portugal, relationally. Through a series of daily practices, whiteness relentlessly displaces blackness and reassures its belonging at the expense of othering and expunging it from the national and cultural body politic. This project is both fueled and amplified through institutional racist practices. The current Portuguese Nationality Law[49] is paradigmatic on how the externalization of blackness is operationalized at a structural level. By institutionalizing the prevalence of the principle of *jus sanguinis*, the Portuguese State turns racism into a relation *structured by legality* (cf. Almeida 2019: 136), therefore confirming the racial character of the modern State, in its imagined genesis. In this legal context, blood as a proxy to social imaginaries on race, marks and orders the State whilst it is ordered by it (Goldberg 2002). Besides maintaining

[49] Cf. Organic Law n. 2/2018, July 5, Diário da República, 1.a série – N.o 128 – 5 de julho de 2018, pp. 2895- 2902.

the stability of Portugal mostly as an ontological white-Christian Nation-State, this law involves the power to include or exclude subjects from its protection – namely by (non)granting citizenship rights, including the inalienable right to be part of a community and to remain. Law is promoting a careful antiblack selection on who is (or is not) entitled to be a fully recognized citizen. The modern State is, therefore, an *imperial debris* (cf. Stoler 2013) embodying coloniality onto the democratic national-racial order so to reassure race as a political category of hierarchization, segregation and dehumanization. Both the conversation at the bus stop and the current Nationality Law surely contribute to reify Portuguese national mythologies as deeply spatialized/racialized stories whilst used to perpetuate a colonial and racialized structure of citizenship. In this context, "racialization processes are directly *experienced* as spatial" (Razack 2002: 6), through a set of individual and institutional racialized apparatus:

> *When police drop Aboriginal people outside the city limits leaving them to freeze to death, or stop young Black men on the streets or in malls, when the eyes of shop clerks follow bodies of colour, presuming them to be illicit, when workplaces remain relentlessly white in the better paid jobs and fully "coloured" at the lower levels, when affluent areas of the city are all white and poorer areas are mostly of colour, we experience the spatiality of the racial order in which we live* (Ibidem).

Territory is essential to the modern nation-State: a cohesive and fenced space to which meanings are constantly attached, in order to make coherent in national (or regional) terms what is mostly not. In this regard, nation States are modern, pervasive and territorialized fictions that have been constructed mostly in (imagined) opposition to (former) colonized spaces. Philosopher Valentin-Yves Mudimbe argues that colonialism and colonization meant Eurocentric organization and arrangement of non-European areas and, more importantly, an effort to transform them "into fundamentally European constructs" (1988: 14). This process was led by a colonial structure that produced "marginal societies, cultures and human beings" – under a "dichotomizing system" from where a great number of "current paradigmatic oppositions have developed" (Ibidem: 17) – leading to a particular epistemological and discursive order under which "alterity [was produced] as a negative category of the Same" (Ibidem). A Eurocentric ordering of otherness was put in place. European novels, cinematic fictions and scientific knowledge were fundamental to this process (Said 1995; Shohat & Stam 1994; Araújo & Maeso 2015; Bhandar 2018). In particular cinema brought near what was distant, by offering the "spectator a mediated relationship with imagined others from diverse cultures" (Shohat & Stam 1994: 4), allowing ephemeral glimpses into imperial margins:

> *The "spatially-mobilized visuality" of the I/eye of empire spiraled outward around the globe, creating a visceral, kinetic sense of imperial travel and conquest, transforming European spectators into armchair conquistadors, affirming their sense of power while turning the colonies into spectacle for the metropole's voyeuristic gaze* (Ibidem).

As such, cinema became a form of topography of *otherness* that, just like other technological inventions, "mapped the globe as a disciplinary space of knowledge", and configured reality as a spectacle that "gave utopian form to White supremacist ideology", legitimized "racial hierarchies abroad" and muted "class and gender divisions among Whites at home by stressing national agency in a global project of domination" (Shohat & Stam 1994: 6). Nevertheless, white settler mythologies disavow "conquest, genocide, slavery and the exploitation of the labour of people of colour" (Razack 2002: 2), and conversely emphasize bravery, encounters and globalizations. Lusotropicalism has been serving this exact purpose within Portuguese white settler mythologies, once it defines colonialism as proximity and brotherhood, concealing violence, exploitation and racialized power relations (cf. Castelo 1998; Almeida 2000). As a result, colonial cartographies not only invented race through governmental practices as they contributed to its mapping by fixing particular bodies onto particular territories.[50] On the other hand race was expunged[51] and black presence was silenced within European political geographies through a set of laws and historiographic or anthropological narratives. Furthermore, colonial rationalities of knowledge production de-historicized and animalized racialized subjects (Fabian 2004; Dussel 1993), framed as "lack[ing] the requisite cultural practices, habits of thought, and economic organization to be considered as sovereign" (Bhandar 2018: 3). Dehumanization was both a premise and a consequence within this racialized power structure in which acute violent efforts to bestialize black indviduals were constantly produced (James 1989; Small 2015). In Goldberg's words:

> *Race is imposed upon otherness, the attempt to account for it, know it, to control it. So to begin with in modernity what is invested with racial meaning, what becomes increasingly racially, is the threat, the external, the unknown, the outside. It is only through the racial configuration of the external, of the other, by implication, that the internal – the self – becomes (and at first by implication, silently) racially defined also. But paradoxically, once racially configured with modernity that threat becomes magnified, especially fraught, because in being named racially in a sense it is named as threat. In being so named the threat is reified, rendered real, realized* (2002: 23).

These colonial rationalities came to justify killings, expulsions or segregation and all kinds of anti-black forms of dispossession and expropriation. Accordingly, racial states have continuously invested on antiblackness and anti-Roma racism as practices of governance, producing the dehumanization of black and Roma populations, while strengthening white privilege in accessing

[50] The category of space is discursively produced and ordered. Just as spatial distinctions like 'West' and 'East' are racialized in their conception and application, so racial categories have been variously spatialized more or less since their inception into continental divides, national localities, and geographic regions. Racism became institutionally normalized in and through spatial configuration, just as social space is made to seem natural, a given, by being conceived and defined in racial terms (Goldberg, 1993).

[51] For more information on genocidal laws against Roma populations in Portugal cf. Bastos, 2007. For more information of the regulation of black enslaved people in Europe cf. Code Noir, 1685.

property and (land) rights first in (former) colonized spaces and then, at *home*. Throughout the next pages I will map, with substantial gaps – mostly due to the lack and silencing of historiographic information on black Portugal (Tinhorão 1988; Henriques 2009; Varela & Pereira 2020) –, the distribution of black populations throughout the LMA. Although scarce, the available data illustrates how, throughout the centuries, segregation, displacement and peripheralization appear as important processes in managing black people in the urban space.

4.1. A Black Metropolis: Lisbon

Past Continuous (16th – 19th Century)

According to David Theo Goldberg (2002), the presence of black persons in Amsterdam or London was common throughout the seventeenth century. Historians José Ramos Tinhorão (1988), Isabel Castro Henriques (2009) or Jorge Fonseca (2006) argue that in Lisbon, as well as among other Portuguese cities, black presence dates, at least, from the fifteenth century. Indeed, in the mid-fifteenth century black persons represented circa 10% of Lisbon's total population (Tinhorão 1988). Considering the shortage of manpower amplified by Portuguese emigration – mostly to Brazil (Saunders 1982) – the number of enslaved persons grew substantially until 1761 – when the use of enslaved labor was formally forbidden in Portugal, by Marquis of Pombal (Lahon 2012; Henriques & Leite 2013). Yet, the flow of enslaved persons to Portugal raised several critiques (Saunders 1982). According to Lahon (2012), white people were concerned with racial mixing and, as such, an 'avoidance rule' – similar to the one applied to Jews and Moors – was established. These restriction laws had impact in the lives as well as in the mobility of enslaved black persons. Hand-in-hand with the increasing number of black populations, a series of black religious Confraternities appeared, particularly after 1680s, configuring an important site for black resistance (Fonseca 2006; Lahon 2012). While black presence carved the history of the country, "homogeneity has been taken axiologically to trump the perceived threat of heterogeneous states of being" (Goldberg 2002: 6), and the contribution of black enslaved persons, runaways and freedmen was made irrelevant (or an appendix) in the process of the Portuguese nation State formation:

> *The historiographical and anthropological literature produced since the late nineteenth century [...] was, in fact, engaged in purging all traces of "blackness" from "national nature". Simultaneously, it reinvented the imaginary of a homogeneous national unity – which still prevails today – and a history of "overseas" racial and cultural tolerance. In this sense, it is interesting to highlight how the "presence" of black populations in Portugal – in particular enslaved populations and their descendants – and their influence on the configuration of the Portuguese nation, were central issues in historiographic, anthropological and ethnographic accounts of the twentieth century and also in the twenty-first century* (Araújo & Maeso 2016: 156).

Yet, in the streets, churches or museums in cities such as Lisbon, Setúbal, Sintra and Alcácer do Sal, black Portugal is made evident through a series of paintings, objects or photographs (Henriques & Leite 2013; Alcântara, Roldão & Cruz 2019; Roldão & Alcântara 2021). In this regard, urban spaces are vital cartographies of memory, able to retell what historical narratives have mostly failed to convey. The existence of a predominately black neighborhood in the city of Lisbon – Mocambo – is one of those testimonies. According to Henriques "from the end of the sixteenth Century, the neighborhood concentrated a significant part of the black population inhabiting in Lisbon" (2009: 49). The neighborhood of Mocambo figures among other existing neighborhoods in three royal charters from 1593, 1605, 1792 (Henriques 2009). At first positioned in the limits of the city, and mostly inhabited by black people and white fishermen, Mocambo progressively expanded towards a more central zone – Poço dos Negros.[52] And, even if there is still little information on the establishment and development of the neighborhood, its position – outside the city but in its proximities – seems to suggest that its inhabitants worked within the city:

> *The study of the many Portuguese and foreign written sources, of some plastic works or other iconographic documents shows the coming and going of these African men and women, slave and free, who worked in the domestic sphere of Portuguese families or in the city, performing the most diverse urban tasks. The essential tasks for the hygiene and maintenance of public spaces stand out – sweepers, whitewashers, water distributors –, but also the supply of goods to the people of Lisbon, a task mostly performed by women: street and doorstep commerce supplied foodstuffs, agricultural products, consumer goods such as charcoal and fish, sold by white, black, and mulatto saleswomen [regateiras], who ran Lisbon from end to end. To the male activities connected to the sea, from seamanship to naval construction and fishing, we must add the many other trades that were performed by Africans, such as the blacksmith's furnaces, installed in the city and its outskirts, the potteries located on the outskirts of the Mocambo neighborhood, but also the iron works, leather, wood, weaving and a thousand other tasks that urban life demanded* (Henriques & Leite 2013: 29).

Nevertheless, mostly after the prohibition on the *importation*/trafficking of enslaved persons (1761) and the abolition of slavery (1773) in Portugal, white people related to sea activities progressively went to live in Mocambo, while black persons tended to abandon it (Henriques & Leite 2013). In fact, "the urban development of Mocambo follows the earthquake of 1755" as the "Africans who remained provided cheap labor in factories" in the "north and northwest periphery of the city, until the last disappear and, with them, the designation of the neighborhood" (Idem: 30). Nevertheless, Henriques (2009) argues that Mocambo reveals the strong presence of Africans in Lisbon leading

[52] This area of the city would be carved in the cityscape because of the fact that the King Dom Manuel ordered the construction of a pit where the corpses of blacks should be tossed from there on, preventing them from rotting on the street (Henriques, 2009: 49).

to the creation of an (almost) exclusive black space within the margins of the city – something that was already in place with both Jewish and Muslim communities. Accordingly, despite the fact that white fishermen also inhabited the neighborhood, Mocambo raises the possibility that, by that time, racial residential segregation was already a reality within Lisbon not only for Jewish and Muslims populations, but also for black ones. Importantly, Henriques (2009) also argues that Mocambo was a refuge, protecting enslaved Africans from the violence of slavery, through independent housing, a place where "African cultural practices, particularly religious and social rituals", such as birth, marriage, death, kinship could be "preserved and respected away from the judgmental eyes of the Portuguese" (2009: 57). Hence, Mocambo seems to preclude the idea of a place where black life was livable, and at the same time, the first-time, known, black presence was explicitly spatialized within the city of Lisbon.

Yet, black individuals also lived and frequented other parts of the city, particularly the neighborhood of *São Bartolomeu* and the squares of *Rossio*, *São Domingos* and *Figueira;*[53] Black presence was also evident in *Graça*, *Mouraria* and *Alfama*, where people both lived and worked; in *Campo de Sant'Ana* where the water was distributed through the *Chafariz de Sant'Ana* and where there were bullfights; in *Pretas*' street, where there were several inns, and both businesses and parties took place; or in *Bairro Alto* and *Poço dos Negros* (Henriques & Leite 2013).

Present Continuous (1950's – 2010's)

Black Lisbon was brought to the present as many black people, both Portuguese and immigrants, continued to live and frequent some of these territories, namely the streets of São Bento, Poiais de São Bento and Poço dos Negros (Malheiros 1998: 101), as well as its surrounding areas. Following photographers Elza Rocha Fernando Semedo and novelist José Eduardo Agualusa, by the middle of the twentieth century, "African Lisbon tells us about the 'Creole triangle', located 'in the heart of Lisbon', with cafés and bars, Cape Verdean stores with products from the archipelago, discs with

[53] Yesterday as today, Rossio and Largo de São Domingos are the meeting places preferred by Africans. If the Rossio was, for everyone - including the Africans - the market square where everything was bought and sold, the place where one could find artisans waiting for customers, the space of many parties, bullfights, conflicts, taverns, the Hospital de Todos os Santos, the many shows such as the Inquisition's acts of faith, the square of Figueira, next door, welcomed outsiders who found there large specialized fairs where it was possible to buy national products and imported goods. Between the two squares, but connected to Rossio, largo de São Domingos was the place where men and women from Africa could find shelter and support since the late 15th century, making their integration in Lisbon's society less difficult. As part of the São Domingos Monastery, the church of the same name opened its doors to the first brotherhood of Our Lady of the Rosary of Black Men, which would become, in Portugal and in its empire, a place of devotion and social protection for African slaves and non-slaves. […] Today, Africans continue to settle in this place, where languages, religions and cultures of Africa intersect, remaining a space of religiosity that the descendants of the "witchdoctors" of the past continue to travel through, announcing their magical powers and distributing "business cards" (Henriques and Leite 2013: 17).

Creole music, travel and maritime cargo companies specialized in trips between Portugal and Cape Verde (1993: 36). While we can estimate that many black women lived throughout the cityscape as they work as internal domestic employees, others, mostly men lived in pensions and rented rooms in São Bento:

> *When they arrived in Portugal, my parents lived in the... my father lived in São Bento. [...]... the elderly all went to São Bento, it was their area; even today, it is their area – São Bento! But then... [from] São Bento, they started to leave and distributing by zones so they could build houses...* (Interview with António, January 2018).

Together with Arco do Cego, Alfama or Graça where the Empire Students' House [*Casa de Estudantes do Império*] or the African Maritime Club [*O Clube Marítimo Africano*] were based (Zau 2020), the neighborhoods of Alcântara or Campo de Ourique namely in the cafe "Giant" [*Gigante*] testified the presence of black populations, from construction and factory workers to students or nurses, in the city of Lisbon (DL 1971: 10).[54] Therefore, constituting important places to acknowledge the history of black Lisbon. As all these territories became references for Cape-Verdeans or San Tomean arriving in Portugal in the middle of the twentieth century, Rossio constituted an important meeting point also for Africans disperse throughout the AML, whilst some people defend that it was more of a passing place or solving questions, being the garden of Estrela and Camões square the more important meeting points in Lisbon, including for cape-Verdeans living throughout the country:

> *[...] Lisbon was the meeting point: Camões and Estrela – Largo do Camões and Jardim da Estrela. It was our meeting point, the meeting point for Cape Verdeans in Portugal, for many years... A person would arrive there – where are you? I'm there for the mines of Panasqueira! And you? I'm in Alqueva. I'm working at Pereira da Costa. I'm here in Lisbon! – at that time, the meeting point was there!* (Interview with Manuel, October 2017).
>
> *Rossio? Every weekend, thousands of us went there. Yet the interest was not to come to know Lisbon, it was to meet friends, to meet acquaintances, to find work because the boss wanted, needed employees and here they took people there! That's what our objective was - to socialize, it wasn't to get to know Lisbon! Lisbon was a sad city, you can tell me what you want but in the 70s Lisbon was a sad city, it was a dirty city* (Interview with Manuel, October 2017).
>
> *No, attention on that point! Everybody, whatever, we... for example, I say that... Amadora, Sintra, Almada, Setúbal... so, the meeting point in Lisbon was never Rossio. Rossio was a point where there was a crossing of transportation but the meeting point, properly speaking, was in Jardim da Estrela. It was Jardim da Estrela, Camões. That's where the Cape Verdeans came to, we're talking about Cape Verdeans, all over the country! It was*

[54] A special thanks to Cristina Roldão, José Pereira and Pedro Varela for sharing this document with me.

> *in Jardim da Estrela that everybody would meet – that was the main point* (Interview with Mr. Luís, April 2018).

Along the years black people lived in several different locations in Lisbon, as well as in other latitudes of the country. Nevertheless, as time went by, and mostly after the arrival of a contingent of black Cape-Verdeans workers, in the 1960s and 1970s, they seem to have been pushed further and further away from the center of the city, to areas such as Amadora or Seixal. At first, people lived in shacks that they transformed in self-built homes; further to be displaced and/or relocated in public housing neighborhoods in the scope of the PER Program. I argue that the progressive expulsion of black, mostly cape-Verdean, from the 'Creole triangle', antiblack forced urban movements entailed four stages. Urban removal contributed to keep black (as well as Roma) persons in (their) place, by creating *places for them* (Alves & Maeso 2021), turning racialization to be directly experienced as spatial (Razack 2002), particularly through practices of ghettoization as segregation. Often called *slums*, self-produced neighborhoods gave rise to social rehousing quarters, built by political, mediatic and legal discourse as criminal, racialized and uncivilized areas – where race and crime appear as ontologically entrenched (cf. Alves 2021; Maeso, Alves & Araújo 2021). And, because of that, several antiblack measures and practices have been put in place.

In a first moment, antiblackness operated to segregate black immigrants and Portuguese Roma into precarious housing conditions, since people were unable to access decent housing in the country, particularly in Lisbon, where most of them lived in. This gave rise to, at least, 108 self-produced neighborhoods around the well-known Military Road in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area (cf. Miranda 2019), were most of these self-produced neighborhoods were built. Many of these self-produced neighborhoods were initially built and inhabited by white Portuguese rural migrants which migrated to the capital in 1940s and 1950s, as in the case of Azinhaga dos Besouros, in Amadora. Yet, over time, white Portuguese were either able to leave and buy houses in the private market or were later rehoused. Instead, immigrants and Portuguese Roma and black persons seem to have disproportionally remained in self-produced neighborhoods, latter to be rehoused or evicted without any housing solution under the PER Program (cf. Alves 2021). This can be witnessed through the forced evictions that have been occurring now for almost twenty years in the neighborhoods of Fontaínhas, Azinhaga dos Besouros, Bairro Santa Filomena, 6 de Maio, Estrela d' África and Quinta da Lage, in Amadora:

> *First, they went to Santa Filomena. Roma were in charge, were the owners, and then started selling the land to Cape Verdeans. Cape Verdeans didn't know anything. The land doesn't even belong to anyone, the land was there. [...] My father bought the house from a Portuguese gentleman. I think it was Mr. Joaquim, Ti Joaquim. He was a cowboy, up there, who had a big piece of land. My father bought the house already built, there was a part [with] some little shacks, but the house was already made of brick* (Interview with António, January 2018).

> *The process was identical, the process, more or less, was identical. Fontaínhas had a white community and a Roma community in the beginning of the 70s, returnees and people from the North, because there was an industrial area in Amadora, there were many factories there and there was already [...] the white houses in Fontaínhas that belonged to a landlord, where a lot of white families lived and then, in the field in front, there were Roma and then they started to build houses - black people that arrived because they lived in barracks, only men. But when the women started coming, where are we going to put the women? "Look, there's an open field near Benfica that has a white community and Roma that built houses! Ah, the police won't break in..." – and then the community came. Others rented, as they couldn't buy a shack and get in and others started building. My grandparents were all here, all four of them. My grandparents all four came... and then they went back to Sao Tome and Principe and Cape Verde* (Interview with Paulo, June 2018).

In a second moment, antiblackness served to contain black populations in particular places – redrawing the color line – and contributed to portray their residents as *uncivilized* and *marginal*, as enemies of the State, re-establishing colonized notions and divides between Europeanness and non-Europeanness (Hesse 2007), that *tacitly justified* racial inequalities and segregation. At a time when Portuguese national identity was being defined in relation to the European project – considering the entrance of Portugal in the European Economic Community, in 1986 (Fikes 2009) –, this allowed for the stability of *whiteness as property* (Harris 1993), as the country was being develop, in part, through the labor exploitation of segregated black communities. This was mostly done through media and political narratives since the nineties (Alves 2021). To be sure, these neighborhoods and their existence allowed for a necessary stability to develop the country by creating rightless pockets of manpower and cheap labor, where illegalized black men and women built and cleaned houses for white Portuguese to leave in.

In a third moment, antiblackness allowed for the institutionalization of residential segregation and displacement through rehousing processes that, in several cases, relocated black populations in remote territories, under the argument of improving living conditions and fulfilling the right to decent housing. By then, *black geographies* have been enunciated as *unmanageable places* located in lands which people did not legally owned, and which became extremely valuable over time. This has created the legitimacy to State's intervention, namely urban removal. The destruction of self-produced communities entailed (i) the erasure of cartographies of memory as it undermined ongoing social, political and economic processes of black living and autonomy, which revealed themselves to be essential for black survival under antiblack ruling (ii) and a process of re-ghettoization as institutional segregation – the emergence of a second periphery, expanding the city limits (Alves 2021).

In a fourth moment, antiblackness allowed for legitimizing and reinforcing State control, vigilance and the containment of black subjects, perpetuating white privilege in accessing the city center. In

addition, while living in rehousing blocks all dimensions of peoples' lives were under scrutiny, in a space where the State became paradoxically hyper-absent (e.g., enforcing precarity, unemployment, documents, rights) and hyper-present through repressive measures (e.g., surveillance, the rule of law or imprisonment).[55] Indeed, rehousing neighborhoods are often conceived, by black dwellers, as prisons, cemeteries and deserts, entailing they are red as places from where it is almost not possible to escape. Thus, rehousing seems to materialize the carceral power of race, as if people are permanently locked, outside.

In the documentary film *Take this Hammer*, author and activist James Baldwin argued that urban renewal is black removal, as African American populations were disproportionally target by urban renewal programs (cf. Moore 1964). And, whilst Portugal is not the US, black displacement has also been key in redesigning urban spaces, particularly tin he Lisbon Metropolitan Area, showing how race is a globalized political tool in enforcing capitalist ruling. This is exactly what the long, complex and ambiguous history of the ghetto – as a place and an idea – tells us. Indeed, by equating the ghetto with spatialized black livelihood, black Portuguese rappers disclose the role of antiblack space management in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area and its brutal consequences in black living, as well as *wake work* as a key feature in black well-being and survival, over the last centuries, amid permanent processes of urban removal that entail the progressive expulsion and isolation of black communities within the *polis*. The next chapter will look closer to how these larger processes have been materialized throughout the implementation of the PER Program in the municipality of Amadora (LMA).

[55] As an example, when exploring the criminalization of young adults in Portugal, sociologists Patrícia Branco and João Pedroso conclude that most of the almost 800 young people serving prison sentences in the country "come from low-income families living in sensitive urban areas on the outskirts of Lisbon and Porto, with low levels of education, and many are Afro-Portuguese or descendants of families from African Portuguese-speaking countries" (2022: 498).

III. WHEN THINGS FALL APART: LIVED HOUSING EXPERIENCES UNDER RACIAL RULING

E ka por mal, nada contra Portugal
Ma sima Miraflor yo ka tem ninhum local
E um bocadu di nos terra kes planta li
Simenti kria nasci hungaros gueto G
Bom dia, boa tardi, dentu bairro, mo ku sta?
Fora bairro es tenta abusa, nigga ka ta da
Nu e unido ou nu era
En ta xinti ma nu teni nos proprio atomosfera
Keli e ka futuro, e presenti nova era
Resistencia kuze ku sa ta espera? (TWA 2002).[56]

Ama, é o amor que nos salva quando o gueto inflama (Chullage, 2012).[57]

It's a Saturday morning, almost lunch time in neighborhood 6 de Maio.[58] Those who remain engage in ordinary weekend activities: auntie Gloria cleans, while Grandma Isobel cooks her famous corn pastries which she will later sell in the surroundings, as she has been doing over the past decade. Outside, a group of fine men stand around chatting about politics. Some already left the neighborhood but return every morning in a perpetual movement towards the past. Whilst people

[56] "Not for nothing, nothing against Portugal but like Miraflores there is nothing. It's a little bit of our homeland that they plant there, the seed grew and Húngaros ghetto G was born. Good morning, good afternoon, how are you? Outside of the neighborhood they try to abuse, negro it's not fair. We are or we were united, we have our own atmosphere. This is not the future, it's the present, a new era, resistance, what were you expecting?" (TWA 2002)

[57] "Love, it is love that saves us when the ghetto ignites" (Chullage 2012).

[58] The neighborhood of 6 de Maio was a historical self-produced, mostly black community in Amadora which was mostly destroyed in the aftermath of the neighborhood of Santa Filomena, between 2015 and 2020. Just like in Santa Filomena, many inhabitants were excluded from the Special Rehousing Program and evicted without any solution.

enter and leave the neighborhood mostly to work, fresh fish is traded in the corner, and corn is carefully roasted by auntie Bina – people pass through by car, stop, and buy a corncob for the ride. There is still an embracing familiarity in what's left. However, even if some houses stubbornly remain standing – as if they have a life of their own – 6 de Maio is a ruin of memories and loss, a place that, in effect, is still there but no longer exists. Dilacerated houses and swamped areas testify the institutional violence that has struck the neighborhood over the past years – demolitions, neglect, and violence –, as they evoke the struggle of the inhabitants for their right to housing in a continuous quest for dignity. Either way, the current war scenario makes it impossible to imagine how, for several decades, 6 de Maio officially harbored 429 households (CMA 2021) in mostly two-story self-built villas – closely tied by narrow streets and alleys – where, side by side with the elderly, children grew running free. They could easily flow from *Sunshine* or *Guita* streets to the contiguous self-produced neighborhood of Tenda and afterwards to Fontaínhas neighborhood to play in the alleys of Raul's and Tutuia's houses or in the *Trashcan* square, from where they would finally reach Venda Nova and the *castle* of *Portas de Benfica* which outlined the limits between the cities of Amadora and Lisbon. Despite everything else, life seemed to run smoothly on secure, known and familiar black territory: Fontaínhas, Tenda, 6 de Maio or Estrela d´África territorialized close familiar and vicinity bonds, translated into everyday political solidarity amid impoverished, white, Roma, and mostly black families. Indeed, this stream of self-produced neighborhoods connected Amadora[59] in unintelligible ways before white gazes and was the place where many migrant and Portuguese black children, just like Milena and Carlos, grew up:

> *It was a stream [correnteza]. My neighborhood was Fontaínhas and behind it there was Venda Nova. So, there was Fontaínhas – from one end to the other – then Tenda started, and from Tenda you could go to 6 de Maio neighborhood, to Damaia – 6 de Maio is Damaia de Baixo. Then you had Damaia de Cima, then the train station and Cova da Moura: it was a stream, a chain!* (Interview with Milena, 2018).

> *We always built our houses next to the person we knew, our neighbor, right? Therefore, the design of the neighborhoods had to do with this because from Damaia you could go to Damaia de Baixo – 6 de Maio; from 6 de Maio you could go to Fontaínhas; from Fontaínhas you could go to Venda Nova; from Venda Nova you could go to Azinhaga [dos Besouros]– it's was an entire slope of people who knew each other, who had a relationship. Sometimes it was the uncle, the aunt, the cousin... they all built houses on those slopes; from Damaia de Cima to Cova da Moura is also an instant. Let's say that there was this proximity among families… so, all in all, people had a relationship with each other – it was by invitation, wasn't it? Practically (laughs)* (Interview with Carlos, 2017).

[59] At first these neighborhoods were part of the Municipality of Oeiras to become part of Amadora, when on 11 September 1979, the parish of Amadora was elevated to city.

While sharing living spaces prompted strong communitarian ties and safe spaces from whiteness – a *homeplace* (hooks, 2015) –, self-produced neighborhoods also revealed how colonial ghosts mattered within postcolonial democracies.

Indeed, displacement, racial and class inequalities, housing precarity and institutional violence continuously prompted tragedy and loss across black impoverished communities, relentlessly reminding its members of their vulnerability to premature death as a historical condition under racial capitalism. On 7 June 1977 a fire outbroke in Fontaínhas killing two children (PCTP/MRPP, 1977). Regarding precarious housing conditions, particularly the lack of access to electricity, fires were to become an appalling reality in self-produced neighborhoods across time.[60] On that night, however, the fire seemed not to have been an accident as some residents claim that they saw two white men running away just before the fire started (Headnotes, 2019) – asserting it was an arson fire, an act of revenge led by a group of recently arrived white Portuguese settlers who had fled from the newly independent African nations, in the aftermath of the Independence Wars and the Carnation Revolution, on 25 April of 1974. Setting fire to black homes on a precarious and mostly black neighborhood, at night, evoked colonial war methods and historical forms of antiblack violence, translating how colonial ghosts haunted contemporary realities. The difficulty of the firefighters in reaching the five burning homes made it even more difficult to extinguish the fire and, because of that, from then on, no houses were ever built where those ones burnt down. Instead, the place gave rise to a square, recognized as a place of remembrance and conviviality between neighbors – Burnt Square [*Largo do Queimado*]. Undeniably, attacks and menaces to black populations became a violent reality in the years to come, as self-proclaimed ethnonationalist and racialist groups of young suburban skinheads, just like the extreme-right Movement of National Action (MAN), coordinated homophobic and racist attacks on the streets (RTP 1989; RTP, 1990a; RTP 1990b; RTP 1992; RTP 1993; Setenta e Quatro 2021). MAN was born in Amadora, in 1985.

Nonetheless, racial violence was not only prompted by far-right movements, but it also had its correspondent institutional expression. In August 1996, not far away from Burnt Square, a little further up the street, a twelve-year-old child was wounded by a bullet fired by PSP during a police intervention in 6 de Maio (Público 1996). If, by then, children were lamented as accidental and collateral victims, black peripheralized youth would become targets of police brutality in the LMA (cf. PG 2015),[61] in a succession of tragedies lead by the intersection between race, space, State's terror, and premature death. Violence against children and youth, turned loss into a common grammar and a shared condition, a tying force among black diasporic populations. And, as these losses found little or no echo on the public sphere, composing, singing or naming squares and drawing on walls what needed to be shout out loud was essential in carving black lived experiences

[60] Fires became a tragic reality in self-produced places – such as it happened in neighborhood Quinta da Bolacha (Falagueira, Amadora) in 1999 (Costa 1999) and in Fim do Mundo (São João do Estoril, Cascais) in 2005, where a mother and five children died (Mendes & Lopes 2005).

[61] Cf. Público 1996, 2004; Marques & Gustavo 2009; Oliveira 2013.

and in preserving them as collective memories which found no dignifying spaces in the official narratives of the Portuguese nation.[62]

Photo 1 | 'Musso', 6 de Maio Neighborhood, Amadora (2017)
Ana Rita Alves

Building, naming, painting, playing, dancing and singing together stand as forms of enunciation, mourning and resistance turning self-produced places into black geographies: "spatial expressions of those that recognize the inherent violence of modern territorial practices and notions of human hierarchy and seek to create a world not defined in these exclusive terms" (Bledsoe 2016: iii). Indeed, self-produced neighborhoods turned to be places where homeplace was enlarged besides brick walls, beyond neighborhood's borders as places where to grow, develop and heal the wounds "inflicted by racial domination" (hooks 2015 [1990]: 42).

Intellectual and writer bell hooks defined homeplace as a site of organization and solidarity, refuge and recovery, subversion and struggle, dignity and humanity, always under attack beneath the racial

[62] The names of the ones killed by the Portuguese State were engraved and their faces carefully crafted in the walls of several self-neighbourhoods, as it happened in the aftermath of the death of sixteen-year-old Diogo Seidi (Musso), two weeks after being allegedly beaten up by the PSP.

order. hooks (2015 [1990]) argues that "[d]espite the brutal reality of racial apartheid, of domain, one's homeplace was the one site where one could freely comfort the issue of humanization, where one could resist"; *homeplace* is mostly a creation of black women, places "where all black people could strive to be subjects, not objects, where we could be affirmed in our minds and hearts despite poverty, hardship, and deprivation, where we could restore to ourselves the dignity denied us on the outside, in the public world" (hooks 2015 [1990]: 42).

Following hooks' idea of homeplace as an essential place for black well-being, this Chapter draws on the long-lasting history of the self-produced community of Santa Filomena as a quintessential example on how, under the racial pact, black persons, reduced to their dimension of immigrant workers by the Portuguese State and before the lack of housing conditions, transformed recently abandoned places in black geographies as meaningful places. Moreover, I will analyze how the destruction of self-produced neighborhoods and the expulsion of their inhabitant's reproduced displacement as an essential imposed historical racial condition of black (and Roma) communities. To be sure, by drawing on several housing histories which unfold in the analyses of the one's which were rehoused under PER, this Chapter explores how rehousing processes might often mean losing almost everything, as they entail the erasure of black geographies as homeplaces and confinement under States' rationalities and architectures.

1. Never-Ending Stories: Building Homes, Producing Communities

Apparently empty, the slope is still there as I knew it. It is currently covered by different types of vegetation that conceals old-tiled-floors and innumerous pieces of abandoned furniture left by the families violently removed from their homes without prior legal notice. The remaining walls bear drawings and inscriptions which silently evoke the sad mumbling and the despair of the final days of the neighborhood, in 2015. In fact, these apparently chaotic ruins are the only material testimonies left of what was there before the Special Rehousing Program arrived in Casal de Santa Filomena: 'Sucupira', 'Baracon', 'Ribaxada'. However, the neighborhood of Santa Filomena, as a place, could be even understood in broader terms. According to historian Sónia Vaz Borges (2014), Santa Filomena also encompassed Encosta Nascente, Estrada Militar da Mina and Autoconstrução de Santa Filomena, despite some existing physical, imaginary, legal, and bureaucratic borders.

Photo 2 | Santa Filomena Neighborhood, Amadora (2017)
Ana Rita Alves

In a hot August Friday afternoon of 2017, me and Claudio encountered Dona Manuela, Marcos and Mr. Anibal chatting in the shadow of an ancient tree. Dona Manuela lives nearby and always returns to the place she inhabited for almost forty years. As many other old dwellers, she decided to plant a vegetable garden around the place her house used to be. By doing so people are able to provide food for their families as well as to continuously ensure their presence in a place that they considered to be home, even if the Portuguese State has never politically and legally recognized it as such. Nonetheless, today, Dona Manuela is not taking care of her veggies. Instead, she is carefully frying crackling and drying fish that will accompany the ten liters of homemade grog and herself to the south of France, by bus, the next day. Black diaspora continues to reinvent itself since many youths, mimicking the movements of their ancestors, migrate, once again, pursuing better living conditions within the colonial order. And, once Dona Manuela will visit her relatives, she will seize the opportunity to earn some money by selling Cape-Verdean *delicatessens* not so easy to find in the south of France as they are in the suburbs of Lisbon.

In what used to be one of the main entrances of Santa Filomena, Dona Domingas smokes sausages and both Mr. Lino and Dona Ana sell fresh fish, as they have been doing since *the good old days*. Their presence evokes memories such as the fish and fruit trucks that almost every day parked in front of the now destroyed Chapel of Imaculado Coração de Maria, right next to Denxo's cafe and Balbinas's restaurant, side by side with the wooden table where the youngsters used to gather on late summer afternoons on the tiny road which led to Angela's home. In that time, there was a constant movement of people, some running against the clock, while others seemed just to be waiting for the time to pass.

Photo 3 | Santa Filomena Neighborhood, Amadora (2017)
Ana Rita Alves

Either way, Santa Filomena was a vigorous place of familiarity, vicinity, and life where spaces of encounter – as testified by the innumerous taverns, cafes and recreative saloons such as *Quintal* – were fundamental in assembling neighbors, friends, family, and outsiders. These informal economic activities increased as the neighborhood grew with the arrival of more families, mostly during the eighties. In the seventies, minimarkets, and taverns – such as Dona Maria's and Dona Henriqueta's – existed only outside Santa Filomena. But, in 1993, there were officially four cafes, a cafe-minimarket, and a butcher in the neighborhood. These activities increased as the quarter grew and represented important sources of income for the families (CMA 1993).

The chapel was built in the late seventies and probably named, just like the neighborhood, after the legal name of the property – *Vivenda de Santa Filomena*, until it was renamed, in 1988/89, as *Imaculado Coração de Maria* (Borges 2014). On particular weekdays, at noon, it was common to hear the church choir training its catholic hymns for the mess on Sunday morning. And, not so long ago, the chapel also served as a place for literacy and sewing classes, promoted by the Association *Mãos Unidas* that worked closely with the neighborhood, being considered, by some, as *the second City Hall of Amadora* (Interview with Mr. Luís, 2018). Notwithstanding, the ultimate collective celebration that took place on sacralized soil, in the aftermath of its demolition, in 2015, was a small festival organized by some of the youth, in mid-August 2015. In-between rap concerts, speeches, and old photographs of the living days in Santa Filomena projected into the broken walls, this farewell party showed how people, and particularly youngsters, convoked their past as

something continuous. Borrowing an expression of the Brazilian rap group *Racionais*, "you can leave the ghetto, but the ghetto will never leave you" (2002), particularly when it implied removal as disappearance. As put by Antonio, a man born and raised in the neighborhood, several years following its destruction: "Santa Filomena lives in/through us; we are Santa Filomena now. Our entire culture, the culture we learnt there goes on surviving within us, and we convey it, and that is our Santa Filomena – it's us!" (Interview with Antonio, November 2017).

The idea of tearing down Santa Filomena was present so long and it was so uncertain that it became phantasmatic, haunting the neighborhood for more than 30 years. To be sure, PER was enacted in 1993, through the Decree-Law 163/93 of May 7. Its preamble was mostly focused in denouncing the calamitous "degrading housing situations" in which many families were living, particularly in the metropolitan areas of Lisbon and Oporto. Pointing out that improving the living conditions of these families demanded an extra-financial effort from the Portuguese State, and in articulation with local governments, the PER Program can be understood as the most ambitious rehousing program promoted during democracy, even if it was never fully accomplished (cf. Cachado 2012, 2013; Ascensão 2013; Tulumello *et al.* 2018; Alves 2013, 2021). To be sure, the rhetoric behind the Program was that by improving housing conditions mostly through relocating processes, living conditions would improve as well (Alves 2013, 2021). Under these noble arguments, an insisting color blind welfare State aimed at fostering housing for all persons living in precarious conditions in self-produced neighborhoods, obliviating that under certain conditions, and even if under the guise of benevolent concern, people can as well *die from improvement* (Razack 2015). Indeed, besides improving housing and living conditions, the PER Program was also a powerful tool in planning and re-organizing urban spaces, which seem to have less and less space for self-produced and named alleys, two-floor colorful villas and black and Roma populations in city centers.

Under the PER Program, 582 households were registered in Santa Filomena even if according to the "Sociographic analysis of Santa Filomena (Neighborhood 3)" developed by sociologist Carlos Pereira Lourenço, in the scope of the Housing and Rehabilitation Services for Degraded Areas, only 542 households were identified (CMA 1993). Each of the 582 houses were mapped and roughly re-numbered, disregarding any other pre-existent communitarian cartographies of the neighborhood. Accustomed with a hyper-absent State as a rights keeper, even if the disappearance of Santa Filomena was *de facto* in the horizon from the moment registers were made, the inhabitants, particularly the ones who were born hearing that Santa Filomena would disappear, did not face it as a real possibility (Alves 2021). Besides, by the 1990s, Santa Filomena was a solid historical place and milieu with relative cultural, organizational, political and economic autonomy. Indeed, in 1940s, when the first seven people arrived, no one could imagine that it would become one of the biggest self-produced places in Amadora, growing exponentially in the seventies when 319 people more went to live there (CMA 1993).

Mr. Luís was one of the first Cape-Verdeans to arrive in Santa Filomena. While chatting with him and his wife Dona Bita, he recalls, with vivid eyes, his surprise when acknowledging for the first

time that in the surroundings of Avenida Lourenço Marques there was a small cluster of shacks made of timber and zinc were several people lived in. At the time Santa Filomena was mostly inhabited by islanders, just like himself: white people from Madeira and Azores and other migrants, mostly coming from the regions of Trás-os-Montes and Alentejo. He can assure that, by then, there was only one Cape-Verdean man living in Santa Filomena and a Cape-Verdean married couple from the island of Santo Antão living in Encosta Nascente. He recalls that the precarious area was mostly inhabited by white Portuguese, which, just like many others, occupied the fringes of the country's capital, living with no access to water, electricity or basic sanitation, something which came to change radically as time went by (Borges 2014; Alves 2021).

Nonetheless, housing precarity was mirrored in many other self-built houses and huts all over the LMA, such as Bairro da Liberdade in Campolide, Bairro das Minhocas in Rego or Quinta da Curraleira in S. João – some of the first neighborhoods located in the peripheral parishes of the city of Lisbon (Cardoso & Perista 1994). The "deepening of the capitalist relations of production in agriculture and the surge of industrializations in the cities", in the fifties and sixties, increased "demographic pressure in urban centers" leading to the expansion of self-produced neighborhoods beyond the city limits (Idem: 100). These settlements were initially composed of white and Roma populations reflecting severe poverty and migration (as dislocation) and racial persecution (as displacement). So, while the LMA grew due to migration as dislocation and displacement, from the mid-70s expressive arrivals of non-white migrants to work in the construction, industry and the mining sectors amplified these territories (Gusmão 2004; Batalha 2004). And as the city center was already occupied by the first ones to arrive, more peripheralized latitudes of the LMA – at first the oriental and peripheral zone of Lisbon and then in the north and northeast, in Loures, Amadora and Odivelas – emerged and grew (Cardoso & Perista 1994). Due to their proximity to the capital but also to their high population density (prompting the construction sector), these municipalities offered job opportunities which facilitated the later arrival of women coming to work as domestic servants or street vendors (Cardoso & Perista 1994; Fikes 2009). Sociologists Cardoso and Perista (1994) argue that while self-produced neighborhoods gradually became inhabited by poor white, Indian, and African migrants in Lisbon, many of the more peripheralized settlements turned to be exclusively inhabited by black migrants – deeply affected by socio-spatial segregation. Drawing on the work *Poor Ethnic Minorities in Lisbon*, from Costa and Pimenta (1991), Cardoso and Perista argue that when compared, migrants were not only over-represented in self-produced neighborhoods, as they lived, proportionally, in tinier and more precarious homes than white nationals (Cardoso & Perista 1994). Notwithstanding precarious housing conditions, by then, 69% of the immigrants and 60% of the nationals affirmed they enjoyed living in these neighborhoods. Immigrant populations, in particular, evoked affective reasons, describing their neighborhood as a place "where they had friends" and that had a "good ambience" (Idem: 107). The authors commented that besides sharing a living space with relatives, inlander and fellow countrymen and women, *immigrant neighborhoods* could also represent a secure place before a society that was hostile (Ibidem).

