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Sustainable Development Prospects in a Demographically Dense Territory: A Case Study of the Village of Moscavide

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Resumo

O debate sobre o futuro do nosso planeta é frequentemente centrado na sustentabilidade e no desenvolvimento. E o debate sobre o desenvolvimento sustentável é centrado muitas vezes na forma como devemos planejar as nossas cidades para o futuro, no contexto ambiental em que vivemos hoje. Esta dissertação foca uma teoria que se propõe ser a estratégia chave no planeamento urbano para um futuro próspero das nossas cidades. A Teoria da Cidade Compacta é um modelo de planeamento e desenvolvimento urbano que, em oposição ao modelo tradicional de expansão urbana – *Urban Sprawl* -, é caracterizado por maiores níveis de densidade, diversidade e um uso misto do solo, e que, consequentemente, levará à mitigação dos impactos ambientais nas áreas urbanas e criará economias mais eficientes. A dissertação explora esta teoria ao nível do bairro, descrito como “desenvolvimento urbano compacto”, centrando-se em Moscavide, uma vila com fronteira com Lisboa e que faz parte de Loures, que durante muitos anos é considerada a área demograficamente mais densa do Concelho. A aplicação do “Modelo de Cidade Compacta” neste território intensamente compacto, será facilitado pelo seu contexto territorial de densidade, diversidade e um uso misto do seu solo. O sucesso do seu planeamento no trabalho rumo à sustentabilidade depende das estratégias políticas adotadas.

Palavras-Chave: Sustentabilidade; Desenvolvimento Urbano; Teoria da Cidade Compacta; Economia Política e Território; Área Metropolitana de Lisboa.

Abstract

The debate on the future of our world is often centered on sustainability and development. And the debate on sustainable development is often centered on how should we plan our cities for the future, in the environmental context we live today. This dissertation focus on a theory that suggests to be the key strategy in urban planning for a prosperous future of our cities. The Compact City Theory is an urban development planning model that, opposed to the traditional *urban sprawl* model, is described by having greater levels of density, diversity and mixed-land use, that consequently leads to the mitigation of environmental impacts in urban areas and creates a more efficient economy. The dissertation explores this theory at the neighborhood level, described as a compact urban development, focusing on Moscavide, a village with its borders by Lisbon and part of Loures that for many years has been considered the biggest demographically dense area of the Municipality. The application of the “Compact City Model” in this intensely compact territory will be facilitated by its territorial context of density, diversity and mixed land use. The success of its planning in working towards sustainability depends on the policy strategies adopted.

Keywords: Sustainability; Urban Development; Compact City Theory; Political Economy and Territory; Lisbon Metropolitan Area.

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List of acronyms

CC – Compact City

CCM – Compact City Model

CCT – Compact City Theory

JF-UFMP – Junta de Freguesia União de Freguesias de Moscavide e Portela

INTRODUCTION

As the world faces the consequences of climate change and having just come out of a pandemic period, sustainability and sustainable development are more than ever at the center of urban planning debate. How our cities are planned constitutes an essential factor not only for the possibilities of economic progress but also for the mitigation of climate issues. Within this framework, the “Compact City Theory” is an urban planning model that, contrary to the typical Urban Sprawl, suggests that density, diversity, and mix-land use can lead to a more efficient economy and increased levels of sustainable development. OECD, for example, has often pushed for sustainable development in its members' cities and neighborhoods by recommending a compact city urban development. It is believed that besides reducing the impacts of global warming, by producing a smaller ecological footprint, it can also maximize the economic potential of the territory by increasing productivity as a consequence of the “agglomeration of economies” and easier accessibility to services.