However, expanding, modernizing, and developing the country were not the only reasons why all Cape-Verdean men arrived in Lisbon during the seventies. Mr. Luís docked in Lisbon in 9 Abril 1971, after four days and four nights aboard a ship named Niassa. Together with a contingent of 1500 Cape-Verdean men, following the official visit of Marcelo Caetano to Cape Verde, in February 1971, these men arrived to complete the compulsory military service, without knowing that afterwards they would be sent directly to war, in Angola. In the case of Mr. Luis, just before leaving to war, he decided to buy a house in Santa Filomena – from a Portuguese man named Orlando – for his return, which eventually happened in 1973. Since his family worked nearby, in several construction sites in Amadora, they also later decided to move to the neighborhood. In fact, in 1980s, 956 people settled in Santa Filomena (CMA 1993) and, little by little, transformed *shacks* into brick houses, through a collective self-organized process which became known as *Djunta Mon*[63] (cf. Sampaio 2013, Alves 2013, 2021), as recalled by Mr. Luís and António during our conversations. Cardoso and Perista (1994) argue that from the late 1960s, particularly in the municipalities on the north side of the Tagus River and mostly in Carnide and Charneca recently implemented *slums* were turned into *bricklaying neighborhoods*. The neighborhoods where this phenomenon was more evident (e.g., Estrela d'África, 6 de Maio, Fontaínhas, Quinta Grande or Quinta da Pailepa) were the ones where black populations, particularly Cape-Verdeans, were predominant.

> *[F]or us to have piped water there was a huge struggle, there was a great struggle [...]. For sewage it was the same thing. We had to dig the ground... dig the ground to put sewage in - we were the ones who made the sewer connection. With the water it was the same thing, and the same with electricity. Then we got that right, all of us, but with our struggle. We would come from work and work until three [or] four in the morning in Santa Filomena to lay the pipes; [...] cementing, all that was done by hand... men and women! [...] All the neighbors, all the neighbors [together], there was no black or white, it was everyone, it was everyone for one and one for all doing the work – men and women! [...] A lot of people made sewers, even in wood, with the hut. So that we could have our house with all dignity* (Interview with Mr. Luís, 2018).

> *The neighborhood was like that: just mud, it was just mud! [Our] parents came and cleaned it up. Underneath there was just rubbish, it was a dump. Working, working, they increased the neighborhood, it was just mud. We helped the Council to lay asphalt, we put in our own sewers. Our water and electricity connections... the Council only put in the meter, to count, but the rest we did, the sewers... all that, the tarmac... we helped... we cemented the streets* (Interview with Antonio, November 2017).

[63] This Cape-Verdean Creole expression means "joint hands/forces" and is often expressed to describe the collectiveness in the building of self-produced neighborhoods by Cape-Verdean migrants.

During the 1990s, 610 new inhabitants arrived at the neighborhood. Hence, official registers indicate that in 1993, Santa Filomena harbored something like 1926 individuals. In fact, the data provided by the City Council is concomitant with a small sample of 15 individual processes which were reunited during the evictions at Santa Filomena, in 2014, by the lawyers which, together with the inhabitants, started a collective process to reclaim their right to stay in Santa Filomena, by evoking acquisitive prescription – usucapion (cf. Alves 2021). According to this sample, and just like in the words of Mr. Luís, most Cape-Verdeans arrived in Santa Filomena in the aftermath of the Carnation Revolution (e.g., 1976, 1977, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1983, 1984, and later in 1997 or 1998). However, the number of inhabitants was neither cumulative nor constant since, across time, several families left the neighborhood. Some families rented houses in the private market in Bairro do Bosque (Venda Nova), Reboleira or Amadora or, like Mr. Luís and Mrs. Bita, bought houses in Queluz; others moved or migrated due to work and living requirements. A paradigmatic example was the direct recruitment of workers in the neighborhood by the enterprise Emídio Soares, in 1981, to enhance the necessary manpower to reconstruct the Terceira Island in the Azores after the earthquake of 1980. Moreover, in the inhabitants' words, around 2000s, the neighborhood suffered abrupt changes, something people connect with the destruction of Casal Ventoso (Lisbon), pushing some drug traffic economy to more peripheral latitudes, and leading to increasing insecurity within the neighborhoods, mostly perpetrated by people which did not inhabit them. This also contributed to the incarceration of youngsters, something that must be framed, following the work of Amparo Alves, "within global formations of race, class and gender that structure the international 'war on drugs'" (2016: 230), as well as in global gentrifying processes within main cities, such as Lisbon. Nevertheless, the main complaints of violence were mostly related to police raids, abuse of authority and brutality (cf. Semedo 2013).

In-between individual choices and contingencies, by 1993, Santa Filomena had a total registered 582 households. Albeit most of the families had a house for themselves, there were 81 cases where one house harbored two different households and 15 cases where the same house accommodated three distinct households. Most houses were solidly built as only 42 homes (7,75%) were predominantly made of wood; there were some houses lacking basic sanitation, with infiltration and humidity and some which were too little for the entire family (CMA 1993). According to this diagnosis, the rehousing of the neighborhood would require predominantly two and three-bedroom apartments, followed by lofts and four-bedroom apartments (Idem). The diagnosis revealed the existence of extended families and highlighted how men migrated more often or, at least, before women – something that was corroborated by several conversations with the inhabitants of Santa Filomena over the years. In fact, I recall that Mr. Luís insisted that for many of the men who migrated first, renting a house where the family could be reunited was practically impossible, prompting self-construction in peripheralized neighborhoods just like in the case of Santa Filomena or, later, the renting of the ones already built.

Photos 4 and 5 | Santa Filomena Neighborhood, Amadora (n.d.)
Courtesy of Dona Bita

If initially the neighborhood was mostly a poor white settlement, by the 1990s its racial composition was altered as well as public perceptions regarding it. Even if the overwhelmingly majority of the inhabitants were Portuguese (1218 persons), it is possible that many of them were black Portuguese (considering the prevalent age group in the neighborhood and the possible acquisition of Portuguese nationality by many immigrants over the years). Around one third of the population was Cape-Verdean (548 inhabitants) but there were also Angolans, San-Tomeans, and Guineans. To be sure, Gusmão (2004) argues that by the nineties peripheralized neighborhoods in LMA started to be mostly composed of black populations – immigrants and in-born children, publicly named as 'second generations', many with no access to Portuguese citizenship following the changes in Nationality Law, in 1981. Drawing on the arguments of anthropologist James Scott, it is important to note that "categories used by state agents are not merely means to make their environment legible; they are an authoritative tune to which most of the population must dance" (2006: 263). Therefore, and according to social theorist and decolonial thinker Salman Sayyid (2004), through the invention of the 'second generation' both in public, sociological and legal discourses, a robust *immigrant imaginary* took shape, hosting an ontological distinction between blackness and Portugueseness/Europeanness, that assumed assimilation as the only possible and desired path to integrate these so-called unfitting generations (Sayyid 2004; Alves 2016, 2021).

Photo 6 | Santa Filomena Neighborhood, Amadora (n.d.)
Authorship and Courtesy of Corsino Furtado aka Uncle C

This becomes extremely relevant in a context such as Santa Filomena, where most of the population was young (53,69% inhabitants were less than 25 years old), while only 3,69% were more than 65 years old (CMA 1993). The sociological diagnosis put forward specific recommendations for the implementation of social intervention projects, particularly targeting youths by "keeping them occupied in their free time and providing them with reference models", since these youngsters were already sociologically understood as a "population in which deviant behaviors and a lack of references are a constant"[64] (CMA 1993: 4). This was concomitant with the fact that as time went by, Santa Filomena was publicly reduced to a *run-down* district supposedly with nothing but poverty, crime, and uncivilized youngsters, which represented a racialized danger to whiteness and, therefore, calling for urgent public intervention (Alves 2016, 2021).

Intervention came first as a tragedy (through police brutality) and later as farce (through rehousing). Following geographer Katherine McKittrick, anti-black violence "is, of course, bound up in a range of death-dealing activities: the subtleties of slow bloodless genocides, imprisonment, racial profiling and police brutalities, poverty, environmental racism, and community bloodshed" (2011:

[64] "[…] the actions to be carried out shall be directed towards this segment of the population, namely young people, actions at the level of occupation of free time and of reference models, since it is a population in which deviant behaviors and the lack of references are a constant. Since this population group is relatively permeable to social intervention projects, its importance, or rather, the potential of its contribution to a process of social change should not be neglected" (CMA 1993: 4).

952). To be sure, processes of Urbicide and of place annihilation, not only "render specific human lives and their communities as waste" through "multitudinous urbicidal acts" just like "the 'cleaning up' of slums [or] the forceful displacement of economically disadvantaged communities", being deeply connected with an attempt to erase a *black sense of place*, structured by "the knotted diasporic tenets of coloniality, dehumanization and resistance" (McKittrick 2011: 949). And just like in a countless number of places across the globe, in Santa Filomena, a black sense of place seems to have emerged as a "process of materially and imaginatively *situating* historical and contemporary struggles against practices of domination and the difficult entanglements of racial encounter" (Ibidem) – making it to resist over the last thirty years until its very end.

Photo 7 | Surveillance Camera, Surroundings of Santa Filomena, Amadora (2017)
Ana Rita Alves

Today there is a timid but continuous crossing of people in what is left of the asphalted streets. Some people are going to the upper part of the neighborhood, as others walk towards their improvised gardens. Hampering the main road there are concrete cement blocks – placed by the City Council to prevent illegal discharges of construction waste that started to invade the land – which block the entrance of the few cars that still use it as a crossing point. In the small buildings right next to the ruins of what used to be Santa Filomena, there are two cafes, and, down the road, a series of black men daily reunite, but they seldom enter the neighborhood. And, when they do, the authorities worry about them taking over and making use of the space. Most of these men grew

up together. Despite living nearby, they get together whenever they can on the corner of Avenida General Humberto Delgado with Avenida Lourenço Marques, always under the close look of two of some of the 103 cameras installed by the municipality of Amadora in some of the central areas of the city since May 11, 2017.[65]

In the cafes that surround the neighborhood it is also possible to hear the memories of the once inhabited neighborhood of Santa Filomena. People greet each other constantly, as neighbors use to. Returning to the vicinity of Santa Filomena is acknowledging how it simultaneously does not exist anymore, but how it persists as both a (empty) place and an (filled) idea of a long-lasting community of people united by common ties and entangled experiences. Hence, even if the neighborhood was torn apart, Santa Filomena still stands through a collective process of memorialization; through social media groups which actively engage in sharing photographs, books, stories and solidarities; through soccer matches and group dinners, gatherings in christenings and funerals; through fabricated clothes and caps with the acronym of the neighborhood (BSF) and tags in several areas of the city that recall it by naming it – BSF (Bairro Santa Filomena); through tattoos where space is once and again embodied so that time cannot expunge the memories of a particular communitarian way of passing time, growing up, living and surviving, somehow, together, under but despite racial ruling. In the end, Santa Filomena stands for many other communities that have disappeared from Portuguese urban histories, and it is paradigmatic of how black pasts and black forms of organization and struggle have been silenced – rendering them invisible as time passes by. In this regard, Santa Filomena is Bairro 6 de Maio, Azinhaga dos Besouros, Marianas, Pedreira dos Húngaros, Cutelo or Fim do Mundo – places that are not there anymore but thrive as a way of forging black well-being in an antiblack world.

Photo 8 | "Here, I am happy" (n.d.)
Courtesy of Dona Bita

[65] Including the localities of Reboleira, Venteira, Venda Nova, Damaia, Brandoa and Alfornelos.

Photo 9 | "Santa Filomena Neighborhood is great" (n.d.)
Courtesy of Dona Bita

2. In-between Dispossession and Displacement: Rehousing in Casal da Mira

Land grabbing, expulsion, dispossession, displacement, confinement, and containment are ontological features of racial ruling imposed to indigenous, black and Roma people, introduced by colonial violence. Colonialism entailed political-territorial (dis)organization and (re)arrangement invested in converting "non-European areas into fundamentally European constructs", rendering entire territories and geographical regions into colonial possessions (Mudimbe 1988: 14). Ergo, according to Brenda Bhandar, "property law was a crucial mechanism for the colonial accumulation of capital, and by the late nineteenth century, had unfolded in conjunction with racial schemas that steadfastly held colonized subjects within their grip" – inaugurating *racial regimes of ownership* which, as a juridical formation, "have retained their disciplinary power in organizing territory and producing racial subjects through a hierarchy of value constituted across the domains of culture, science, economy, and philosophy" (2018: 2). Whereas property law matched the primary means "of appropriating land and resources" legitimized via legal doctrines such as *terra nullius* (Bhandar 2018: 4; Razack 2002), property ownership "was central to the formation of the proper legal subject

in the political sphere" (Bhandar 2018: 4) manufacturing whiteness as civility and property.[66] Following the work of Jodi Rios,

> *[w]hile indigenous and colonized peoples were mapped to locations said to possess uncivilized savage cultures, blackness, as represented by 'the Negro', was conceptualized as lacking the capacity for culture and deterritorialized even from the map of Africa, commodified as labor to be bought, sold, and reproduced with no ties to geography or history* (2020: 25).

And, accordingly, colonial ownership was determined by "an ideology of improvement" as "communities who lived as rational, productive economic actors, evidenced by particular forms of cultivation, were deemed to be proper subjects of law and history" and "those who did not were deemed to be in need of improvement as much as their waste lands were" (Idem: 8):

> *Prevailing ideas about racial superiority were forged through nascent capitalist ideologies that rendered race contingent on specific forms of labor and property relations. Property ownership was not just contingent on race and notions of white supremacy; race too, in the settler colonial context, was and remains subtended by property logics that cast certain groups of people, ways of living, producing, and relating to land as having value worthy of legal protection and force* (Bhandar 2018: 9).

Racial regimes of property were not exclusive of settler colonies, as they were also made present within European geographies. The space-race-property triad was essential in managing black and Roma populations in the European context through expulsion, containment, and ownership. To be sure, in Portugal, a body of laws enacted from the fifteenth century on aimed either at monitoring, restraining or expelling Roma populations from the country.[67] On the other hand, black populations were contained in the peripheral and mostly black neighborhood of Mocambo, in Lisbon (Coelho 1995 [1892]; Henriques 2009) and mostly prevented from owning property since 1545 – even if some freed black women were known to own properties in some Lisbon neighborhoods such as Santos, Rossio and Bairro Alto (Henriques 2009). This revealed different strategies to endorse *racial regimes of property* by the Portuguese colonial State, all reassuring whiteness-as-property (Harris 1993). Either way, displacement and containment would become fundamental mechanisms in managing Roma and black populations in urban centers, ensuring the concomitant *emplacement* of whites in their place (cf. Blomley 2004; Razack 2015).

[66] This was also true for the British reality, for example. See Elliott-Cooper, 2021, pp.23.

[67] As expressed in Alvará 13 March 1526, which determines that no Roma persons can enter in the kingdom and that the ones within shall be expelled and in Alvará 11 Abril 1529 states that if nomadic Roma persons do not abandon the kingdom in a period of 30 days, they shall be "publicly beaten and expelled for ever to the galleys [*galés*]" (Bastos, 2007).

The expulsion of Roma and Cape-Verdean migrants from Lisbon city center (cf. Rocha, Agualusa, Semedo, 1993) to self-produced neighborhoods in the margins of the city and to other municipalities, later to be even more peripheralized through rehousing, is paradigmatic of how racial regimes of ownership continued to be in place across the centuries. In this regard, the Special Rehousing Program (PER) was key in re-arranging racial regimes of ownership through the auspices of improvement. Enacted in 1993, the PER Program aimed at improving the living conditions of people inhabiting in self-produced neighborhoods in the metropolitan areas of Lisbon and Oporto, having as one of its results in the dispossession and displacement of the families (cf. Alves 2021).

The municipality of Amadora was the City Council where PER assumed a more violent character as rehousing gave rise to segregated neighborhoods and evictions without any alternative (Alves 2021). The implementation of PER in Amadora is a long story that started with the Amadora PER Census carried out mainly by undergraduate students, hired by the City Council, in the summer of 1993 (Interview CMA, 2019). By then, an ensemble of thirty-three existing self-produced neighborhoods (which later rose to thirty-five[68]) harboring a total of 6.138 families (21.362 persons) in 4.855 homes (circa 4,4 persons average per house) was identified. According to the National Census of 1991 (PORDATA 2021), 45.000 families (and 181.774 inhabitants) lived in the city of Amadora, allowing to estimate that around the time the PER Program was enacted, about 15% of the total families (12% of the population) inhabited in self-built homes.[69] Nevertheless, the PER Census left out the neighborhood of Cova da Moura, registering only 44 households (39 self-built houses) in a universe of circa 1.800 families (1.200 houses) – revealing the inability of the City Council to fulfil the objectives of the Program in the first place (Interview with municipal technician from the CMA, 2019).[70] Whereas numbers are essential, the extension of the Program

[68] To be sure, there are ciphers related to the number of families in two of these neighborhoods, namely Rua da Paiã and Quinta da Vinha/Inglesa, in 1993.

[69] Decree-Law nº 163/93, of May 7.

[70] "[The City Council] fought tooth and nail not to sign [the PER agreement] and did something else, took Cova da Moura out of PER (it was never PER). Cova da Moura was surveyed and registered as all the other neighborhoods because... […] it was to identify all the families badly housed in degraded areas, in areas that should be extinguished, in areas that were not adequate, etc. And Cova da Moura has all these characteristics, of course, and, therefore, it was included in the census. But Cova da Moura has very strong Residents' Associations and the CDU was afraid! Literally, there is no other way to put it.... of losing elections on Cova da Moura's account. I personally think that's silly because they don't vote, but the politicians thought they did... […] in my opinion! Or because of the importance they gave to associations, or whatever, Cova da Moura was taken away with great indignation on the part of the technicians at the time […]. I emphasized the political part, but I don't think that was all, honestly! I think it was also a fear of the numbers! Because when we [CMA] signed [the PER Agreement], it was signed with 4855 shacks and 6139 families... including Cova da Moura would mean 1200 more shacks and 1800 families more" (Interview with municipal technician from the CMA, 11 May 2019).

together with the scarce data provided by the City Hall turns it impossible to grasp a real dimension of the implementation of the Program, regarding both exclusions/evictions and relocations/rehousing.[71] As an example, from the initial 6.138 families (and 4.855 homes) registered in 1993, only 5.419 families (and 5.419 homes) figured in the PER Agreement in 1995. And later, the number ranges from 6.721 families in 2015, to 6.760 families in 2018 (including 357 registered family partitions[72], 31 non-registered family partitions and 94 inclusions), growing to 6.866 families in 2021 (IGAPHE *et al.* 1995; CMA 2015, 2018a, 2021).[73] Either way, rehousing so many families scattered in more than thirty locations in the city required substantial local economic and human resources. This was particularly challenging as Amadora is the fifth smallest (23.78 km2) and eleventh most populated town in the country. Likewise, the lack of available public land and the absence of solidarity between municipalities are often pointed out as key reasons hampering the implementation of PER in Amadora (Interview with municipal technician from the CMA, 2019). Civil servants informally refer to PER as a *poisoned gift* (Headnotes, 2018), entailing that whereas the Portuguese government announced it as the ultimate solution to housing precarity in several municipalities, in many cases it represented a heavy financial and human burden to local governments (Interview with municipal technician from the CMA, 2019). This was particularly evident in a context where the promotion of public housing had been until then absolutely disregarded by the State (Baptista 1999; Serra 2002):

> *When PER was made, with all its defects, half was financed by outright subvention by the State – half! – the rest were loans. But where is the non-refundable money, where is the investment? We have decades of disinvestment in housing – this is a very serious problem. The second problem is that we need to provide resources to the municipalities. Even if they have their own resources, there has to be some support from the general cake of the public revenue, otherwise the municipalities can't manage* (Interview with Member of Parliament, 2018).

Hence, immediate tensions arose between the Unitary Democratic Coalition (CDU)[74] executive of Amadora and the Social Democratic (PSD) government of Prime-Minister Aníbal Cavaco Silva.

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[71] In the beginning the information contemplated number of houses and households, but further the number of self-built houses disappeared, to figure mostly the type of solutions found by the municipality. Similarly, data regarding "exclusions" gave place to "the ones that got out" and so on.

[72] The term *desdobramento familiar* [family partition] is an official term used in rehousing programs, meaning the division of registered families into different households.

[73] Within the scope of the Special Rehousing Program, 32 degraded areas with 4,855 precarious dwellings were registered in the municipality of Amadora in 1993, with 6,369 families living there, representing approximately 21,000 people, or nearly 12% of the total population of the municipality (CMA n.d.2).

[74] APU (1978-1987) composed by the Portuguese Communist Party (PCP), the Portuguese Democratic Movement /Democratic Electoral Commission (MDP/CDE) and, after 1983, also by the Ecologist Party "Os

The Communist Party (PCP) argued that it us up to the central State to guarantee the constitutional right to housing as it should not be transferred to the municipalities (Rodrigues 2003). This debate is claimed to be the main reason leading Amadora to be the last City Council to sign the PER Agreement with the National Institute for Housing (INH), on 11 July 1995.[75] The Agreement covered a period of fourteen years (1995-2009), renewed twice, in 2013 and 2017 (IGAPHE *et al.* 1995; IHRU & CMA 2013, 2014). However, on 8 October 1996, a Protocol between IGAPHE, INH, CMA and the Autonomous Road Authority (JAE) was also signed concerning the construction and the acquisition of 650 and 200 houses respectively. The Contract assured the co-participation of JAE in the rehousing of families inhabiting an area destined to the building of Lisbon Inner Ring Road (CRIL) – Section Buraca-Pontinha. A later addendum came to include also families living in the outline of the Lisbon External Ring Road (CREL) - Radial of Pontinha (IGAPHE *et al.* 2000). Although these agreements came later to be abandoned, they gave rise to two different folders with the Program: the PER-Neighborhoods and PER-CRIL.

Together with the failure to register Cova da Moura, this event is paradigmatic of how, despite prevailing State welfare narratives, the PER in Amadora was ultimately shaped by the availability of funds, human resources, and land as well as by urban capitalist development (e.g., roads, gardens, release land), while mostly disregarding the reality and the demands of the populations targeted by the rehousing process:

> *What the City Council built with European funds was the garden where the neighborhood of Ribeira da Falagueira was – Casal do Silva was built on land that belonged to the municipality. [...] Casal da Mira was also City Hall land. And why did the City Council do and sign all these protocols, at the time? Because of CRIL. Amadora is crossed by two major roads – CRIL and CREL. CRIL and CREL were planned in the 60s. When they were planned, they were outlined over empty and cleared land. If they had been built by then, that's what would have happen, [but they were not]. They took 30, almost 40 years to be built. What happened? [...] At a certain point, I don't remember which government it was, they decided to build. They started building on two fronts, and the two fronts were in municipalities where the land was still clean, so the CRIL started being built, the CREL started being built and the fronts were advancing.... advancing on one side and on the other, until they reached the border of Amadora and what did they find on the land in Amadora? [They found] people! In this context, the CMA was forced to respond quickly, because then there are still some nuances here, because it is like this* (Interview with municipal technician from the CMA, 2019).

Verdes" (PEV) by then, Portuguese Ecologist Movement - Party "Os Verdes" (MEP-PV). It gave birth to the Unitary Democratic Coalition (CDU), an alliance between PCP AND MEP-PV.

[75] By the estimated amount of 41.814.021 escudos (208.567,46 Euro).

> *And so, here's the thing. What we knew was that we were going to relocate entire neighborhoods, because we needed... what we were asked to do and what was needed was to clean up territories, and so this meant that what we were going to do was moving neighborhoods from one place to another* (Interview with municipal technician from the CMA, 2019).

As improvement was allocated elsewhere, rehousing as a way to improve living conditions turned into a desperate transference of people from their homes to cartesian flats and neighborhoods, where many had never been before. In a context where many people had never asked to be rehoused, displacement takes place: *they called it rehousing when, in fact, he felt homeless* (Chullage 2012; Nex Supremo 2021). In Amadora, people felt homeless in the housing complexes of Casal da Boba (2001), Casal do Silva (2003) and Casal da Mira (2003). As these neighborhoods grew, self-produced ones disappeared while many families continued waiting until today. Whereas Quinta da Lage, Quinta do Pomar, Estrada Militar da Mina, Estrada Militar da Damaia (Reboleira) wait to be soon displaced under the PER (mirroring massive delays in the implementation of the Program)[76], for Cova da Moura a different solution passing by the acquisition of the land and the implementation of a hybrid model including both rehabilitation and relocation is being outlined by the City Council (CMA 2021). Besides all the solutions made available in the scope of the Program, families not registered in the Program lost their only shelter before the political legally sanctioned argument that it was imperious to conclude PER, implying, somehow, that sacrifices must be made in the name of a greater good and legality (cf. Alves 2021). To be sure, a governmental Program created with the objective of improving housing and living conditions was paradoxically the ultimate argument of Portuguese local authorities to evict a countless number of families, equally poor and mostly black. Furthermore, PER has been fundamental to whitewashing by planning racial residential segregation and assuring the emplacement of whites through urban renewal and city planning (Idem). Ultimately, and when acknowledged, residential segregation is mostly justified by institutions through notions of failure, ignorance, or pressure, particularly related with the incapacity of local governments to fulfill such a complex and enormous task considering the shortage of funds, lands, and technicians available.

Notwithstanding and as repeatedly argued by academics and politicians there was no such thing as 'the PER', there were as many PERs as the number of municipalities implementing the Program. This same rhetorical exercise, which privileges means and methods over rationalities and practical results, somehow, did not apply to the persons targeted by the Program. In a context where notions

[76] In 2017, by the time PER Programme was revoked, the President of IHRU, Víctor Reis, announced that among the nine municipalities which have failed to fully implement the Programme, Amadora was by far the one where more families were still waiting to be rehoused (1187) (Notes on the Joint Audition on Bairro 6 de Maio with the President IHRU and Social Security, 1 February 2017. Available at: https://www.canal.parlamento.pt/?cid=1626&title=audicao-conjunta-sobre-o-bairro-6-de-maio#http://www.canal.parlamento.pt/?cid=1626&title=audicao-conjunta-sobre-o-bairro-6-de-maio.

such as poverty or vulnerability were never framed within broader historical processes of racialization as dehumanization as Frantz Fanon once taught us, white public interests and white urban development have prevailed over non-white ones. Under claims of universal, national, and local improvement, losses were imposed. Regardless of their subjectivities and desires, people were obliged to abandon their homes, in a context where the 'right to place' was never brought up by the Portuguese State.

Understanding these processes and their consequences in the lived experiences of black dwellers is essential to translating contemporary relations between place and the racial State. In order to do so and considering previous conversations with many inhabitants of Santa Filomena (Amadora) who, during the time the neighborhood was being destroyed, repeatedly told me that if they could choose a place to live in, they would not want to be rehoused in the public quarter of Casal da Mira, I decided to depart exactly from there to rethink this relation. If evictions were the worst solution, what was the best possible one?

2.1. Making Faraway Places as Home: Casal da Mira

I went to Casal da Mira for the first time with Natalia on 8 November 2016. It was a windy afternoon. We departed by car from Cova da Moura, drove past the center of the city of Amadora and left Casal de São Brás behind. As we start going down Avenue Carlos Botelho, in what could be understood as a periphery, I saw four rows of aligned five-story buildings on a hillside, surrounded by vacant plots of land, a shopping center and a countless number of roads, accesses and roundabouts. Not being an architect or an urban planner myself, I find it extremely easy to recognize public rehousing neighborhoods in Portugal, especially the ones built under the Special Rehousing Program. Walls are commonly painted with vivid colors as white, yellow, or light blue and sometimes combined with brick red tiles. Doors, mailboxes, and windows are usually made out of aluminum, windows are particularly narrow and there are no balconies. Edifices are mostly arranged according to cartesian rationales, resulting on "buildings of uniform design and size" and "streets laid out in straight lines intersecting at right angles" which reveals the continuous effort of States and city planners in overcoming spatial *unintelligibility* and in making "urban geography transparently legible from without" – uncovering what anthropologist James Scott called the obvious "elective affinity between a strong state and a uniformly laid out city" (2006: 248). Taking these predominant spatial and aesthetic elements into consideration as well as the fact that many rehousing neighborhoods are in an advanced state of decay, Casal da Mira was not difficult to identify while going down the Avenue.

Casal da Mira is physically and aesthetically detached from its surroundings. It seems to be the edge of a peninsula stretching to a four-lane road through an abandoned land plot property of the Municipality of Amadora. Behind, there is Casal da Mira do Meio (an Urban Area of Illegal

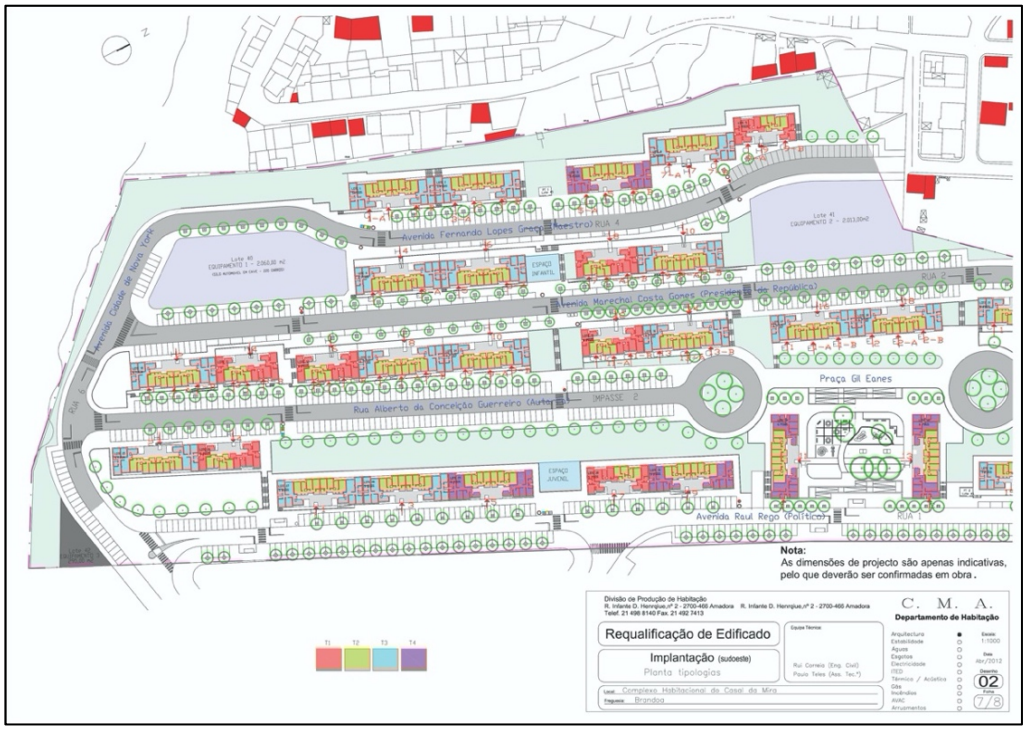
Genesis),[77] or Old Casal da Mira as it came to be known along the years. From there the slope continues to rise abruptly until Moínhos da Funcheira. Built at the edge of a valley, Casal da Mira has a clear view to a highly metropolitan landscape with hillsides, faraway districts, buildings and big roads and vacant plots of land. In the horizon it is possible to recognize the place where the historically self-produced neighborhood of Azinhaga dos Besouros use to be, and from where most of the inhabitants of Casal da Mira came from between 2003 and 2006.

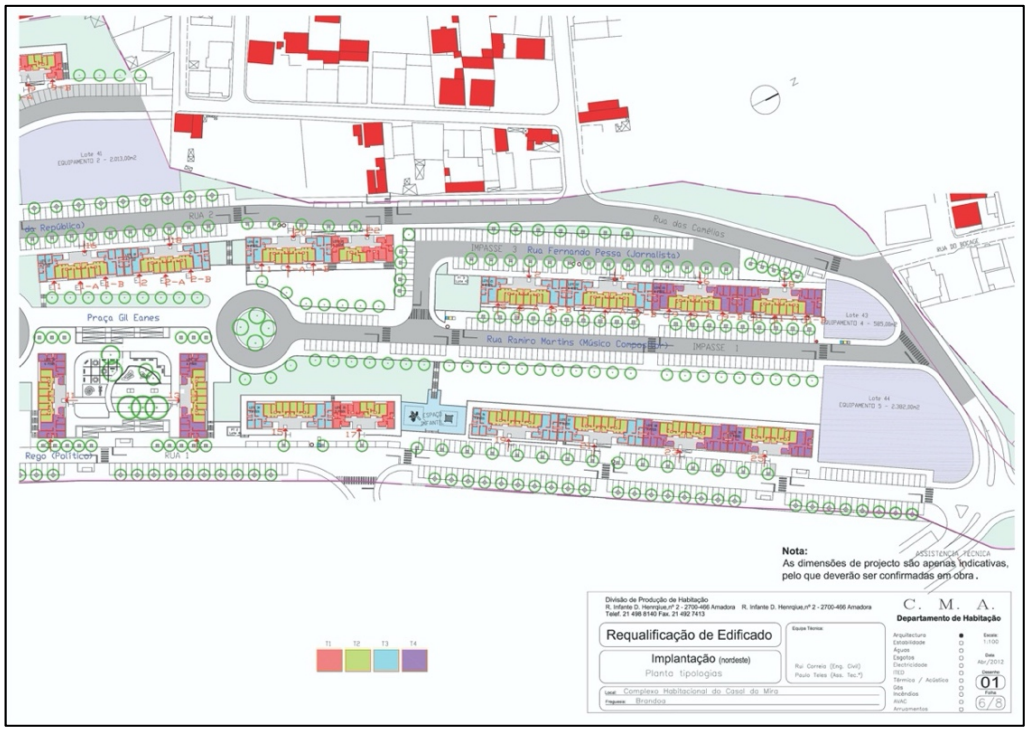
Casal da Mira is located in the Parish of Encosta do Sol, in the municipality of Amadora, and it is one of the biggest neighborhoods in a universe of 290 social housing quarters built under the Special Rehousing Program in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area (Ascensão & Leal, 2019). Erected at the turn of the century by the Construction Consortium Soares da Costa e Abrantina, projected by the Atelier José Vaz Pires Architects and later approved by the Municipal Department of Heritage, the neighborhood cost 42.487.547,09 euros (Interview municipal technician from the CMA, 2019). According to several conversations with inhabitants, technicians, and politicians across time, I got to known that Casal da Mira was initially built to rehouse the dwellers of Azinhaga dos Besouros, by then the biggest self-produced neighborhood of the county. Drawing on official data provided by the municipality of Amadora, in 1993, when the municipality undertook the PER census, Azinhaga dos Besouros was composed by 650 houses, lodging 844 households, harboring a total of 2,860 inhabitants. Later on, a second survey took place, in 1998/99, registering 11 families more in the Program.[78] Unlike self-produced neighborhoods as Azinhaga dos Besouros, Casal da Mira is a place where human bodies seem not to fit entirely. It is a place where proportionality entails scale disproportionality. Extremely long and windy avenues and roads – with very few staircases that could facilitate, but do not, the mobility within the neighborhood – guide us through the 760 apartments and the 66 commercial spaces distributed in 39 buildings, surrounded by parking lots, many of which are commonly empty, testifying how most of the inhabitants depend on public transports.

The neighborhood has three official main entrances. The primary school and kindergarten José Garcês is located at one of these entrances, and the kindergarten Unidos de Cabo Verde at another. Mostly frequented by children living in Mira, they facilitate daily lives and strengthen community ties, favoring proximity between families and educational institutions. However, they also potentiate processes of school segregation, since who lives in Mira, studies in Mira. Besides these teaching facilities, there is a very damaged playground, a little and disputed football field, and Gil Eanes square which evokes coloniality, because named after a Portuguese *discovery era navigator and explorer*, and seems not to convoke inhabitants to gather, since, despite its function, it is almost always empty.

[77] Decree-Law 91/1995, September 2. a self-produced neighborhood which was reconverted in accordance with the Municipal Edital nº 585/2017 (Diário da República, 2.a série – No. 158 – 17 de agosto de 2017).

[78] Nevertheless, the numbers are quite different, according to different documents and data provided by the municipality.





Figures 4 and 5 | Blueprints of Casal da Mira, Amadora (n.d.)
Courtesy of Amadora City Hall

Emptiness can be understood as one of the main characteristics of the neighborhood. The most common feature of Casal da Mira is that people are mostly at home or abroad – working. It is

difficult to find children playing outside or adults chatting throughout the streets. People pass and salute when dropping and picking up children at school, when leaving or arriving by bus. However, things have been changing in the past few years, mostly due to local entrepreneurship, through the creation of barbershops, cafes, and markets.

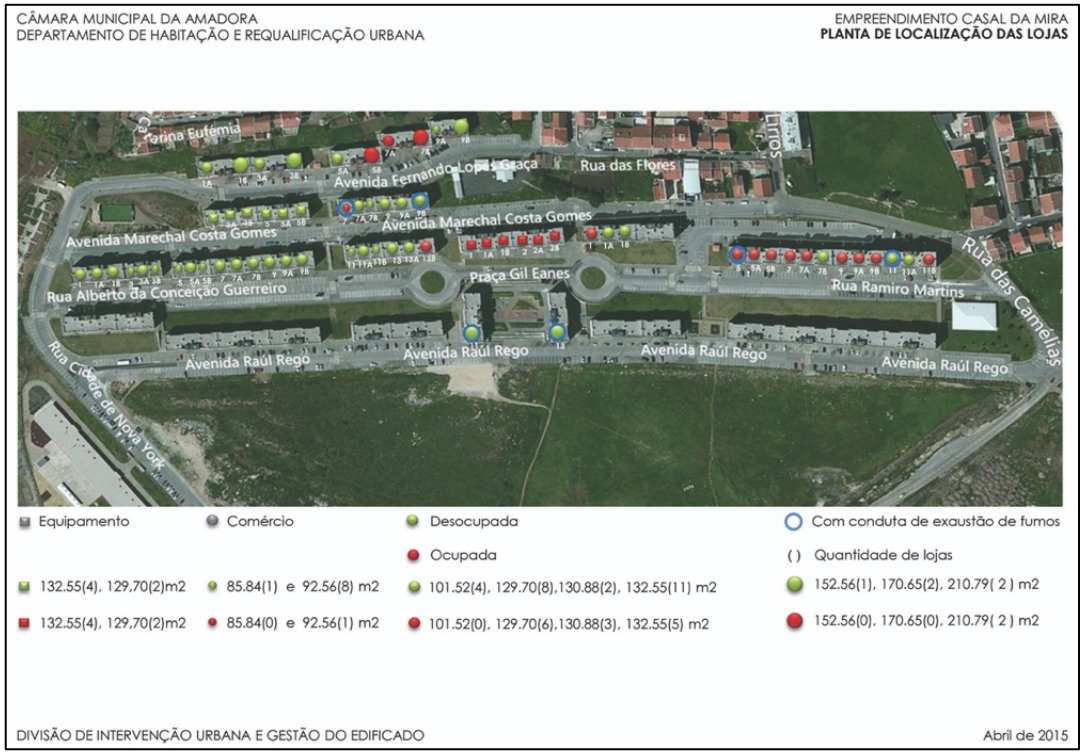


Figure 6 | Mapping of Stores in Casal da Mira, Amadora (2015)
Courtesy of Amadora City Hall

Currently, of the 66 existing commercial spaces, 51 are rented harboring several familiar business activities, such as Regina's Cafe, Celso's Barbershop, NGOs, and other Institutions such as Santa Casa da Misericórdia, Presley Ridge, Red Cross, Mira's municipal cabinet, Loja Mira Jovem (Youth Program Escolhas) and Casal da Mira's Pharmacy. The pharmacy and the Unidos de Cabo Verde Association were for many years the only facilities in the neighborhood.

To be sure, when people started to move to Casal da Mira, the neighborhood was still being finished and there were any buses crossing it. Rehoused between 2003 and 2006, Casal da Mira harbors today a total of 2094 persons[79] in 748 different apartments, since twelve are vacant (Interview with CMA, 2019).[80] The overwhelming majority of the families came from Azinhaga dos Besouros

[79] 1075 women and 1019 men.

[80] All the information quoted as CMA, 2019 is the result of a second interview with a technician from the municipality in January 2019. The data was collected by municipal technicians during 2018. Moreover,

(54,74%), but there is also a significant number of households from Estrela d' África (9,34%), Bairro Novo (6,58%) and Santa Filomena (5,26%). This rehousing process brought to Casal da Mira more than two thousand people from 23 different self-produced neighborhoods spread by the municipality and three households which were not registered in the Special Rehousing Program (CMA n.d.1). Besides some Roma and white families inhabiting the neighborhood, the overwhelming majority of the dwellers is black.

Settled in laws, reports, diagnosis and discourses, the institutional history of Casal da Mira is mostly one of entities, numbers, percentages, and transfers. And, therefore, it is profoundly incomplete. In order to contextualize what is mostly not, conversations with the ones numbered, diagnosed, and transferred are essential in revealing subjective and political perspectives on this very same history.

In order to do so, conversations with dwellers departed from the house to think about space, place, and race, focusing on several concrete themes such as housing conditions, space management, community building, solidarity, resistance, daily paths, distances (to schools, medical centers), access to services (inside and outside the neighborhood) and relations with the state (municipality, social services, police). I argue that the assemblage of different housing stories constitutes an opportunity to rethink the terms of the public, political, mediatic and academic debate on these matters, which can contribute to further research on the intersection of space, place, and racism, by re-centering the lived political experiences and thoughts of black dwellers.

2.2. Lived Experiences: Violence, Home

We Went from the Slave's Lair to the Country of the Colonizers

Manuel was born Portuguese under the modern colonial plantation system in the archipelago of São Tomé and Principe, in 1956. He was not born into racial slavery, but his family departed from Cape Verde to São Tomé and Principe to join the mass of workers primarily brought from Mozambique and Angola as *contratados*. Under this new system of labor exploitation that became widely known as (racialized) *forced labor*, people from several latitudes of the (then) Portuguese empire went to São Tomé in order to replace the manpower once provided by enslaved African people in coffee and cocoa plantations. Hence, the categories of *contratados* and *serviçais* emerged in the aftermath of the abolition of slavery in Portugal, in 1875 (Alexandre 1979; Feio 2016). Initially, Mozambicans and Angolans travelled to São Tomé and Principe under the Servant and Colonist Contracts in Portuguese African Provinces [*Regulamento para os Contratos de Serviçais e Colonos nas Províncias de África Portuguesa*] (1878), latter replaced by the Indigenous Labor

following the work of social researcher Inácia Moisés, namely her PhD Thesis, entitled *Casal da Mira, um bairro de dinâmicas protagonizadas pelas mulheres: modelos e estratégias de intervenção do Serviço Social* (2012), where she states that Casal da Mira was inhabited by 753 families, which correspondend to 2489 people, of whom 1246 were women and 1243 were men (Moisés, 2012: 37), we can argue that in the past seven years around 400 families have left the neighborhood, even if we don't know why.

Regulation [*Regulamento do Trabalho Indígena*] (1899, 1914) – where colonial rationalities would be further ensured once all racialized persons under colonial ruling, classified as *indigenous*, became morally and legally bind to work (Meneses, 2010). Even if the Indigenato Statute [*Estatuto do Indigenato*] (1926-1961) did not formally apply to Cape-Verdeans or Sao Tomeans, to whom the Portuguese State granted full citizenship in 1947 and 1953, respectively, in practice, they were treated very similarly to their fellow continentals (Feio 2016). Living and working conditions were analogue to racial slavery and included displacement, degrading travelling conditions, forced labor, residential segregation as well as corporal punishments, even if forbidden (cf. Seibert 2006, 2015; Monteiro 2018). The recruitment of Cape-Verdeans in particular, started in 1903 when many were escaping droughts and hunger (Seibert 2015). In fact, entire families of Cape-Verdeans migrated to the island of São Tomé. This was the case of Manuel's family, that lived in the 'Antiga Roça Colónia Açoriana' – today, parish of Cantagalo –, once the property of the Azorean brothers Domingos Machado da Silveira e Paulo, and João Jorge da Silveira e Paulo. Nevertheless, when Manuel was three years old, he departed to Cape Verde with most of his relatives, whilst his father stayed in São Tomé. In Cape Verde they lived in an old self-built house of his grandparents in Tarrafal – Island of Santiago. Nonetheless, exactly in the same night that the 'Regime of Indigenato' was abolished, on 6 September 1961, the cyclone Debbie passed through the islands and destroyed Manuel's family house, prompting the production of a new one a few kilometers away, in the village of Pedra Branca. This new house was his home until he was seven years old, when he moved, together with his family, to the center of Tarrafal, in the neighborhood of Monteria.

On 22 December 1971, he arrived in Lisbon by himself, with his Portuguese identity card in his hand. Those first days in Portugal were spent in Parede (Cascais) at a friend's house, but a week after, Manuel was already working and living in Damaia, together with several other black migrants, in a construction site of the company Pereira da Costa.[81] On 8 January 1972 he fell ill with malaria and was hospitalized in São José and later transferred to the Curry Cabral Hospital. Due to the amount of non-Portuguese speakers and his fluency in Cape-Verdean Creole he soon became an informal translator at the hospital, until they offered him a more definitive position, which he declined once the money offered was much less than what he could gain as a construction worker. Manuel is not sure, but it was shortly after his refusal that several officials of the Overseas Ministry appeared at the hospital with a deportation order to Cape Verde – evoking that he was an unaccompanied minor. These governmental officials took him to Junqueira, near the Institute of Tropical Medicine. When he arrived in Junqueira, he joined the masses of African people waiting in shacks for a ship named Uíge which was supposed to take them back to Cape Verde. Manuel decided to escape. He felt that there was nothing for him in Cape Verde, he wished to stay in Lisbon, at least to try. Alone, he reached out to an uncle and went to live with him in a rented house in a

[81] Following the work of Luís Batalha, "the main employers of Cape Verdean labor were J. Pimenta, Pereira da Costa and Pinto & Bentes, and the dockyards of Margueira, but other les-known contractors also employed Cape Verdean immigrants" (2004: 135).

farm located in Rua Padre Tomás Borba, in São Pedro do Estoril. Later, in 1973, he started working at the Lisbon Dock – *Doca Pesca Algés*. And, by September 1973, his father arrived in Lisbon. They lived together in that very same farm until the Carnation revolution took place, in 1974. After that, Manuel started travelling throughout the country working in the construction sector. In his own words, by that time, 'I worked here today, changed company, changed zone – in the past it was like that – the first thing employers did was a shack for the workers [to live in]. People stayed for one, two or three years, the necessary amount of time to finish the work'.[82] During these years, and working in several construction companies, Manuel lived in Agueda (1974-75), Algarve (1980-82) and Évora (1987), later, in the cities of Cascais and Estoril (LMA). By then, he was also able to finally build, together with his father and stepmother, a wooden shack in Pontinha, in the historical self-produced neighborhood of Azinhaga dos Besouros. He never stayed long. He lived in Azinhaga three years of his life until he was able to construct his first own house, in 1986, in Zona Oriental Casal Falcão (Loures) – named by the inhabitants as Rua Katchupa. Nevertheless, by the time he managed to buy the materials to raise a brick house, he was arrested, in 1992. He spent eleven months in the Prison of Caxias waiting for trial and was later transferred to the Prison of Pinheiro da Cruz (Grândola) where he stayed imprisoned until the end of 1996. Under work agreements between the prison and the municipality of Lisbon, Manuel was sent to live under a semi-closed regime at the Convent of Mónicas, near Graça, working as a street sweeper for eight months, in São Bento, until he got his probation in the end of 1997. When he was imprisoned, he had already been registered under the Special Rehousing Program, reason why he was offered rehousing in Santo António dos Cavaleiros (Loures, LMA), which he declined: he had no safety nets there, but the municipality of Amadora refused to rehouse him near the place where the events that led to his arrest took place. Hence, he stayed for eight months at his sister's home in Tapada das Mercês, distant from his workplace – by then the construction site of the International Exhibition *Expo 98*. Later, he moved to a rented room in Odivelas, with the granted permission of the social worker responsible for his process. Shortly after, he was able to purchase a little studio in Buraca, near his ancient daily routines and paths. Notwithstanding, he felt he had moved into a more private cage and, considering that his wife owned a house in the self-produced Bairro Azul, located in the back of the cemetery of Benfica, they decided to share a more materially and emotionally appropriated space, together. In August 2004, they were finally rehoused in Casal da Mira, with their six months old son Pedro, under the Special Rehousing Program (PER) register of his wife Maria. When she fell ill and passed away both Manuel and Pedro stayed in Casal da Mira, where Pedro envisions his future, and Manuel rests his injured-tired body and too many traumatic memories. He was born under the Portuguese flag and moved according to and on behalf of that same flag ever since he was born. In the course of his life, he lived in twelve different self-produced and rented houses and rooms, several state facilities and a countless number of construction sites.

[82] "Trabalhava hoje aqui, mudava de empresa, mudava de zona. Os patrões antigamente era assim, a primeira coisa que eles faziam era uma barraca para o pessoal. Depois o pessoal ficava lá um ano, dois, três, o tempo que levar o trabalho".

He built a country with his bare hands even if in 1975 he was ordered by a white public servant to 'go back to his home' and legally lost his nationality, possibly due to alterations produced by Decree-Law 308-A/75 of June 24 (DG 1975). He was never able to become a citizen again in the eyes of the Portuguese State, which never recognized him as a true member of the nation – he could never vote despite his deep knowledge on national and international politics. And recently, he found out that most of his social security payments are not considered valid or have simply disappeared. His condition of a displaced black immigrant was, therefore, fully granted:

> *[...] what revolted me the most, in 1975, was when they made a law that took away my nationality. And now they say: 'Why don't you ask for nationality; you've been in Portugal for so many years?' – I mean, I've been here all my life, I was born Portuguese, I've been under that flag all my life, I mean, they took away something that was mine without asking and then they want me to ask for it again, I'm not going to ask. I'm not going to get down on my knees to ask anyone for anything... documents?!* (Interview with Manuel, 25 June 2017).

If I Could, I Would Return Home Today!

Emilia was born thirty-eight years ago in Bairro das Fontaínhas, in Amadora. She lived with her parents and four siblings in what she describes as a huge house – a two-store self-constructed villa designed by her father. Just like many other Cape-Verdeans, Emilia's father came to Portugal to join the army in times of colonial/independence wars. Nevertheless, shortly after, he started working in the construction sector and slept in the containers of these same companies. He had no place for himself and buying a small wooden shack appeared as a viable option. Mimicking many Portuguese and Cape-Verdean migrants, Emilia's father was able to turn an exiguous one-room wooden shack into a three-bedroom house, with a big living room, a bathroom, and a kitchen, through a process which became widely known as *Djunta Mon*. When Emilia was eight years old, her parents passed through a complex divorce process and all the siblings were sent to a boarding school. Emilia recalls that there she slept in a wooden chest which reflected the discomfort of living in the institution. The father would later remove them from the intuition, leaving them in the care of other people while he went to work, every day, in the Alentejo. But after several requests, Emilia's mom was finally able to reunite with her children and brought them to live with her and her husband in Azinhaga dos Besouros, in 1987. Emilia recalls it was weird at the beginning. Coming from an all-white institution, she hadn't learned to speak Creole, the lingua franca in the neighborhood. Because of that she could not properly fit in, which would soon change. Her family lived in a two-floor house, which they have built throughout time. The house had a yard and a huge corridor, three rooms and a living room, a kitchen, and a bathroom. They were twelve siblings. Most of the living space was on the second floor, while the first floor was where the boys' rooms were; girls slept upstairs. According to Emilia, life was pleasant in Azinhaga. There were many cafés and restaurants and people worked locally as barbers and hairdressers, car mechanics and

nannies. Emilia recalls that people were initially authorized to build their homes by the owner of the land – an old woman, who lived in a huge house in the surroundings. Emilia was told that in the beginning there were few houses far away from each other, but that soon they became practically glued to each other – through self-construction and sale – delimiting public spaces, such as alleys, little squares, and narrow streets. These were the streets where children played, old ladies sold roasted chicken and corn, where people got together around fireplaces. It was on these streets where both women and men could cut their hairs in barbershops and hairdressers, have a coffee or eat traditional Cape Verdean dish katchupa, fix their cars or leave their children with the neighborhood's nannies before going to work. It was also through these same streets – that lead directly to Alfornelos or Pontinha, where people could catch buses to the center of the city – where dozens of women, most of the time in little groups, went to work at dawn. Many of them worked as domestic servants, fishmongers, or laundresses. They were the ones who carried the ice at the dock or bought fish in the Mercado Abastecedor da Região de Lisboa in Cais do Sodré (today, in São Julião do Tojal) to sell in the market of Brandoa (Amadora) and Benfica (Lisboa). They were also the ones wiping the floors of public institutions, firms, universities, recently built homes and private houses, the one's washing and ironing white medium class clothes. These women, all black, were devoted to domestic work, previously done by white ones.

Emilia's house was precisely in a vertex of the neighborhood, giving direct access to Alfornelos. In the beginning, they were the only ones having legal access to water, electricity, and telephone – an important place used by several inhabitants in the neighborhood. In Azinhaga, streets were numbered and then ordered alphabetically: 1a, 1b, 1c or 2a, 2b, 2c and so on. And in the mid-nineties the Special Rehousing Program arrived, and a register number was attributed to each of the households by the Municipality of Amadora. Emilia's entire family was registered in the program: mother, stepfather, and eleven brothers and sisters. Nevertheless, it took exactly twenty years between the time the program was enacted, and people were registered to the beginning of the rehousing process. By then, many of the (then) children already had children of their own – Emilia, for example, was a mother at the age of eighteen. Social workers proposed the entire family to be rehoused in four different houses. There was very scarce space for negotiation. They were never asked where they wanted to stay, nor with whom they wanted to live with. In fact, the rehousing was done more according to the availability of houses than to the convenience of the inhabitants. In the first house the municipality rehoused her mother and stepfather, five brothers and a nephew. It was a four-bedroom apartment which meant two people per room. Emilia's older and younger sisters were rehoused together in another apartment, although Emilia's older sister had two children. Emilia was rehoused with one of her sisters and a niece, as well as with her two children in a four-bedroom apartment, against her will. Because of that, Emilia was one of the last inhabitants to abandon the neighborhood, in October 2006. Her brother, due to the fact that he had health issues, was the only one to be rehoused by himself. In total, nineteen persons were rehoused in four houses. Contrary to the sociable life Emilia had in Azinhaga dos Besouros, she stays mostly at home in Casal da Mira – she misses her life in Azinhaga: "We've lost our nest, our security, our

stability, our environment, everything that was ours: good and bad, because in Casal da Mira '[You have to] count on yourself, on no one else!' (Interview with Emilia, August 2017).

It Was Around Fifteen to Twenty Years of Waiting

Carlos lived most of his youth in-between self-produced places within the municipality of Amadora (LMA), only interrupted by two short stays in Portimão (Algarve) and London (United Kingdom). Born in August 1981, exactly two months before the Portuguese state changed the Nationality Law, he was still immediately granted Portuguese citizenship. Carlos was raised in a tiny villa which belonged to his mother, at the entrance of Damaia de Cima. The self-produced neighborhood bordered the railway line which connected Lisbon to Sintra and several industries, namely a famous bubble gum factory – 'Chiclete'. Back in those days, Carlos and a friend used to jump the fence in order to get chewing gum to later distribute to other children in the neighborhood. Carlos' mother, Antonia, use to tell him that before he was born the place where they inhabited was much bigger but that sometime after she was living in Damaia de Cima, a man who arrived later to the neighborhood promised both her and another neighbor that he could transform their shacks into brick houses, if they allowed him to build his house on top. The problem was that he did so by considerably shrinking the area of both their homes, which became two separate tiny open spaces with no conditions to have a proper bathroom or kitchen.

By this time Antonia started to travel frequently to Algarve and spent some periods in France looking for better paid jobs in order to raise her infants by herself. This situation of growing instability let Antonia, with the help of her father, to build another self-produced place for her and her children in the surroundings of the public housing quarter of Zambujal, which was being built at the time. She hoped that by having a house there she could be registered in the Special Rehousing Program (once there were rumors that the inhabitants of that piece of land would be soon rehoused to give place to the highway IC 19), something she has not accomplished. The municipality offered people a small amount of money if they left their houses, and Carlos' stepfather who was by then living with them, accepted the money and ran away. Between the age of seven and eight, Carlos moved with his family to Portimão, in Algarve. They inhabited an occupied building in Portimão, with many other black families, mostly Cape-Verdean migrants, and their infants. The apartment building had no windows or handrails. In fact, the openings in the walls were frequently used to throw garbage to the back of the building. And, even if memories are fuzzy, Carlos will never forget how children played in between the improved dumpster and the pine forest right next to their homes. It was a happy rough childhood which mirrored how being born black in Portugal could mean you were easily subjected to induced housing precarity, environmental racism and spatial instability due to voluntary-forced mobility. Due to the frequent traveling of Antonia, it was usual that three of the five brothers stayed for short periods either in their grandparents' house or with their auntie Manuela. In this regard, Carlos reminds why this happened only with three of the five brothers. One of his brothers was taken by social services because he continuously run away from home, and since then he only visited the family on weekends. The younger brother was also taken, and they

have sadly lost track of him until today. Carlos comments on how it was easy, back then, to take a child from their parents.

Moreover, these three brothers moved definitely to their grandparents' house in Portas de Benfica, Venda Nova, when Carlos was about 11 years old. Their home was a two-story villa built by his grandfather in the aftermath of the dictatorship in Portugal. As many other Cape Verdean men that migrated to Portugal in the 1970s, Carlos' grandfather worked first in São Tomé and Principe as a *contratado*. It was during this period that he met his wife, Lorena, who worked as a domestic servant since an early age in conditions analogue to slavery. These repeated movements from Cape Verde to Sao Tome and then to Portugal allows to tackle the coloniality of modern democracies, where migration can be a synonym for forced displacement, under racial capitalism. It was in São Tomé that Carlos' grandparents met, fell in love, married and Carlos' mother was born. She was later registered in Cape Verde when they moved to the archipelago as a family, and two other children were born. Carlos' grandfather came to Portugal first and slept in the containers of the construction company Alves Ribeiro, where he worked. And the entire family finally reunited after they had a home to live in, in Venda Nova. Carlos recalls the meaningfulness of the materials which shaped and gave texture to his grandparents' home. The villa was built with things his grandfather collected from different places, making it an archive of memories. The main living room, a place to receive family and friends, was on the first floor, and two bedrooms hosting his older uncle and his grandmother. The second floor was composed of three bedrooms. One was inhabited, at first, by one of Carlos' aunts and her child but, as time went by and she got a boyfriend, her son, already older, slept in a bunk bed in the corridor. The grandfather slept in the other bedroom, while the last one was a storage, with several freezers where they stocked vegetables and meat. Carlos and his two brothers slept in the unfinished third floor of the house. This part was an old rabbit and chicken house and, by then, still made of wood, therefore precarious and very cold in the winter. Hence, the house hosted several uncles, cousins, and different households. The grandparents' house was, in fact, according to Carlos, the *mother house*, the *pillar house*, where everyone would go if things went wrong. Back then, they had a vegetable garden and Carlos remembers how life was good outside closed doors. His grandparents paid water and electricity, as well as property taxes until the neighborhood was destroyed to build the route IC 16. Then, his grandfather went to Cape Verde, while his grandmother was rehoused in Casal da Mira, where she knew no one and she didn't fit in, reason why she got really depressed. Both died soon after, leaving the house in Casal da Mira to Carlos' uncle. When Carlos was around twenty years old, he moved from his grandparents to his father's house, in the public housing quarter of Zambujal, property of IHRU. He moved there to maintain the house as his father had passed away and his brother was arrested. It was back then that he was invited to join the team of a national social intervention program against dropping out of school. After his initial training he was called to the army and completed the compulsory military service in Queluz. Arriving to Zambujal, he continued to work in the program. In the meanwhile, his brother got out of jail and, shortly after, Carlos went back to Venda Nova. His girlfriend got pregnant, and, in panic, Carlos traveled to London in a yellow Fiat Punto with a friend, where he

stayed less than a year working. When his child was born, he and his girlfriend lived at Venda Nova for a while but, in 2005, they were rehoused in Mira. Regarding self-produced neighborhoods, Carlos recalls that the houses were always built next to someone they knew which dictated the design/architecture of the place. In Damaia de Cima houses had no numbers until the Special Rehousing Program arrived and, from that moment on, people spent around twenty years dreaming of rehousing. Carlos believes that it was precisely this long delay that made people accept any kind of a deal during the rehousing process. At least this was the case of his family, more precisely through a decision made by his brother. In a context where the family was fighting for familiar partition, one of the brothers went alone to the municipality and got the key to their home by closing the negotiation with the municipality. Hence, three independent households were rehoused in a four-bedroom apartment in Casal da Mira: Carlos, his wife and child; his younger brother and his son; and his mother and older brother. It was way too many people in a house, since two of the brothers were not inscribed in the mother's household, but needed, in fact, a place to stay. Because of that, he moved to a rented house in Marvila, in 2006, near his mother-in-law, but the house had no conditions, and they went back to Mira, in 2007. Meanwhile, the house in Mira got decayed and even if his mother had asked him to go living there in order to take care of the house, promising him that it will be only them, but his brothers ended up living there again. By then, he and his wife bought a house in Amadora, in 2010. Soon after this, the family lost the house in Mira, which they exchanged to a studio in the neighborhood of Boba, for the mother and one of the brothers. Since his mother frequently travelled from Algarve to Lisbon, they built a wall to make space for her visits to the capital. Few years after, the brother moved to Algarve to work and died in an accident, and as a result the family also lost the apartment in Boba. In this context, when they changed the self-built house for a state's apartment, they lost the possibility for mobility when mobility is, in fact, the only response they could find in certain situations, considering the flow of work and how certain bodies are disproportionally pushed to it every now and then.

The Space Was Small but the neighborhood? The neighborhood was Huge!

Milena does not remember much. Memories become blurry when things fell apart. And there are certain things you do not ask when you're young, since it's not the past, but the present which drives you. Milena was born in the self-produced neighborhood of Fontaínhas, where she lived with her parents and two brothers in the ground-floor of a one-story house. Milena has a vivid memory of her home, particularly of the huge corridor which traversed the three-bedroom villa built by her parents when they arrived in Lisbon, from São Tomé and Principe, with two siblings. She recalls that on the first floor there were three bedrooms and a living room, a generous kitchen, a bathroom, and a yard. With the exception of her sister, which built a house in the yard, the entire family lived together in the first floor. The second floor was sporadically destined for renting to the newcomers, mostly men arriving alone from Cape Verde. This informal rental market was a fundamental resource not only to the ones arriving in Lisbon as to the families already established in the neighborhoods. Rented rooms in self-produced neighborhoods were viable in economic terms to

the ones arriving and helped to fill the gap left by precarious working conditions. It also allowed having an official address to apply for a residence permit. Moreover, living in Fontaínhas allowed for envisaging an opportunity to buy or built a home, near someone you knew, providing networks of support between neighbors. Moreover, sharing everyday living with other Cape-Verdeans was a way to get to know people and to be introduced to the Portuguese context and its bureaucracy, sometimes with the support of non-governmental organizations, such as Unidos de Cabo Verde – a very well-known and important place, a meeting point at the neighborhood. Named Fontaínhas or Bairro Novo das Fontaínhas by outsiders, Fontaínhas had several distinctively named zones and alleys. Milena's house was in Tenda, in the edge of Fontaínhas, near Portas de Benfica. She lived in what is today the roundabout of Portas de Benfica, near the two *castles* and the *white houses*. Milena recalls that Fontaínhas was not big, whilst it felt as if it was huge, since they had plenty of space to play and to walk around. It was a safe place for children, with alleys and narrow streets which the body remembers and, after 7 June 1977, it also had a big square that people named *Largo do Queimado*, remembering the people who died in a fire – five houses were destroyed, and two children had died.

Milena was already born Portuguese in 1978. In her own words she was raised in an 'island' prompted by racial discrimination and embraced in solidarity. This island was composed of a stream of self-produced neighborhoods: Portas de Benfica, Venda Nova, Fontaínhas, Tenda, 6 de Maio and Estrela d' África. Nonetheless, Fontaínhas was her universe, her home – a place of happiness, friendship, exchange, and solidarity. And, according to Milena, these were the things that fell apart when the neighborhood was destroyed and the rehousing to Casal da Mira took place. While majority of the inhabitants of Fontaínhas were rehoused in Casal da Boba, Milena and her family were offered a house in Casal da Mira. She was relocated when she was 28 years old, in 2006. By then, she already had a two-year-old son, and she was pregnant with the second one. Her mother died before she was rehoused. Many older people, just like her mother, died without being rehoused. Milena recalls that they were eager to be rehoused, but according to her, rehousing was an illusion. People wanted to go living in the buildings but regretted it later. The houses had no conditions, rents were too high. It was a huge disappointment. People were divided, didn't like it but got used to it – she did. Yet, even destroyed, her home is Fontaínhas, not Mira. Hence, while her father was rehoused together with his partner, Milena was rehoused with both of her brothers. She fought, she wanted a house for herself, her partner and both of her children. Nonetheless, the municipality insisted: there was only one house, they had to go all together. Since no one had the means to leave the house, as time went by partners and newborn children increased the number of inhabitants at Milena's home. Counting two more children and her sister-in-law, Milena's house shelters a total of eight people. According to Portuguese directives and laws, a four-bedroom rehousing apartment is adequate for five to eight persons, disregarding privacy, family relations, intimacy, and the capacity of common spaces to answer to such a large number of people. According to Milena's lived experience, she lives in a situation of overcrowding. She pursues a house only for themselves.

The Rehousing Was All Based in 'Hunting' Blacks!

Antonio was born in a house bought by his parents in Santa Filomena. His father had come from Cape Verde to work in Lisbon. He had intended to migrate to the United States as many others but considering labor recruitment processes done by politicians and entrepreneurs, and because it was easier to immigrate to a country with a language people already knew, Antonio's father came to Portugal to work in the construction sector. As other Cape-Verdeans, he lived in a rented room in São Bento, as well as in several containers and barracks in different construction sites throughout the country. Few years after, his wife – Antonio's mother – joined him to live in a house in Casal de Santa Filomena, parish of Mina, in the municipality of Amadora. Mostly inhabited by white Portuguese and Portuguese Roma, who sold land to the Cape-Verdeans arriving, Antonio's father bought a small brick house from a white man, *Ti Joaquim*. Santa Filomena was, apparently, no one's land, a muddy and dirty terrain, which people start cleaning by then. Antonio was born in a humble two-bedroom villa with a big yard. As time went by the house grew through the construction of an additional floor, around 1990s. The entire family lived together. The same happened with other families and the entire neighborhood expanded. Over time the neighborhood became an extension of the houses. People hung outside, talked, and united as neighbors as time went by. For Antonio Santa Filomena was his 'boat', his 'garden' – the place where he learned everything. Together and with the assistance of the municipality of Amadora they had access to water and electricity, they built a sewage system and asphalted the streets, and it became a very clean neighborhood. There, people paid for everything, namely property taxes. Antonio recalls that shortly after his parents finished building their home, the municipality proposed them to construct a house near the neighborhood. These buildings became known as the white villas. The municipality would have given them a piece of land and some money to buy materials, but since they had just finished building their home, they declined this state sponsored process of self-rehousing. Some years later, the Special Rehousing Program arrived and, in 1993, all the existing houses were registered. Since then, people knew they had to eventually leave. Nevertheless, when the day arrived, in contrast to other neighborhoods, neighbors were not rehoused nearby each other. Some went to Casal da Boba, others to Falagueira, while other bought their own houses with subsidies from the municipality. Others went to Casal da Mira, as it was the case of Antonio, who was rehoused in a four-bedroom apartment with four other family members, in 2010. When they came, they tossed the old furniture away, and little by little filled the new rooms with what they could afford.

Following these housing histories, premature death is prompted through diaspora as imposed homelessness, involving historical and continuous processes of "forced mass removal of people(s) from a homeland to a place of 'exile' and the construction of cultural formations premised on territorial dispersal and political fragmentation" resting in three coordinates: homeland, displacement and settlement (Sayyid 2014: 105). To be sure, while nations define *home* (in a

context where territory and people are fused) diaspora is an imposed condition of homelessness (as the two are disarticulated) as "a consequence of the way in which relations of power and collective subjectivities are disarticulated" (Idem: 110). Diaspora is, indeed, an anti-nation once it interrupts its closure:

> *There is a certain pathos in these notions of homelessness. Homelessness suggests the possibility of being hyphenated and hybridised. If we understand a diasporic formation as being an anti-nation, then it becomes clear that what is involved in a diaspora is the deconcentration of power and subjectivity* (Idem: 109).

On the other hand,

> *being at home means that the world is familiar to us because its institutions, rules and its complex web of relations are the same discursive productions that articulate our identities in terms of being 'at home'. There is then a sense of belonging that is produced through various hegemonic discursive practices. That is, we are at home when the world around us seems to be our mirror* (Idem: 112).

Besides, if we understand that globalization is an attempt to build home just for some, implying that others have to be unsettled,

> *[d]iaspora is a condition of being homeless – that is, of being displaced and territorially diffused. But if this process is global then the only way by which one can maintain the idea of a diaspora is to make the effects of global displacement specific, rather than general. Global displacement is not a culturally neutral activity: the process of globalisation imposes displacement upon some cultural formations by settling other cultural formations. This means that the logic of diaspora has a cultural specificity (arising out of current historical circumstances). The logic of diaspora includes those who are articulated as homeless in this world. That is, for whom the global hegemonic order is not an echo of their subjectivity. The logic of diaspora is then not simply an interruption of the logic of the nation, it is also an interruption of the global hegemonic order: the logic of diaspora is culturally marked. It is this cultural marking that prevents the logic of diaspora becoming simply a synonym for an anti-nation. The logic of diaspora is not only anti-national, but in present circumstances, when a particular national formation takes a global form, it also becomes anti-global.*
>
> *In other words, the logic of diaspora cannot escape the most fundamental distinction: that is the distinction between the West and the non-West. It is this distinction that underpins all the forms of coloniality. Attempts to overcome the West/non-West distinction by pointing to an empirical multiculturalism (that is the existence of many cultures and the impossibility of a fully homogenous culture) and valorising hybridity (the normative celebration of multiculturalism) fail because they ignore the way in which the West/non-*

> *West distinction is played out as the distinction between the hegemonic and subaltern, and between the culturally unmarked and the culturally marked* (Sayyid 2014: 113).

Diaspora entails the notion of becoming and is, therefore, utterly connected to the ones who still have to become citizens. Diaspora is, therefore, the contemporary condition of blackness.

3. (Un)Balancing the Rehousing Process

> *Women start arriving at dusk: to each, her apron, her knife, her prose. For the last twelve years the movement has been repeated, going down and up the stairs, soaking the beans and cooking until the night is over. Around the campfires – between wasteland and asphalt, silence and frenzy – home is reproduced, for a glimpse, in homage to Saint Michael, the Archangel. This religious cult invokes the past of the women and men who migrated from Cape Verde, São Tomé, or Angola to Lisbon, simultaneously unveiling how blackness has been a long, constant, and silenced presence in Portugal. Hence, celebrating Saint Michael, the Archangel in Casal da Mira, is religiosity, but it is also community and resistance, daily and autonomously built, in the outskirts of Amadora, sometimes in celebration* (Headnotes, Celebration of Saint Michael the Archangel, 2018).

The wind had finally stopped blowing and quietness prevails. We sat together in silence, while behind us the last group of teenage boys climbed the stairs. It was just me and Dona Antonieta at the edge of dawn, illuminated by several campfires and streetlamps that outlined the straight-line architecture of the social housing quarter of Casal da Mira. Before us, not so far away, lies the ancient self-produced neighborhood of Azinhaga dos Besouros, where many persons that inhabit Casal da Mira today used to live in. Dona Antonieta retold me the memories of a place that doesn't exist anymore, where solidarity and autonomy were key.

Despite the fact that she has seen her material housing conditions improved through the process of rehousing, in Casal da Mira she feels, somehow, displaced. In fact, many of the inhabitants do. The public neighborhood is often equated to a prison, a desert, or a cemetery. It is a remote and abandoned space from where it is not possible to escape. To be sure, in Casal da Mira the residents are under unpaired institutional surveillance through a sophisticated antiblack apparatus of governance. This apparatus is reflected in the configuration of space, as well as in everyday relations with institutions, such as the City Council and the Police. In a context where the Portuguese State is simultaneously hyper-present and hyper-absent, their lives seem to be, somehow, constantly subjected to racialized carceral forces and power. The transference of people

from self-produced neighborhoods to social housing quarters matched the displacement, segregation, and containment of black and Roma populations.

Photo 10 | Neighborhoods of Azinhaga dos Besouros and Casal da Mira, Amadora (circa 2003)
Courtesy of João Viana and Cátia Correia

Framed as territories *in need*, black geographies and black bodies call for urgent *improvement*, witnessing class and racial inequalities in the country. Whereas housing precarity and the lack of access to basic goods was a reality for some families, relocation was never a main political claim among these families. Instead, people vigorously fought for the improvement of their living conditions through improving their homes and neighborhoods implying a tacit desire to stay. However, housing or urban rehabilitation was never in the political agenda of the Portuguese State, as the PER Program was engaged in 'eradicating' and 'extinguishing', even if it aimed to ensure that public lands occupied by "clusters of shacks to be demolished" should be assigned as a priority "to the implementation of the program or the promotion of affordable housing",[83] which was mostly not accomplished (Ascensão & Leal 2019). Rehousing (as relocation and dislocation) was presented as the *only possible* and *viable* solution to territorialized housing precarity, unveiling how hygienist notions of *slum clearance* laid-out the implementation of the Program. As critical studies, reports, letters, complains, and demonstrations continuously denounced the limits and the (racial)

[83] For more information cf. Decree-Law 163/93, 7 May.

violence of PER, namely segregation and evictions (Guerra 1994; Cardoso and Perista 1994; Cachado 2012; PG 2013a, 2013b; Alves 2018, 2019, 2021; Ascensão and Leal 2019; EUMC 2004, 2006; UN 2017; ECRI 2018) – PER is commonly framed as an important effort to prompt housing rights by the Portuguese State, *unfortunately* insufficient and segregationist. Following a line of previous works (e.g., Pinto 1994; Rodrigues 2003) determined to grasp how the rehoused people evaluate the neighborhoods to where they were relocated, this section focuses on the ways populations evaluate the rehousing process, emphasizing the loss of homes, neighbors, economic stability, aspirations and dreams. To be sure, whereas there is no intent to romanticize the harsh precarious livings which thrived in self-produced neighborhoods, this section acknowledges how relocation led to socio-political disorganization through displacement. By mapping rehousing through lived experiences and analysis allowing to name what often cannot even be seen, I intent to un-map the reassessing of whiteness as property (Razack 2002; Harris 1993).

3.1. Burning an Illusion

People waited, expected and died. Many died wondering about being rehoused, others perished just after the rehousing took place. Either way, mourning became common grammar to address relocation, as it unveils people's feelings before the destruction of their homes and neighborhoods and translates how public quarters are often portrayed as burial grounds – making rehousing narratives closely connected with imaginaries of loss and a nostalgia towards a place that seized to physically exist, evoking the ones who have passed. Rehousing changed everything.

Firstly, people went (from) being house owners (to) State's tenants. Rehousing revolved around uncertainty and expectation until suddenly it was quickly accomplished without further negotiation. People retell that when informed by the CMA that a flat was available for their family, they had little time and room for negotiation – meaning they had a short amount of time to abandon their home and move to the new neighborhood. The length and opacity of the Program, contrasted with the anxiety, expectations and suspicions by dwellers and built a huge gap between City Council procedures and plans and the temporalities of people's lives. Where technicians mostly saw numbers, places, houses and matches, people saw nothing, as they were kept in the dark about the destinies of their own lives. Either way, promises of improvement are said to have led many families to accept relocation, renouncing their homes in change for a rented public apartment in Casal da Mira. Ironically framed by some people as 'chic', living in a building represented a movement towards whitened notions of legality, therefore representing an upgrade in the way people were perceived by the authorities and civil society. Nevertheless, even before the process was completed, people knew they had lost their homes, something that went far beyond old walls and rusty doors.

> *Sure, 'we are going to a new neighborhood, we are going to the building: it has this, it has that' – when they saw the reality… ups!* (Interview with Milena, 20 January 2018).

> *They all wanted to [be rehoused], they were all anxious... when they [Municipality of Amadora] started the rehousing, many [people] didn't care, they accepted the house with any proposal and today they regret it: the rent is too high, the house has no conditions, it has nothing… and many say: "Ah, I would really prefer..." and many even say they would rather be in the neighborhood than here* (Idem).

Precisely, the deaths following the rehousing are the most paradigmatic and violent example of the costs brough by relocation, particularly for the elderly, as the verticality of the buildings individualized social relations and prompted isolation and solitude as it hampered solidarity. This made evident that self-built houses on top of each other expressed intricate and intimate social relations. Besides, if it was true that there were families facing precarious housing conditions or renting houses which were not theirs, the majority had invested time, money and affection in turning houses into homes. Whereas rehousing processes mostly erase individual and collective forms of ownership, they did not always signify the improvement of material housing conditions, as many families (and institutions) regularly denounce the poor materials used in the new buildings. Besides, PER failed to recognize the social use of property and disregarded the large financial investment of the families in their homes over the years. Instead, rehousing meant a new financial burden, as the inhabitants started paying rents to the City Hall that, in some contexts raised to prices which some households could not support:

> *[T]here were two kinds of feelings [towards relocation]. There were the ones that lived in terrible conditions, [for whom it] was a tremendous joy. They were ready because they knew they were coming to a better place. They were coming to a house that was plastered, where they had electricity and drinking water – because there were some [people] that didn't have water, you know what I mean? A house that had a floor where you could walk barefoot. It had everything – do you understand? It had a kitchen sink – because Maria washed dishes in a bowl – and things like that. Depending on the typology, you had two bedrooms, two bathrooms or not... And the one who was an only child – a boy or a man – already knew that he was going to have his own room, so it was an explosion of joy but... Even so... Those who came first quickly understood that it wasn't like that. Because it [relocation] was done in stages. And conversation after conversation, those who stayed behind started to see that things weren't that easy, they started to be a little cautious. Those who stayed behind were insecure… they didn't know what to expect, what was coming, and then there was that part of sadness, because people were all scattered, all* (Interview with Emilia, 20 September 2017).

> *In terms of safety, hygiene, health conditions, everything... it's not negative, it's good, there are good things: the change, the house, it's all good, but what we are talking about here is the people, not the goods that we offer, right? [These things] are, let's say – I don't how to say it – the duty of the State, aren't they? To give conditions to the community, to the*

> *people... but there are other human things that are needed* (Interview with Carlos, 26 October 2017).

Autonomy was also jeopardized, once 'controlled rentals' legitimized controlling lives, in a context that change is mostly unwelcomed. People are not allowed to renovate their houses, to leave for long without giving prior notice to the City Council, nor receive any guests. Every two years people have to present personal documentation on revenues and expenses so that rents can be calculated accordingly – any fail to do so can lead to the termination of the rental contract (CMA 2005). Under binding bureaucratic obligations, tenants became closely monitored by the State in public housing quarters.

Secondly, people often moved (from) suitable homes (to) overcrowded apartments. Bunk beds (sometimes more than one) and freezers are common household furniture and appliance in Casal da Mira. Their consistent presence is paradigmatic of how, often, apartments lodge more persons than a family can comprehend. According to Law 81/2014, of 19 December, establishing the New Supported Lease Regime, the house has to be adequate to the composition of the household, in a context where "housing typology is defined by the number of bedrooms and their accommodation capacity" (DR 2014: 6175). While overcrowding is commonly attributed to the growth of the family over the years, many families were already rehoused in the limits of physical overcrowding and way beyond desirable forms of dignified occupation. Besides, over the years it was common to hear municipal technicians positioning themselves against 'family partition' by contending that the State cannot be eternally focused on the same families, particularly when considering the shortage of public housing and the large amount of people living in precarious housing situations (headnotes, 2018). This argument is built on the idea that rehousing equals improvement for families paving the way to necessary conditions that children can thrive and rent or buy a house in the private market, profiting from neoliberal democracies. It is less common to hear how families were mostly relocated to meet available houses and less according to their composition: sisters were relocated together with their children, nieces with uncles and their respective families or brothers with their respective families. Therefore, even if done according to the law, rehousing meant that the families had to adapt the existing houses, and not the contrary – people had to fit in:

> *We went on about our lives, and we ended up in [Casal da] Mira due to the rehousing process. We were part of the household but since for many years there were no updates in the documentation, there was no updating of the household – what happened? They gave us a four-room house, but we were three families, three families!* (Interview with Carlos, 26 October 2017).

> *If relocation improved [my life]? At least, not for me! Because they could have given me a house... with a room for my children. I have the house… three rooms, I have two brothers and I have four children. My children sleep with me in the room and [when] I ask to do [family] partition [desdobramento], they say: 'Ah… that they don't have houses' and that*

there are people to be rehoused and [then you see that] here, in the neighborhood, there are plenty of abandoned houses. You go out and see... they have no windows, nothing… but they [Municipality of Amadora] prefer to leave them abandoned than to do family partition (Interview with Milena, 20 January 2018).

[I]t's like this... the building itself, it's like this, the houses are not big, and then they took people... hah... they didn't do deployment... hah... how do you say? They didn't do fair deployments. Hah... because there were families with children and they took them and put them with their parents, so the person is unable make a living. And then, if you work, there comes your work, your mother's work, your father's work, your brother's work, it all counts towards income. By the time... I have my family to support; you know what I mean? I must work for my kids, I must pay for kindergarten, I must do this, do that, and so... that's why a lot of people don't pay the rent because... everybody works but they don't want to contribute. And if the house is in my name, I must pay for it myself because if I don't, then I must settle with the courts or one day they might ask me to leave (Interview with Emilia, 4 August 2017).

Unlike in the self-built houses, where it was possible to build an extra floor in the parents' house or a tiny house in the backyard, in rehousing neighborhoods people were packed together according to family ties. This prompted scarce spaces for family and personal intimacy, matching the increasing discomfort between relatives and the impossibility to create a space of one's own. Furthermore, as rents are proportional to the revenues and expenses of the members of the household, overcrowded houses generate higher rents turning overcrowding somehow profitable to the State, while hiding ongoing housing precarity.

Thirdly, people passed from having access to the city center to live in segregated neighborhoods. Casal da Mira is commonly described as an isolated island, in a context where public transport does not meet the busy lives of its working class inhabitants. Indeed, there is only one bus passing through the neighborhood which takes around 40 minutes to reach the center of Amadora. The access to public transport has improved since one of the biggest shopping malls in the country, Dolce Vita (today, the first shopping resort in Portugal, Ubbo) opened in 2009. Nevertheless, there is still a huge slope to climb until reaching Casal da Mira. Another option are the buses going to Lisbon (Pontinha or Colégio Militar) in the surroundings of the neighborhood. Mostly isolated from the city centers of Lisbon, Odivelas and Amadora, the relative centrality of Casal da Mira is attributed to the mall and several other large stores which opened afterwards: supermarkets, fashion stores or gyms. But, even before this, many dwellers argue that if they could, they would have chosen another neighborhood to be rehoused in, as isolation is deeply highlighted:

[I]f there was an option I would have chosen another place, because one of the things that we didn't like about this neighborhood was [public] transport... and we still feel a little bit displaced from the area where we were… we felt we were isolated because we didn't have

anything. Today we have shopping centers, we have Leroy Merlin; LIDL was already here… but we felt completely isolated, in the middle of the, the bush, really! Even to go to school and that... (Interview with Carlos, 24 November 2017).

It's discontinuous because I think the neighborhood, when it was put in… people came to the middle of nowhere, right? But I think things got away from what the City Council wanted to do, because here was a pasture and grazing area, there was nothing, we are here, behind the Boba dump, right? There was nothing around - it was the neighborhood and nothing else. We were isolated from the center: accesses were complicated and going from here to the center was not a thing, let's say… (Interview with Carlos, 11 January 2018).

I have a colleague here; she leaves home at dawn to catch the 137 Bus. Since at that time she doesn't have transportation to go to Dolce Vita, she walks from here to Dolce Vita to get another bus... because most people here work at dawn, at 5am, at 6am and... it's far! While in the neighborhood [of Fontaínhas] the transportation was right at the door, you already had everything, any schedule, it was easier. Here everything is difficult, it has nothing to do with the neighborhood! (Interview with Milena, 20 January 2018).

In a context where many people do not have private means of transportation, as denounced by the empty parking lots in the neighborhood, racial residential segregation was key in erasing black presence within the city center in permanency. The idea that Amadora has also became a desert, since demolitions took place, just like retold by António (Interview, November 2017) is also analyzed by an Amadora City' Councilor advisor,

The gardens, everything is beautiful, everything has been embellished, but there was something that happened in the middle of this process that I think is paradigmatic in this issue of racial exclusion, which is the basketball court. I played basketball for many years and the place where we used to come, […] to learn was Amadora. And […] it was the black community that made it possible. [It is true that] the growth and development of this area managed to make it a really beautiful space, with a playground, the lake, the area where the old people are playing cards, people socialize on the park benches, there's really all that stuff; but that little hole - which is still there – where you had ... the basketball courts – it's gone! And it disappears with only one will: there was not the slightest intention to have a space there where the black community was using the public space. […] Security reasons were invoked, the noise [Eunice - There were several petitions signed] [and] these same spaces are missing in the rest of the city, that is, this space was destroyed but no spaces were created where the multiculturalism that basketball used to provide, the sports, they no longer exist (Interview with a city councilor and councilor's advisor, 10 May 2018).

Today it might be easier to reach Lisbon than Amadora, departing from Mira. In this context, the combination of displacement, housing segregation, land and housing financialization and the lack of public transports is paradigmatic of the consolidation of an urban project to the municipality of Amadora, which is politically committed on expelling black populations and progressively emplacing white middle class – consolidating Amadora definitely as an antiblack city, where all movements of the populations are under close monitorization, as will be further explored in the next chapter.