This research attempts to evaluate two different strands. The first is the sustainable development of the case study, keeping in mind the social, economic, and environmental context, and second, how are those facilitated by it being a compact urban development in the light of the CCT by transposing into the case study context the premises of the compact model. Since this theory is primarily directed at the city level, it is interesting to verify how that same model fits a much smaller scale – a compact urban development- by adapting the theory's premises to Moscovide's size, characteristics, and trends. Occasionally, this planning confines struggles and often reduces opportunities for action toward a more sustainable strategy, calling into question its economic future. In the case of the village of Moscovide, density was not planned but imposed rapidly by its historical context. Nonetheless, the rapid and unplanned growth of urban areas often is not accompanied by the healthiest structural development and can delay its progress. For example, when thinking of sustainable development of an urban place, the incorporation of green is a predominant factor. The healthy link between humans and nature is preponderant. Vast green areas became even more desirable and necessary in urban planning, where the rhetoric in public investment became exceptionally dedicated to green initiatives and sustainable development. Regardless of the previously mentioned assumptions of what sustainability can look like, some territories are not fortunate enough to incorporate such vast greenery due to its structural characteristics.

Nonetheless, are these areas doomed to achieve healthier and more sustainable living conditions? Even though density often poses as an obstacle to healthy planning, it can, on the other hand, facilitate its development.

The case study selected to operationalize this model corresponds to an area where the political sphere, represented by the parish and the municipality, has an essential role in the economic performance of the territory, showing a concern for the incorporation of sustainability in the political strategy. In fact, for some academics, these urban characteristics are the perfect enablers for sustainable development. The main factor is that it shortens distances, promotes the movement of pedestrians, and motivates healthy living, reducing the need for a car for everyday routes and consequently decreasing carbon footprint. The concept of urban densification and compactness is characterized as “The Compact City Model” precisely because it creates an effective use of a small urban space. The case study checks all the significant characteristics of the Compact City; however, considering different elements of sustainability – environmental, social, and economic - the theory's success often depends on its applicability under the territory's specific context. Density, diversity, and mixed-land use can bring several benefits and facilitate economic growth while simultaneously being the cause of many progress hinders if not accompanied by the appropriate policies.

This research is composed of five major chapters. In the first chapter, it is covered the theoretical framework of the CC. It starts with a “comprehension overview” of the theory and its origins, followed by a description of the major characteristics of different authors and the “politics” of land defended by some of those authors. The last subchapter of this theoretical framework includes conflicts and dilemmas when comparing various works on the CCT. The second chapter explains the methodology used for this research, divided into three research dynamics: territorial, political, and economic. The third chapter is composed of territorial research. To incorporate the theory in the research space, it is necessary to study the land and its uses and evaluate it in the light of the compact model by mapping those relevant traits. The fourth chapter studies the political strategy employed in the territory and the attainable development through those. The fifth chapter studies the economic trends, such as the parish executive's budget uses and the patterns involving the housing market, that might be relevant to the design of future development. This chapter is followed by the chapters of conclusions, suggestions for future research, and the study's limitations.

1. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

1.1. Comprehensive overview of the Compact City

In today's environmental context and with most of the world's population living in urban areas (56% according to the World Bank), the planning of our cities and neighborhoods never felt so urgent and in need to adequate to the current times. The "Compact City" approach tries to respond to this urgency with a sustainable process by linking urban planning and sustainable development. The theory is often presented as the main opposition to the standard "Urban Sprawl" phenomenon that is often portrayed as lacking efficiency due to resource waste and high infrastructure development costs and, therefore, considered unsustainable (Sousa, 2010). According to many scholars, living compactly allows the population to live sustainably and maximize resources. Even though there is no clear-cut description of a "compact city", core concepts are seen regularly in the debate of the model: density, diversity, and mix-land use. Different authors explore these attributes differently and advocate for various causes. Some emphasize compact characteristics as a model that improves the city's economic and productivity efficiency (Jacobs, 1961; Dantzig & Saaty, 1973; Ciccone & Hall, 1993; Ahlfeldt & Pietrostefani, 2019). Others highlight the advantage of this approach to urban environmental sustainability and preservation of rural areas (Saaty & De Paola, 2017; Jenks & Jones, 2010) or for the population's general well-being and health benefits (Newman, 1999; Stevenson et al., 2016; Sousa, 2010). Moreover, when debating the CC, European cities often focus on three dimensions: high-density, mixed-land use, and accessibility by public transport (Burton, 2000).