Finally, people lost almost everything. Forced evictions displaced and created homeless families throughout the years, leaving them with almost nothing (cf. Alves 2021). Under this scenario, rehousing was the best possible solution envisaged. Nevertheless, as years passed by, rehousing, even if within the same neighborhoods, led people to lose almost everything beyond concrete walls: vicinity, social dynamics, solidarity networks, political and economic autonomy, alternatives, culture:

> *Yes, [there was an attempt to] separate us because there were people who went to Falagueira, others to Boba (few) and others to Bairro de Alfornelos* (Interview with Emilia, September 2017).
>
> *It's that routine, you know. It's a little bit the loneliness because when we lived in our old community, the house was only for eating and sleeping and we went straight to the street, and the street was our space, it was our conversation zone, it was our dynamic zone to play games, to play, to have fun – we spent many hours in the street there at the door, sharing ideas, right? Just getting to know each other, seeing each other, right?* (Interview with Carlos, January 2018).
>
> *Damn! A fucking energy, human energy! We came to Boba, everyone worried about their own house, furnishing, boasting... worrying... since we were given, like, you're giving a treat… and people forgot about the others and started to individualize more, I felt that* (Interview with Paulo, June 2018).
>
> *In Fontaínhas, I was never sitting or standing alone – rarely! If I'm not in one place I'm ina another [...]– we're always coexisting! Not here. Here there are times when everything is dead, the neighborhood is dead itself! We get stuck in time!* (Interview with Milena, June 2018).
>
> *Those who stayed behind were unsure, they didn't know what was waiting them, what was coming; and then there was sadness, because people were all scattered, all. Imagine – as I was saying – a whole street, from that street were only two, three people [were placed] in the same building. There are people that maybe you have never seen, they were people from the 20th street, from whatever the hell it was. Meanwhile, with the mix of neighborhoods, people come from other neighborhoods... they pass by you, they don't even*

say good morning, you know? So, there were feelings well... well... good for some, bad for others (Interview with Emilia, September 2017).

The neighborhood [Fontaínhas] and here [Casal da Mira] got nothing to do with each other. The neighborhood was small, small but we had enough of space to play, enough of space to walk. We had signposts... here in the neighborhood we don't have signposts, here in the neighborhood we don't have bumps on the roads, we have a school down there, no signposts [...]. Because the kids are always running, because the kids don't pay attention and we don't even have a gentleman to accompany the kids crossing the road and we have already asked, we have already debated this many times, we have already talked about it many times and we never had support in this. In a [self-produced] neighborhood this doesn't happen. It doesn't happen and I don't remember, I don't remember anything like that (Interview with Milena, January 2018).

What was lost was the... more united culture. In the neighborhood [Santa Filomena] the culture was more united, so the culture no longer fits together, it's no longer the same. It's like starting all over again, starting a new era, bringing cultures together with others... because we, in the neighborhood, each neighborhood has its own culture, its own way of being. We can dance Funaná, but we don't dance the same way, because here education is one way, there it was another (Interview with António, November 2017).

I also thought that was bad... people who had a license and stores in the neighborhood, should have the right to a store, even if it was to pay a certain amount, but they hadn't (Interview with António, November 2017).

Poor thing! She was rehoused and then… I think she was rehoused in Boba; she was rehoused in Boba, but she didn't... I don't think she did business anymore, if she did it's not the same way anymore, is it? (Interview with Carlos, January 2018).

The only difference is that in the neighborhood we didn't pay rent, but economic life is the same. You pay rent, water, electricity, it's the same. You know what I mean? Nothing has changed, practically. The only difference is that if we don't have anything here, there's nowhere to get it. In the neighborhood, if we didn't have anything, we had a place to go to get it. We'd go to the grocery store, we'd spin... we live right there (Interview with Interview with António, January 2018).

Against this background, it becomes evident how public housing quarters – built according to State's rationalities of control and segregation – destroyed self-governance, resistance and black political organization for a period of almost twenty years, as only recently grassroots movements and organizations and spaces of encounter started to become consolidated in these new territories. Either under the illusion of a promised land or forced, rehousing increased new forms of housing insecurity and control. Indeed, under the veil of the welfare State, racial violence was re-institutionalized by another name. To be sure, the destruction of self-produced neighborhoods and

the displacement of their inhabitants far beyond their common paths and affections matched the erasing of a historical cartography of memory and resistance to institutional racism.

Processes of racial enslavement inaugurated displacement through the middle passage and segregation through the creation of slave rooms and quarters. Again, under forced labor to São Tomé several people were displaced and segregated in farmsteads. Postcolonial migration updated the terms of forced displacement and of the expulsion of black bodies from the body politic by shoving away black populations through housing precarity and rehousing processes. Under the aegis of Portuguese law, a relation between displacement and segregation – mediated by workforce demands, urban development, systemic dispossession and race as a political category of domination – has been responsible for re-establishing the conditions for premature death, under a discourse of improvement prompted by universal laws which directly address race without ever mentioning it.

3.2 Confined Geographies: Tightening the Siege

> *That's why we, black people, are always like this: either we stay stuck in the neighborhood watching the sun rise, or we go to jail or to some job, and [just] shut up!* (Interview with António, November 2017).

In August 2012, one armored vehicle and a contingent of 200 "heavily armed" policemen entered the neighborhood of Casal da Mira, closely escorted by the media. In tandem with the summer music festival *MEO Sudoeste*, the spectacle was on: Casal da Mira was "sieged by the police" live to the entire country (Soares 2012). Police and mediatic apparatus returned four days after, this time without resorting to the armored vehicles. In an interview, Sub-Intendent Luís Pebre, by then PSP Commander of Amadora, justified the use of the shielded vehicles by claiming that, lately, police patrols had been "ambushed and attacked" with "stones and muriatic acid" in the neighborhood.[84] If Casal da Mira was, until then, mostly unknown, from then on, it would became publicly known as a dangerous spatiality. Armored vehicles were initially bought, by the Portuguese Ministry of Defence, for the Summit of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in Lisbon, in 2010, but did not arrive on time. In the anti-NATO Protest, which took place during the Summit, the grassroots organization Plataforma Gueto wielded a banner stating: *The armored vehicles with fire towers are not for the Summit, they are for besieging the ghettos* (PG 2013c).

[84] Cf. "PSP fecha Bairro para apanhar gangue 'hostil'" [https://tvi24.iol.pt/videos/psp-fecha-bairro-para-apanhar-gangue-hostil/53f50b563004540d1c4fe974] and "PSP volta a fechar Bairro do Casal da Mira" [https://tvi24.iol.pt/videos/psp-volta-a-fechar-bairro-do-casal-da-mira/53f50b833004540d1c4ff01c].

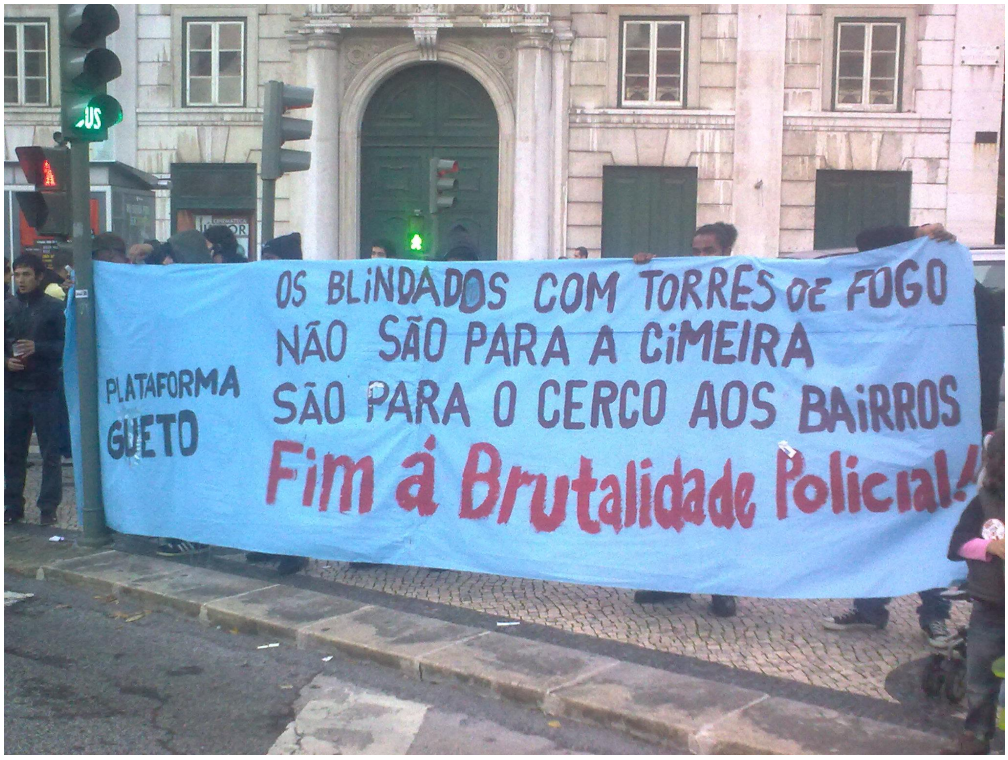


Photo 11 | Anti-NATO Protest, 20 November 2010, Lisbon (2010)
Retrieved from Plataforma Gueto Facebook Page

As messengers of a classic Greek tragedy, Plataforma Gueto disclosed the intentions of police authorities, as on September 2010, Lieutenant Magina da Silva – Commander of the Special Police Unit (UEP) and currently the National Director of PSP – had already announced that the vehicles "should be used in police actions in the more than 300 problematic neighborhoods identified throughout the country" (Amaro 2010; Esquerda Net 2010).[85] Indeed, a few days before the Summit, when it was obvious that the vehicles would not arrive on time, *Diário de Notícias*, confirmed that "PSP bought armored vehicles for 'the war' in the neighborhoods" as PSP "assumed they were going to be attacked with war arms in risk neighborhoods" (Marcelino 2010). By doing so, media channels maintained the pertinency of the purchase on the basis of internal security, publicly allowing the use of war arsenal in certain urban geographies being already particularly ravaged by the initial signals of the financial crisis (2010-2013). The need of armored vehicles would be later justified by Mário Mendes – outgoing Secretary General of the Security System – exactly through the criminalization of impoverished and black geographies. By tacitly associating *Urban Sensitive Areas* [*Zonas Urbana Sensíveis*] with welfare benefits and predicting the incapacity of the Portuguese State to maintain them in a context of financial austerity, Mendes, in line with the Mistry of Internal Affairs Rui Pereira, alerted for the spreading of "social

[85] These vehicles were only used four times between 2011-2012. Once parked at Belas-Sintra to prevent possible disorders in New Year's Eve, and three other times in Odivelas, Amadora and Setúbal (Mapa 2012).

convulsions", "riots" and the "slumming of the Lisbon belt" (CM 2011; Pereira 2011) – advertising how the (resistance to) crisis would be heavily policed.

In the article "The Masked Assassination", Michel Foucault, Catherine von Bülow and Daniel Defert argue that the murder of George Jackson[86] by prison guards in Saint Quentin (1971) was a premeditated act to hamper resistance amongst black and brown prisoners, maintaining that "what happen in prisons is a war"; a war with several other fronts, namely "the black ghettos" or "the courts" (2007: 140) – unveiling how structural terror against black resistance (or its phantom) scatters across different spaces and institutions. Furthermore, in the book *Between the Neighborhood and the Prison: Traffic and Pathways* (2018 [2002]), Portuguese anthropologist Manuela Ivone Cunha explores the existence of a close intersection between the prison and *deprived* neighborhoods, as most of the inmates at the women's prison of Tires "systematically come from the same neighborhoods", mostly "slums, shantytowns or prefabricated houses, resettlement neighborhoods or suburban social districts" and "Roma camps" (Cunha 2018 [2002]: 47). Although recognizing that these "socio-spatial segments" frequently intersect with "ethnic segments", race and structural racism are collateral in framing her analysis of the prison system in Portugal. Notwithstanding, Cunha's work is fundamental in highlighting the existence of a neighborhood-prison pipeline underpinned mostly by the new drug policy and pro-active policing targeting particularly peripheralized neighborhoods (Cunha 2018 [2002]). Additionally, in a collective interview, led by Daniel Burton-Rose, with Bo Brown, Mark Cook, and Ed Mead (George Jackson Brigade veterans), when questioned about their experiences in the aftermath of incarceration (by an analogy between prison guards and policemen), Bo Brown and Ed Med highlighted how beyond prison walls, they felt they were living on *minimum-security* as the *leash was* a *little bit longer* (Burton-Rose 2010: 258). Their political analysis of contemporary punishment democracies confirms how, for many people, "prison is not a building 'over there' but a set of relationships that undermine rather than stabilize everyday lives everywhere" (Gilmore 2007: 242). This analysis emphasizes how the neoliberal State is, in fact, a neoliberal carceral State (Camp 2016) before "the intimacy between the possession of life itself by the market under neoliberal economics and the exponential expansion of systems of racialized capture and caging under law-and-order politics" (Dillon 2018: 4) and "how the racist logic of carcerality is rooted in material conditions and operates through spaces of social control outside of prison itself and through the uneven development of cities and their regions" (Camp 2016: 16). Following the work of philosopher Michel Foucault and unveiling the colonial lives of the "carceral archipelago", Axster *et al.* argue that "policing, incarceration, bordering, and surveillance – rather than being purely "domestic" forms of control – have historically been, and continue to operate as, interconnected and integral elements of global racial capitalism" (2021: 3).

In conversations, Casal da Mira was regularly described by its dwellers as a desert, a cemetery and a prison, a place where all people, and particularly black youth, is referenced and labelled by the

[86] African American writer and co-founder of the Black Guerrilla Family.

authorities and from where it is impossible to get out, to escape. Equating the neighborhood to a prison unveils the neighborhood-prison pipeline as well as how rehousing neighborhoods can, somehow, entail living in a minimum-security regime or under a longer, but yet still tiny leash when compared to being incarcerated:

> *Right now, as you see, the neighborhood is super clean, you can't see almost anybody because the youths have pretty much all been identified, right? We don't have almost any problematic youths hanging around. Those who did stupid things, who were approaching people on the street, are either serving time, or referenced* (Interview with Carlos, November 2017).

> *[They incarcerate blacks] because they don't like them, they think that we, the blacks, are the ones ruining Portugal – that's your [white] vision. You always say: 'Shitty blacks!' – then, you see the cops coming here... when they see that we've been quiet for a week, two weeks without making noise, they come here with all the riot gear, all the weaponry, beating people and shit, so they can provoke us because it seems that they don't feel good if we're quiet* (Interview with António, November 2017).

In a context where criminalization constitutes a significant racializing discourse that "locates and situates black crime, geographically and ethnically, as something particular to black youth in the inner-city 'ghettoes'" (Hall *et al.* 2013 [1979]: 323), youngsters from rehousing neighborhoods are framed as quintessential suspects and subjected to unpair labeling, monitorization and intervention by police authorities in a context where moving or simply standing still can be "grounds for a stop", either in particular designated "high-crime areas" or in any setting in which the police judges your presence "incongruous" (Sexton 2007: 200), and where jackets and pockets "are so threatening they must be checked twice":

> *Since most people are marked, and... I think it has everything to do with it, because when they [the police] come in... In fact, it's not necessary to get into a conflict, it's enough that two people are chatting, it's enough for them [police] to intervene… immediately... and the intervention conflict arises. And it's never one [cop], but two, three, they are always more* (Interview with Milena, June 2018).

These semantics of carcerality reveal how people feel vulnerable to routine police performances and the prison system, as menace and consequence, while inhabiting Casal da Mira. However, the idea of being *trapped in the outside* also relates with (non-)access to documentation as many people, including some ones born in Portugal, face serious difficulties in becoming citizens before the Portuguese State,

> *And what happens to those who don't have documents? They either go to jail, or they die, or they stay there, do you understand? Without documents people can't move around,*

everyone is blocked. For me it was the greatest racism that they did here in Portugal and disguised, and nobody criticized it, until today! And it goes on... (Interview with António, November 2017).

That was the failure of the Portuguese... not giving documents to those kids that were born here, because those kids that were born here, instead of maybe being in jail, they could be in another country eating, drinking, and enjoying their lives. The Portuguese arrested all those kids without the document. They were all imprisoned in Portugal! That's what's wrong, because we... those that don't have documents are in prison, they can't go anywhere [...]. You can't go to Europe because the document is Cape Verdean, you can't... They are all imprisoned here! And what happens? You all go to jail! That's a game that you knew about! The white people did this on purpose, so that you all would become bandits! Because, for you, if we stay bandits the better, because we all go to jail, and nobody learns anything anymore, and nobody obstructs anybody anymore, that's an ugly game to play! (Interview with António, November 2017).

Besides, this notion is further extended to other dimensions of people's lives ranging from education and work to housing and intimacy and, mostly, to dreaming.

She could be going to university but, by then, the university is already out of the context because the university had been eliminated while she was in elementary school... the teachers already start eliminating us in the university, because we say:

- *We want to go to university!*
- *Do you want to go to university, does your father have money to pay for university?*
- *No!*
- *I want to be a soccer player.*
- *No, soccer player is not a profession!*
- *Come on, I want to be a plumber then.*
- *Ah, plumber you can!*
- *Bricklayer!?*
- *You can do it too!*

We can do any profession below university, but above university we can't, because our father doesn't have any money, and the teacher says right away, right to our face: "Your father doesn't have any money, it's not worth it (Interview with António, January 2018).

[...] here there's no privacy. Here you fart, someone will hear it on the other side and then... hah... it's like this, we are in procreation, right? Meanwhile, I already have a daughter, nowadays if my daughter has a baby, will she sleep with her in the same room? Depending on people – because some people don't mind sleeping in the living room and stuff like that but that's not my case. Today you have two kids, tomorrow you have a son, who is a man, you're going to have to sleep in the room with your kids where the older one is going to lose his privacy? It's so difficult to get a house, a room or a pension to your

intimate moments that you find yourself deprived of that because your brothers have their life in the bedroom and you're limited, practically forbidden. (Interview with Emilia, 20 September 2017).

Portugal stops black people, even the descendants, all from dreaming. I don't know why, I think they are afraid of our intelligence... because there are researchers investigating us, what our behavior is like, because I notice it! But they are afraid of that behavior. But they don't know, because if they give it to us is better for them... because you become richer and we become more focused on what we want... then we don't even need Portugal, we go to Africa, Cape Verde... What do you need Portugal for? [...]. They don't let us leave, they don't let us grow, they stop us from growing... they cut right at our foot, so we don't grow! (Interview with António, January 2018).

By exploring livelihoods in Casal da Mira and Santa Filomena, as well as the process which brought people from one place to the other is revealing on how urban management has been essential in dispossessing, displacing and disorganizing impoverished black populations, hampering political resistance through community organization. There is a movement towards confinement which guarantees not only a *place for them* (cf. Alves & Maeso 2021) but that all the dimensions of their living become under the scrutiny of State's institutions, being it the police, social security or the City Council. Indeed, the description of rehousing neighborhoods as prisons contrasts with the liberty associated with self-produced neighborhoods. Besides, just like prisons, rehousing neighborhoods "have never been pleasant places" (Gilmore 2007: 89). Paradoxically, isolation for the elderly and isolation from the body politic seem to be a main principle of residential segregation, which "guarantees that it is possible to exercise over them, with maximum intensity, a power that will not be overthrown by any other influence; solitude is the primary condition of total submission" (Foucault 2007 [1986]: 237). Just like prisons, neighborhoods are places of surveillance and knowledge production, places of observation of individuals, households by the police or social servants, which just like proto-panoptics, entail "at once surveillance and observation, security and knowledge, individualization and totalization, isolation and transparency" (Foucault 2007: 249), a place in permanent need of documentation, of individualizing subjects, producing the ones on welfare as *criminals to know* (Foucault 2007 [1986]: 250), and, therefore, entailing the right to punish, endorsing power "far away from the country of tortures" (Idem: 305).

Accordingly, in rehousing projects, people are placed under incomparable institutional surveillance since all the dimensions of their lives become under scrutiny through a sophisticated apparatus of governance. This apparatus is shaped also in the architectonical configurations of the space, which, just like the walls of the prison translate discipline into architecture, making it "possible to substitute for force or other violent constraints the gentle efficiency of total surveillance; of ordering space according to the recent humanization of the codes and the new penitentiary theory" (Foucault 2007 [1986]: 249):

> *'Oh, blacks! We must do like this [in Bairro do Casal da Mira] because blacks are like this, so we do like that' – it is to hunt the blacks! Because it was all based on hunting blacks, rehousing was not to really to rehouse blacks, but so that we [the police] can hunt them when we need to* (Interview with António, January 2018).
>
> *The engineer [responsible for building Casal da Mira] 'was a cop', […] he made the buildings that it's so… it's easier to hunt people down. Because it's all based on jail, locking up the blacks! Because it's all based on that: 'Let's make the buildings like this because if blacks run here, we'll run there and catch the guy". It's all done, really... you see the houses, there's no garden, there's nothing, it's all... it looks like a jail, if you see a jail, a jail is like this: everything straight, no balcony, nothing. It only has the windows, that's all. You see a jail; you see that the buildings are just like a jail* (Interview with António, January 2018).

Besides, Mira is a place from where it is impossible to escape, either under police siege, or by buying a house in the private market:

> *(Laughs) It's the exception [coming from a self-produced neighborhood, being rehoused and then being able to buy a house], it's the exception. Here there's an important point. We [Carlos and his partner] worked for the school. And that, for people who finance for the banks, that's already an open door... he's a state employee so we easily managed to get access to home financing* (Interview with Carlos, October 2017).

Through everyday relations with social workers, welfare institutions and the police in a context of extreme socioeconomic marginalization, where the State is simultaneously hyper-present and hyper-absent, people passed from living in spaces of relative liberty to inhabit carceral spaces from where it seems to be little escape, as physical and symbolic walls turn to be "weapons in the war between the racial state and the flow and flight of rebellious affects" aiming to "discipline, manage, and control non-normative epistemologies, feelings, and affects" (Dillon 2020: 283).

Relocation processes have led people from self-produced to rehousing neighborhoods, under the argument of improving their lives, legitimizing white ownership, once and again, through processes of urban renewal, which accommodate white people in places previously inhabited by black populations. People felt both displaced and segregated. Relocation has matched dispossession and the destruction of historical affective and political ties of solidarity between neighbors, even when they have mostly been rehoused in the same territory. Instead, segregation disenfranchises people from city centers in faraway quarters, often equated to urban panoptics, where racial power is deployed as quasi-carceral. The workings of relocation and segregation show how the spatial and the political are closely tied, as the destruction of self-produced neighborhoods corresponded to the erasure of a *black sense of place* that is taking decades to rebuilt in public housing quarters. Displacement is complemented by close surveillance, and close surveillance brings police, courts

and the prison industrial complex even closer, turning the modern State into a Police State. Yet, as time passes and living takes place, people start to produce space for themselves and their political claims in rehousing neighborhoods, the annual celebration of Saint Michel the Archangel is just one example among many other initiatives and groups which produce Casal da Mira, more and more as a place, as time goes by.

Photo 12 | Saint Michael, the Archangel Party, Casal da Mira (2019)[87]
Authorship and Courtesy of Herberto Smith

[87] This photo was part of the exhibition *Territórios Da Memória: a Área Metropolitana de Lisboa pelo Olhar de Africanos e Afrodescendentes*, curated by Ana Rita Alves and Simone Amorim, in the scope of the research Project AFRO-PORT: Afrodescendência em Portugal: sociabilidades, representações e dinâmicas sociopolíticas e culturais. Um estudo na Área Metropolitana de Lisboa, at the Cape Verde Cultural Center.

IV. FIRMEZA DONA PARIDA, KI POI NA MUNDU MAS UM VIDA[88]

> *You have the emergence in human society of this thing that's called the State. What is the State? The State is this organized bureaucracy: it is the police department. It is the Army, the Navy. It is the prison system, the courts, and what have you? This is the State; it is a repressive organization. But the state and gee well, you know, you've got to have the police because if there were no police, look at what you'd be doing to yourselves – you'd be killing each other if there were no police! But the reality is the police became necessary in human society only at that juncture in human society where it is split between those who have and those who ain't got* (Omali Yeshitela in "Police State", Dead Prez 2000).

Two decades ago, Dead Prez released *Let's Get Free* (2000), a milestone in the history of north American hip-hop knowledge production. By looking into media narratives, the school and prison systems or mechanisms of policing and disciplining, this debut studio album is keen in analyzing power and inequalities propelled by racial capitalism, departing from the US context. In the track 'Police State', opened by the words of pan-Africanist Omali Yeshitela, the duo Mutulu Olugbala (aka M-1) and Khnum Muata Ibomu (aka stic.man) emphasizes the inherent violent character of the racial State, an extremely organized bureaucratic and punitive institution. *Let's Get Free* is a direct call for revolution, following a long line of black radical thought and political demands led by black grassroots movements, organizations and intellectuals, across the United States.

Another leading example would be the collection of essays *If they come in the morning…* (1971), edited by Angela Davis and including contributions by George Jackson, Huey P. Newton and Erica Huggins among many others, where the justice system, particularly the courts and prisons, as well as political assassinations are the main focus of the analysis. The authors explore how particular State's (extra)legal mechanisms are profoundly committed in hampering black political resistance and unity. By engaging with the critique of law (and the justice system) as particularly innocent because widely framed as detached from material life (Fitzpatrick 1987: 122), these musical and

[88] This title is borrowed from a verse of the track *Mama Parida* (2013), by Puto G, Timor e Ridell, Fitcha Broca Recordz. Retrieved May 2, 2022, from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=s5QLGLwwx10.

essayist documents are unequivocal in showing how, argued by Goldberg "[l]aw, legal discourse, and legal consciousness assist in proliferating state control and discipline across the landscape and population, in disseminating the marks and effects of the State and State reason, its modes of comprehension and logic" (2002: 139); and, therefore, showing how law is deeply marked by racism, which orders and limits its competence and scope (cf. Fitzpatrick 1987).

Robert Kelley argued, for the US context, that "black people are made to pay for the system that renders them as non-persons", as "summons and warrants are used as a kind of racial tax, a direct extraction of surplus by the State that produces nothing but discipline and terror" (2016: 29, 30). Following Ruth Wilson Gilmore, capitalist (racial) States "are territorial resolutions of crisis" that "displace and contain highly differentiated moments of class struggle", producing political power, namely through gendered, class or racist violence (2002: 16). In this context it is fundamental to document how State racism functions, particularly, when racism is officially "over" (Idem: 17), being aware, nonetheless, that "States are institutions made up of sub institutions that often work at cross-purposes, but that get direction from the prevailing platforms and priorities of the current government" (Gilmore, 2007: 28).

Focusing on the municipality of Amadora, this Chapter will analyze how the formation of a local, metropolitan and national political consensus around urban and internal security has paved the way to a racial (extra)legal pact that updated the terms of antiblack and anti-Roma terror within democratic Portugal. The fact that the municipality of Amadora is usually depicted as a paradigmatic example on both urban and institutional violence entails logics of necessity/proportionality (of police actions) and exceptionality (of institutional violence), which have unable to tackle racial continuities in State control and discipline across the national landscape. This Chapter will examine how the political criminalization of impoverished black bodies/territories by local authorities has publicly authorized police internal directives, surveillance projects and the scatter of police violence (as terror) targeting black and Roma populations in particular. Furthermore, drawing on archives on police brutality in the country, the Chapter will focus on understanding police terror at the national/municipal/neighborhood level and its consequences on the way black populations analyze the State as a complex but yet monolithic punitive institution which concur to antiblack an anti-Roma genocide. Finally, the Chapter will explore how racial violence and structural efforts to impose aspatiality have been re-produced by the penal system, in an attempt to disable black political claims to self and space and ensure the protection of whiteness as property (Harris 1993).

1. Racial States of (I)Legibility

On the 20th of March 2005, police officers Paulo Alves and Carlos Abrantes were killed in Avenida General Humberto Delgado, in Amadora.[89] Their killings were immediately credited to the adjacent self-produced and mostly black neighborhood of Santa Filomena (cf. Amaro 2005a). Besides echoing previous deaths of on-duty police officers, these losses were politically read as an example of the escalation of violence against law enforcement agencies, particularly in Amadora. Their deaths were connected to the killing of Irineu Dinis, on the 17th of February, in a self-produced neighborhood in the same municipality. In the face of these events, local government, police unions and the media manufactured an indelible connection between police killings and self-produced black dwellings, voicing publicly and loudly that certain territories were as high-risk for civilians as for police authorities (Amaro 2005b). By then, according to mayor Joaquim Raposo, Amadora was said to be a "municipality of exception" – mostly due to the pervasion of *blighted areas* and high levels of school dropout – and, therefore, in profound "need of urgent measures". So, he demanded the enhancement of material and human resources for police forces and the implementation of a video surveillance system covering the so-called high-risk *zones* in Amadora[90] (cf. Lusa 2005: 3). According to Joaquim Raposo, policing Amadora was a "heroic act" (Simas 2005) as the municipality was understood as "the worst and the most dangerous' zone in the country for a PSP agent to work in" – as voiced, at the time, in a news report, by an unidentified policewoman (DN, 2005). This showed the formation of a public and political consensus amid local government representatives and the police. Consequently, the demands of the City Council were closely shared by the Union of Police Professionals [*Sindicato dos Profissionais de Polícia*] which requested the categorization of urban areas according to risk level (high, medium, and low) so that police knew how to react accordingly and convened the necessity of riot police in patrolling and intervening in "high-risk zones" (Marques 2005; DN 2005). On March 22, around 4.000 policemen, relatives and sympathetic civilians walked down Avenida da Liberdade, in silence, mourning the loss of their fellow colleagues and demanding the Ministry of Internal Affairs (MAI) for better working conditions.

These events seem to have been key in publicly solidifying a narrative according to which Amadora was the quintessential insecure territory in the country not only to its (white) citizens as well as to

[89] Amadora is the most densely populated city in the country – 171,719 inhabitants per 23.79 km² (INE 2021).
[90] Besides, it must be noticed that this claim was not only made by Joaquim Raposo, while, according to the investigative report "Video surveillance in Portugal: when not all bodies are equal" [*Videogilância em Portugal: quando nem todos os corpos são iguais*], in 2005, Manuel Maria Carrilho, one of the candidates to Lisbon City Hall local elections, demanded "video surveillance in the critical areas of the city": areas such as Bairro Alto, Ameixoeira, and Intendente (Setenta e Quatro 2022). Again, while Bairro Alto is an evening recreating space, Ameixoeira is a public rehousing neighborhood highly inhabited by Roma populations and Intendent was the last refuge of poor black populations in the Lisbon city center.

law enforcement agents and, ultimately, to the rule of law: *authority should*, therefore*, be quickly restored*. Indeed, this narrative would prevail until the present day, re-tracing a color line between its fearful *endangered* white citizens and its *dangerous* black residents. And it is precisely upon the distinction between *friends* and *enemies* that the political (as the national) is founded and that the possibility of war lies in "as a means of negating the enemy" (Sayyid 2014: 100). Even if race has been rarely directly addressed, it persists as a hidden script, lying beneath and paving the way to implement new forms of managing and policing – latter to be expanded, if necessary. As David Goldberg once taught us, postraciality remains "enigmatically a raciality" as race has been *buried alive* – proliferating exactly by burying "those very conditions that are the grounds of its own making" (2015: 76). Indeed, the post-racial denies both historical conditions and contemporary constrains (as legacies), emptying out/opening the racial to be filled with any chosen meanings:

> *It thus opens the racial (in its empty silences) to be filled with any meanings chosen, at hand, fabricated, made up. This 'filling' becomes a 'fulfilling' - a prophecy, prediction, what is divined, always already known - of history, personality, productivity, national character, national or group (ethnic, racial) 'personality': They are not ready to live among us, for advancement, for democracy. They are lazy, criminals, won't work. They are dirty, uncouth, disease-bearing. [...] The postracial, in short, reinscribes destiny in the name of its supposed denial* (Goldberg 2015: 77).

In the case of Amadora, race has been evidently signified though a dialectic relation between urban (in)security, criminality, and (black) impoverished territories, as expressed in several political debates (RTP 2021; SIC Notícias 2021), posters of local political campaigns or in the words of high-ranking police officers of PSP:

> *Augusto Madeira, Journalist (AM): Suzana Garcia, the city you will soon be living in, is it a safe city for you or are you going with some fear?*
> *Suzana Garcia, Candidate for local elections PSD/CDS/ALIANÇA/MPT/PDR (SG): No, I don't have that fear, I was born in Africa, I lived in Africa for a long time.*
> *AM: What's the comparison?*
> *SG: I mean is that I'm not afraid to move to Amadora because I've lived in places with higher crime rates [South Africa] or Mozambique (I was born in Mozambique). [...]*
> *Augusto Madeira, Journalist (AM): [I]f the problems of social integration in the municipality of Amadora – a municipality with great ethnic and cultural diversity – from his point of view are being done well, what and what needs to be done?*
> *José Dias, Candidate for local elections CHEGA (JD): Amadora can't be an African enclave for several reasons, and we have to turn Amadora into a Swiss canton and work has to start on that as soon as possible.*
> *AM: Did you say, "African enclave"?*
> *JD: Amadora has large African communities, and some don't integrate or want to integrate, that's the problem, despite being helped by the parish councils, by the City*

Council. We have to transform Amadora, we have to really try to integrate these citizens that are Portuguese and transform Amadora into a Swiss canton (Television Debate with all the candidates running for Amadora City Council, SIC Notícias 2021).

Figures 7 and 8 | Political Sticker "End to the nightmare of shacks" and Billboard "Video protection for all the parishes", Socialist Party campaigns for municipal elections, 1997 and 2021.[91]

The Council of Amadora is a case-study, isn't it? (Interview with a Chief-Superintendent of the Public Security Police, 13 December 2017).

My experience in this field [internal security] has been with the Council of Amadora, and the Council of Amadora is not the same as the Council of Lisbon: [...] the city of Lisbon does not have – in terms of operational demands and in terms of concerns – the same degree as those in Amadora (Interview with Intendent of the Public Security Police, 6 February 2019).

I have no doubt that the cohesion between police elements in Beja is much lower than the one we must find, for example, in Amadora, where they depend much more on each other – do you understand? –, where there are much more frequent situations with firearms, much more situations of violence, [and] many more situations where they need to work in packs, [or] where, otherwise, they won't survive (Interview with a Senior Officer of the Public Security Police, 14 March 2018).

These written and visual pieces reveal how a political consensus around notions of dangerousness persisted throughout time and has been deliberately used to earn white voters and endorse (extra-)legal forms of policing within the municipality. In this regard, the discourse of the extreme-right

[91] These images were retried in 8 August 2022 from Ephemera Archive, of José Pacheco Pereira, https://ephemerajpp.com/2015/05/10/eleicoes-autarquicas-de-1997-amadora-ps-joaquim-raposo/ and from Official Facebook Page of Carla Tavares, https://m.facebook.com/CarlaTavares.Amadora2021/photos/a.383176608454447/4229287553843314/?type=3&source=48&paipv=0&eav=AfZqZ5R_relzNzfTwRQbkXnqg_YDJ5mA6nS-BHG8I SIbuP7j6Lf7HtpmgJVgygrEyMg.

candidate to the local elections, in 2021, Suzana Garcia, is not an *aberration* but a colonial, thus structural and institutional, continuity. It lays on decades of public debates fueled by previous candidates and political parties (from across the political spectrum) as well as police narratives and mediatic debates which have been building Amadora as the dangerous territory par excellence (because black and self-produced). Before this, policemen or civilians (as voters) must unite to end with the 'nightmare of shacks' and 'the African enclave' by endorsing rehousing processes, the building of more police stations and the implementation of surveillance systems.

Besides the deaths of the three on-duty police officers in Amadora, the year of 2005 also witnessed the killing of five civilians during police interventions, according to the General Inspectorate of Internal Administration (IGAI 2005), among them, Olívio Almeida; Almeida was a twenty-five-year-old black men from the self-produced neighborhood of Azinhaga dos Besouros, in Amadora, who was killed by police officer Paulo Frade when attempting to escape a court hearing in Lisbon. The killing of Olívio Almeida – referred to, in news reports, as "The Crown", the "King of Escapes" or the "fugitive" (CM 2005; DN 2016; JN 2005a) – led the *Union of Police Professionals* to activate their existent solidarity fund for suspended PSP officers, revealing strong corporative practices among law enforcement agents, even when the officer in question was being criminally indicted for manslaughter (cf. CM 2007). By doing so, the Union morally authorized (and supported) an *execution without trial* (cf. Sherman 1980). Besides, at Olívio Almeida's funeral, when exiting the cemetery, police authorities saw it fit to detain one of his brothers (ACED, CMA-J & AUCV 2006), later announcing that there was information regarding the possibility of retaliatory actions against police agents (JN 2005b). While policemen Paulo Frade was prosecuted and condemned to compensate the family, this series of events evoke how, often, "the police enjoy a virtual immunity from prosecution and rarely experience even interruptions in salary" (Sexton 2007: 199) and, most of all, how "ethics is possible for white civil society within its social discourses, [as] it is rendered irrelevant to the systematic violence deployed against the outside precisely because it is ignorable" (Martinot & Sexton 2003: 172).

Thus, the body of Olívio Almeida was symbolically buried alive, stacked over António Sebastião (Damaia, Amadora, 1992), Abdul Bacai (Alfragide, Amadora, 1993), Geraldo Tavares (Carnaxide, Lisbon, 1993) Rafael Leite (Cais do Sodré, Lisbon, 1994), Romão Monteiro (Matosinhos, Oporto, 1994), José Espanhol (Areias, Oporto, 1994), Manuel Cipriano (Quinta do Mocho, Lisbon, 1995), Olívio dos Santo Almada (Lisbon, 1996), Gabriel Carmo (Santarém, 1999) Álvaro Cardoso (Cerco, Oporto, 2000), Paulo Silva (Aldoar, Porto, 2000), Ângelo Semedo (Cova da Moura, Amadora, 2001), Osvaldo Vaz (Casal da Silveira, Odivelas, 2002), Manuel António Pereira (Bela Vista, Setúbal, 2002), Carlos Reis (Zambujal, Amadora, 2003) and José Carlos Vicente (Reboleira, Amadora, 2004). Particularly young and particularly peripheralized, gendered black and Roma bodies seemed, by then, to be targeted by the eye and the lethality of law enforcement agents, particularly in Amadora.

Nevertheless, while these deaths receive little, if any, attention by political authorities, the deaths of police officers would have a profound impact on urban security policies, already, by then, deeply shaped by spatialized-racial logics (cf. Maeso, Alves & Araújo 2021). This showed that more than the deaths themselves, what was at stake was *who* died, and how this affected the political.

Indeed, the approval of the Strategic Directive 16/2006 (on July 26), which created the "Integrated Model of Prevention and Police Intervention in Problematic Areas and Places of Greater Criminal Incidence or Hostility towards Security Forces" (MIPIP) [*Modelo Integrado de Prevenção e Intervenção Policial em Áreas Problemáticas e em Locais de Maior Incidência Criminal ou de Hostilidade para com as Forças de Segurança*] is paradigmatic of how local – Amadora City Council and Amadora Police Division – and central – the Ministry of Internal Affairs and National Directorate of the Public Security Police – authorities forged an almost immediate institutional response in the aftermath of the deaths of the three on-duty police officers, in Amadora (and a forth officer, in Lagos), in 2005. Indeed, it seemed to matter very little whether these killings had (or not) taken place in Santa Filomena or Cova da Moura, as they opened up the possibility of formally updating (and institutionalizing) what was already part of a heavily antiblack police jargon. Besides answering to political and police anxieties, the MIPIP established a cartesian map that allowed the profiling of non-white territories/bodies and laid the foundations to authorize historically militarized forms of policing black and Roma populations in particular. The Strategic Directive is clear when it justifies the need to adapt the modes of policing and intervention to "areas considered of major sensibility" and in establishing a close relation between race and periphery (mostly referring to self-produced neighborhoods) as spaces of incivility, criminality, and aversion to the authority of the State (PSP 2006), as it will be further analyzed. Thus territorializing everyday (white) perceptions of insecurity under the definitions *Problematic Neighborhoods* [*Bairros Problemáticos*] and, later *Sensitive Urban Areas* (ZUS) [*Zonas Urbanas Sensíveis*]. Moreover, it is important to highlight that the triad race-space-crime can also be found among the first and main arguments listed by the Amadora City Council when requesting the implementation of a Video Surveillance System in the municipality.

The cooperation between the National Directorate of PSP and the Amadora City Council was fundamental in establishing the grounds and the building and approval of the MIPIP and the Video Surveillance System (more evident in the latter). Indeed, both projects lay on an imaginary according to which high-risk territories are simultaneously produced by and producers of high-risk populations, namely youngsters, that should be properly labelled, mapped, and profiled to prevent any possibility of insurgence – disclosing how colonial *ghosts matter in* post-racial times (cf. Gordon, 2008). In this sense, it is important to address how (inter)national independence wars against Portuguese colonial occupation became paradigmatic on black insurgency as a menace to *whiteness as property* (Harris 1993). According to Adam Elliott-Cooper (2021), for the case of Britain, anti-colonialism against the empire is profoundly linked to anti-racism on the mainland – a challenge to State power within a new chapter in a long history of racist governance mostly via policing, ownership of land, work or the military:

> *[…] histories of resistance to British colonialism understand Black politics as a struggle against imperialism, the globalised manifestation of racist capitalist exploitation. Black resistance to policing, like all struggles for Black liberation, is therefore necessarily anti-capitalist and internationalist* (Elliott-Cooper 2021: 22)

Moreover, migration processes from former colonial territories to Portugal, as Cape Verde or Guinea-Bissau, which led to the production of *black geographies* territorialized colonial white fears as menaces to white political hegemony.[92] In this context, "racial marks" have rendered certain populations as "inherently ungovernable subjects, or subjects governable only through the spectacle of death" (Alves 2018: 5) intending to prevent any possibilities of political insurgence. While (re)housing policies were essential to black political disorganization through *place annihilation* (cf. McKittrick 2011), security policies became essential tools in guaranteeing the maintenance of the polis as a *white political project* (Alves 2018) through labelling, vigilance, discipline, and death. As a result, together white impoverished individuals, black and Roma bodies continued to pile up without generating practically no political commotion: Paulo Jorge Lourenço (Loures, 2008), Elson Sanches (Quinta da Lage, Amadora, 2009), Toninho Tchibone (Faro, 2009), Nuno Rodrigues (Lisbon, 2010), Diogo Borges (Damaia, Amadora, 2013), Nelson Fossa (Moita, 2016), Rui Barai (Vila Franca de Xira, 2017), Camané Alves[93] (Queluz, Sintra, 2018) and Miguel Abreu (Seixal, 2020). In total, thirty-three black and Roma persons have perished during or as a consequence of police interventions from 1991 to 2021, according to data available at the archives of the SOS Racismo movement. All this happened in the fifth safest country in Europe and the sixth in the world.[94]

1.1 The Institutionalization of Dangerous Territories

> *Maybe, it [the definition of Sensitive Urban Areas] comes from outside experiences. I think, in essence, it was a nice way of redefining problem neighborhood, or slum or... anyway. And it's a police term, I say, I don't know, I don't know who fathered it... but the Sensitive Urban Area says it all, that it is a metropolitan area, therefore, within a certain geographic framework of the city, and sensitive, why? Because*

[92] Geographer Adam Bledsoe defined black geographies as "spatial expressions of those that recognize the inherent violence of modern territorial practices and notions of human hierarchy and seek to create a world not defined in these exclusive terms" (Bledsoe 2016: iii).

[93] I first learned about the death of Camané through the master's thesis of anthropologist Ricardo Cabral, *Examining the intersectionality between marginalisation, crime and ethnicity – The Portuguese cases of Celé and Camané through a sociological and anthropological lens*, defended at Goldsmiths – Univeristy of London, in 2022.

[94] Institute for Economics and Peace (2022), *Global Peace Index 2022: Measuring peace in a complex world*. Sydney, Retrieved June 2021, from: http://visionofhumanity.org/reports.

> *within the neighborhood itself there are pockets of crime that are out of the ordinary. In other words, if we, let's give a very practical and very logical example, in Rossio there are many muggings by pickpockets. Now, we don't say that Rossio is a Sensitive Urban Area* (Interview with Intendent of the Public Security Police, 6 February 2019).

Three years after the events at the Alfragide police station, the Portuguese government established the Working Group "Census 2021 – 'Ethnic and Racial' Issues", on 5 February 2018, later regulated by Dispatch no. 7363/2018 of July 12.[95] This Working Group was responsible for analyzing and producing recommendations on the unprecedent possibility to include a question on "ethnic and racial belonging" in the national Census 2021, once, until that moment, "citizens' personal data had not been collected, regarding their ethnic or racial origin" (Dispatch no. 7363/2018: 21090). About a year later, on 18 February 2019, the newspaper Público reported the use of ethnic and racial data by the PSP in assessing risk in Sensitive Urban Areas (ZUS) under the confidential Strategic Directive 16/2006 (cf. Henriques 2019a). Albeit it was known that several public bodies have been "conducting studies with partial and non-representative samples" both on Roma and black populations, since the nineties (e.g., Ministry of Education, Institute of Housing and Urban Rehabilitation) (Roldão, Ba & Araújo 2019), having the Police assessing *risk* by racially profiling certain urban areas – in a context where the feasibility of a methodical and careful collection of ethnic and racial data was being debated, as a response to incessant demands of black and antiracist movements – sounded as particularly alarming.[96]

Besides, by the beginning of 2019 the excessive use of force by police authorities in peripheralized neighborhoods was again at the center of public debate in the aftermath of the violent events occurred in the early hours of the January 19, in Vale de Chícharos (Seixal, LMA). On that Sunday, the country woke up with a commented footage denouncing police brutality and racism as *the way black people were commonly treated in Portugal*[97] – framing police violence as routine within self-produced black neighborhoods. The images captured a family defending itself from the action of riot police, namely a fifty-five-year-old mother in her pajamas, lying on the ground. The video not only echoed past experiences, particularly for black youngsters, as it woke up ghosts for others: *it could be their mother, their family* (cf. Henriques 2019b). As a consequence, black youth organized and led a demonstration against racism and police brutality that took place on the following day, at Avenida da Liberdade, a very symbolic place to the exercise of political rights, particularly

[95] Diário da República no. 149/2018, Série II, 2018-08-03.

[96] It must be highlighted, nonetheless, that racial profiling among security forces has been also previously denounced, namely by SOS Racismo, regarding the "General Regulation of the Service of the National Republican Guard" (1985), which stated that 'nomads' should be the target of 'special vigilance' by GNR. The unconstitutionality of the regulation with regard to Article 81 was decreed by the Constitutional Court in Judgment 452/89 of 22 July (cf. https://dre.tretas.org/dre/42018/acordao-452-89-de-22-de-julho).

[97] See https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-L7yXmApL4o.

demonstrations, in the Lisbon city center. The protest was heavily repressed by police authorities, showing how political protests led by black bodies had no public space in contemporary democratic Portugal.

In this context, the news that there was an internal Directive by the PSP prompting racial profiling not only confirmed the complaints of residents and collectives that had persistently denounced the exceptionality of police interventions in peripheralized black latitudes of cities such as Amadora or Setúbal, as it unveiled the structural character of racism within law enforcement agencies rationales. Secondly, building on anthropologist James Scott analysis, the Strategic Directive revealed how race was central in the "state's attempt to make a society legible, to arrange the population in ways that simplified the classic state functions of taxation, conscription, and prevention of rebellion" (1998: 2), showing that, in the eyes of the State, the question was not data collection *per se* but making it accessible to civil society and the political implications on mapping racial inequalities, not race. And, thirdly, the Strategic Directive was paradigmatic of how, when *seeing like a State*, from its perspective – mapping and naming facilitated policing and State's control (Scott 1998), in a context where notions of dangerousness have become progressively closely associated with race.

Denominations for marginalized urban territories have been part of the political lexicon since the late 19th century, echoing how the Portuguese State look and act upon these territories. As political designations used to describe impoverished, self-produced and rehousing neighborhoods overlap with time and according to different political contexts, it is important to highlight how initial designations such as 'miserable', 'poor' or 'deteriorated' came to be replaced by terms as 'clandestine', 'informal' or 'illegal' and later by the terminologies 'problematic' or 'priority intervention' neighborhoods and 'sensitive urban areas'. This is indicative of how the labelling has gradually shifted its focus from issues related to poverty or public health, to issues of property and urban planning and finally to urban and internal (in)security. Indeed, the localization of crime onto black (migrant) neighborhoods/bodies follows a long line of criminological tradition, born in the US, that elected black southern internal migrants as the imminent threat to urban order and security, in the 1950's (Snodgrass 1972).

The way impoverished neighborhoods were progressively framed by the authorities, the media and civil society call for different forms of political intervention. They range from the need to fight poverty and improve the living conditions within self-produced neighborhoods (e.g., the implementation of city Council "neighborhood offices" [*Gabinetes de bairro*] that work to improve the living conditions within neighborhoods such as Cova da Moura or Santa Filomena), to rehousing programs (e.g., PER, PAAR) and later to security measures (e.g., ZUS). This is paradigmatic of how the official framing of these populations shifted progressively from *subjects bearing rights yet to be fulfilled* to *subjects threatening the rights of others*. These changes occurred precisely as most of these neighborhoods became predominantly inhabited by black and Roma populations, mostly after the eighties and nineties. This period also corresponded to the birth of a black Portuguese generation which, contrary to their parents, was not just *in the city* but considered

themselves *from the city* (cf. Ba 2021), appropriating it in a different fashion, going far beyond the neighborhood, public transports and workplaces – this youth was in schools, sports and parks stretching black presence throughout the most varied latitudes of urban spaces. The occupation of various places – this enlarging of spatiality – corresponded to the enlargement of political demands. This preoccupation was not exclusive of the Portuguese context. Indeed, following the American Criminological Tradition, more particularly the work developed by British-American psychiatrist and criminologist William Healy,

> *The majority of delinquents in the studies were children of impoverished immigrants. There was a general fear among native Americans, throughout the period of widespread immigration, that the uprooted and uncultured immigrant masses might be swept into irrational political causes* (Snodgrass 1972: 72-73).

It was exactly between 1984 and 1996 that "postcolonial migration, 'school failure' and housing precarity were outlined as interconnected social problems", and that "territories where the so-called ethnic minorities lived and coexisted" – particularly Roma and Cape Verdeans – "became the object of special attention" by the Portuguese State (Maeso, Alves & Araújo 2021: 197). This relation between race, territory, criminality, and youth came to be definitely imprinted between 1997 and 2008 and established "policing as a necessary measure for any institutionalized management of the daily lives of blacks and Roma – at school, at the health center, in the neighborhood, on the streets, in transportation – all in the name of social integration" (Idem: 198).

Indeed, a study on "Policing in Priority Intervention Areas" [*Policiamento em Zonas de Intervenção Prioritária*], requested by the High Commissariat for Immigration and Ethnic Minorities to IGAI in 1997 (IGAI 1998), is paradigmatic of how black and Roma neighborhoods came to be criminalized in the name of social integration, meaning "improvement". According to the study, priority intervention areas were mostly defined by housing precariousness, insalubrity, endemic unemployment, and cultural heterogeneity which led to "emergence of various phenomena such as delinquency, prostitution, drugs, and other deviant behaviors" (IGAI 1998: 125). The report argued that disorganized migration and urbanization processes created spaces that became mostly inhabited by black and Roma populations, framing them as "real ghettos", outlined as 'problematic', 'run-down' and 'underprivileged' neighborhoods, and responsible for the increasing insecurity and violence within and in the surrounding areas (Idem). The study also reveals how "integration" was, in fact, a white question, in the sense that it answered to white perceptions and anxieties, exposing how mainstream forms of policing were failing to answer to it. And, at the same time positioning the onus of racial inequalities on blackness, leaving whiteness in a supposed neutral position of cultural and political hegemony. Finally, the study proposed a new philosophy of policing denominated *Integrated Program of Proximity Policing* (PIPP) [*Programa Integrado de Policiamento de Proximidade*] – later to be officially implement by the National Directorate of the PSP by the Strategic Directive no. 10/2006 of 15 May 2006. And it also paved the way for the

enactment of the Strategic Directive 16/2006 of July 26, which created the "Integrated Model of Prevention and Police Intervention in Problematic Areas and Places of Greater Criminal Incidence or Hostility towards Security Forces" (MIPIP).

The MIPIP is straightforward when it justifies the need to adapt the modes of policing and intervention to "areas considered of major sensibility" (PSP 2006). Among the eight listed reasons for profiling certain areas, four are closely related to imaginaries of race (enounced as migration and integration) and periphery (as self-produced and rehousing neighborhoods), and particularly how these territories/bodies endangered the rule of law, namely: (i) "the successive incidents occurred in Problematic Neighborhoods and in other sites with higher criminal incidence"; (ii) "the murders of four PSP elements on duty during 2005"[98]; (iii) "the events in France during 2005 and early 2006 of public disorder and hostility against State authority"[99]; (iv) and, "the phenomena of demo-urban disaggregation, social disintegration and integration difficulties of some sectors of immigrant communities in certain urban and suburban areas – including the second and third generations" (PSP 2006: 1-2). Although tacit political connections between race-space-crime had been repeated throughout the years on several parliamentary debates (AR 1992, 1995, 2001) and institutional reports (SIS 1995; IGAI 1998), the MIPIP seems to be the first time that this connection was formally institutionalized amid public police force practices.

In the master thesis *Police Action in Sensitive Urban Areas: from Disorder to Unrest* by aspiring police officer Bruno Machado, the MIPIP was designed with the purpose of "adjusting police resources and tactics" to ensure "greater economy of effort, lower risk for police officers, more effective results, and better coordination on the ground of police skills" in the policing of ZUS (2010, 32-33). In order to do so, the Strategic Directive starts by listing ten criteria defining *problematic neighborhoods*, specifically (i) high rates of school absenteeism and failure among young people; (ii) cases of alcoholism (in adults) and drug addiction (in young people) – understood as potentiators of domestic violence and neighborhood conflicts; (iii) processes of social disintegration and ghettoization; (iv) high rates of unemployment and precarious labor; (v) *shantytowns*, prefabricated houses or properties abandoned during the construction phase and public housing neighborhoods (where the socio-economic and cultural contexts of the population have been maintained after the rehousing) and where architecture hinders police action – called

[98] Besides the deaths occurred in Amadora, a police officer was killed in Lagos, in December. Cf. Carlos Varela e Marisa Rodrigues (2005), "Polícia morto a tiro", *Jornal de Notícias*. Retrieved December 14, 2022, from https://www.jn.pt/arquivo/2005/policia-morto-a-tiro-526626.html.

[99] This period is marked by three fires that broke out in Paris, in April and August 2005, and led to the deaths of 48 citizens of African descent, making visible the obtuse housing precariousness and its (deadly) consequences in the lives of black persons in France. In addition, in late October, two young men, Zyed Benna and Bouna Traoré, were electrocuted to death, and Muhittin Altun was seriously injured during a police chase in the Clichy-sous in the Clichy-sous-Bois neighborhood (Paris), leading to protests that denounced the state of exception under which people were living in the peripheralized spaces (cf. Fassin, 2013).

problem areas; (vi) high population density; (vii) feelings of aversion towards the State and its institutions (especially those that hold or represent authority); (viii) feelings of anomie, unaccountability and impunity – *refuge of criminals*; (ix) trafficking and circulation of drugs and weapons; (x) and, control mechanisms of police approach and solidarity ties among residents (cf. Machado 2010; Coelho 2012). After delimiting what can constitute a *problematic neighborhood*, the Strategic Directive lists a set of criteria and sub criteria to assess the degree of risk of each, namely: (i) architectural constraints; (ii) population characteristics – population density, ethno-racial composition, and criminal record; (iii) history of public disorder in the neighborhood; (iv) history of aggression against the police; (v) and, finally, inherent criminality (cf. Magalhães 2007; Machado, 2010; Coelho, 2012). And, together, the sum of all these criteria dictated the way policing should occur.

The document also includes Appendix B – "Characterization of the Situation in Portugal". This appendix focuses on the particularities of urban violence and crime, namely its geographies, authors, victims, gratuity, collectiveness, and typology. Among the data provided, Appendix B highlights that councils of Amadora and Lisbon were the ones harboring most of the criminality on *Problematic neighborhoods* (21%), between 2004 and 2005. Despite it was impossible "to state with scientific rigor that the perpetrators of urban violence are mostly ordinary people from problematic neighborhoods or areas of socio-economically disadvantaged condition", the fact is that "a significant percentage of residents in problem neighborhoods consider police action in these neighborhoods as an intrusion into their own territory" – framing self-produced and rehousing neighborhoods as *hostile areas to police presence* and a *refuge for criminals* (MIPIP 2006). Besides, and even if criminal occurrences were mostly irrelevant in problematic neighborhoods (1,5% all occurrences), the document considers there was a tendency to *de-spatialized* crime to the surrounding areas, such as public transports, schools, and shopping malls – arguing that *problematic neighborhoods* were "areas of inbreeding crime" once "it is from these neighborhoods that young delinquents originate" – *problem areas* (Appendix B, PSP 2006: 2-3). Finally, Appendix B characterizes the authors of urban violence as mostly young and its *modus operandi* as collective, and provide data on the ethnical-racial origin of the youngsters involved in "occurrences typified as group crime", between 2004 and 2005; concluding that "2762 were of Caucasian origin, 1915 *Negroid*, 177 *gypsy ethnicity* and 134 of other origin" (Idem: 4, emphasis by the author) and unravelling how racial data collection by law enforcement agencies dates back at least to the turn of the century. Urban violence is classified as mostly gratuitous and "often directed against the custodians of authority and against institutions and persons representing the society from which they feel excluded" (PSP, Appendix B 2006: 6) – untangling how, more than crime, what was at stake was State's authority towards populations and territories profoundly shaped by racial inequalities.

In line with the work of American historian Kahlil Muhammad' *The Condemnation of Blackness: Race, Crime, and the Making of Modern Urban America*, as "notions about blacks as criminals materialized in national debates" racial violence became accepted "as an instrument of public

safety" (Muhammad 2011: 4, 7), reorganizing historical white imaginaries on *black pathologies*.[100] Besides, Muhammad calls attention for the emergence of the *statistical ghetto*, meaning how certain institutional and academic data (e.g., statistical evidence of excessive rates of black arrests and the overrepresentation of black prisoners) can be used as an "indisputable proof of black inferiority" and to support "discriminatory public policies and social welfare practices" (Idem: 8). While Portugal, contrary to the US, does not have a systematized collection of ethno-racial data, institutional directives such as MIPIP have been mostly based on perceptions, backed by occasional reports without any public criteria or debate. Indeed, when interviewing high-ranking police officers, it was made clear that (i) "security concepts become public through this breathing between the police and the media"[101] and (ii) that "there is no list of criteria" defining ZUS.[102] On the contrary, the concept of ZUS "is not a scientific", as police "often work by perceptions".[103] Therefore,

> *The ideal is always to have a joint effort between municipalities, security forces and even some of the local living forces. ... We have, let's say, the data and then we play or give importance depending also on our perception, on what we hear, from our elements that are on the street, which are a very important barometer, because statistics are very important and give us an idea, but there are many things that are not communicated, but that reach the agents and that reach the City Hall. There are a lot of things that the Chamber didn't know and that I knew, and there are a lot of things that I didn't know, but that the Chamber communicated to me. Because people, especially the older citizens, get the mayor there and they communicate. And, therefore, if there is communication between the various main institutions, in this case, the municipality, the community, in short, I think that the assessment of concerns is much more accurate. But, starting from the beginning, the PSP, in this case, the local Commander makes his evaluation based on statistics, that is the first because it is the one that is registered* (Interview with Intendent of the Public Security Police, 6 February 2019).

Under this rationale, *black and Roma self-produced places* and *bearing rights* became an oxymoron, meaning that the State's duties before these territories could only be understood when framed through the particular lenses of whiteness. In this context, all dimensions of State actions appear as efforts to order and control. Accordingly, what is often built as an opposition: "conservative proposals – of a punitive nature – and others of a progressive nature – focused on

[100] Following the work of Hortense Spillers, black persons were built through a "tangle of pathologies" as the ones "living according to the perceived 'matriarchal' pattern are, therefore, caught in a state of social 'pathology'" – as it was mostly understood to be the case for black families throughout several reports such as the Moynihan Report or Franklin Frazier's *Negro Family in the United States* (1987: 67).

[101] Interview with Intendent of the Public Security Police, 6 February 2019.

[102] Interview with a Chief-Superintendent of the Public Security Police, 13 December 2017.

[103] Ibidem.

social inclusion" – just like rehousing or surveillance – operate under the same rational and are integral to each other (Maeso, Alves & Araújo 2021: 231), nurturing white sovereignty by criminalizing blackness. In the words of Stephen Dillon, people became trapped "between the abandonment of a crumbling welfare state and the power of an encroaching penal state" (Dillon 2018: 9).

1.2. The Monitoring of Threatening Bodies

With a set of one-hundred-three fixed cameras, soon to be enlarged with thirty-eight more, Amadora is by far the most surveilled city in Portugal.[104] The possibility to install systems of video surveillance in public spaces was definitely opened by Law no. 1/2005, that regulated "the use of video camera surveillance systems by security forces and services in public places of common use", even if subject to "approval of the member of the Government that oversees the requesting security force or service" – Ministry of Internal Affairs (MAI) – and preceded by a favorable ruling by the National Commission for Data Protection (CNPD). Complaining with the outline procedures, on 5th November 2008, Amadora City Council officially requested an audience to the Minister of Internal Affairs, Rui Pereira, manifesting its interest in implementing a video surveillance system within the municipality, caring to mention the importance of improving still some matters which could constitute obstacles to its approval before the CNPD. And, soon after, on December 9, 2008, the application was handled to MAI. The document, entitled "Justification of the Need and Convenience of Installing a Video Camera Surveillance System", exposed the surveillance project in eleven points and detailed the places where the cameras would be installed. Following a brief description of Amadora, the document argued that the municipality had "an urban fabric with an extremely complex context where, besides the difficult social integration of some, there [were] divergences between groups, causing turbulence and alteration of public order" (CMA 2008: 1). The document highlighted the existence of "particular territories" within the municipality, such as Santa Filomena, Quinta da Lage, Casal da Boba, Casal da Mira, Casal do Silva, 6 de Maio, Estrada Militar da Damaia de Cima, Zambujal, Estrela d'África and Cova da Moura, referred as "Sensitive Urban Areas" presenting "worrying architectural constraints" and "high population density", "highly problematic ethno-social composition" where residents had "worrying criminal records" and that had a "worrying history in internal public disorder" and "a worrying history of assaults to PSP" – all in all, zones of "inbreeding crime" (CMA 2008: 1). Indeed, the official characterization provided by Strategic Directive 16/2006 already enforced by then, was mobilized as main argument

[104] According to the national newspaper *Público*, on 20 September 2021, "848 cameras are currently authorized for use in 14 cities, but for the time being, are only operational in seven: in Lisbon (27), Amadora (103), Coimbra (17), Leiria (19), Vila Franca de Xira (20), Olhão (26) and Fátima (11) - for a total of 223 active cameras. For more information see: Lopes, Maria (2021), "Desde 2013, videovigilância na rua passou de 38 para mais de 850 câmaras autorizadas". Available at: https://www.publico.pt/2021/09/20/politica/noticia/desde-2013-videovigilancia-rua-passou-38-850-camaras-autorizadas-1978004.

to the implementation of video surveillance in the city. And, following outline procedures, on 18 December 2008, the project was dispatched, via MAI, to the CNPD. The CNPD requested for complementary information twice (on 19 March and 2 June 2009), particularly on the exact location of camera 1 and on disaggregated crime information, per year, in Amadora – to which the City Council answered on 7 July 2009. Roughly a year later, the CNPD issued a negative statement on the implementation of a video surveillance system, through the Legal Advice no. 48/2010, leading to its legal disapproval by MAI (under Dispatch no. 12865/10, MAI 2010), on 3 August 2010.

In the Legal Advice no. 48/2010, the CNPD understood that "the use of video cameras as a surveillance tool to ensure public safety and to promote the permanent fight against crime on the streets of major urban centers raise[d] many doubts" (CNPD 2010: 10), mostly because it introduced a "permanent discipline of the urban territory" producing "effects of simulation, domestication and identification of the observed space that directly affect the right of any person to move anonymously in public spaces" (Ibidem). In line with this, the CNPD argued that "the disciplinary effects connected to the loss of anonymity in public spaces" must be considered, once surveillance systems like the one proposed by the municipality of Amadora, produced a "panoptic" effect, since people would be constantly observed (Idem: 11). Besides, video surveillance systems "presuppose a previous identification of the place to be observed as a 'risk space' and of the subjects and movements framed therein as 'risk targets'" (Ibidem). Indeed, the CNPD argued that some studies and observations have suggested that the installation and use of surveillance cameras by public forces tend, above all, "to produce a stigmatizing and exclusionary effect in relation to the disadvantaged people and groups in society who previously frequented these spaces, to the detriment of the equality of conditions and non-discrimination required in the exercise of public freedoms" (Idem: 11).

To be sure, further on, the Commission draw on Recommendation no. R (87) 15 of the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe – which regulates the use of personal data by the police and prohibits the "collection of data of individuals based solely on their particular racial origin or their membership in organizational movements that are not proscribed by law, and allowing it only if absolutely necessary for the purposes of a particular investigation" (Idem: 26). This concern is based on the fact that "in the justification of the request, the Amadora Division of the PSP alludes to the difficulty it has in separating the suspects of the crimes from the rest of the residents of the neighborhoods and the working population in general, [and, therefore] it becomes possible to affirm that the risk of violation of the principle of equality in the exercise of personal rights is not entirely imaginary" (Idem: 26). Overall, and showing some reluctance on the effectiveness of video-surveillance systems in preventing crime, the Commission highlighted imprecisions on the way crime statists were presented and the lack of public participation in the process. Therefore, the CNPD considered that the "scenario must be considered highly intrusive in the living of people considering its extension, allowing forms of tracking and profiling of their lives" and that the benefits in preventing crime seem less than what the costs of its implementation hold (Idem: 27).

As a response to the demanded civic participation in the process, between September and December 2010, ten similar motions entitled "Video Surveillance, for the safety of all" were sent to MAI by the municipality and the City Council of Amadora, as well as by the parishes and parish assemblies of Mina, Alfornelos, Alfragide, Falagueira, Venteira, Brandoa and Reboleira, under the political influence of the Socialist Party (even if Alfragide was ruled by the Social Democratic Party). And, in June 2011, at the request of the City Council of Amadora, the Centre for Study and Opinion Polls (CESOP) of the Catholic University issues the "Study on Security in the Municipality of Amadora" on victimization and perceptions on insecurity concluding that "security issues are a real concern of most people who use and/or live in the city of Amadora, and that most people support the introduction of video surveillance cameras" (2011: 3) – endorsing the request of the City Council. And, shortly after, on 25 February 2011, the Secretary of State of Internal Affairs, Dalila Araújo, addressed a new application requesting "Authorization for the installation and use of a video surveillance system in the Municipality of Amadora" (MAI 2011) to the CNPD. The document referred the amendments to Law 1/2005, by Law 39-A/2005 of July 29 and Law 53-A/2006 of December 29, asserting that "after reassessment and consideration", the National Directorate of the Public Security Police formulated a new and different request, particularly in terms of territory covered, number of cameras, incidence of crime and the grounds of the request" (Idem: 1). This new request reaffirmed the relevance of the project, guaranteed that the rights and liberties of the citizens were safeguard, asserting that in order *to have liberty it is necessary to have security*. Nonetheless, the phantom of race (here as African migrants) is still very present, as the document refers that 8% of the citizens of Amadora are foreigner, mostly from Portuguese-speaking African countries and that among its *sui generis* and complex urban mesh there are several Sensitive Urban Areas (ZUS) which together with high rates of criminality "promote public alarm, increase the feeling of insecurity and help stigmatize the region", arguing for "the need for complementary and auxiliary means of policing, capable of enhancing it" (Idem: 6-7).

Figure 9 | "Video surveillance. Security for all: we look for you", Amadora (n.d.)
Retrieved from Setenta e Quatro, 2022

On February 28, 2012, the CNPD informs the Deputy Secretary of State of the Minister of Internal Affairs that due to the publication of Law 9/2012 of February 23 (meaning, the third amendment to Law 1/2005), cases 3177/2011 and 2040/2011 regarding the opinions on video surveillance in Amadora and Coimbra had been filed, "since the requirements for CNPD intervention will change with the entry into force of the law" (CNPD 2012).[105] Alterations to the initial legal text implied that the legal opinion of CNPD was no longer binding. Therefore, on April 12, 2012, the MAI informs the CMA and the PSP National Directorate about the termination of the on-going procedures. Still, on October 10, 2012, several parishes of Amadora sent a motion entitled "Video surveillance, for everyone's safety", pressuring MAI in endorsing video-surveillance in the municipality. And, on 31 January 2013, the National Directorate of PSP files a request to install the surveillance system in Amadora, later forwarded to CNPD which, by then, was only expected to evaluate technical details concerning the security of the processing of data collection, storage, and treatment (Article 3, Law 9/2012 of February 23). This request was answered by Legal Advice no. 17/2013, from 16 March 2013. The authorization to install the video-surveillance system was finally issued by Dispatch no. 4311/2013, of 18th March. And, at last, on 00:00h of 11 May 2017, a system of one-hundred-and-three cameras, operating twenty-four hours, and with two command and control centers installed in the Amadora PSP Division and in the Lisbon Metropolitan Command in Moscavide, was activated (CMA, 18/03/2013).

Photo 13 | Nameplate announcing video surveillance at the exit of Casal da Mira (2021)
Ana Rita Alves

[105] Under the subject "Video surveillance in downtown Coimbra and Amadora".

However, this is not the end of the story. On November 19, 2019, during the commemorative ceremony held in Amadora on the occasion of the 152nd anniversary of the Lisbon Metropolitan Command of the PSP, the mayor of Amadora, Carla Tavares, announced the filing of a request to enlarge the system of video-surveillance, for a total of 141 cameras in the municipality, already approved by Dispatch 8437/2020 of 2 September, issued by the Office of the Assistant Secretary of State and Internal Affairs (cf. Lusa 2019). Moreover, the Amadora City Council took the opportunity to award the Municipal Medal of Merit and Dedication to the Lisbon Metropolitan Command of PSP and paid tribute to "the professionals who lost their lives in the course of their duties in the municipality, namely Irineu Dinis, António Abrantes, Paulo Alves and Felisberto Silva" (Ibidem). This ceremony was particularly relevant as it reaffirmed the maintenance of a local institutional consensus, which makes it clear to which citizens the (production of) urban security policies are aimed at. Just like in the billboard issued by the City Council endorsing video surveillance, the City Council paid homage to the Public Security Police with a statue in the city's central park, "praising the action of that force in defense of the citizens of the City Council" (Lourenço 2015). Inaugurated on 6 June 2015, in the aftermath of the events of torture in the police station of Alfragide, the statue made evident where humanity lies in.

Photo 14 | Statue in homage to the Public Security Police (PSP), Amadora (2021)
Ana Rita Alves

On 29 December 2021, Law no. 95/2021 was approved in a hurry by the Portuguese parliament, regulating "the use and access by security forces and services and by the National Authority for Emergency and Civil Protection to video surveillance systems for capturing, recording and processing images and sound". This new law revoked Law no. 1/2005, of 10 January and enlarged the scope of the current regime of video surveillance, particularly by enacting, among other things, the use of unmanned aerial vehicles (drones) and portable single-used cameras (body cams). Nonetheless "for advocates of the use of drone cameras by security forces prior to the new law, the use is legal because it falls under the concept of 'mobile cameras' described in the video surveillance law (no.1/2005), […] critics argue that it is not covered by the spirit of the law because at the time of writing drones were not a national reality" (Setenta e Quatro, 2022). The initial Law Proposal no. 111/XIV/2.a was severely criticized by the CNPD (cf. Legal Advice/2021/143 of 4 November 2021) which considered that the proposal violated the principle of proportionality (being it the balance between individual rights and the anxieties of society) and that it "does not meet the minimum requirements in a democratic rule of law for the legislative restriction of fundamental rights" (CNPD 2021: 15).[106] According to the former communist deputy Antonio Filipe, this process of devaluation began following the controversy over the surveillance cameras that the Amadora City Hall wanted to install in public spaces in the municipality: "The CNPD considered that it was excessive, that it was disproportionate, and this led to a change in the law so that it no longer had a binding position on the matter". Nonetheless, according to the online newspaper *Setenta e Quatro*, in the aftermath of the Alfragide case, "Diário de Notícias advanced that the Amadora PSP division may be the first in the country to use bodycams in street patrols, especially in the so-called sensitive urban areas, where neighborhoods such as Cova da Moura, Estrela d'África and 6 de Maio are located" (Setenta e Quatro, 2022). In fact, it is interesting to notice that, again, "[the] Amadora's PSP division may be the first in the country to use body-cams in street patrols, especially in the so-called sensitive urban areas, where neighborhoods such as Cova da Moura, Estrela d'África and 6 de Maio are located"[107] (Marcelino 2018). It is a request that takes place in the aftermath of the Alfragide Station police case, in July 2017.[108] According to Ruth Wilson Gilmore,

> *[…] toward the end of securing or maintaining hegemony (Gramsci 1971), the state reproduces racial hierarchy through its capacity to wield despotic power over certain segments of society – whether the decree is to promote a Black woman, put her on workfare,*

[106] This shows how under exceptional conditions (e.g., states of emergency just like it happened during the pandemic of Covid-19 or big international events), democratic States tend to pass legislation in a hurry that tend to open up changes in the future.

[107] Marcelino, Valentina (2018), "PSP quer polícias com câmaras de vídeo", *Diário de Notícias*, 21 May. Available at: https://www.dn.pt/portugal/psp-quer-policias-com-camaras-de-video-9360078.html.

[108] Marcelino, Valentina (2020), "Bodycams na PSP há dois anos e meio a marcar passo no Ministério da Administração Interna", *Diário de Notícias*, 24 January. Available at: https://www.dn.pt/pais/bodycams-na-psp-ha-dois-anos-e-meio-a-marcar-passo-no-ministerio-da-administracao-interna-11745472.html.

> *or send her to prison for being a bad, drug-addicted, mother. The contemporary racial state's aggressively punitive stance is made clear in recent revisions to law and jurisprudence, which occurred in spite of a preponderance of evidence that once produced different results* (Gilmore, 2002: 21).

Following the work of anthropologist Christen Smith (2021), I argue that police records, such as the ones produced concerning Sensitive Urban Areas (and their correspondent reports) or video-surveillance systems and their archive of images, recall the "slave ledger (quantifying, racializing, ungendering and [de]valuation system)" (2021: 35). They allow the State to label, monitor and closely police blackness, in an obsessive and expensive investment in *whiteness*. This shows how the "captivating party does not only 'earn' the right to dispose of the captive body as it sees fit, but gains, consequently, the right to 'name' it" (Spillers, 1987: 69). Indeed, the labelling and close monitoring of black bodies/territories is profoundly related to notions of white ownership and entitlement which are constantly reassured by contemporaneous processes of criminalization. In an effort to negate the enemy within, extra-legal devices as ZUS or questionable forms of video surveillance locate "blackness as a key site through which surveillance is practiced, narrated and enacted", as surveillance is, indeed, a fact of antiblackness (Browne 2015: 9). As a result, the brutalization of black and Roma bodies is no exception but the expected outcome of contemporary racial relations, rationalities and practices where institutional violence, particularly police repression and brutality, has been definitely turned into a *natural* outcome in promoting public (meaning, white) safety.

1.3. The Brutalization of Black and Roma Bodies

> *Police terror is cumulative, lingering, time bending, and space collapsing. Whether the police kill immediately or kill slowly over time, police terror relies on an arithmetic of violence that operates on multiple frequencies. These frequencies compose police terror and its sequelae* (Smith 2021: 35).

> *Caminho funeral passa pa gueto* (Landim ft. Pika 2021).

Over the last decades several international monitoring agencies have been calling attention to the persistence of police ill-treatment and police violence, particularly towards black, Roma and migrant persons in Portugal (AI 2018; ECRI 2018; ENAR 2016), highlighting that "[…] it appears that infliction of ill-treatment particularly against persons of African descent and foreign nationals cannot be considered an infrequent practice" (CPT 2018: 15). The European Committee for the

Prevention of Torture and Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (CPT)[109] has been organizing periodic "visits to places of detention, in order to assess how persons deprived of their liberty are treated",[110] and publishing reports with findings, comments, questions and recommendations to national States (cf. CPT).[111] In the 2020 report on Portugal, the CPT highlighted that "a considerable number of allegations were again received from detained persons of ill-treatment at the time of apprehension, as well as during time spent in a police station" (CPT 2020: 4). It stated that "alleged ill-treatment consisted primarily of slaps, punches and kicks to the body and/or head as well as, on occasion, the use of batons or sticks" and "excessively tight handcuffing" (Ibidem). The report further underlined that many of these allegations were made by both Portuguese citizens and foreign nationals of African descent noticing that in addition to physical violence, the delegation also "received many allegations that police officers (PSP, GNR and PJ) insulted them verbally and referred in derogatory terms to the colour of their skin" (CPT 2020: 10). Overall, these bi-annual reports evidenced the pervasion of police terror and its sequelae, pointing out how it targets black people in particular. Whether killing slowly over time (through enforcement of physical and psychological harassment) or immediately (as an execution without trial), police brutality and police killings update antiblackness as a permanently open historical collective wound. In a country where the death penalty for civil crimes was abolished in 1867, "a death sentence after a procedural act [became] no more than a homicide carried out by the state, which should not use resources similar to those of individuals, since it holds the monopoly of legitimate violence", and thus being "expected to act on premises of rationality and responsibility for the defense of its interests as a state, but also of its population" (Vaz & Estevens 2021: 89). This debate is fundamental for understanding (i) the outline of a boundary between State and individual acts, and (ii) the double responsibility of the State both to punish and care – within a political order where to possess rights one has to be other than human, "one as to become the human's other, one has to become a citizen", positioning human-beings under the unequivocal tutelage of the nation-State (Salazar 2012: 197). Nonetheless, for the case of black and Roma populations – *captive flesh,* due to historical processes of dehumanization (Fanon 2008 [1952]; Weheliye 2014) they have become non-human's others, being physically alive but socially dead (cf. Patterson 2018).

The abolition of the death penalty also matched penal and prison reform and the establishment of the Civil Police in Lisbon and Oporto, reflecting "not only a new right to punish, but also a new political economy of punishment, with the power to punish more and better distributed among different institutions, making it more regular, effective, and rigorous in its intended effects" (Vaz & Estevens 2021: 88). Based on liberal and illuminist principles, the "right to punish went from

[109] Following the 'European Convention for the Prevention of Torture and Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment' (1989).

[110] Including prisons, juvenile detention centers, police stations, holding centers for immigration detainees, psychiatric hospitals or social care homes.

[111] More information available at: https://www.coe.int/en/web/cpt/about-the-cpt.

being a personal power of the sovereign, subject to his will, to a prerogative of society, in the sense of being able to defend itself, with a social limitation of the power of punishment", therefore entailing a "clearer codification and greater proportionality of penalties, less cruelty and arbitrariness in their application" but also "marked by the development of more rigorous mechanisms of coercion, in order to effect the necessary social control" (Ibidem). As punishment became a public matter, new logics and mechanisms to legitimize the monopoly of violence were reinstated, namely a complex penal system – a set of judicial, police and prison institutions subordinate to criminal law – legitimately capable to deter, control, combat and punish crime, assuring the maintenance of public order and internal security, dispensing capital punishment and the spectacle of death.

Going National

According to the data provided by the Directorate-General of Internal Administration (IGAI), between 1996 and 2020, law enforcement agencies have been involved in 3989 offenses to physical integrity, 127 firearm related injuries and 70 deaths, which happened in the course of or as a consequence of police actions (IGAI 1996-2020). IGAI is an independent office within the Ministry of Internal Administration[112] (MAI) monitoring police conduct.[113] IGAI is responsible to "ensure compliance with laws and regulations, contributing to the proper functioning of the services under the Minister's responsibility" and "the defense of the legitimate interests of citizens, the safeguarding of the public interest and the reinstatement of violated legality" (Decree-Law no. 227/95, Article no.3, paragraph 1) – monitoring (because condemning) the excessive use of force by police authorities. Under this rational, since 1996, IGAI has been issuing annual reports, detailing its activities and particularly its inspective and administrative procedurals, constituting the only public national resource to monitor police conduct in the country. However, due to the fact that there is no official-systemic-public collection of disaggregated data by race and ethnicity in Portugal, annual reports by IGAI do not include references to the ethnic/racial origin of the victims of alleged police misconduct – turning it impossible to examine the scope and scale of the complains mapped by the CPT regarding antiblack police ill-treatment. Yet, this absence is not absolute. If we cross-reference data provided by IGAI with the archive of the Portuguese Association SOS Racismo, it allows to (roughly) tackle racialized police brutality and, most of all, its lethality. SOS Racismo is a non-profit antiracist association created in 1990, in the aftermath of the political assassination of the militant of the Socialist Revolutionary Party (PSR), José Carvalho, by extreme-right forces, in October 1989. Over the last thirty years, SOS Racismo has been

[112] Over the last years, international monitoring agencies' reports have been calling attention to the lack of independence of the Inspection (ECRI 2018).

[113] Created by Decree-Law no. 227/95 (cf. https://dre.tretas.org/dre/69078/decreto-lei-227-95-de-11-de-setembro.

persistently denouncing and combating racism, counting with a precious and rare, informal but extensive, archive on the recent history of (anti)racism in the country.

The SOS Racismo's archive comprises mostly newspaper articles and reports but also letters, emails and (legal) complains sent to the association mostly since 1991, covering a wide range of subjects on racial (in)equalities, such as (non)access to education, housing and justice by Roma, black and migrant populations; immigration, asylum and 'integration' polices; far-right organization(s) or police brutality. As such, the headquarters of SOS Racismo is the only known place in the country where it is possible to find a chronological and catalogued collection of fourteen files dedicated to map police mis(conduct).

The 'Police Violence' files are far from being limited to occurrences with minoritized groups. Indeed, analyzing these files is particularly challenging as in many cases there are no refences to the racial profile of the victims. Nonetheless, the SOS Racismo archive covers with particular attention reports (news and complains) on racist events, namely on police abuse and brutality. It must also be noticed that it encompasses mostly occurrences in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area (LMA), which might be explained by (i) geographical disproportion in media coverage regarding the LMA, (ii) existent social movements and (iii) predominance of black and Roma populations in these latitudes. Together, these factors, increase visibility over the LMA. Therefore, SOS Racismo archive, even if not limited to, is mostly both antiracist and urban/metropolitan/Lisbon-centered. Accordingly, this may influence the overrepresentation of occurrences in the scope of interventions of the Public Security Police (PSP) (266), even if the archive also covers a wide range of events related with the militarized National Republic Guard (GNR) (77) as well as the investigative Judicial Police (PJ) (11).[114]

SOS Racismo's archive reveals that over the last thirty years (1991-2021), there have been 364 cases[115] where police authorities have resorted to physical force, resulting in 241 episodes involving

[114] The archive also includes information concerning violent events that have occurred in immigrant detention centers under tutelage of the Foreigners and Borders Service (SEF), as well as in jails, under the scope of the General-Directorate of Prison Services (DGSP). However, taking into consideration the scope of this project, the analysis disregarded these last two police forces, as well as cases involving private security companies and gendered, neighbor and professional violence. Despite the fact that these are occurrences investigated by IGAI and monitored by SOS Racismo, as the main aim of this analysis is to understand the consequences of police actions, and more specifically the use of physical force by police authorities – which have resulted in offenses to physical integrity, shootings and deaths – when arguing to prevent and combat (urban) crime and endorse public order and security, this analysis will focus on police actions of the three main police actors in doing so: Public Security Police (PSP), National Republic Guard (GNR) and Judicial Police (PJ).

[115] In cases where different kinds of violence were used and when the events resulted in deaths: when there is aggressions and shootings, I am counting shootings; when there are shooting and deaths, I am counting deaths – so to keep coherence of the analysis by cases.

offenses to physical integrity, 46 involving shootings and 76 involving the death of civilians.[116] In order to be able to cross-examine this data with the figures provided by IGAI, I narrowed the timeframe to 1996-2020. Accordingly, over the last 24 years, SOS Racismo registered a total of 286 cases, of which 185 involved offenses to physical integrity, 41 involved shootings (lethal or rubber bullets) and 60 involved the death of civilians (totaling 62 deaths).[117] As previously noticed, for this same time frame, IGAI registered 3989 offenses to physical integrity, 127 firearm related injuries and 70 deaths. Taking into account the disparity of the numbers provided by IGAI and SOS regarding offenses to physical integrity (3689/188) and firearm related injuries/shootings (127/39) and the close figures regarding the number of deaths (70/62), I will focus now on the latter, as they can help us to disclose police lethality by race in Portugal.

Among the 70 deaths registered by IGAI and the 62 registered by SOS Racismo we were able to identify 13 black persons[118] – representing 19% of the total number of deaths mapped by IGAI –, and 12 Roma persons – representing a 17% of the total number of deaths mapped by IGAI. Together, between 1996 and 2020, 25 black and Roma people perished – representing 36% of total deaths mapped by IGAI.

YEAR	PLACE	VICTIMS	RACIAL PROFILE	POLICE
1996	LISBOA	1	BLACK	PSP
1996	AVEIRO	2	ROMA	PSP
1999	SANTARÉM	1	ROMA	GNR
2000	PORTO	1	ROMA	PSP
2000	PORTO	1	ROMA	PSP
2001	AMADORA	1	BLACK	PSP
2002	SETÚBAL	1	BLACK	PSP
2002	ODIVELAS	1	BLACK	PSP
2003	AMADORA	1	BLACK	PSP
2003	LOURES	1	ROMA	PSP
2004	AMADORA	1	BLACK	PSP
2005	VENDAS NOVAS	1	ROMA	GNR
2005	LISBOA	1	BLACK	PSP
2005	LAGOS	1	ROMA	PSP
2006	LOURES	1	ROMA	GNR

[116] While there were 76 cases involving deaths. For two of them we know that two people have died, totaling 78 deaths.

[117] Besides the 62 registered deaths by GNR, PSP, PJ, we can confirm eight more, which occurred within this time frame: three in immigrant detention facilities (Lisbon, 2004, 2020; Porto, 2006); three in the prison industrial complex (Caxias, 1996; Coimbra, 2001; Vale de Judeus, 2004); two fatal shootings by police authorities, one against a security guard (Lisbon, 2005) and another against a spouse of a policemen (Loures, 2005) – totaling 70 deaths, just like the ones provided by the records of IGAI (70/70).

[118] In order to do so, we took into consideration that besides 'black', 'cape-Verdean' is commonly used as a synonym of 'black'. In some other cases it was also possible to confirm the written information with pictures in the newspapers. Territory was not used as a proxy to race.

2008	AMADORA	1	ROMA	PSP
2008	LOURES	1	ROMA	GNR
2009	AMADORA	1	BLACK	PSP
2009	PORTIMÃO	1	BLACK	GNR
2010	LISBOA	1	BLACK	PSP
2013	AMADORA	1	BLACK	PSP
2016	MOITA	1	BLACK	PSP
2017	VILA FRANCA DE	1	BLACK	PSP
2020	SEIXAL	1	ROMA	GNR
TOTAL		25		

Figure 10 | Total of deaths of black and Roma persons in Portugal (1996-2020)
Source: SOS Racism Archive (2022)

Considering that according to official data, there is an estimate total of 37.000 Roma persons in Portugal, totaling 0,4% of the Portuguese population (Mendes, Magano & Candeias 2014), it is possible to ascertain that Roma people are killed 43 times more than non-Roma in Portugal. However, there is no official data regarding black populations. Following the work and methods of Pedro Abrantes and Cristina Roldão on education (2019), we used data relative to persons with nationalities of Portuguese-Speaking African Countries (PALOP) assuming nationality as a *proxy* to race. While its limitations must be acknowledged,[119] it allows at least to trace a closer portrait of the intersection between police killings and antiblackness. Taking into account that in 2019, persons with PALOP nationalities represented 0,9% of the total population, we can roughly establish that black persons are killed 21 times more than non-blacks. These ciphers reveal the overrepresentation of Roma and black people among police killings, disclosing one of the mechanisms through which the on-going anti-Roma and anti-black genocide continues to be carried out, not only at the European borders – the Mediterranean – but within national territories, such as Portugal.

This same exercise is not possible regarding offences to physical integrity nor shootings, due to the disparity of the numbers of cases mapped by IGAI and SOS Racismo. However, considering the relevance and the detail of the data provided by the SOS Racismo' archive that we cannot grasp in the reports provided by IGAI, I will analyze it with closer attention, as it allows to deepen the debate on the intersection between police brutality and race/racism, by focusing on the absolute universe provided by the archive of SOS Racismo over the last thirty years.

As previously highlighted, between 1991-2021, SOS Racismo registered 364 cases of which 241 involved offenses to physical integrity, 47 shootings and 76 the death of civilians in the course of

[119] Given the lack of census data collection on race and ethnicity in Portugal, a statistical approximation to the weight of the black population, despite all the weaknesses, is the use of the PALOP 'nationality' variable. We know that by using this variable an important part of the black population that has Portuguese nationality, or, for example, Brazilian nationality, is not covered. We also know that not all people with PALOP nationality are black. However, the importance of this analysis for the phenomenon under study justifies essaying this approach.

or as a consequence of police interventions. In 107 occasions the cases involved black persons, in 36 Roma – in some situations involving more than one, including in 1996, where PSP killed two Roma men during a police operation –, in 38 white and in 157 we have no information on ethnic/racial origin of the victims.

CASES INVOLVING POLICE VIOLENCE (1991-2021)		N	%
CITY COUNCIL (MOST RELEVANT)	ALMADA	12	3,3 %
	AMADORA	51	14,0%
	LISBOA	76	20,9%
	LOURES	16	4,4%
	PORTO	24	6,6%
	SEIXAL	11	3,0%
	SETÚBAL	12	3,3%
	SINTRA	21	5,8%
	OTHERS	141	38,7%
	TOTAL	**364**	**100%**
TYPE OF OFFENSE	OFFENSES TO PHYSICAL	242	66,2%
	FIREARM INJURY	46	12,9%
	DEATH	76	20,9%
	TOTAL	**364**	**100%**
POLICE FORCE	GNR	77	21,2%
	PSP	266	73,0%
	NO INFORMATION + OTHER	21	5,8%
	TOTAL	**364**	**100%**
RACIAL PROFILE OF THE VICTIMS	ROMA	36	9,9%
	BLACK	107	29,4%
	(NON-BLACK) MIGRANTS	26	7,1%
	WHITES	38	10,5%
	NO INFORMATION + OTHER	157	43,1%
	TOTAL	**364**	**100%**

Figure 11 | Resumed data on Police Brutality in Portugal (1991-2021)
Source: SOS Racism Archive (2022)

Therefore, according to data provided by SOS Racismo, we are able to understand that, between 1991-2021, from a total of 78 registered murders at the hands of PSP, GNR and PJ, 18 people (23%) were black and 14 were Roma (18%). As for the shootings, we know that of the total 46 registered shootings, 10 people (22%) were black and 7 were Roma (15%). Finally, amid 242 cases involving offenses to physical integrity, in 78 occasions people were black (32%) and in 16 occasions, Roma (7%) – something that shows, in absolute, the overrepresentation of black and Roma individuals in cases involving the use of force. This compilation also allows to identify the municipalities with most registered cases: Lisbon (20,9%), Amadora (14%), Porto (6,6%), Sintra (5,8%) and Loures (4,4%). Importantly, according to the 2021 Census, Lisbon registers 544.851 inhabitants, Amadora 171.719, Porto 231.962, Sintra 385.954 and Loures 201 646 inhabitants (INE, 2021). In this context, even though Amadora is the Council with less inhabitants, it registered, proportionately

the highest number of cases involving police brutality in the country. Therefore, it is necessary to have a closer look to these cases. In total, between 1991-2021, 7 black men and 1 Roma woman have died during or as a consequence of police interventions in Amadora, meaning that among the 8 deaths caused by the police in this municipality, all involved non-white citizens, allegedly killed as a consequence of aggressions, shootings and negligence.[120]

Going local

António Sebastião, an Angolan evacuated to receive medical treatment in Portugal, was shot to death in Damaia (1992), just like Amilcar Bacai was in Alfragide (1993), Angelo Semedo in Cova da Moura (2001), Carlos Reis in Bairro do Zambujal (2003) – after a police chase while driving to the hospital with his pregnant wife – and Elson Sanches during a police chase in Quinta da Lage (2009). Ana Paula[121] died from a heart attack when her car was pulled over, for about 45 minutes, by the police, as they were heading the hospital, in a hurry (2008). Both José Carlos Vicente (2004) and Diogo Seidi (2013) died in the aftermath of being allegedly beaten by police authorities in the police station of Reboleira. With the exception of António Sebastião (1992) and Amilcar Bacai (1993), all the killings took place either in self-produced neighborhoods – Cova da Moura, 6 de Maio, Quinta da Lage – or in public rehousing quarters – Zambujal –, between 1992 and 2013.

Among the 9 cases of police shootings that occurred between 1995 and 2015, in the municipality of Amadora, 4 cases involved black persons (among who one is described as Sao-Tomean), and there is no information available on the racial or ethnic origin of the victim for the other 5 cases. Nonetheless, except in 1 of the cases (involving two persons shot), all other 8 cases occurred in self-produced neighborhoods – Cova da Moura (2002), Fontaínhas (1995, 1996, 1997, 1997) and 6 de Maio (1996, 1996, 2015). Considering that these three neighborhoods are/were particularly inhabited by black persons, it would not be too far out to think that these victims were also black.[122]

Moreover, there were 34 cases of offenses to physical integrity registered in the Council of Amadora. In 18 occasions the victims were black, and in one of the cases Roma. Besides, it is also possible to identify that almost half of the cases (15) took place in the self-produced latitudes of

[120] If we narrow the time frame to 1996-2020, six people were killed by the police in interventions in Amadora, all were non-whites. When compared with the data by IGAI, 9% of the persons killed in the country, died in Amadora. As Amadora represents only 1,7% of the Portuguese population, in this municipality people are killed 5 times more than in the rest of the country. Besides, we also know that in 2011, there were 10 727 persons with nationality from the PALOP in Amadora (representing 6 % of the entire population). As five of the people killed were black (representing 83% of the deaths in the City Council), they are killed 14 times more than non-black people.

[121] News report do not provide her surname.

[122] In the awake of the 21st century, many of these neighborhoods had disappeared in the scope of the Special Rehousing Programme, giving rise to the public rehousing neighborhoods Casal da Boba, Casal do Silva and Casal da Mira, joining the already existent Zambujal, mostly administered by central authorities, through IHRU.

Cova da Moura, Fontaínhas, Estrela d'África and 6 de Maio, while one took place in its surroundings. Furthermore, five took place in Casal de São Brás (either at or in the surroundings of the public rehousing quarter of Casal da Boba – interesting to notice that these cases occurred after 2001, the year when the rehousing process of Fontaínhas started). Two of the aggressions took place in restaurants in Damaia and Alfragide. Moreover, several aggressions took place in State facilities: seven took place inside police stations (five in Alfragide police headquarters), and one outside the City Council (in a protest against evictions in Santa Filomena), one inside the court. Finally, one aggression took place in a train station while two others do not have any particular information on the place. As we have previously noted, if we consider that many of these territories are mostly inhabited by black people, we could speculate that there is high probability that in the total universe of aggressions in Amadora, in 24 of the cases (meaning 6 more), the victims of police violence were black.

The analysis of SOS Racismo archived data reveals that police brutality thrives in the municipality of Amadora, particularly targeting black people inhabiting in self-produced neighborhoods and public rehousing quarters. Moreover, if we pay attention to the dates, we can identify that when people were transferred from their homes to State's rental apartments, police brutality seemed to have travelled with them. This shows how black bodies bear the weight of violence and the constant peril of disappearing via brutal beatings or sharp bullets, executions. Systematizing these numbers led us to confirm the series of complaints filed by black political militants, grassroots collectives and institutions which, at least, since the 1990s have denounced police abuse and brutality in Amadora, among which we may find the Cultural Association Moinho da Juventude, Association Unidos de Cabo-Verde, Plataforma Gueto, Movement Nu Sta Djunto, Collective Mumia Abu-Jamal, Movement SOS Racismo, Association Habita 65, among others.[123]

Police abuse and harassment, besides physical injuries, are common topics of conversation among black populations in Amadora, despite gender or age. While white civil society insists in its legitimation, namely by turning it into exceptional occurrences, the secret has long been revealed because police threat and terror is routine in the lives of black peripheralized populations, particularly youngsters in Amadora. Indeed, it was striking how during this project, I had never had to ask specifically about this issue, police brutality was just there, in the stories, in place, in the place, in the phone calls, as something that could not be untied from black lived experiences in the country. This was made evident by several inhabitants of Casal da Mira, when commenting the actions of the police: police brutality rushes the heart, makes hands sweaty, dries the throat, humiliates, asphyxiates, traumatizes, and can, ultimately, kill. I grouped these experiences in several sections, that can but don't necessary constitute patterns, but summarize and put somehow here, in dialogue, everyday histories of police terror.

[123] Several of these letters and complains were found in the SOS Racism archive, as others can be found online or were collected throughout the research process.

2. Inhabiting the Realm of Suspicion: Black Knowledge and Police Impunity

By chance, I went to Pontinha' police station three times. Once was on the New Year's Eve. The police station in areas like this are all the same. [Rita - What do you mean by zones like this?] What can I say? Zones as they used to say: shantytowns, clandestine housing... These zones were created, and [then] the policemen came (Interview with Manuel, October 2017).

On 06-07-2013, around 05:00, me and 5 other young people were in Santa Filomena – the neighborhood where we were born – in a visible and well-lit place. We had just arrived from a July 5th Party celebrating Cape Verde's independence, held in the social neighborhood of Casal da Boba. Moments after our arrival, a Police Intervention Department van - Alfragide Police Station, license plate number XX-XX-XX, with more or less six agents, passed by our side, and we continued our conversation. Ten minutes after the first passage, the same officers returned and, unexpectedly, stopped the van in front of us and with an excessive aggressiveness, shouting as they were leaving the van, but without letting us know under what order, warrant or communication the intervention was being made. It should be noted that [d]uring the entire operation none of the agents was identified neither identified themselves. It must be noticed that removing names from their chests when carrying out operations in the neighborhoods of the municipality of Amadora is, indeed, a reiterated practice by PSP agents and civil servants of Portuguese Public Administration. Confronted with this situation and being a young lawyer who was born and raised in the [n]eighborhood – believing that lawyers cannot be inhibited before any jurisdiction, authority or public or private entity in the defense of rights – I presented myself and asked the agents for permission to turn around, lower my arms and presented my professional license, already in my hand by then. Unbelievably, I received, in response to the legitimate exercise of my right, the approach of the barrel of a "Shot Gun" – wielded by one of the officers – 5 cm from the back of my neck, accompanied by the expression "Shut up, or I'll put two bullets in your head right now!". [Besides, t]he operation was marked by several unnecessary acts of gratuitous violence – since the situation was always under control – as, for several times, they offended and assaulted citizens who were with their back to the officers and with their hands on a vehicle (Semedo 2013).

On July 15, 2013, Miguel, a young black lawyer, born and raised in Santa Filomena neighborhood, filed a complaint to the Ombudsman denouncing an (un)expected episode of police brutality in the neighborhood. The complaint draws on a specific episode to denounce routine brutality as a broader practice in *run-down* districts and is paradigmatic of police conduct as gratuitous violence *deployed in* particular peripheralized latitudes. The lack of response also shows the impunity of police authorities even when events are legally reported.[124] Indeed, violence relapse and institutional silence were leading factors that lead to the filling of a second complaint to the Ombudsman, in January 2014. The document described another episode of police violence on New Year's Eve, in Santa Filomena, reporting that two police officers driving a Fiat Punto, passed by a fraternizing crowd of about fifty people (children, adults and elders) firing "two shotgun shots through the car window at point-blank range into the crowd" and two more when driving away (Fernandes 2014). The Complaint stresses the immediate terrorizing consequences of this kind of police conduct as it emphasizes how these performances further erode police credibility within the community of Santa Filomena: it appears that police "officers who patrol self-produced neighborhoods inhabited by low-income people, among them African immigrants" seem to be "comfortable with their bad performances" (Ibidem). In this context, police terror has two possible immediate outcomes, (i) physical and psychological sequelae, and (ii) distrust on State institutions and the justice system in particular (e.g., police, courts). Complaining by "embracing a discourse of rights and citizenship" calls for a "direct confrontation with state power, rather than amalgamation into its institutions" (Alves 2018: 181; Elliott-Cooper 2021: 22). Indeed, (legally) questioning routine police performances and strategies (e.g., surveillance, raids) – meaning the Police as an institution safeguarding democratic values, public security and guaranteeing the rights of all citizens[125] – bound by legal tools and rationalities (e.g., anti-drug, anti-crime and anti-immigration policies and legislation) puts into question the legitimacy of the State to have the monopoly of violence. And people know that – since (in)justice has been a pervasive reality of black living experiences – the access to justice, filing a lawsuit, and being able to pursue penal proceedings is not only traumatic, as it is time and economically consuming. Hence, even if the available numbers on police brutality are extremely important, they are far from representing everyday police verbal and physical abuse.

Events like those recounted in Miguel's complaints can be heard, from time to time, in peripheral neighborhoods, not only as a form to socialize pain and revolt, but also to raise awareness and produce knowledge, as a form of protection. What follows over the next pages are some of these stories, the ones shared with consent during many of our conversations. The striking thing is that it was never necessary to ask as these experiences were closely tied to people's family histories, housing histories, the neighborhood and, therefore, their livelihoods.

[124] This summer has been also marked by two other complains of police brutality towards black youngsters in a self-produced neighborhood in Amadora (Maeso, Alves, Fernandes and Oliveira 2020).

[125] https://www.psp.pt/Pages/sobre-nos/quem-somos/o-que-e-a-psp.aspx.

Warrants and Raids as Invasion

From time to time, at dawn, while people are still sleeping, police can knock or break the front door in a self-produced home or in public rehousing apartment, claiming to have a warrant that people are not always allowed to see, and when they do, it can state a name that they have never heard before (headnotes, 2021). Therefore, a *mis*take or not, it is probable that people have experienced it, either personally or through the narratives of family, friends or neighbors, revealing that when living in certain geographies no-one is exempt from having the police knocking or entering their homes, once homes are extensions of the neighborhood – turning all houses to be framed, by law enforcement, as (potential) refuges of crime and criminals. Nevertheless, more common that warrants, are street raids, near cafes and bars. These events raise can lead to raise tension between inhabitants and policemen, as it can led to beating or to detentions.

> *It has already happened to me, they came... they arrived at my house, said that they had a search warrant and put everyone on the floor, inside the house. They said they were looking for someone, they came in, but they didn't break the door down – I was surprised – they knocked [...]. There were children, women. Everyone on the floor, they searched, looked around, messed everything up, and came out and said it was a mistake, just like that* (Interview with Carlos, November 2017).
>
> *Then you see the cops come here, when they see that we've been quiet for a week… two weeks without making noise, they come here with their riot vans, all their weaponry, beating people and shit, so they can provoke us because it seems that they don't feel good if we're quiet. [...] Once there was a raid here in the neighborhood, they caught me on the street, they caught a lot of blacks... then they put me in the van – I wasn't even supposed to go, but the cop only took me because he said he wanted to meet me! I heard the cops outside talking, 'Fuck, that's disgusting! I'm disgusted by that race! I hate that breed! God had no pity on that race! I'm disgusted by this race' but I couldn't say nothing because if I spoke, I'd get slapped, I'd get hit* (Interview with António, November 2017).
>
> *The police decided to do a raid out of nowhere. They got there and started to tell people: "Get the fuck up against the wall!" and they [asked] "But what did we do?" – because they passed by and started to look at the kids with a provocative air; but they were stupid, and they fell for it: "What are you looking at? [...] [And suddenly, after a while] it was full of police and the vans had already arrived on this street and they handcuffed them all and put them in the car. At that moment it was kicks… I don't know what. That's one thing I tell them: they are dumb, because they all have big cell phones, it's in those situations where everyone should film"* (Interview with Emilia, August 2017).
>
> *Just now, at the [party of] St. Michael, we were having a good time until late in the morning, and they passed by, and they were all showing off! There were four motorcycles, each motorcycle had two... the other one behind had to stand up! [...] Well, that exhibition at*

> *that hour, for example, they were provoking! That's the time that, if they are doing their work, they have to do their work properly, they don't have to provoke the others, because they often do that. For example, I'm going alone, I'm here [...] two policemen come, they start looking at me, I can't look at them. I look at them, "What are you looking at!?" – why didn't he ask the question, why is he looking at me? And he has to ask me... if I answer things are already complicated because the answer I give, he won't like... he will already start to be aggressive. Why? It's a law they made, so that when it's one, they isolate, we always have to be two, we are always in majority. Besides having weapons, they must always be two* (Interview with Manuel, October 2017).

All these narratives exemplify how warrants and raids are police tools which turn certain territories into *suspect communities* putting all its inhabitants under imminent threat (Elliott-Cooper 2021). In this context, the territory appears as an important marker of crime for police authorities. People are often suspects/criminals before subjects through a process of discursive epidermization, turning the notion of periphery not strictly into "a matter of geographical location, but, in the Fanonian perspective, as meaning of hierarchization of racial, economic and cultural differences" (Almada 2020: 9, 10). The work of anthropologist Susana Durão (2006) on police patrolling and proximity, is flawless in disclosing how profiling can exceed the neighborhood, explaining how policemen identify what they denominate as *mitras* (understood as white or black youngsters from specific urban areas) when they are outside the neighborhood:

> *If I see him [the mitra] in another part of town I can recognize him by his attitude, his behavior, the way he walks down the street, his gold earrings, the way he wears his hat, his designer clothes and sneakers, his Benfica t-shirt, his girlfriend, his dog (if it's a pit bull), his car and the sound of his tuning. They are almost all the same. That's why we also call them twins. In the poor neighborhood next door, the kids are nothing alike, they are like those from any other neighborhood in Lisbon, from Alfama, for example* (apud Durão 2006: 238-239).

The fact that spatial and racial markers can be intersected by the police to profile individuals, particularly young blacks in Amadora, is a well-known reality for the inhabitants of Casal da Mira, as youngsters have been grabbed, confused with other persons or directly addressed as criminals by police officers,

> *Because they [the police] know that young people... [are] from that neighborhood... and [that] in that neighborhood there are problematic youngsters [...] they end up paying for it, so to speak, even when they haven't done anything. We've had young people who have been grabbed, confused with others. I've had an identical situation outside of here too, they accused me of stealing, when I never... and I was beaten up inside the police station – I never did anything – because I was similar, because I looked like some other young man. I*

never had a lawsuit or anything like that, but he was similar [to me]. The car went by – we were in the street with friends talking –, a policeman came down from the car, the young man identified me as the one who had robbed him, and I went ... (laughs). It's my word against the young man's word. And then, I understood that my word was worthless: I denied it, denied it, denied it, and indeed, to this day, I have never been approached or called for any case, never! (Interview with Carlos, January 2018).

I'm going to tell you an episode that happened with my brother. My brother was going to Dolce Vita with his girlfriend – who is white – and there was a group of kids coming from Dolce Vita and they mugged a white couple that was asking for help. My brother went to help them – this happened behind the police station. He went to help them, and then the police came out. The police came out, and when they got there, they started beating my brother while the girl said: "He didn't do it, he didn't do it" – but they were blind and started kicking and whatnot. They handcuffed him. They put him inside the car, and he was like: "But I didn't do anything, I didn't do anything!"; "Shut up motherfucker!" – that kind of thing. And, at some point, they took out the pepper spray and they hit him with the gas... he was inside the car and started losing consciousness. When he started foaming at the mouth, they called the INEM [ambulance] – he ended up fainting (Interview with Emilia, August 2017).

The policeman once shot my son – rubber bullets –, the kid was ten years old, a shame, here in Mira. They shot the kid in the foot, and I went to court because the policeman made up a story that the kids were stealing, and they were not stealing! They were in an abandoned house many years ago, there was no door, there was nothing... the kids went there to play, you know how curious kids are. [...] Then, the police went there – the neighbors called – [and] the kids started running away. They shot at the kids. I got to the police station, and I saw the kid with his leg all marked with rubber bullets.... and what does the policeman do? He goes there to investigate. As soon as I arrived, I could see the cops' faces: "You have no shame, you are already inventing things to incriminate the kids...". Before they do what I am already used to – I was born with this problem – I told them right away, "You're making shit up to fuck with the kids, aren't you?". [And] I told them "The day that you kill some kids here in Portugal we're going to make a revolution... but to burn this shit so that you can feel that we're alive, that we're here. We're quiet…. but you don't know what sort of bomb you're making. [...] So the police see the kids, just because he's black he is shot, if it was a white guy he wouldn't shoot! Because the kids are black, to say it's black! "So?! What kind of cop is that? [...] Don't tell me you can't run after a twelve, thirteen-year-old? What kind of cop are you? So, you're a cop just to shoot people? That is the education that the police in Portugal, in Amadora, have... (Interview with António, November 2017).

Shooting *sons*, harming *brothers*, pulling *friends* against the wall or *families* on the floor later justified by *defiance*, *mistakes* or *erroneous* warrants reveals the discretionary power conceded to police authorities in *high-risk areas*. Being forced to stay at home, stay quiet or being labeled as disrespectful for not answering or avoid eye contact under penalty of being harassed, beaten or taken to a police station illustrates how the racial State reveals itself daily in *high-risk areas*. I recall being in court listening to the testimony of a black women which was mistakenly shot by a rubber bullet during a police intervention (headnotes, 2019). At some point the president judge asked her if the police had, any mean of protection with them, to which the testimony replied, they didn't. The president judge insisted and asked her if they had batons or shields, to which the testimony immediately replied they did. While this left the judge, somehow, puzzled, it is a paradigmatic example on two different understandings of the police: a privileged white judge which perceived police as a security force and a black peripheralized woman, which understood the police as possible aggressors. To be sure, as black presence was historically built on the public and institutional imaginary as illegitimate and dangerous, the use of military vehicles (e.g., arm vehicles) or techniques (e.g., riot police, sieges, check points or random searches) are routine State apparatus before *occupied territories*. In this context, going to a police station in the aftermath of an event such to check on a friend or to file a complaint can also entail dangerousness, as being arrested and even brutalized became plausible hypothesis.

Unbearable Black Joy[126]

It is common that police interventions occur to end parties or other kinds of gatherings, like christenings or birthdays. Many of these interventions are justified by the argument of noisiness, particularly at night. Police actions to end conviviality occur also during the day on commercial premises, as restaurants and bars, or in their surroundings, in particular houses or even in the street when a bunch of people get together to enjoy the afternoon. What all these events seem to have in common is people getting together, celebration, joy and black well-being:

> *Once there was a young man... it was his mother's birthday – his mother is sick – and he was so happy that it was her birthday, he started celebrating and got drunk in the café. He happened to go out in the street and a police car was passing by – gratuitous violence. They put his face on the ground, with their foot on his face, everything. Then they called a riot van, it came, and they started verbally abusing people. [And people saying]: 'But he didn't do anything!'; and they: 'Oh, he's resisting the arrest!'; and people: 'But why is he being arrested? He didn't do anything...'* (Interview with Emilia, August 2017).

[126] I would like to stress that the first time I came to debate the notion of 'black joy' was with the students of the discipline *Housing, race and inheritance*, at the University of California Santa Barbara. A special thanks to them for all the amazing conversations that we had throughout the quarter, from which I learned so much.

That happens often, all you need is to have parties at night, right? It's normal that we have to have a schedule to end the party but... you only need to have a party, they [the police] come... it's just that the way they come is not... it's not the way they come, it's the way they interfere, it's not the right way (Interview with Emilia, June 2018).

I don't know if it was this or last month. We were listening to music, all afternoon, it was about nine-thirty, ten o'clock at night. It was hot, tremendously hot, and the kids were in the pool. A civilian car drove by, drove up, drove down. In all this, they passed down 'Good evening', and we 'Good evening!'. They addressed the kids in the pool:

'So, the water's fine?';

'- Yes, yes, the water's fine!';

'- It's hot, isn't it?';

'- Yes!' - and we had the ambient music;

'- Let's turn the music off', and we did.

There was only one man there. There was only this guy there, but he was facing the wall, he was – I don't know – fiddling with his phone because he was taking pictures and putting them on Facebook and he didn't even realize it and we were like: 'Turn the music off!'; and we were women who were there, [...], and we turned to the guy: 'Look, turn the music off' and they [the police] made sure we turned the music off. And we were left with that feeling: What have we done? It's like this, you want to be at the pool, you can be at the pool all you want, but no music?! (Interview with Emilia, August 2017).

Police interventions in Mira are, somehow, routine interventions. Possibly, police pass thru or come more often to the neighborhood than any other State's institution. Interventions are often categorized as disproportionate and conflictive by the inhabitants. The stories above have in common the description of police interventions before black joy. In this matter, I argue that according to a social imaginary which portrays public housing quarters as miserable (and public in the sense of ownership from which black persons are accused to not contribute), it becomes intolerable that people do not act accordingly: meaning being joyful and happy. In this sense, policing black collective gatherings, parties, rituals and, in the limit, joy, contributes to expel black bodies from the realm of the affective and the human. Furthermore, these processes are endorsed also by categorization mechanisms, following particular "cognitive and punitive maps of work and police officers' relationship with people in patrol routines" (Durão 2006: 236).

According to Durão, individuals who are perceived by the police as people competing "for territory with policeman and challeng[ing] the authority and 'orderliness' of cities with their ways and arrangements of life, which may be more or less illicit", are differentiated by the police according

to five categories: *mitras*, *carochos*, *alienated persons alcoholics* and *blacks* (Ibidem).[127] Following the work of Hortense Spillers, nick names attributed to African-America women in the aftermath of the middle passage "demonstrate the powers of distortion that the dominant community seizes as its unlawful prerogative" to which she names "the business of dehumanized naming" (1987: 69). Spillers proceeds by arguing that the loss of the name "provides a metaphor of displacement for other human and cultural features and relations" (1987: 73).

> *One of my brothers went to Pingo Doce and the police caught him: "What's your nickname?", and he said: "I don't have a nickname". "Ah, what black man doesn't have a nickname?" And then they smacked him... He had to say what his nickname was. And then they arrived there and gave him a few slaps and kicks and whatnot, and he said no, that he didn't have a nickname...* (Interview with Emilia, August 2017).

Moreover, it can also be noted how expunging black persons from the realm of humanity can be done through the denial of belonging, revealing, once again, the unwillingness of not-imagining black people as Portuguese as a mechanism of displacing them.

> *Once, in Amadora, they went there to make a raid, so there were a lot of people against the wall. They got there, they pulled everybody over - cops from the north, they didn't know anything, they came novices... just to... they came to train, to beat blacks. What happened? When they started asking for ID, everyone got their ID, all Portuguese, the police officer got scared: "What? Are you guys' Portuguese? All Portuguese?"* (Interview with Antonio, November 2017).

Following Durão, "black people are generally not very well regarded in mainstream police culture" even when compared to other minoritized groups. Indeed, policemen elect black persons as the one's "who deceive [police] the most about our true nationality" (2006: 251). Besides, they "exchange jokes such as 'I shake hands with a white man as much as I shake necks with a black man', and in several situations assume racial prejudices" (Ibidem), resulting on situation such as,

> *Even when it is not evident that someone is a mitra, blacks tend to be viewed as suspects, or at least their situation is more vulnerable. When officers spot a black man on a street corner, they immediately comment on the fact and take the person as a suspect. If he is young and in a referenced location, he is more likely to be stopped, searched, and taken to the police station* (Ibidem).

[127] Together with the 'offenders and born-again offenders' (mostly referring to drivers), the previous five categories are in opposition with the good citizens, either (i) citizens with power (medium class citizens, as doctors and lawyers), (ii) in need of support (children and elderly people) and friends of the police (people that become familiar in patrol routines and proximity) (Idem).

And this is transmitted as police knowledge and/in practice. This kind of knowledge is passed on through the socialization between policemen, through initiation rites. Beyond the school walls, freshmen will get in touch with reality:

> *Those policemen there... from Cova da Moura that have been kidnapping people, they've already kidnapped a friend of mine, they beat a friend of mine until they couldn't beat him anymore... because when cops go police, they go to hunt the blacks! They all go with the faith that "I'm going to get that n*****r, I'm going to beat him up" and here, the policeman who doesn't beat up the n***** has no prize. The other time I was coming down the ramp here, the police car came, they stopped me, searched me, saw that I didn't have anything. There was a rookie. The chief turns to the rookie and says "Slap him" – he forced the rookie to slap me, and the rookie didn't want to. The boss told him "Slap him" - do you understand? The boss is the boss – the boss! Like, "Newbie, you have to learn to slap the n*****, slap him…". He slapped me and then they came down here and started shooting, shooting to show that they're there: "We're training the newbies to deal with the n*****!", because Portugal is just like that, his eye is just on the n*****, n*****, n*****, they don't see anything else* (Interview with Antonio, November 2017).

> *I know many policemen. I heard policemen reporting things at the police station that… […] Once was a chasing and then, I heard an agent saying…. I got into the police station, he enters, and they were always like provoking, "Sons of bitches! Bugs! They're all going to die… Besides, they told episodes… "So, that black son of a bitch… They stole a car, and we were called because the car was stolen, and we gave chase, but they stopped the car and started running. We went after them. Well, a black guy left on one side and a white guy left on the other and I went after the black guy and the guy ran and entered the street like this, so I caught the guy – I kicked him so hard in the face". Like this. He's here and I'm here cleaning the floor, I was sweeping, then I went to clean it up. [He proceeded], "I kicked him so hard in that trunk! I kicked him in the knees and the back of the leg with my baton. I enjoyed it! I enjoyed doing that. And I knew it wasn't the n***** that was driving but I kicked him so hard in the head... but the motherfucker was tough, there was no way the motherfucker could pass out or give him a heart attack or something" – and I heard the cop say that* (Interview with Emilia, August 2017).

Again, following the work of Durão, it is evident how racism informs police work and practices as colonial mimesis,

> *In units considered more 'operational' and order control, in the rapid intervention pickets, it is not uncommon to say, 'We're going on a n***** hunt!' For example, at the time of Euro 2004 several officers in police stations acquired metal extendable batons, just like the officers of the picket (where this instrument was foreseen in the uniform plan). Such poles are lighter and more transportable, yet they are also stronger and more inflexible.*

> *One young man, referring to his baton, said that he had not yet christened it, that is, used it. Soon one of the pickets told him, 'Let's go down and get some n*****. We're going to beat them up' (Interview, June 2004)* (Durão 2006: 251-252).

These routine violent police behaviors which are institutionally justified by the recurrent expression 'the use of 'the strictly necessary force' causes anxiety, revolt and insecurity, as people feel constantly abused and lack confidence in the system and society which could in fact protect them, claiming: *'who protects us from the police?'* (headnotes, demonstration against police brutality Lisbon, 2015). And the audacity to simply question the actions of the police or to protect friends or family members from police actions can end in criminalizing them – as it happened when Mr. Coxi tried to protect his sun from police abuse, in 2019, in bairro da Jamaika or when a small group of black men and youngsters went to a police station to understand what had happened with their friend arrested in Cova da Moura, in 2015. All in all, black political claims are always seen as defiance, as unlawful and, ultimately violent:

> *You need to have knowledge because people, here, seem to be more savage... more brutal than the Portuguese, why? [Because y]ou feel that revolt, we have that revolt, but we already know [that] we have to control it because we are never going to win. We will never be more than them because they are the ones in charge, we are here to survive and do our best. That's why nowadays many Africans left for France, Holland and all that. [...] They don't come [here] anymore because they feel better there, over there they have the conditions that they can't have here, because here they take the material out of our hands, so that we don't evolve, I think they are afraid that we evolve* (Interview with Antonio, January 2018).

According to sociologist Vanessa Thompson, racist policing is a "stopping device" which "makes the 'body' itself the 'site' of social stress" (2021: 140). It causes anxiety and worsens mental vulnerabilities, turning bodies into borders as it (re)criminalizes the black body. Indeed, racist controls, in any of its expressions constitute forms of slow violence, as they can be extended both in space (e.g., hospitals, courts) and time (e.g., prevent people from following their schedules, such as going to work). Moreover, racist policing goes beyond the moment as well as the subject, affecting the family of the victim as well (Thompson 2021).

Yet, public debate on police brutality and premature death in Portugal has been predominantly focused on interrogating the (in)existence of racism within police forces, downplaying key issues to understand State's terror as a permanent state of affairs, namely: a) the structural and institutional character of racism within Portuguese society; b) the historical processes of criminalization of black and Roma bodies; c) the connections between self-produced and segregated black territories, racial profiling and police intervention; d) the (in)operability of the justice system when dealing with criminal complaints of police violence, usually sanctioning the performance of law enforcement agencies in similar cases, by acquitting police officers and condemning black youth; e) and, overall,

the denial of black suffering and its implications on black life as a possibility in contemporary democratic societies.

In the aftermath of the events in the Alfragide police station, leading (inter)national newspapers as well as scholarly works have been mapping, monitoring, and analyzing the relation between institutional racism and police brutality (Alves & Ba 2015; BBC 2015; Henriques 2017, 2018; Câncio 2017, 2019a; Aljazeera 2018; 2020; Fejzula 2019; Raposo, Alves, Varela & Roldão 2019; Alves, Varela & Roldão 2020; Almeida & Varela 2021; Maeso 2021; Maeso, Alves & Araújo 2021). Among these works, there are some that started to address the role of the justice system (Henriques 2017; Ba 2018; Câncio 2019b; Maeso 2021; Maeso, Alves and Fernandes 2021). Data reveals that in Amadora – the municipality where most of the killings of black youth took place – 76% of the complaints of ill-treatment by police forces were archived, without further investigation, in the last six years (DN 2020). Besides only very few cases go to trial, showing a lack of political interest in prosecuting and condemning cases involving police violence – racism is still frequently disregarded and dismissed (Alves and Ba, 2015; Maeso 2021).

Public prosecutor Alípio Ribeiro has pointed out that, in Portugal, *there is a justice for blacks and a justice for whites*, since "it takes less evidence to incriminate a black man" once "there is an initial distrust towards the black man that does not exist towards the white man", therefore turning justice "tougher on blacks" (Henriques 2018: 34). Lawyer José Semedo Fernandes has stressed how Article 250 of the Code of Criminal Procedure – by allowing security forces to approach someone if there is "reasonable suspicion that he/she has committed a crime, is awaiting extradition or deportation proceedings, has entered or is staying irregularly in the country, or has an arrest warrant against him"[128] – *paints the suspect as black* (Henriques 2018: 44). This becomes particularly relevant in a context where the category *immigrant* has become a synonymous with *black* (Smith 1993; Alves 2021) and the historical institutional criminalization of blackness has transformed *subjects into suspects* (Alves 2021; Maeso, Alves & Araújo 2021). However, even if in the past few years, the performance of police forces has started to be publicly scrutinized, the role played by public institutions in ensuring equal access to social justice has mostly remain unchallenged, while the character of racism in shaping internal security rationalities, public policies and practices, law enforcement agencies and the legal system has been mostly disregarded. Therefore, police violence has become routine against black bodies and is more widely spread amid black geographies, suggesting "State's complicity in the perpetuation of violence as a form of social management" (Alves & Vargas 2017: 257).

[128] Decreto-Lei no. 78/87, Diário da República n.o 40/1987, Série I de 1987-02-17.

3. The Legalization of Police Violence

> *Are we witnesses who confirm the truth of what happened in the face of the world-destroying capacities of pain, the distortions of torture, the sheer irrepresentability of terror, and the repression of dominant accounts? Or are we voyeurs fascinated with and repelled by exhibitions of terror and sufferance? What does the exposure of the violated body yield? Proof of black sentience or the inhumanity of the "peculiar institution"? Or does the pain of the other merely provide us with the opportunity for self-reflection? At issue here is the precariousness of empathy and the uncertain line between witness and spectator. Only more obscene than the brutality unleashed at the whipping post is the demand that this suffering be materialized and evidenced by the display of the torture body or endless recitations of the ghastly and the terrible* (Hartman 1997: 3-4).

On February 7, 2017, Mr. Silva was ruthlessly beaten during illegal evictions. Major demolitions in the neighborhood of 6 de Maio begun in 2015, until the neighborhood was utterly flattened to pieces, in June 2021. This process resulted in the displacement of 446 households (CMA, 2020), among which many were evicted without any viable housing solution since they were not registered in the PER Program. Realizing that his home was under imminent threat, Mr. Silva joined the collective of residents formed in the neighborhood, a grassroots organization claiming the right to housing of all dwellers. Together with other groups and individuals – and via demonstrations, open letters, political pressure and legal actions –, this collective managed to decelerate evictions and to assure that no more families would be expelled until fair housing solutions were to be found by the Amadora City Council. This was ultimately guaranteed by a protocol signed between the City Hall and the Institute for Housing and Urban Rehabilitation (IHRU) in 2018, which assured the rehousing of 24 families that were not initially registered in the Program, under the scope of a Self-Housing Support Program – PAAR 06/05 within PER-Families program.[129] Yet, there were other families, the one's evicted before the protocol, that despite being part of the grassroots collective, were dispossessed without any solution, as was the case of Mr. Silva's family. Indeed, for about six years, bulldozers were a constant presence in 6 de Maio, reminding residents that they were living under a permanent state of threat of losing almost everything in *foreigner* land.

In the cold afternoon of February 7, 2017, the backhoes were in place apparently to demolish an ensemble of vacant houses. Electricity was cut off, namely on Mr. Silva's house, something that

[129] Cf. Silva, Tomás; Borges, Teresa (2021), 'Fotogaleria. Com a demolição das últimas duas casas, foi assim o fim simbólico do bairro 6 de Maio', *Observador*, June 8; Lusa (2021), 'Erradicação do Bairro 6 de Maio na Amadora está 'na fase final' após duas décadas à espera', March 19.

had become commonplace on eviction days. Nonetheless, going for a walk, Mr. Silva noticed that a bulldozer was heading towards his home, and he rushed back. When he arrived, he realized that his wife – Mrs. Pina – was already being confronted with a verbal eviction order. He immediately argued against it, but governmental officials insisted that the family had to leave. Aware of legal procedures, Mr. Silva requested documents proving they had to abandon their home, but municipal technicians replied there were none, and that Mr. Silva had known, for a while, that he had to leave once he was not included in the Programme. Hopeless, he asked to be given at least some time, no more than two or three hours, so that they could gather their belongings, something to which the civil servant is said to have immediately replied: '*We have people here to do that for you!*'. Against this background, Mr. Silva stated: '*This house does not belong to the City Council, it is mine! Where's the paper that proves I must leave? Show me the paper!*'. While the official insisted that there was no need for a written eviction order and that Mr. Silva and Mrs. Pina must leave – contradicting the recent recommendations of the Ombudsman on this matter[130] – a policeman stepped in and warned Mr. Silva that *if he didn't leave peacefully, it would become ugly*.[131] When hearing this, Mr. Silva retreated into his home and politely attempted to close the door, a movement that was instantaneously thwarted by a group of policemen which, in the meanwhile, had come closer to his doorstep. While closing the door illustrated a desperate move to avoid the tragedy of losing almost everything, the contrary movement – the one exercised by police authorities – revealed the institutional rush to destroy a neighborhood that, as years passed by, had no place in the municipality. Indeed, when the police enter Mr. Silva's house without a warrant, the asymmetry of power lying beneath any *negotiation* taking place between poor and peripheralized black residents of 6 de Maio and State institutions, namely local authorities, becomes evident.

Police officers entered the house, pushed Mrs. Pina, and assaulted Mr. Silva, including with a taser gun. He was unconscious when he was pushed outside and was awakened with a boot pressuring against his skull and a police officer spitting and screaming at him: '*You dirty black pig, the good life is over!*'[132]. He recalls being handcuffed and carried by four policemen towards an antiriot van parked at one end of the neighborhood, and whilst he was dragged, his head was pressed against the walls of the remaining standing houses. His neighbors testified the intervention and protested against it, as disclosed by some tapped videos and many conversations that painfully recall the events of that day. In the videos, we can hear some of the neighbors appealing to the police that there was *no need to act like that*, that Mr. Silva was a *human being* and advising him to *accept* his fate, to stop contesting, because they knew precisely what would happen if he did not comply the

[130] Cf. Recommendation no. 3/B/2016 (subparagraph b), no. 1, do article 20.o of Law no. 9/91, 9 April, in the word of the Law no. 17/2013, February 18). Retrieved July 5, 2021, from http://www.provedorjus.pt/documentos/Rec_3B20 16.pdf.

[131] S*e não sair a bem, vai sair a mal*. (Closure Order and Indictment, Ministério Público - Procuradoria da República da Comarca de Lisboa Oeste, Departamento de Investigação e Ação Penal - 2a Secção da Amadora, 15 de Novembro de 2019.

[132] *Preto, porco, sujo, o bem-bom acabou!* (Idem).

eviction orders. When he was already inside the van, he was put under one of the benches with his head facing the floor, while a policeman threaded his baton in the handcuffs and started squeezing. Mr. Silva recalls he asked them to stop, screamed, but they didn't. Arriving at the police station, he was dragged like a '*garbage bag'* and his clothes were '*torn apart*', while a police officer told him that he was *going to the prison of Linhó,* where he would *find friends and suffer*.[133] After that, he was beaten up again for around twenty minutes, bled and fainted, until the firemen arrived and took him to the hospital. There, he was submitted to several exams and hospitalized for about three days, under police custody, handcuffed to the bed. In fact, handcuffs were only removed when another officer arrived and recognized Mr. Silva, stating that *he did not constitute any danger*.

While in the hospital, Mr. Silva recalls being given several documents – one stating that he had committed a crime against the police – which he refused to sign. From then on, his body would contain the wounds of that day. Indeed, I recall seeing Mr. Silva less than a week after the events. He was visibly fragile, both physically and psychologically. Looking at him seated in a tiny little sofa on Grandma Isobel's home, it seemed obvious that there are certain things a person can tell, and others that are not supposed to leave one's soul, that become encapsulated inside, rendering the body into a territory of loss. As anthropologist Christen Smith taught us, "police terror concentrates time and space onto the body – a process of both accumulation and meaning making" (2021: 34). Indeed, it is "cumulative, lingering, time bending, and space collapsing. Whether the police kill immediately or kill slowly over time, police terror relies on an arithmetic of violence that operates on multiple frequencies. These frequencies compose police terror and its sequelae" (Idem: 35).

In the meanwhile, he had been taken to court, presented to a criminal custody judge, accused of resisting and assaulting police officers of the PSP, and subjected, accordingly, to a *Statement of Identity and Residence* (TIR). Just a few weeks later, he pressed charges against the Police directly in the Public Ministry. However, in November 2019, his complaint was filed, since he "was unable to describe the officers who committed the acts […], only stating that they were in uniform" – which meant that he was unable "[…] to recognize his attackers".[134] Nonetheless, according to the Public prosecutor, expert examination in the course of the investigation attested that Mr. Silva "had injuries resulting from blunt force trauma, compatible with the information provided by the victim [Mr. Silva] – from aggressions caused by PSP agents during the demolition of houses in the neighborhood 6 de Maio"[135], leading the prosecutor to conclude that:

> *Bearing in mind the documented injuries caused to the assistant, it cannot be ruled out that the PSP officers' actions exceeded what is considered the normal use of force in situations such as the one described in the case files, that is, the conduct of the agents, assessed under*

[133] *Vais para o Linhó, vais encontrar amigos lá e vais ver o que é bom para a tosse!* (Idem).

[134] Ministério Público – Procuradoria da República da Comarca de Lisboa Oeste, Departamento de Investigação e Ação Penal - 2a Secção da Amadora, *Closure Order and Indictment*, 7 November 2019.

[135] Idem.

> *art. 31, paragraphs 1 and 2, al. c) of the Criminal Code, which establishes that an act is not punishable when its illegality is excluded by the legal system, considered in its totality in the fulfillment of a duty imposed by law or by legitimate order of the authority, seems to have exceeded the limit from which the conduct becomes punishable* (MP 2019: 4).[136]

Thus, although there was compelling evidence corroborating Mr. Silva's version of the events, his possibilities of criminally prosecuting the officers ended there, since no appeal was filed by his first lawyer. The fact that from that moment on only administrative complaints could go further (and they did), made it impossible to charge the State criminally, exempting it of any penal accountability. I recall that when he received the news, he became silent and that after a few seconds he asked: '*How is this possible? What if I had died? Who would identify the officers? How would the State pursue to charge them?'* – he took a breath and proceeded: '*This is happening because I'm black, isn't it?'*. This was the first and only time Mr. Silva addressed racism directly. Silence was deafening. His words illustrated how the justice system has ontologically been denying black experiences and suffering and how, in some contexts, law can mean exactly the opposite of justice. Besides, although his complaint was dismissed by the Public Ministry, criminal charges against him stand, solidifying an institutional version of the events, according to which Mr. Silva threatened and assaulted law enforcement officials "by means of violence" constraining them in the "performance of their duties" and, therefore, formally charged with having committed (i) a crime of resistance and coercion (ii) and four crimes of aggravated assault.[137]

On September 10, 2020, Mr. Silva's trial started at the District Court of West Lisbon, in Sintra (LMA), presided by a panel of three middle-aged white male judges. The President judge labeled it as a simple and quick trial. In the end of the first session, we were sure that it would be a rough trial for Mr. Silva and that blackness was condemned even before the trial ended. The judge was clearly impatient, rubbing his hands with hand sanitizer and snorting, something he continued to do over the remaining sessions. During the trial, the President judge urged both defense testimonies and defense attorney to hurry up for several times, raising his voice and huffing, as if being there, in the midst of a pandemic, was a waste of time for the court. On the contrary, the defense attorney patiently and relentlessly tried to argue that police officers were lying, emphasizing Mr. Silva's version of the events, insisting on the illegality of the action by emphasizing the absence of a written eviction order. He alluded to Mr. Silva's Right of Resistance, consecrated by Article 21 of the Portuguese Constitution[138] –, something that the President judge insisted was not the subject of the case, even if it was the eviction order triggering the situation on trial. Nonetheless, the court sentence lingered on justifying that Mr. Silva's actions could not be framed as resistance,

[136] Idem.

[137] Idem.

[138] 'Everyone has the right to resist any order that offends his rights, freedoms, and guarantees, and to repel any aggression by force when recourse to public authority is not possible' (cf. Portuguese Constitution, VII Constitutional Revision, 2005).

considering them disproportionate and violent. On the contrary, the narrative of the court maintained that Mr. Silva was a stout man, who was illegally occupying a house on land that was not his, and that despite knowing he had to leave, he advisedly disobeyed police orders:

> *[...] while the defendant had the expectation that he would be given a new dwelling and understood that he was entitled to complain to the Municipality about its obligations to provide access to decent housing, he was also aware, for a long time, that he had to abandon that building (even if he hoped to delay the execution of his eviction). [...] The defendant never questioned the legitimacy of the demolition, he only questioned the timing of its execution, so the possibility that he acted in the belief that he was resisting a manifestly illegitimate act by a law enforcement officer is ruled out. Moreover, in that context, it was not the PSP's job, and the defendant understood this well, to carry out the demolition, but only to ensure the maintenance of public order and tranquility. It was for this purpose that the sub-commissioner approached the defendant and tried to calm him down because the defendant, in rage, was attacking the commander of the Amadora Municipal Police. Thus, by punching the sub-commissioner, the defendant acted without any intention of resisting an order that he considers iniquitous, acting with the unequivocal desire to cause injuries to the sub-commissioner's body. By striking the agents who tried to stop him, the defendant acted without any proportional exercise of resistance to the eviction and demolition or the right to be indignant at the procedures of Amadora City Hall* (TJCLO 2020: 22).

Accusation and defense witnesses were called to testify, namely policemen, civil servants, and some inhabitants of 6 de Maio. Nonetheless, many others refused to do so, fearful of reprisals, as people living in heavily policed territories are deeply aware of possible consequences when it comes to speaking up against law enforcement agents. Indeed, just a few weeks after the events, two women were approached by police agents in the surrounding of 6 de Maio, in broad daylight, after giving interviews to a television broadcast denouncing the actions of the police.

While policemen were unanimously accusing Mr. Silva of punching the police chief and disobeying the authorities, defense witnesses – all black women from *bairro 6 de Maio* – denounced the police violent treatment of Mr. Silva and illegal evictions, as many were exactly in the same situation as he once was. However, the credibility assigned to the two groups of witnesses by the court was very distinct. Civil servants accounts were considered to be *straightforward*, *spontaneous*, *credible*, *selfless*, *logical*, *objective*, equidistant, *detached* and non-*corporative*, while black residents accounts were understood as *subjective*, *beyond the scope*, *fanciful*, *politically engaged* and *emotional*, and only considered when framed as contradicting Mr. Silva's version of the events (TJCLO 2020: 7-17). In general, the judges treated black witnesses very distinctly, showing a total disregard of the context where the aggressions took place and an arrogant performance towards the use of Portuguese language, even if for some Cape-Verdean Creole, and not Portuguese, was their mother tongue. The inability to understand the organization of self-produced homes by the

President judge and the flaws in speaking the language by black witnesses were all framed as clues that their testimonies were not accurate. Moreover, witness examination also revealed how the court naturalized the existence of solidarity among neighbors (not necessarily friends) and its impact in not being able to tell the truth, while it disregarded possible existing forms of solidarity – as corporativism – amid law enforcement agents:

> *Although the defendant insisted on questioning witnesses who were more emotionally attached to him, such as his companion and neighbors (particularly Linda, who is extremely militant in opposing procedures to evict houses in the neighborhood of 6 de Maio and in showing solidarity with her co-associate Mr. Silva), the truth is that these people [civil servants and policeman], who were no more than performing the duties attributed to them in pursuing the public interest, testified in such a way as to completely invalidate the defendant's version of events* (TJCLO 2020: 8).

Overall, court sessions were tremendously agonizing and humiliating for Mr. Silva, once he had to revive all the events, while silently listening to narratives according to which most of his wounds were said to have been self-inflicted. The account by the policemen stating that Mr. Silva deliberately harmed himself reflects an idea of uncontrolled anger, an animalization, that somehow seem to have echoed during the trial. Therefore, when reacting somehow loudly to the statements by police officers, even if unaware of court rituals, Mr. Silva was shout at and even expelled from the court room once. His dignity seemed to have only been reestablished by the final allegations of the defense attorney, which, according to Mr. Silva, '*reposed the truth about what really happened on that afternoon'*. Nevertheless, nor the arguments of the defense attorney calling attention to the historical criminalization of self-produced neighborhoods which together with the dehumanization of its inhabitants fostered violent behaviors by police authorities, or Mr. Silva's constant prayers during the trial were enough.

On November 12, 2020, he was convicted to a cumulative punishment of a three-year suspended sentence and advised by the President judge that '*he had a sword over his head for the next three years'* – leaving Mr. Silva, once and again, under a state of threat before Portuguese institutions. Once being afraid of losing his shelter, he was then afraid of losing his liberty. By evoking past condemnations beyond the scope of the case on trial, the Judge considered that this was an opportunity for Mr. Silva to '*finally hear the court'*, meaning the *rule of law* – framing Mr. Silva as a repeated offender – and, therefore, reinforcing historical criminalization of black men and reframing white innocence. Indeed, Mr. Silva was dehumanized twice. First by local authorities and the police as an *illegal occupant* with no housing rights, and secondly by the court as a criminal offender who attacked civil servants and police officers. By displaying its power, the justice system not only sanctioned previous institutional violence as it failed to recognize Mr. Silva as a victim entitled to "resist any order that offends his rights, liberties and guarantees and to repel any aggression by force when recourse to public authority is not possible", as consecrated by Article 21 of the Portuguese Constitution, and as it was the case on that February afternoon. In the words

of law professors Ana Flauzina and Filipe Freitas, the "interdiction to verbalize pain, to denounce violence, to politicize suffering" guaranties the naturalization of racial terror by public prosecutors or judges (2018: 7), erasing any possibility of black persons to be understood as victims, meaning not just as *subjects of pain*, but and foremost as *subjects of rights*, once "empathy, solidarity and alterity" are "blocked by racism" (Flauzina & Freitas 2017, 2018). Additionally, when dispossessed, assaulted, or humiliated under democratic white regimes, black people do not have the right to contest, protest or disobey, because this would mean that they are "venturing into physical spaces of privilege" (Vargas 2018: 165) – putting them in an impossible position, while unspeakable violence befalls them. The criminal justice system is, therefore, "a privileged place of reproduction of racial inequalities" as "'crime', 'criminal', 'punishable', 'innocent', 'victims' are not neutral categories [but] give meaning to understandings of race" that define "punishable and innocent citizens" (Alves 2017: 106), previously profiled in the exact same way by local governments and police authorities. This turns courts into spaces of reassurance of the *white rules of experience* and, paradoxically, places where law is projected "as particularly innocent", as if it is detached from, and can then order material life, whereas instead "racism marks constitutive boundaries of law" and "persistent limits on its competence and scope" (Fitzpatrick 1987: 122).

As I have shown in this chapter, these series of events unveil how law is – for black persons – an articulated movement towards punishment, loss, inhumanity and disappearance. Yet, Saidiya Hartman defies us to question the thin line between *witness*es confirming the truth of what happened, or *spectators/voyeurs* fascinated with and simultaneously repelled by exhibitions of terror and sufferance and to whom pain is an opportunity for self-reflection through the pervasion of spectacularized accounts on black suffering. In a country that refuses to acknowledge black experiences within the workings of institutional racism, Mr. Silva's history is a proof of black sentience within the cruelty of the State and, most importantly, it bears witness to how spatialized racial violence is reproduced by State institutions, namely local governments, law enforcement agencies and the legal system, in a choreographed, joined and perpetual movement towards black loss under white hegemonic ruling.

As *black violence* has been historically spatialized – through the criminalization of self-produced or public rehousing neighborhoods, train lines or municipalities – the State took upon itself the indisputable task of governing blackness as a spatial matter. And engaging with the perils of stigmatization, politicians and policy makers, endorsed by several State's institutions, developed and enacted a set of policies and mechanisms which institutionalized an antiblack urban pack. The institutionalization of *hostile* territories as high-risk geographies, the surveillance of *threatening* bodies, their brutalization and its legalization are just quintessential examples. Laws have been issued and enforced through the enactment of public policies and programs pledged in improving housing conditions and urban security with serious consequences to the lives of black populations, entailing displacement, dispossession and, if necessary, physical violence in the name of a *greater good*. Until the present moment nor local or central governments have been taken to court by grossly violating the right to housing and few policemen have been tried and sentenced for assault,

torture or assassination. Antiblackness has created a consensual abyss between white *endangered/good citizens* and black *dangerous/uncivilized criminals*.

Since socially, politically, and legally framed as disenfranchised black bodies there is no possibility that the consequences of antiblack terror might be understood as victimization (Flauzina & Freitas 2017: 65). Instead, State violence is silenced as it is read as the only possible and strictly adequate response to blackness as resistance, preventing political claims to self and space, where place can be "as intimate as the body, and as abstract, yet distinctive, as a productive region or a nation-state" (Gilmore 2002:15). Indeed, a possessive institutional investment in blackness-as-aspatiality, blackness-as-risk and blackness-as-disenfranchisement (Bledsoe 2021; Rios 2020; Flauzina & Freitas 2017) has granted whiteness-as-property to pervade as "a ghost haunt[ing] the political and legal domains in which claims for justice have been inadequately addressed for far too long" (Harris 1993: 1791). In this context, State's terror towards black populations cannot be analyzed neither as exceptional nor as outlawed. Instead, it is a political and legal investment in whiteness as power which entails blocking black political claims precluding any possibility of self-defense. Thus, while under liberal regimes "racial terror and law appear antithetical, positing state regulation as that which contains and prevents an anomic anarchy" (either led by black populations or towards black populations), they are integral to each other (Fitzpatrick 1987: 119). Therefore, the racial State is a punitive State targeting black and Roma impoverished populations into disenfranchised subjects before the authorities, being it the police or the courts. Therefore, the State is defined by black populations via their lived experiences, as control, punishment and terror. Its sequelae are immense.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Dissertations are journeys into the abyss as they necessarily open immeasurable spaces, comport chaos and intend, frequently, to study yet-to-be-explored issues, questions, events. I would argue that this thesis is no exception. Yet, it implies an additional abyss, by arguing that loss is the abyss created by antiblack urban governmentalities. Black loss is past, present and horizon; it can be a letter, a pain, a bullet, an accident, a backhoe, a sentence, a cell, a secret, a fear, a probability. Instead, continuing beyond loss is, somehow, an imposition; it is solidarity, love, joy, stubbornness, family, defiance, care, generosity and commitment as it is political. Loss is also silence, void and absence, it is something immeasurable and often difficult to grasp. Loss can be embodied and territorialized. Nonetheless, loss is also a tying force, a common ground, a language, a relation, a political place or a place of departure. And modern States are aware of that once they continue to fear black insurrection as a ghost, revealing how colonial and racial pasts built antiblack presents. As such, institutional re-actions are firm, legal and unjust, once, all and all, white society *must be defended*. Either through social, inclusive or repressive policies, racial States decree the abyss, local governments and the police enact or reframe it and the courts, media and public opinion at large sanction it, concealing how the abyss has indeed been there since the first black person was commodified and murdered; since native lands were stolen, contaminated, or Roma populations were expelled. Land, life and loss brough us to the twenty-first century and to this thesis.

Mid-twentieth century self-produced settlements, built by white Portuguese rural migrants and historically displaced Portuguese Roma families in the LMA, became paradigmatic on the severe living conditions imposed on historically impoverished populations under the yoke of the dictatorship in the country (1933-1974). From the fifties, and sixties onward, the arrival of black recruited workers, mostly Cape-Verdean men but also women, highly contributed to enlarge these existing poor spatialized communities which became predominantly black as time went by, to be menaced and recomposed via forced evictions and relocations, under the scope of the PER Program (1993-2017). Throughout this thesis, I have shown how evictions increased black vulnerability by prompting homelessness and how relocation institutionalized residential segregation, while both promoted dispossession and displacement via the destruction of black geographies as *abolition geographies* (cf. Gilmore 2022). Yet, rehousing has been politically produced as "improvement", as a public effort to regenerate what was apparently unregenerable: impoverished and marginalized black populations. This is an idea forged and perpetuated by an ensemble of mediatic, political and academic discourses reaffirming that it was not precarious living conditions but ultimately race that

configured the *criminal*, *dangerous* and *uncivilized* black body/territory par excellence – transferring antiblack imaginaries, just like families, into rehousing neighborhoods. These processes show how race is definitely experienced as spatial and as sanctioned antiblack terror, first in self-produced neighborhoods and afterwards in public housing quarters is continuous. As bodies seemed to define territories, rehousing neighborhoods became expectant repositories of violence, as their inhabitants became permanently "targeted by the State [as] not rights-bearing individuals to be protected but criminals poised to violate the law" (Kelley 2016: 29) – configuring racism as the production and exploitation of the vulnerability of black and Roma populations to premature death, in Portugal.

However, this is no official story outside *black geographies* and political imaginaries. On the contrary, as analyzed in Chapter I, racial oppression has been vehemently publicly silenced or depoliticized through the maintenance of a system of epistemic privilege – a *project of knowledge* (Silva 2007) – that sustained and authorized racial violence as a form of urban governmentality. Although a number of academic works have been focusing on spaces, lives and institutions deeply shaped by racial capitalism, race as a lens of analysis and racism as a process of structural and institutional management have been largely absent from academic debates in Portugal, disregarding how race is, indeed, "the modality under which class is lived" (Hall *apud* Gilmore 2007: 39). Moreover, the obliteration of non-white intellectuals such as W. E. B. Du Bois or Faye Harrison from the canon of disciplines like sociology or anthropology, and the disregard of black lived experiences and analysis as mere singular and exceptional grievances, conceal black radical intellectual perspectives on race and space, leaving racial violence unchallenged, on Portuguese soil.

In this context, collective resistance became an essential condition of existence, namely by the creation of spaces where it was, somehow, possible to envisage black living under and beyond terror and loss. Self-produced neighborhoods just like Santa Filomena, Azinhaga dos Besouros, Tenda, Venda Nova or Katchupa Street stood as places where black persons could, somehow, take, even if ephemeral, refuge from *whiteness as property*, and produce life in the face of death politics.

Chapter II highlighted how Portuguese Cape-Verdean creole rap, mostly born within these black geographies, has been responsible to systematize black lived experiences as resistance to spatialized terror, by electing the ghetto as a lexicon capable to oppose black humanity to black disposability, home to displacement. Therefore, in rap songs, the ghetto is not the solely result of ghettoization – meaning dispossession, displacement and socio-political disorganization – but a place where black live has been produced throughout generations, a global embodied condition of blackness and a place from where to denounce and resist racism. The ghetto is a a spatial condition and a *quilombo* under racial capitalism. Moreover, the lived experiences and analysis of black persons which were obliged to abandon their homes to be rehoused in Casal da Mira, emphasize how loss as a fundamental feature of black living. In this context, in Chapter III rehousing is paralleled with losing almost everything as homes did not fell alone, dragging along with them a series of social,

economic and political relations of radical dependency as solidarity. While some relations were lost forever, others have been restored throughout the decades that followed the relocation process, emphasizing how, since colonial times, displacement targeted black political organization in particular, and how resistance happened by the continuous production of *homeplace*. It is crucial to stress that the housing stories gathered in this research *counter the violence of abstraction* and are not understood as individual exceptions or shortcomings, but as consistent possibilities opened by the rule of law. These histories question hegemonic narratives on urban space, the benevolence of housing policies and the role of the Portuguese racial State in reproducing racist exclusions. What these stories and analysis show us is that urban renewal is, indeed, black removal, as James Baldwin as once taught us. Besides, urban removal was preceded and followed by security measures which made black bodies and territories legible to the State through labelling and surveillance devices that highly contributed to the criminalization of black bodies/territories. And, as blackness became permanently surveilled, beatings, shootings and killings of black and Roma bodies – as white iconic ghettos – was turned into a natural consequence of imposing order and legality to subjects historically labeled as maladjusted, suspects, enemies. Thus, Chapter IV explores how black and Roma bodies, just like black and Roma houses, have fallen disproportionality, turning violence into the most expressive modality under which race is lived. Racial violence guarantees racial inequalities as a quintessential condition of racial capitalism, raising possibilities of resistance processes to emerge and endure. In this matter, *black geographies* have been particularly surveilled as considered to be pockets of resistance where feelings of aversion to States' authority could thrive. Turning black territories legible in the eyes of the State implied (i) producing black urban quasi-carceral spaces so to (ii) prevent black political claims to emerge and (iii) assure the re-creation of whiteness and its rewards.[139]

Producing Quasi-Carceral Spaces

On 15 September 2021, Danijoy Pontes, a 23-year-old Santomean, and Daniel Rodrigues, a 37 year-old white Portuguese died under State guardianship, in the same ward of the Lisbon Prison Facility. Half-year later, Miguel Cesteiro, a middle-age Roma men, perished at the Prison of Alcoentre. Together, they enlarged the already high number of persons dying from what has been socially outlined as improvement, meaning incarceration. Following the *Council of Europe Annual Penal Statistics: Prison populations* (2022), seventy-five persons died in Portuguese Prisons, including twenty-one suicides, in the course of 2020. To be sure, mortality rate per 100.000 inmates equals 65,7%, way above the European average (33%) and median (28.6%). Portugal is the sixth country in Europe where inmates most dye inside the prison, losing only for Rep. Srpska, Latvia, Moldova, Ukraine and Bulgaria (CoE 2022: 117-118). Notwithstanding, regardless of what is foreseen by Decree-law 53/2021, of June 16,[140] the Criminal Police, just like in many other cases, was not called to investigate the scene of these three deaths and, therefore, nothing in concrete is

[139] Cf. Lipsitz 2006.

[140] Cf. Diário da República n.º 115/2021, Série I de 2021-06-16, pp. 6-26.

known about their circumstances as they were officially registered as fatal cardiac arrests. In fact, if it was not for the courage of the families of Danijoy, Daniel and Miguel perhaps not even their deaths would have been publicly known and questioned. However, for too long that it is known how opaque prison walls can be from the outside. It is also known that people who live between bars, in Portugal, are disproportionally from Portuguese-speaking African Countries, and more particularly from Cape-Verde.[141] And that, all too often, conditions are met for someone to think that the best solution for his, her or their life is to end it. It is also known that prisons are institutions structured around punishment and violence, places where unbearable pains sprout and become lodged in one's chest, rendering bodies into territories of loss and legally sanctioning premature death. Yet, this thesis is not about people which were obliged to stay but about the ones which were forced to leave their homes to inhabit in often faraway and segregated municipal buildings.

Still, I argue that antiblack urban governmentalities are intimately related to carcerality in the sense that displacement and confinement work as complementary devices in managing disposable lives within contemporary racial capitalism, lives which are particularly poor, particularly black. Weekly journeys and conversations in several black latitudes of the Lisbon Metropolitan Area, throughout the years, as well as visits to the Lisbon Prison Facility in occasions where someone has simply disappeared made explicit the configuration of a neighborhood-prison pipeline, which persisted throughout generations. Indeed, antiblack governmentalities have made prisons and segregated neighborhoods places that (i) segregate and confine, (ii) concentrate and interchange surpluses, (ii) produce criminal and non-human bodies par excellence, (iii) deploy persistent and unchallenged institutional violence, (iv) hamper, undermine and prevent political resistance, (v) institutionalize loss and its sequelae as collective and shared lived experiences and (vi) allege to promote improvement. While I do not intent to parallel prisons to rehousing neighborhoods, I want to highlight, though, how both stand as dialogical spatial solutions for white political problems, and reassert a place for blackness in contemporary Portugal, redrawing the color line as a way to produce zones of non-being where loss persists in the horizon.

Preventing Black Political Claims

In his book *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (1995), anthropologist Michel-Rolph Trouillot explored the production of silences within dominant historical accounts, namely through the construction of the Revolution of San Domingo as a non-historical event. He explored how western rationalities disregarded any true possibility of enslaved persons to envision freedom and uprise and, when slightly conceived, how it was both severely punished and trivialized,

[141] According to a crossing made by the newspaper Público from information provided by the Directorate General of Reinsertion and Prison Services (DGRSP) from 31 December 2016 and the 2011 Census, one out of 73 PALOP citizens over 16 years old in Portugal is in prison - a proportion ten times higher than the one for Portuguese citizens; while this number rises to 1 in 48 when it comes to Cape Verdeans, meaning 15 times more (Henriques 2017).

producing violence and resistance as exceptional events and draining out its political content. Still, if any enslaved person dared to rebel, he or she would be immediately framed as a "maladjusted Negro, a mutinous adolescent who eats dirt until he dies, an infanticidal mother, a deviant" (Trouillot 1995: 83). Under racial slavey, acknowledging resistance was, in fact, an impossible fact, as it entailed recognizing the humanity of enslaved persons and that something was wrong within the system. Ironically, underestimating the will and capacity of black enslaved persons to resist racial slavery turned out to make more room for the struggle. As such, when the first news of the uprising reached Paris, the first reaction was skepticism. The French could neither conceive the possibility of black organizing themselves, nor that they could have defeated the French, breaking down what had been built as an "idyllic state of affairs" (James 1989: 113). Yet, when confirmation arrived, the approach was to discredit the role of enslaved persons and attribute the uprising to somebody else. Finally, when facing the fact that a revolution had actually took place, the only possible solution was to deny it, implying, among other things, the non-recognition of Haiti as an independent State.

While the Haitian Revolution is a faraway reality for the Portuguese context, when analyzing Liberation Movements against Portuguese colonialism which led to political independences of Guinea-Bissau, Cape-Verde, Angola and Mozambique and to a coup d'état in Portugal, the same silencing mechanisms take place. To be sure, decolonization is mostly produced as a historical consequence of Portuguese democracy when, in fact, it was the independences wars which prompted a coup d'état in Portugal and, therefore, as audible in several demonstrations: *25th April started in Africa*. Silencing the role played by the black liberation movements in their own emancipation by implying that decolonization was somehow given by the Portuguese, hinders both the historicity, power and political consequences of black liberation struggle against colonial/racial oppression rewarding white humanity and concealing black political agency. Nonetheless, erasure produce ghosts and before the persistent racial character of modern states, ghostly insurrections must be prevented at all costs. As black territories became internal colonies at the eye and practice of the Portuguese State, just like in the past, the criminalization of blackness as potential enemies of national security persisted, justifying institutional violence as routine governance. When, in fact, spatialized violence served to deny any possibility of a legitime black political space to emerge. And, before this, by repeating colonial repertoires and movements, just like emigration to Portugal was used to empty the fields of San Tiago, in Cape-Verde, to prevent insurrections (Martins 1995), displacement and segregation through relocation, was used, once again, as a device to hamper cultural, social, economic and political resistance. Indeed, the historical dyad displacement-segregation seems to correspond to a white political effort to extract economic surpluses (e.g., racial slavery, forced labor or labor recruitment) and, at the same time, extinguish any possibility of black self-defense.

Following geographer Adam Bledsoe's argument that "space is required for a subject to truly come into existence", it becomes fundamental for whitened democratic nations to keep "Black in a captive, fungible condition by destroying any capacity for a radical Black space to come into being"

(2015: 340-341). Hence, reorganizing and attempting against black populations according to white rationales has been fundamental in rearranging the contemporary terms of the antiblack genocide. That's why, yet being a complex structure composed by institutions and sub-institutions, the modern State appears essentially as a monolithic punitive institution regarding black impoverished populations, even when praising social or integration measures to improve people's lives.

As such, debating antiblackness is fundamental to understand how "the afterlife of slavery" (Hartman 2007: 6) has been leading "to black populations being conceptually unable to legitimately create space" (Bledsoe & Wright 2019: 9). Indeed, antiblackness "works to conceptually and concretely deny Black diasporic populations' claims to self or space", thus "making Black self-defense conceptually impossible in the modern world" (Bledsoe 2021: 1). To be sure, self-defense is conceptualized as "a multiscalar claim of rights to one's own body, the creation of space, and spatial occupation" since "the sanctified, individual body is often the space most easily identified in questions of self-defense, the spaces through which the individual body moves, and helps to create, are also central to practices and ideas of self-defense" (Bledsoe 2021: 3), as it was the case of self-produced neighborhoods.

The impossibility of self-defense has been produced through a dyad of *gratuitous violence* and *aspatiality*. Whereas gratuitous violence "distinguishes the assumedly inhuman Black subject from the modern Human subject", aspatiality "label[s] Black populations as 'ungeographic' and deem the locations associated with [them] as 'invisible/forgettable' or 'unknowable and unseeable'" (Bledsoe 2021: 5), leaving black geographies "open to the varied agendas espoused by dominant spatial actors" (Bledsoe & Wright 2019: 12). Nonetheless, *aspatiality* is also simultaneously produced through frames of hypervisibility, projecting black geographies as inherently uncivilized, criminal, polluted, risky and imminently dangerous (Alves 2016, 2021; Almada 2020; Maeso, Alves & Araújo 2021; Rios 2020), reframing blackness as a spatialized spectacle (Daniels 2000) by evoking fascination as fear through the perpetration of racial violence, mostly undertaken by local authorities and the police. As a result, black geographies are casted as both "empty and threatening" and therefore "open to occupation, and subject to surveillance and assault" (Bledsoe & Wright 2019: 11) and ultimately to disappearance.

While displacement dispossesses and disorganizes black communities by erasing a black sense of place anchored in processes of political, social, cultural and economic autonomy, residential segregation distances, confines and exposes black populations to unpaired spatial surveillance and control, turning rehousing programs into white solutions for white problems.

In this regard, internal security policies are central in understanding how race is been used as a political resource that enables, at once, the production of *dangerous* black enemies to be monitored, imprisoned, brutalized or killed, an *endangered* white civil society in need to be protected, and state sovereignty as something to be maintained and reinforced (cf. Alves 2018). Outlined as the paradigmatic national dangerous territory in the country, Amadora allows to understand how urban and internal security policies are ontologically antiblack as they rest exactly upon the idea of the

pervasion of black dangerous territories and bodies, which must be closely classified, monitored and managed by the authorities. By managing blackness, the Portuguese racial State has been building wider legitimacy to rule. Black geographies are symptomatic on how place-based solidarity is essential to produce black living. And, once blackness became sacrificial for racial capitalism, black loss became a permanent horizon for black people and, consequently, black political claims, understood as black insurrection and framed as black crime should be prevented, at all costs, by the racial state.

Protecting whiteness as property

The continuous preponderance of black territories across several latitudes of the LMA also evidenced how race had been relentlessly spatialized through different mechanisms, underlining axiomatic affinities amid migration, surplus labor, territory, urban redevelopment and racial capitalism – echoing a set of political devices which endorsed the (re)creation of whiteness and its rewards (as benefits and legal entitlements). Nonetheless, in a country where antiracism has been predominantly understood as an axiomatic legacy of the Carnation Revolution (1974), postraciality is assumed as a given feature of Portuguese democracy, silently recreating legal and policy mechanisms ensuring economic advantages for white populations,[142] under the mask of racial equality. Indeed, in the aftermath of the revolution, only class seemed to matter, as leftist parties and collectives have mistaken anticolonialism and antifascism by antiracism. Ironically, democrats built on a fascist tale – the consensual Portuguese myth of modernity, Lusotropicalism – to argue for the ontological fraternal character of the Portuguese people, silencing the lived experiences of black populations which insisted otherwise. As a result, class became the only possible modality under which inequalities came to be understood, failing to recognize how antiblackness endured inequalities and therefore favoring whiteness through a set of legal and political devices that came to naturalize a political place for black populations, without ever mentioning race. Nonetheless, this place, the zone of nonbeing, just like Frantz Fanon taught us, is an extremely "arid region", a place of disenfranchisement and inhumanness, from which a genuine new departure can emerge.

The non-recognition of property rights to historical self-produced diasporic black communities under the scope of the PER Program despite existing legal mechanisms to do so (e.g., acquisitive prescription, legalization or land expropriation[143]) prompted dispossession, displacement and segregation among black populations, while stimulating white profit through urban redevelopment and real estate. This is made evident when analyzing the destruction of the self-produced neighborhood of Santa Filomena[144] where it became impossible to stay and from where it was also

[142] To further debates on the possessive investment in whiteness in post-racial times, departing from the US context, Cf. Lipsitz, 2006; Goldberg 2015.

[143] Cf. Portuguese Civil Code, Chapter VI; Decree-law 804/76 of November 6 revoked on 25 May 2019 or Decree-law 794/76, of November 5, revoked on 31 May 2014.

[144] For further information on the history of the land in Santa Filomena cf. Alves 2021.

impossible to leave in people's own terms. Still, rehousing programs represent only a very small slice of the Portuguese State' investment in housing policies over the last decades, when compared to public investment on housing mortgage credit. From 9.6 billion euros invested in housing (1987-2011), 73,3% of public funds were allocated in interest subsidies on credit for housing construction or purchase (IHRU 2015: 4). Following the work of scholars Raquel Ribeiro and Ana Cordeiro Santos, mortgage credit not only contributed to increase "residential segregation and socio-territorial differentiation of metropolitan spaces", particularly in the LMA (2018: 735), as it mostly benefited "those wealthier, more educated, younger, and with more stable professional situations" (2018: 734).[145] While there is no official data collection allowing to systematically track racial disparities in the country, a growing body of work point out that Afrodescendants face severe inequalities in accessing both education and work (Roldão 2016; Raposo *et al*. 2019; Sampaio 2018). To be sure, sociologists Pedro Abrantes and Cristina Roldão have argued that "students of African descent are much more likely to engage in the vocational tracks", sharply reducing "their opportunities of enjoying a broader education" and in "accessing higher education" (2019: 41), while according to Otávio Raposo *et al.* (2019), Cape-Verdean migrants faced more than twice the unemployment rate and were fifteen times more likely to have low-skilled occupations and nine times less likely to occupy top professions then Portuguese nationals, in 2011. In this context, Afrodescendants are most likely not to have been the beneficiaries of mortgage credit.

The impossibility to access property rights either through self-production or bank loans, the scarcity of public housing stock (2%) and the high risen of rental costs between 2013 and 2018, particularly in Lisbon[146] reveal the picket fences black populations face in accessing decent housing in Portugal. It also reveals how (i) rehousing, despite being an important contribution to improve housing conditions until a certain extent, was responsible to dispossess and displace poor and black populations, particularly in the LMA, denying housing rights and favoring real estate, (ii) poor, and black populations, have not been the main target of public housing policies. Either through the mobilization or non-mobilization of existing policy and legal tools, race remains a fundamental marker to legitimately access house and land rights, perpetuating tendentially dispossess and (forced) (i)mobile black workers and favoring white ownership and stability. To be sure, whilst black persons became once legally reduced to property and disentitled to own property, whiteness emerges, evolves and is maintained as property, taking upon itself the power to rule and reproducing the terms of its own genesis (Harris 1993).

[145] Using race as a modality to understand socio-economic inequalities does not mean to disregard class as a major divide when addressing whiteness, but underlining, instead, the fundamental role of race in building class relations.

[146] Cf. Affordable Rental Housing: Making It Part of Europe's Recovery (IMF 2021), https://www.imf.org/en/Publications/Departmental-Papers-Policy-Papers/Issues/2021/05/24/Affordable-Rental-Housing-Making-It-Part-of-Europes-Recovery-50116.

This thesis departed from Casal da Mira, in Amadora, to explore how antiblack urban governmentalities, silenced by academia and loudly voiced by Portuguese black rap, have been shaping the lived experiences of black persons in Portugal, hampering political liberation struggles through dispossession, displacement, segregation and violence. Once political liberation struggles are place-based (cf. Gilmore *apud* Card, 2020) and before the destruction of self-produced neighborhoods and the persistence of police brutality, black and antiracist claims have been focusing on loss as a shared condition – a shared place – looking to transform mourning into struggle, as people reconstruct homeplace in public rehousing quarters. Therefore, while demands for racial justice might be the storefront of these political movements through public letters, cultural and political events and demonstrations, no less important is the re-establishment of cooperative political networks happening intra and inter public housing quarters deeply mirrored during Covid-19 pandemic, revealing how black territorialities persist as essential intellectual and political fronts for antiracist struggle; and how, beyond loss, (home)place is obstinately produced throughout generations, some yet to come.

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ATTACHMENTS

I. LIST OF MOOVIES

1. **1989 –** *O Sangue,* Pedro Costa
2. **1997 –** *Ossos,* Pedro Costa
3. **1998** – *Zona J*, Leonel Vieira
4. **1999 –** *Outros Bairros*, Vasco Pimentel, Inês Gonçalves & Kiluanje Liberadade
5. **2000 –** *No quarto de Vanda*, Pedro Costa
6. **2006 –** *Juventude em Marcha*, Pedro Costa
7. **2008 –** *Via de Acesso*, Nathalie Mansoux
8. **2009 –** *Arena*, João Salaviza
9. **2009 –** *A esperança está onde menos se espera*, Joaquim Leitão
10. **2010 –** *Li Kê Terra*, Filipa Reis, João Miller Guerra & Nuno Baptista
11. **2010 -** *Kê Li Kê Lá*, 5 Documentários.
12. **2010 –** *Ilha da Cova da Moura*, Rui Simões
13. **2011** – *Nuvem*, Basil da Cunha
14. **2011 –** *Nada Fazi*, Filipa Reis & João Miller Guerra
15. **2011 –** *Sangue do meu Sangue*, João Canijo
16. **2011 –** *Nôs Terra*, Ana Tica, Nuno Pedro, Toni Polo
17. **2011 –** *América*, João Nuno Pinto
18. **2012 –** *Bela Vista*, Filipa Reis & João Miller Guerra
19. **2012 –** *Os Vivos também Choram*, Basil da Cunha
20. **2012 –** *Rafa*, João Salaviza
21. **2013** – *Até Ver Luz*, Basil da Cunha
22. **2013 –** *Cama de Gato*, Filipa Reis & João Miller Guerra
23. **2013** – *Um fim do mundo*, Pedro Pinho
24. **2013 –** *Bobô,* Inês Oliveira
25. **2013 –** *Aqui tem Gente*, Leonor Areal
26. **2013 –** *Roma Acans*, Leonor Teles
27. **2014 –** *Cavalo Dinheiro*, Pedro Costa
28. **2015 –** *Fora da Vida*, Filipa Reis & João Miller Guerra
29. **2015 –** *Manti Firmi Mana*, Mário Monteiro, João Garrinhas, Carla Fernandes e João Monteiro
30. **2015 –** *Segundo Torrão, A suburban story*
31. **2016 –** *São Jorge*, Marco Martins
32. **2016 –** *Nossa Casa, Vossa Terra*, Ryan Powell
33. **2017 –** *Another Lisbon Story*, Claudio Carbone
34. **2017 –** *Altas Cidades de Ossadas,* João Salaviza
35. **2017 –** *Tudo o que Imagino*, Leonor Noivo
36. **2017 –** *Cidade,* Filipa Reis, Leonor Noivo, Pedro Pinho, João Miller Guerra
37. **2017 –** *Pai Nosso*, Clayton Vomero
38. **2018 –** Djon África, Filipa Reis e João Miller Guerra
39. **2018 –** As Costas da Cidade, João Garrinhas
40. **2019 –** Arriaga, Welket Bungué
41. **2019 –** Vitalina Varela, Pedro Costa
42. **2019 –** Batida de Lisboa, Vasco Viana e Rita Maia
43. **2020 –** *Fim do Mundo*, Basil da Cunha
44. **2020 –** Treino Periférico, Welket Bungué

II. LIST OF BOOKS

Nº	Ano	Livro	Autor
1	1968	The Social Order of the Slum. Ethnicity and Territory in the Inner city	Gerald D. Sutttles
2	1976	A Place on the Corner	Elijah Anderson
3	1979	The Broken Fountain	Thomas Belmonte
4	1980 (1928)	The ghetto	Louis Wirth
5	1980	Exploring the city. Inquiries Towards and Urban Anthropology	Ulf Hannerz (6 copies)
6	1985	A máquina e a revolta: As organizações populares e o significado da pobreza	Alba Zaluar
7	1989	"Getting Paid" Youth cRime and War in the Inner City	Mercer L. Sullivan
8	1989	The Modernist City: An Anthropological Critique of Brasilia	James Holston
9	1989 (1973)	A utopia Urbana	Gilberto Velho (6 copies)
10	1989	SoulSide: Inquiries into ghetto culture and community	Ulf Hannerz
11	1991	The Sphinx in the City: Urban Life, the Control of Disorder, and Women	Elizabeth Wilson
12	1991	Landscapes of Power: From Detroit to Disney World	Sharon Zukin
13	1991	Colóquio Viver (n)a Cidades	LNEC
14	1992	Structuring Diversity. Ethnographic Perspectives on the New Immigration	Louise Lamphere (ed.)
15	1994	Flesh and Stone. The Body and the City in Western Civilization	Richard Sennet
16	1994	Cities, Classes, and the Social Order	Anthony Leeds
17	1995 (1953)	Waiting in Washington: central american workers in the Nation's Capital	Terry Repak
18	1995	Underground Harmonies: Music and Politics in the Subways of New York	Susie J. Tanenbaum
19	1997	Um lugar na cidade: quotidiano, memória e representação no Bairro da Bica	Graça Í. Cordeiro (3 copies)
20	1998	The city in Time and Space	Aidan Southall
21	1998	Um Século de Favela	Alba Zaluar e Marcos Alvito
22	1998	Nobres e Anjos: um estudo de tóxicos e hierarquia	Gilberto Velho
23	1999	L'invention de la ville: Banlieus, townships, invasions and favelas	Michel Agier
24	1999	Theorizing the city: the new urban anthropology reader	Setha M. Low (ed.)
25	1999	Cities and Citizenship	James Holston (ed.)
26	1999	Casal Ventoso: da gandaia ao narcotráfico. Marginalidade Económica e Dominação Simbólica em Lisboa	Miguel Chaves (4 copies)
27	2000	Antropologia Urbana: Introduzione alla ricerca in Italia	Amalia Signorelli
28	2000 (1971)	You Owe Yourself a Drunk. An Ethnography of Urban Nomads	James P. Spradley
29	2000	Ethnicity and Housing: Accommodating Differences	Frederick W. Boal (ed.)
30	2001	Reínventer le Sens de La Ville: Les Spaces Publics à l'heure global	Cynthia Ghorra-Gobin (org.)
31	2001	Anthropologie Urbaine	Anne Raulin
32	2001	La ville des sciences sociales	B. Lepetit & C. Topalov (dir)
33	2001	Mediação, cultura e Política	Gilberto Velho e Karina Kuschnir (org)
34	2002	Aux Bords du Monde, Les Réfugies	Michel Agier
35	2003 (1996)	In search of respect: selling crack in el bairro	Philippe Bourgois
36	2003	Heroína. Lisboa como Território Psicotrópico nos anos 90	Luís Almeida Vasconcelos
37	2003	Etnografias Urbanas	Graça Í. Cordeiro *et. al* (orgs.) (3 copies)
38	2004	Integração Perversa: pobreza e tráfico de drogas	Alba Zaluar
39	2008	Rio de Janeiro: Cultura, Política e conflito	Gilberto Velho (org.)
40	2008	A Rua: espaço, tempo e sociabilidade	Graça Í.Cordeiro & Drédéric Vidal (orgs.) (6 copies)
41	2009	Religiões e Cidades: Rio de Janeiro e São Paulo	Clara Mafra e Ronaldo Almeida (orgs.)
42	2009	A arte do efêmero: carnavalescos e mediação cultural no rio de janeiro	Nilton Santos
43	2009	A igreja universal e os seus demónios	Ronaldo de Almeida
44	2010	Junto e misturado: Uma etnografia do PCC	Karina Biondi
45	2011	The American Urban Reader: History and Theory	Stephen Corey & Lisa Bohem (eds.)
46	2011	Antropologia da cidade: lugares, situações, movimentos	Michel Agier (6 copies)
47	2012	Políticas de Habitação e Construção Informal	Rita Ávila Cachado & João Baía (orgs.) (5 copies)
48	2013	Um antropólogo na cidade: ensaios de antropologia urbana	Gilberto Velho
49	2013	La condition cosmopolite	Michel Agier
50	2015	Cidade (I)materail: museografias do patrimônio cultural no espaço urbano	Daniel Reis

III. LIST OF THESES

Nº	ANO	TÍTULO	AUTOR/A/E	INSTITUIÇÃO DE ENSINO SUPERIOR
1	1996	O impacto urbanístico e social das melhorias na acessibilidade nas periferias urbanas	Fernando Santos Machado	?
2	1997	Nós não somos todos iguais: campo social de residência e estratégias de distinção num bairro de realojamento	José Manuel Cavaleiro Rodrigues	ISCTE - IUL
3	1999	Identidade e Integração	Luís Barata Vicente	ISCSP - UL
4	2000	O papel e o estatuto da mulher cabo-verdiana na família: Bairro Alto da Cova da Moura, Buraca	Maria Eugénia Gomes Alves	FCSH -UNL
5	2000	A comunidade cabo-verdiana do Bairro Alto Cova da Moura - Buraca, concelho de Amadora e o sonho de um museu de vizinhança e comunitário: projecto piloto	Martinho Robalo de Brito	FCSH -UNL
6	2001	Estrela d' África, um bairro sensível : um estudo antropológico sobre jovens na cidade da Amadora	Marina Manuela Antunes	ISCTE - IUL
7	2002	Contas da vida : interacção de saberes num bairro de Lisboa	Darlinda Maria Pacheco Moreira	ISCTE - IUL
8	2003	As histórias hoje no imaginário das crianças: um estudo comparativo num bairro de subúrbio lisboeta e numa aldeia ribatejana	Claire Smith	FCSH -UNL
9	2004	(Re)qualificação de periferias	Rui Isidoro Neves	ISEG - UTL
10	2004	Identidades e estratégias de integração social dos jovens portugueses de origem africana : factores para a compreensão da integração social das minorias étnicas e imigrantes africanas em Portugal	António Guilherme da Cruz Duarte Leal	ISCTE - IUL
11	2004	Da criação artificial aos artifícios da apropriação [Texto policopiado] : do bairro à cidade, espaços e cultura	Ana Sofia Santos Costa	FCSH - UNL
12	2006	Vozes e olhares de fronteira : os filhos de imigrantes cabo-verdianos nos bairros Alto da Cova da Moura e 6 de Maio	Carlos Elias Monteiro Barbosa	FEUC - UC
13	2006	Um olhar sobre os outros : o caso do bairro de habitação social do Alto da Loba, em Paço de Arcos	Cláudia Sofia da Cunha Duarte Teixeira	FCSH -UNL
14	2006	Um contexto residencial em transformação : o caso do Bairro da Avenida da Bela Vista	Nélia Sousa Figueiredo Torzecki	FCSH -UNL
15	2007	O insucesso e o abandono escolar dos filhos de imigrantes de origem cabo-verdiana nascidos en território português : o caso da Cova da Moura	Catarina Oliveira	ISCTE - IUL
16	2007	Representa Red Eyes Gang : das redes de amizade ao hip hop	Otávio Ribeiro Raposo	ISCTE - IUL
17	2008	Kova-M forever – Samplagens da Zona. Identidades Múltiplas de Jovens.	Cláudia Rieiro Vaz	ISCSP - UL
18	2008	Construção urbana de Origem Ilegal, capital social e percepção de problemas: : o caso de Casal de Cambra	Isabel Almeida Santos	ISCSP - UL
19	2008	A (re)qualificação sócio-urbanística do Bairro Alto da Cova da Moura : os diferentes olhares institucionais	Carlos Alves Gomes dos Santos	ISCTE - IUL
20	2008	Caminhos para a inserção socioprofissional dos Luso-Caboverdianos em Portugal : o caso do Bairro do Alto da Cova da Moura	Zeuga Cardoso Mendes Semedo	ISCTE - IUL
21	2008	Hindus da Quinta da Vitória em processo de realojamento : uma etnografia na cidade alargada	Rita d'Ávila Cachado	ISCTE - IUL
22	2008	Bairro Santa Filomena : representações sociais das mulheres sobre a AIDS	Karina Ramos dos Santos	FCSH -UNL
23	2009	Estratégia de acção colectiva : iniciativa bairros críticos : operação Cova da Moura	Patrícia Horta	ISCTE - IUL
24	2010	Cidade Informal. A casa e os modelos de habitar na Cova da Moura	Carolina Freitas Ladeira	FAUL
25	2010	Requalificação de um quartierão no bairro do Alto da Cova da Moura	Telma do Rosário Melim	FAUL
26	2010	Falemos de Casas. A habitação em torno de um vazio nuclear. Princípios de reabilitação do alto da Cova da Moura	Daniel Folgado Duarte	FAUL
27	2010	O Largo como estratégia de Espaço Público	Alexandra Coelho Fernandes	FAUL
28	2010	A habitação social como instrumento de combate à pobreza e à exclusão social	Joana Freitas Simões	ISCSP - UL
29	2010	Habitar a Cova da Moura, uma solução adaptada e adaptável	Marilyn Mendes Ferreira	FAUL
30	2010	A flexibilidade e adaptabilidade do edifício como contributo para a requalificação do bairro do Alto da Cova da Moura	David Alexandre Bernardino	FAUL
31	2010	Cidade e sociedades marginais	Ana Teresa Pereira Niza	FAUL
32	2010	Arte na minha rua. Estratégia de reabilitação urbana para o bairro da Cova da Moura	Ana Carvalhinho Batalha	FAUL
33	2010	Bairro do Alto da Cova da Moura	Eunice da Silva Ramos	FAUL
34	2010	O lugar da cidade	Andreia Ribeiro Dias	FAUL
35	2010	Adicionar como forma de requalificar	Alexandra Santos Melão	FAUL

36	2010	Alto da Cova da Moura	Manuel Oliveira e Silva	FAUL
37	2010	Espaço Público e Consciência Cívica	Bárbara Borges Alexandrino	FAUL
38	2010	Espaço Comum para a Cova da Moura	André Madeira Antunes	FAUL
39	2010	Os limites da Cova da Moura. Uma oportunidade ou uma barreira?	André Loureiro Raposo	FAUL
40	2010	Des-sub-urbanizar	José Fortuna Pereira	FAUL
41	2010	Além-cidade : jovens, controlo e visibilidade na gestão da pobreza : os casos da Quinta da Fonte e de Bacalan	Isabel da Assunção de Carvalho Pato e Silva	IGOT - UL
42	2010	O social, o espacial e o politico na pobreza e na exclusão : avaliação de iniciativas de regeneração de áreas urbanas em risco na cidade do Porto	Sónia Cristina Nunes Alves	ISCTE - IUL
43	2010	Famílias ciganas residentes num bairro de habitação social [Texto policopiado] : análise das representações sociais e das interacções quotidianas Bairro Novo das Galinheiras - 1ª fase	Lurdes Alves	FCSH -UNL
44	2010	Pobreza e ambiente: o Bairro do Alto da Cova da Moura	Maria Manuela Pereira Mota Pinto	FCSH -UNL
45	2010	Do outro lado da cidade: crianças, socialização e delinquência em bairros de realojamento	Maria João Leote de Carvalho	FCSH -UNL
46	2011	À espera do Bairro do Talude Militar	Joana Pestana Lages	FAUL
47	2011	Os espaços públicos como nova identidade da Cova da Moura	André Lopes Nave	FAUL
48	2011	Influência do desenho urbano na insegurança da cidade	Luís Cardoso de Freitas	IST - UTL
49	2011	Espaço Público como estratégia de intervenção em áreas urbanas de génese ilegal	Luis Nobre Araújo	IST - UTL
50	2011	Intervenção Participada no bairro do alto da Cova da Moura	Pedro Alvarez Cortes	FAUL
51	2011	Des-sub-urbanizar o lugar	Ricardo Gigante da Forna	FAUL
52	2011	Espaço público em bairros de génese ilegal	Silvia Ferreira Lopes	FAUL
53	2011	O bairro na cidade : a relação entre a satisfação residencial e a insegurança percebida nos moradores de um bairro urbano	Inês Alves de Matos Pires Ferreira	FP - UL
54	2011	Marketing social em saúde : a percepção dos jovens africanos e luso-africanos, residentes no Bairro Quinta da Fonte, sobre as acções de IEC (Information, Education, Communication), aplicadas na prevenção das infecções sexualmente transmitidas	Maria João Garcia	FMUL
55	2011	Bairro, identidade, interacção : um olhar etnográfico sobre o Centro Social do Bairro 6 de Maio	Rita do Carmo Alves Figueirinhas	ISCTE - IUL
56	2011	Etnografia cigana no Bairro Alfredo Bensaúde sob o olhar da juventude	Juliana da Mota Marques Segrini	FCSH -UNL
57	2012	Bairro da Cova da Moura	Filipa Madeira de Aguiar	FAUL
58	2012	Integração espacial e social. O caso do Bairro do Alto da Cova da Moura	Nádia Carvalho Jacinto	FAUL
59	2012	Cova da Moura: Qualificação do bairro através do espaço público e do equipamento	Patricia Fernandez Valente	FAUL
60	2012	Menos carbono, mais energias renováveis	Helena Silva de Moraes	FAUL
61	2012	Quando os outros colaboram na prática artística... : estudo sobre o processo colaborativo e a criação artística	Sofia Borges	FBAUL
62	2012	Casal da mira, um bairro de dinâmicas protagonizadas pelas mulheres : modelos e estratégias de intervenção do serviço social	Inácia Maria Cabrita Narvalhas Moisés	ISCTE - IUL
63	2013	Gerar e Gerir espaço no Bairro do Barruncho	João Oliveira Ferreira	FAUL
64	2013	Ruínas D'Eco	Hugo Lopes Guiomar	ISA-UL
65	2013	Um equipamento para enquadrar a identidade colectiva da Cova da Moura	Bárabra Castro Nabais	FA- UL
66	2013	Qualificação urbana como valorização da imagem da cidade	Nádia Silva Fernandes	FA- UL
67	2013	Habitar o 6 de Maio : as casas, os homens, o bairro	Catarina Sampaio	ICS -UL
68	2013	Apoio social percebido e coparentalidade, em contexto de bairro social : um estudo exploratório	Cátia Sofia Correia Jerónimo da Silva	FP - UL
69	2014	Equipamento para a cidade informal	Ricardo Vilan e Melo	FAUL
70	2014	Construir e construir-se (n)uma associação de bairro : o moinho da juventude, na Cova da Moura	Irene Santos	IE - UL
71	2015	Maternidade na adolescência cabo-verdiana, perspetiva social e cultural no bairro Cova da Moura	Cláudia Sofia Teixeira Santos Ferreira	ISCTE - IUL
72	2015	Da Quinta da Holandesa ao Bairro do Armador: realojamento, integração ou ambos para a comunidade indiana?	Maria Alexandra das Neves Barreto	FCSH -UNL
73	2016	Nu bai: promoção da saúde no Bairro Alto da Cova da Moura	Susana Veríssimo Gomes	ISCTE - IUL
74	2017	Nas margens e em trânsito : a saúde mental e as boas intenções numa IPSS nos arredores de Lisboa	Joana Catela	ISCTE - IUL
75	2017	Desenho, experiência e memória : uma proposta a partir da Cova da Moura	Maria Taborda de Sousa Pires	FBAUL

IV. LIST OF INTERVIEWS

PARTICIPANTS	CONVERSATIONS & INTERVIEWS
Residents	**16**
Housing Stories	12
Stories	4
Activists	**10**
Antiracist	4
Right to Housing	1
Grassroots	3
Local	2
Artists	**6**
Rappers	4
Film Directors	1
Writters	1
State Representatives	**11**
Parish Level	1
Municipal Level	3
Governmental Level	7
Academics	**2**
Anthropology	1
Social Service	1
Total	**45**

V. HOUSING STORIES AND INTERVIEWS' SCRIPTS[147]

1. HOUSING STORIES CONVERSATION SCRIPT

1. **Gostava que me falasse um bocadinho da sua vida e do seu percurso. Se achar bem, podemos partir das diferentes casas onde foi morando ao longo da sua vida.**
   Como era a casa onde nasceu? Com quem vivia? Gostava de lá morar? O que a fez sair dessa casa (casamento/trabalho/migração/despejo)? Onde ficava a casa? Ainda tem família a viver nessa casa? Alguma vez lá voltou ou costuma voltar? Que memórias tem desse lugar (boas/más)? (*A ideia depois seria repetir este exercício em relação às diferentes casas que as pessoas foram habitando*).

2. **Como chegou ao Bairro de Santa Filomena/Azinhaga dos Besouros/6 de Maio**
   Como é que soube da existência do bairro de Santa Filomena/Azinhaga dos Besouros/6 de Maio? Onde habitava até lá? Quais foram as circunstâncias que a levaram a ir morar para o bairro? Se pudesse escolher um sítio para morar em Lisboa naquela altura, onde seria? Lembra-se em que ano foi para o bairro? Lembra-se de quem lá morava? Quantos anos viveu no bairro? Como era o bairro nessa altura? Já existia há muito tempo quando chegou, havia muitas casas? Como era o dia-a-dia no bairro nessa altura? Dava-se bem com os vizinhos? Havia convívio? Havia algum lugar especial, de encontro? Como recorda esses tempos? Acha que ao longo do tempo as coisas foram mudando? Se sim, de que forma? Acha que havia muita união entre as pessoas do bairro?
   Qual era a relação com as pessoas que viviam à volta do bairro? E com as instituições, a Câmara da Amadora, a Segurança Social, a Polícia?
   Havia muitos problemas no bairro? Se sim, quais? Recorda-se de momentos mais tensos, mais complicados, acontecimentos que tenham marcado a história do bairro ou a sua história no bairro?
   Que memórias guarda deste espaço que hoje já não existe? Acha que o facto do bairro ter sido destruído fisicamente significa o seu fim, ou que de alguma forma o bairro persiste? Se sim, de que forma?
   Lembra-se quando é que ouviu falar pela primeira vez do Programa Especial de Realojamento? Se sim, quando e como? Acha que o facto de as pessoas saberem que o bairro iria, eventualmente, ser destruído um dia, alterou a forma como se vivia/cuidava da/na casa e do/no bairro? Se sim, como?

[147] All the scripts are in Portuguese as the interviews were conducted in Portuguese. The scripts regarding interviews done within the COMBAT project do not figure here, due to the fact they were done collectively.

3. **Como era a casa.**

   A casa era sua ou alugada? Se era alugada, como foi o processo e a quem a alugava? Recorda-se de quando pagava de aluguer? Se era sua, como e quem a construiu? O terreno foi comprado ou ocupado? Lembra-se quanto pagou por ele? Pagavam IMI às finanças? Se sim, recorda-se desde quando e porque é que começaram a pagar?

   Como era a casa? Foi-se alterando ao longo dos anos? Quantos quartos tinha? Tinham acesso a água, luz, saneamento? Havia recolha de lixo? Quantas pessoas habitavam na casa? Os seus filhos nasceram lá? Como acha que era crescer no bairro? Tinham quintal ou horta? O que plantavam?

   Têm algumas fotografias? Que coisas recorda (boas e más dessa casa, desse espaço)? Acha que a sua casa era igual a todas as outras casas ou que havia alguma coisa de especial pelo facto de a terem construído vocês?

   O que sentiu a primeira vez que percebeu que teria de sair dessa casa? Lembra-se do dia em que recebeu a carta a dizer que seria realojada? E do dia em que se mudou? E no dia em que a casa caiu, estava lá? Se não estava lá, porquê? Que recordações tem desse dia?

4. **O que pensa de todo o processo de realojamento que destruiu as casas que existiam e vos trouxe até aqui, ao Casal da Mira?**

   Na altura queria o realojamento? Tinha vontade de sair do bairro? Porquê? Gostava de ter lá ficado, porquê? Esse sentimento foi-se alterando ao longo do tempo? E hoje, o que pensa disso? Teve problemas com os papéis? Burocracias? Como foi a relação com a Câmara?

   Como e quando começou o processo de realojamento? Foi inscrita no Programa Especial de Realojamento? Em que ano? Pode contar um pouco do processo, houve alguém no seu agregado que tivesse sido excluído ou incluído? Correu tudo como esperavam? Todos os membros da sua família foram realojados? Houve desdobramentos? Foram realojados em sobrelotação?

   Como avalia o processo de realojamento? Acha que o realojamento melhorou a sua vida. Se sim, de que forma? Se não, porquê? O que acha que mudou com o realojamento, se é que alguma coisa mudou? O que acha que se ganhou com o realojamento ou que se perdeu? Se pudesse voltar atrás, voltaria ao bairro antigo?

   Embora no seu caso, vocês tenham "tido direito ao PER", conhece casos que não tenham tido? O que pensa de tudo isto? Porque é que acha que destruíram o bairro onde vivia e vos realojaram aqui? O Casal da Mira foi uma escolha vossa? Se não, para onde gostavam de ter ido? Como foi este processo de escolha de casa?

5. **Gosta da casa e do bairro que habita hoje?**

   Quando pensa na casa que tinha, que já não existe, acha que esta é melhor ou preferia a outra? Porquê? Acha que a casa é adequada ao seu agregado familiar? Tem algum problema estrutural na casa (humidade, esgotos)?

Há quanto tempo veio morar para o Casal da Mira? Ao final de tantos anos, já se sente em casa? Como é a sua vida aqui? Gosta de viver aqui? Se sim/não, porquê?

Passa muito tempo aqui no bairro? Se sim, onde? Onde é que as pessoas se costumam encontrar aqui no bairro? Há muita coisa para fazer, ou têm de sair daqui? Que lugares costuma frequentar, quando vai passear?

A escola/ o trabalho são longe do bairro? Quanto tempo demora a chegar? E se precisar de ir às compras, à farmácia ou ao hospital, quanto tempo demora? Os transportes funcionam bem? Em comparação com o bairro onde habitava, os seus percursos quotidianos mantiveram-se ou alteraram-se muito desde que veio morar para aqui?

Acha que o Casal da Mira é um espaço central ou que está, de alguma forma, separado do resto da cidade? Acha que a Mira é um espaço continuo ou separado do resto da cidade? Que coisas lhe dão essa sensação de distância/separação? Já alguma vez pensou/sonhou sair daqui? Se pudesse, moraria onde?

Acha que a sua casa é aqui, na Mira? Alguma vez voltou ou costuma voltar a Santa Filomena/ Azinhaga/ 6 de Maio? O que vai lá fazer?

6. **E quem não vive no bairro, o que acha que pensa do bairro do Casal da Mira?**

Como é que acha que o bairro é visto por quem não mora aqui (vizinhos, câmara municipal da Amadora, polícia, estado central)? Acha que há uma boa ou má imagem do bairro? Porque é que acha que é visto dessa maneira?

Acha que a Mira é vista de forma diferente do que era falado o 6 de Maio ou Santa Filomena? Acha que a imagem tem alguma coisa a ver com o facto de serem bairros de realojamento que albergaram pessoas que viviam antes nas “barracas”?

Há muita gente que não é do bairro que cá venha?

Como é que é a relação das pessoas com a Câmara da Amadora?

A polícia vem muitas vezes ao bairro? Em que circunstâncias aparecem? Como entram no bairro? Lembra-se de algum episódio marcante de atuação policial dentro do bairro ou com pessoas do bairro, mesmo que fora?

Alguma vez se sentiu discriminada por ser do Casal da Mira? Costuma dizer sempre de onde é ou não? Porquê?

E alguma vez se sentiu discriminada por ser negra?

Sente que ao longo dos anos o Estado português a tem respeitado a si à sua dignidade, a tem tratado como um ser humano e uma cidadã de pleno direito? Há muitos investigadores ou cineastas a virem ao bairro? Sobre que coisas têm trabalho? Acha interessante?

2. GRASSROOTS HOUSING RIGHTS ACTIVISTS SCRIPT

1. Que momentos mais relevantes salientarias do teu percurso?
2. Como descreverias o bairro onde vives/vivias? Gostas de aqui/ali morar? Porquê?
3. Como é que achas que o bairro é/era visto pelas pessoas que não o habitam?
4. Achas que o bairro é sinónimo de gueto? O que é para ti um bairro e um gueto?
5. Achas que há diferenças substanciais entre bairros de autoconstrução e de realojamento? Se sim, quais?
6. Podes contar-me como te envolveste nesta luta pelo direito à habitação? Podes falar-me de alguns momentos mais relevantes dessa luta?
7. Como analisas todo o movimento que se gerou em torno da habitação, em particular da Assembleia dos Moradores e da Caravana pelo Direito à Habitação? Porque é que se juntaram? O que têm em comum o Bairro 6 de Maio, o Bairro da Jamaika, o Bairro da Torre e a Quinta da Fonte?
8. Recordo-me que em muitas das ações que realizámos, ou mesmo na carta escrita em conjunto pelos diversos bairros é muitas vezes referida a ideia de que no bairro as pessoas "não são tratadas como humanas" ou a necessidade de sublinhar que aqui habitam pessoas, "que não são animais". Porque é que achas que este discurso está tão presente?
9. Sentes que os teus direitos (humanos) são respeitados pelo Estado português? Porquê? Se não, porque é que achas que isso acontece?
10. O que é para ti o Estado?/ Que instituições é que para ti representam o Estado? Achas que o Estado é presente ou ausente no bairro onde vives?
11. Achas que o Estado português é um Estado racista? Se sim, em que circunstâncias é que achas que isso é expresso?

3. HOUSING RIGHTS ACTIVISTS SCRIPT

1. Que momentos mais relevantes salientariam do vosso percurso como ativistas?
2. Podem contar-me como se começaram a envolver na luta pelo direito à habitação e como nasce, cresce e qual equacionam ser o papel da vossa associação no seio desta luta?
3. Será que nos poderiam recordar alguns momentos mais relevantes dessa luta?
4. Mais recentemente como analisam todo o movimento que se gerou em torno do direito à habitação (e, em particular através da criação da Assembleia dos Moradores e da Caravana pelo Direito à Habitação; o que têm em comum, na tua opinião os espaços que se juntaram)?
5. Recordo-me que em muitas das ações realizadas ou mesmo na carta que foi escrita em conjunto pelos Assembleia de Bairros são muitas vezes referidas ideias de que as pessoas "não são tratadas como humanas" ou sublinha-se que nos bairros "habitam pessoas, não animais" - porque é que achas que este discurso está tão sistematicamente presente nas reivindicações dos/das moradores/as?
6. Da vossa experiência, diriam que o racismo é um factor que dificulta o acesso à habitação em Portugal? Porquê? Podem contar alguns casos em que se recordem que tal foi determinante?
7. Como caracterizariam o investimento do Estado Português na habitação? Que políticas públicas consideram ter sido mais relevantes na melhoria das condições de vida das populações? Quem vos parece que tem sido mais beneficiado e quem ficou de fora dessas políticas? O que está por fazer?
8. Como analisam o momento político presente, em particular as transformações que decorreram no IHRU, a criação de uma SEH?
9. Papel do Estado e o racismo – políticas afirmativas.
10. Como analisam o Programa 1º Direito e que expectativas se levantam com ele? O que é que não deveríamos aprender com as experiências anteriores (i.e. PER)?
11. Achas que há diferenças substanciais entre os bairros de autoconstrução e os atuais bairros de realojamento? Se sim, quais? Se não, porquê?
12. Se tivesses de definir a ideia de Estado e a forma como este se encontra presente nos bairros, como o farias? Achas que o Estado é presente ou ausente no bairro? Que instituições o representam?

4. ANTIRACIST ACTIVISTS SCRIPT

1. Que momentos mais relevantes salientarias do teu percurso enquanto ativista?
2. Como e em que momento é que te envolveste na luta antirracista? E nesse contexto como surgiu a luta pelo direito à habitação? Ou seja, como e quando é que a luta antirracista se cruzou com a luta pelo direito à habitação?
3. Será que nos poderias recordar alguns momentos mais relevantes dessa luta?
4. Mais recentemente, como analisas todo o movimento que se gerou em torno do direito à habitação (em particular através da criação da Assembleia dos Moradores e da Caravana pelo Direito à Habitação; o que têm em comum, na tua opinião os espaços que se juntaram)?
5. Processos históricos de racialização e as consequências na desigualdade no acesso à habitação das comunidades ciganas --- como vês esta questão em particular e a possibilidade de articulação na luta com outras comunidades?
6. Recordo-me que em muitas das ações realizadas ou mesmo na carta que foi escrita em conjunto pelos Assembleia de Bairros são muitas vezes referidas ideias de que as pessoas "não são tratadas como humanas" ou sublinha-se que nos bairros "habitam pessoas, não animais" - porque é que achas que este discurso está tão presente nas reivindicações dos/das moradores/as?
7. Como é que entendes e analisas a relação entre racismo e processos de desumanização? Como olhas historicamente para esse processo (de onde vem, para onde vai)?
8. A esse propósito, como analisas a atual proliferação de debates públicos (espaço académico e mediático) sobre racismo? Quais consideras serem os termos dessa conversa e o que achas que continua por dizer?
9. Em algumas músicas rap e nas paredes de determinadas latitudes da cidade, é comum cruzarmo-nos com a expressão 'gueto' (menos comum no debate público) – como entendes estes conceitos (relação entre 'raça' e espaço)?
10. Como analisas a relação entre espaços racializados, vigilância e policiamento?
11. Se tivesses de definir a ideia de Estado e a forma como este se encontra presente nos bairros, como o farias? Achas que o Estado é presente ou ausente no bairro? Que instituições o representam?
12. Partindo da experiência anterior (PER) como analisas o momento político presente, em particular as transformações que decorreram no IHRU, a criação de uma SEH e o Programa 1º Direito? Como avalias e imaginas a possibilidade de políticas de ação afirmativa no sector da habitação (Década dos Afrodescendentes)?

5. RAPPERS AND POETS SCRIPT

1. Podes contar-me um pouco do teu percurso enquanto rapper?
2. Que momentos mais relevantes salientarias da tua carreia?
3. De todas as músicas que escreveste, quais são as que mais gostas? Porquê?
4. E como é esse processo de escrita? Sentes que há temas que se repetem nas tuas músicas? Se sim, quais?
5. E sem ser nas tuas músicas, dirias que há temas recorrentes no Rap que se produz em Portugal ou em Lisboa? Que temas são esses (prisões...)?
6. Por exemplo, o Estado é omnipresente nestas letras, muito falado - Estado e em instituições do Estado – o que representa para ti o Estado ou como é que ele se manifesta na vida das pessoas, diariamente?
7. E a questão do espaço, da cidade, do bairro também está sempre muito presente, certo? Notei que no Rap se usa bastante a palavra gueto. O que é o gueto para ti/vocês? Achas que o gueto é o bairro autoconstruído ou o realojamento? Achas que há guetos de brancos? Qual é a diferença entre o bairro e o gueto?
8. Qual é que achas que tem sido o papel do Rap na denúncia do racismo em Portugal?
9. Muito do Rap que se faz na periferia de Lisboa é cantado em Krioulo? Achas que é mais uma questão de conforto, pertença ou resistência?
10. Conversa mais específicas sobre as suas obras.

6. NATIONAL PARLIMENT DEPUTIES SCRIPT

1. Gostava que me falasse um pouco sobre o seu já longo percurso (arquiteta, vereadora e deputada)? Comissão?
2. Como nasce este seu interesse pela questão habitação?
3. Recordo-me que esteve também envolvida na criação da Plataforma Artigo 65 (em 2006) – será que poderia contextualizar o surgimento desta Plataforma bem como os seus principais objectivo e atividades? Como se articulou o envolvimento das Associações de Moradores (Fontaínhas, Azinhaga dos Besouros, Fim do Mundo...)?
4. O que se lembra desse tempo, como era essa periferia da cidade (Amadora)?
5. Sabendo que muitos destes bairros se encontravam abrangidos pelo Programa Especial de Realojamento como analisa o seu desenho e implementação ao longo do tempo? Como analisa este programa e aquilo que dele adveio (resolução de carências habitacionais, formas de realojamento, segregação e despejo; guetização)?
6. É verdade também que muitos dos bairros, abrangidos pelo PER foram sítios estratégicos do ponto de vista da mobilidade, construção e investimento – como vê esta coincidência de interesses?
7. Quais considera serem os maiores problemas na habitação social e na sua gestão?
8. Quais considera serem atualmente os maiores desafios no campo da habitação?
9. Reparei que tem trazido para as suas apresentações a discussão sobre o racismo no campo da habitação? Como analisa este facto e quais as soluções que acredita que devem ser tomadas para acabar com as desigualdades raciais no acesso à habitação?
10. Em que medida é que o Primeiro Direito pode contribuir para dirimir estas desigualdades? E de que forma uma lei de bases pode contribuir também?
11. Perante esta evidência, como analisa a possibilidade de políticas de ação afirmativa aplicadas ao campo da habitação?
12. Quem tem responsabilidade: Estado ou autarquias?
13. Hoje mesmo saiu um relatório da ECRI que enfatiza, em particular, o que se tem vindo a passar no bairro 6 de Maio. Como olha para a Amadora?

7. HOUSING AND URBAN REHABILITATION INSTITUTE SCRIPT

1. Gostava que me falassem sobre o seu percurso académico e profissional e como se iniciou a vossa colaboração com o IHRU?
2. Como descreveriam a história que conduziu à constituição do IHRU bem como as suas atuais competências? E os seus momentos mais relevantes?
3. Será que me poderiam descrever um pouco do que têm sido as linhas de promoção de habitação impulsionadas pelo Estado Português num passado recente - principais programas?
4. Considerando o PER como um dos mais expressivos investimentos de promoção de habitação, volvidos que estão 25 anos da sua promulgação, como analisam o seu desenho e implementação? De que forma considera que o realojamento alterou as condições de vida das populações?
5. Este programa conduziu em muitas ocasiões à edificação de grandes aglomerados, mais afastados dos centros das cidades? Acha que afastar o bairro foi afastar as pessoas? Há quem fale mesmo em processos de segregação – alguma vez foi equacionado requalificar os bairros em vez de demoli-los?
6. Quais consideram ser os atuais desafios da habitação social em Portugal ?
7. Sabemos que alguns municípios ainda não terminaram de implementar o Programa Especial de Realojamento, como é o caso da Amadora. Poderiam descrever especificamente este processo bem como o que que consideram que funcionou ou que pelo contrário falhou?
8. Em muitos dos bairros deste conselho, habitam maioritariamente comunidades afrodescendentes e ciganas. Como analisam este aspeto?
9. Da vossa experiência, diriam que o racismo é um fator que dificulta o acesso à habitação em Portugal? Porquê? Recordam-se de alguma polémica que tenha levantado esta discussão? - Nesse sentido, qual é o trabalho que tem vindo a ser feito pelo IHRU no sentido de dirimir essas desigualdades?
10. A nível nacional e de acordo com um Estudo sobre a situação habitacional das comunidades ciganas, um terço dos agregados habitavam em situações precárias – alojamentos não-formais. Como avaliam esta questão assim como a possibilidade de políticas de ação afirmativa no sector da habitação (Década dos Afrodescendentes/ENICC)?
11. Recentemente, a propósito das demolições que têm ocorrido em diversas áreas do conselho da Amadora, tem emergido um debate sobre quem detém a tutela da habitação – estado central ou administração local. Como analisam este debate?
12. Foi anunciada recentemente uma Nova Geração de Políticas de Habitação, em particular os programas Porta de Entrada e Primeiro Direito. O que podemos esperar destes programas e mais especificamente do Programa Da Habitação ao Habitat?

8. ONBDSMAN SCRIPT

1. Gostava que me falassem, em primeiro lugar, um pouco sobre o vosso percurso profissional e, em particular, como começaram o vosso trabalho na Provedoria de Justiça.
2. Como descreveriam o trabalho desenvolvido ao longo do tempo pela Provedoria de Justiça (competências, mudanças ao longo do tempo, principais queixas/temáticas que trata)?
3. Sei que a Provedoria de Justiça foi chamada a intervir face às demolições que ocorriam então no Bairro de Santa Filomena e mais tarde no 6 de Maio. Pode contar um pouco esse processo?
4. Demolições em Vila Verde (1996). Intervenção do Provedor de Justiça – Recomendação 72/A/96. Recordam- se de outros casos?
5. As demolições parecem persistir na ação do Estado português mesmo após todas estas recomendações. Como entendem estas persistências?
6. Como analisa o desenho e implementação do PER, em particular, no conselho da Amadora ao longo do tempo (o que que consideram que funcionou ou que pelo contrário falhou)?
7. Como se pode entender quem tem oficialmente responsabilidade sobre o direito à habitação em Portugal – Estado central vs Autarquias?
8. Este programa de realojamento conduziu essencialmente à edificação de vários bairros e ao realojamento de muitas famílias – como é que analisa este processo de realojamento e de que forma considera que o realojamento alterou as condições de vida das populações (coisas boas e más do realojamento)?
9. Em muitos dos bairros que falamos habitam muitas pessoas afrodescendentes e ciganas. Acha que há uma política de integração conduzida pelo Estado português face a estas comunidades, em particular através do realojamento?
10. Em alguns relatórios de Agências internacionais, como a ECRI, mencionam o papel da Provedoria de Justiça em abordar algumas questões relacionadas com o racismo (cidadãos não-nacionais e comunidades ciganas). Podem falar-me um pouco sobre isto?
11. Houve algumas discussões em torno do Programa de videovigilância implementado pela Câmara Municipal da Amadora. A provedoria tomou alguma posição? Legalmente, o que pensam?
12. Acham que o governo português tem respeitado os direitos humanos das comunidades negras e ciganas?

9. AMADORA CITY COUNCILOR SCRIPT

1. Gostava que me falasse um pouco sobre o seu percurso profissional e em particular do seu envolvimento com a política autárquica - Amadora?
2. A partir da sua experiência, como descreveria a situação habitacional na autarquia, nomeadamente quais as principais questões e desafios? (Levantamento sobre as carências habitacionais – a seguir a Lisboa é a Amadora a segunda cidade com mais carências habitacionais - porque é que acha que isto acontece?).
3. Sabemos que o município ainda não terminou de implementar o PER. Como analisa o seu desenho e implementação no conselho ao longo do tempo (o que que considera que funcionou ou que pelo contrário falhou)?
4. Estes programas de realojamento conduziram muitas vezes à edificação de vários bairros e ao realojamento de muitas famílias – como é que analisa este processo de realojamento e de que forma considera que o realojamento alterou as condições de vida das populações (coisas boas e más do realojamento)?
5. Como descreveria estes bairros e aqui, em particular, o Bairro da Casal da Mira? Considera que o bairro está inserido na malha urbana? Há quem fale mesmo em processos de segregação – alguma vez foi equacionado requalificar os bairros em vez de demoli-los?
6. Acha que afastar o bairro foi afastar as pessoas?
7. Como é que acha que o bairro é visto por quem não o habita?
8. Em muitos dos bairros que falamos habitam maioritariamente comunidades afrodescendentes e ciganas. Acha que há uma política de integração conduzida pela CMA face a estas comunidades racializadas?
9. Sei que acompanhado de perto a situação no Bairro 6 de Maio. Como analisa aquilo que tem vindo a acontecer – o papel da Câmara e dos Moradores?

10. EX- DEPUTY OF THE MUNICIPAL ASSEMBLY OF AMADORA

1. Gostava que me falasse um pouco sobre o seu percurso profissional e em particular do seu envolvimento com a política autárquica - Amadora?
2. A partir da sua experiência, como descreveria a situação habitacional na autarquia – principais problemas e desafios?
3. Embora pelo que percebi o seu envolvimento na Câmara Municipal tenha acontecido há cerca de oito anos (2010), como analisa o desenho e a implementação do Programa Especial de Realojamento no conselho da Amadora ao longo do tempo (o que que considera que funcionou ou que pelo contrário falhou)?
4. Sei que tem acompanhado de perto a situação no Bairro 6 de Maio. Como analisa aquilo que tem vindo a acontecer – o papel da Câmara e dos Moradores?
5. Estes programas de realojamento conduziram à edificação de vários bairros e ao realojamento de muitas famílias – como é que analisa este processo de realojamento e de que forma consideram que o realojamento alterou as condições de vida das populações?
6. Sei que levaram a cabo uma petição em alguns bairros municipais. Poderia explicar-me o contexto, teor e objectivo da petição?
7. Recordo-me que a este propósito denunciou, ainda na qualidade de Vereador um episódio de Violência Policial no Bairro 6 de Maio, em Fevereiro de 2017. Tem conhecimento de outras situações semelhantes? Como analisaria a atuação das forças policiais no município (em determinados territórios)?
8. Em muitos dos bairros que falamos habitam maioritariamente comunidades afrodescendentes e ciganas. Acha que há uma política de integração conduzida pela CMA face a estas comunidades?

11. MUNICIPAL TECHNICIAN FROM AMADORA SCRIPT

Department of Housing and Urban Rehabilitation

1. Gostava que me falasse um pouco sobre o seu percurso académico e profissional? Como veio trabalhar para a Câmara da Amadora?
2. Como funciona e quais as competências do Departamento de Habitação e Reabilitação Urbana? Qual é a relação entre o Departamento e a Vereação?
3. A partir da sua experiência, como descreveria a situação habitacional na autarquia, nomeadamente quais as principais questões e desafios? (Levantamento sobre as carências habitacionais – Amadora é a segunda cidade com mais carências habitacionais - porque é que acha que isto acontece).
4. Sabemos que o município ainda não terminou de implementar o PER. Podia contar-me como tudo começou e se desenrolou ao longo do tempo? Como analisa o seu desenho e implementação (o que que considera que funcionou ou que pelo contrário falhou)?
5. O PER conduziu muitas vezes à edificação de vários bairros – como é que este realojamento foi planeado e feito? Em que aspetos é que considera que o realojamento alterou as condições de vida das populações (coisas boas e más do realojamento)?
6. Quais são e como descreveria os bairros construídos no âmbito do PER? E o Bairro da Casal da Mira? (Quais considera que são os principais problemas do bairro? Considera que o bairro está inserido na malha urbana? Como são as rendas no bairro? Como é que acha que o bairro é visto por quem não o habita?)
7. Sei que ali existe um Gabinete da CMA? Desde quando existe? O que fazem?
8. Em muitos dos bairros que falamos habitam maioritariamente comunidades afrodescendentes e ciganas. Acha que há uma política de integração conduzida pela CMA face a estas comunidades racializadas?
9. Sei que o PER continua por cumprir e que têm acontecido demolições no âmbito do programa - Bairro 6 de Maio. Como analisa aquilo que tem vindo a acontecer?

12. PRESIDENT OF THE PERISH COUNCIL ENCOSTA DO SOL SCRIPT

1. Gostava que me falasse um pouco sobre o seu percurso profissional e, em particular, como acontece o seu envolvimento com a política autárquica - Amadora?
2. Quais são as principais mudanças que têm ocorrido na freguesia no decorrer dos últimos anos?
3. Como funciona uma junta de freguesia e de que modo se debruça sobre as questões da habitação?
4. A partir da sua experiência, como descreveria a situação habitacional na autarquia, nomeadamente quais as principais questões e desafios? (Levantamento sobre as carências habitacionais – a seguir a Lisboa é a Amadora a segunda cidade com mais carências habitacionais - porque é que acha que isto acontece?).
5. Sabemos que o município ainda não terminou de implementar o PER. Como analisa o seu desenho e implementação no conselho ao longo do tempo (o que que considera que funcionou ou que pelo contrário falhou)?
6. Este programa de realojamento conduziu muitas vezes à edificação de vários bairros e ao realojamento de muitas famílias – como é que analisa este processo de realojamento e de que forma considera que o realojamento alterou as condições de vida das populações (coisas boas e más do realojamento)?
7. Como descreveria estes bairros e aqui, em particular, o Bairro da Casal da Mira? Considera que o bairro está inserido na malha urbana? Acha que afastar o bairro foi afastar as pessoas? Há quem fale mesmo em processos de segregação – alguma vez foi equacionado requalificar os bairros em vez de demoli-los? Junta de freguesia lá no bairro.
8. Saiu recentemente o programa Da Habitação ao Habita. Tem conhecimento deste programa? Têm planos para o bairro?
9. Como é que acha que o bairro é visto por quem não o habita?
10. Em muitos dos bairros que falamos habitam maioritariamente comunidades afrodescendentes e ciganas. Acha que há uma política de integração conduzida pela CMA face a estas comunidades racializadas?

12. ONG MEMBER AND PUBLIC SERVANT IHRU SCRIPT

1. Gostava que me falasse um pouco sobre o seu percurso académico e profissional?
2. Sei também que foi coordenador nacional do Programa Escolhas, como avalia o desenho e a implementação deste programa ao longo do tempo?
3. É atualmente o Presidente da Associação x. Quais considera serem as principais linhas de ação e âmbitos de intervenção da associação e os principais desafios que enfrenta atualmente?
4. O seu percurso passa pelo Fundo de Fomento à Habitação, passando pelo Instituto Nacional de Habitação e hoje pelo IHRU – Quais entende que tenham sido os momentos mais desafiantes/emblemáticos na história do acesso à habitação em Portugal? Porquê?
5. Da sua experiência diria que o racismo é um fator que dificulta o acesso à habitação em Portugal? Porquê? Recorda-se de alguma polémica que tenha levantado esta discussão? – (Nesse sentido, qual é o trabalho que tem vindo a ser feito pelo CMA no sentido de dirimir essas desigualdades? Como avalia a possibilidade de políticas de ação afirmativa no sector da habitação - Década dos Afrodescendentes/ENICC?)
6. Em muitos dos bairros do conselho da Amadora, tal como acontece na Ameixoeira ou no Casal da Mira, habitam maioritariamente comunidades afrodescendentes e ciganas. Como analisa este aspeto?
7. Como analisa o desenho e implementação do Programa Especial de Realojamento? De que forma considera que alterou as condições de vida das populações (coisas boas e más do realojamento)?
8. Este programa conduziu em muitas ocasiões à edificação de grandes aglomerados, mais afastados dos centros das cidades? Acha que afastar o bairro foi afastar as pessoas? Na sua tese, por exemplo, reflete essa dupla possibilidade – integração ou segregação – o que acha que resultou para o Casal da Mira, porquê? Espectativas/realidade face ao bairro?
9. Quais é que considera que são os principais desafios na habitação social atualmente (sobrelotação, rendas altas, escassez)? E no Casal da Mira (o que melhorou ou piorou face à situação anterior)?
10. Como descreveria o trabalho elaborado pelo Gabinete Técnico Local?

13. ACADEMICS SCRIPT

1. Uma vez que já tivemos outras oportunidades para conversas, gostava de te perguntar, em primeiro lugar, como surge a ideia para o teu doutoramento?
2. Ultimamente a cidade e a habitação reemergiram no debate público e em grande medida também no debate académico. Como analisarias os termos deste debate hoje em comparação com outros momentos anteriores?
3. Qual tem sido o papel da Academia nesse debate?
4. Pode dizer-se que há uma tradição de estudos urbanos em Portugal? Se sim, que trabalhos e autores consideras basilares para pensar o espaço urbano em Portugal?
5. Que autores dirias incontornáveis na tradição dos estudos urbanos em Portugal e a que escolas pertencem?
6. Achas que há um olhar disciplinar sobre a cidade, ou seja, sentes que há determinadas disciplinas que olham mais determinados processos, ou a questão é essencialmente metodológica?
7. A cidade pode ser objeto e pode ser palco para pensar, quais é que consideras serem as temáticas mais recorrentes dentro dos estudos urbanos (políticas públicas, habitação, território...)? Achas que há áreas híper estudas e outras mais silenciadas? Se sim, quais?
8. Do teu conhecimento, que trabalhos se têm vindo a debruçar sobre a questão racial? Porque é que achas que há tão poucos?

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