One of the first authors defending the concept of a "Compact City" – even though without ever mentioning it as such - was Jane Jacobs in her book "The Death and the Life of the Great American Cities" published in 1961, which became an important starting point of this research. Even though published more than sixty years ago, the writings remain relevant and valuable when addressing our cities today. Jacobs criticizes the modern movement of urban planning, led by Robert Moses in 1950's New York City, which encourages *urban sprawl* and pushes the car as the center necessity for the population's mobility. This approach to planning has been associated with the construction of large cities. However, to Jacobs, a smartly planned neighborhood would push for the density and proximity of the different actors at play in the urban space.

Along with the concept of "density," she additionally argues for mixed-land use and diversity in order to revitalize the economic possibilities of the area that would start to

function at the population's convenience by working closely with the actors that "unconsciously cooperate together" (Jacobs, 1961, p. 153). The concepts of density, diversity, and mixed-land use lead to a richer quality of life and better economic prospects. Jacobs divides "diversity" as primary and secondary. The "primary users" bring more people to a specific place. It is an example of not only offices and factories but also schools, museums, and other types of entertainment and educational buildings. These establishments are the "fertile environment" for secondary diversity to flourish. The secondary diversity grows because of the primary. It serves the "primary users". The enterprises appear because of the needs of the primary users. It is why citizens settle in a particular area and consequently create functional density under a compact city.

Even though Jacobs's 1961 book describes the "Compact City" model, the term was only first introduced by Thomas L. Saaty and George Bernard Dantzig in 1973 in their co-written book "Compact City". The authors attempt to "find better ways to develop urban areas" and maximize resources that would push for more sustainability. Urban sprawl, on the other hand, entails various consequences such as pollution and the unsustainable consumption of resources and energy that calls for European cities to arrange better planning when designing their metropolitan areas. For some, the fast growth of urban areas increases the risk of environmental problems and social issues (Saaty & De Paola, 2017). A compact city is sustainable and "smart" because technologies and urban configurations are being used and designed to optimize their limited resources. The authors believe the way to urban change is by revolution and not evolution since the embrace of density calls for drastic changes in territorial and policy strategies that configure the personal car as a necessity. In the compact city approach, it is a luxury. In Dantzig and Saaty (1973), the compact city is economically thriving, ideally with many green spaces, where the travel from home to school and to work is exceptionally short. Where the population can freely choose how to commute from walking, biking, or public transport services and where commercial spots, services, and health facilities are close and fully available. Ideally, in the "Compact Model", urban sprawl would not be needed, and issues such as traffic would be nonexistent (Dantzig & Saaty, 1973). European cities are distinguished foremost as in need of a much urgent change in urban strategies, not only because of their often old infrastructures, further deteriorated by the preponderant rural exodus and migration from countries in conflict, but also the alarming increase of the elderly European population that will demand progressively more social services, and need a smart territory planning to accommodate aging habitants in the near future (Saaty & De Paola, 2017). For these reasons, the authors urge local governments and private corporations to base

their future decisions on demographic projections and plan their urban policies, strategies, and investments accordingly.

The OECD countries find this approach equally applicable in the rest of their territory. The arguments for the compact city approach, including a Jane Jacobs's reference, can be found in the 2012 OECD report entitled "Compact City Policies: A Comparative Assessment". Three key characteristics are highlighted as being a must when defining a compact city:

- Density development - measured in the intensiveness of urban land use and proximity;
- The effectiveness of the public transport system;
- The accessibility to services and employment.

The theme of diversity and "mixed land use" is mentioned as an economic fuel of regions when that usage is functionally integrated (Hoppenbrouwer & Louw, 2007). On the other hand, less diversity in the urban area leads to less efficiency of economic infrastructures, less productivity, and an increase in environmental consequences. The advice for government urban planning includes a diverse combination of public transportation, offices, housing, commercial functions, and services, functioning in proximity, enhancing integrational use, improving the quality of life, and boosting local economic growth.

1.2. Mixed-land use, diversity, density and sustainable development

According to the United Nations, sustainability has intrinsic social, economic, and environmental factors. These three dimensions must be considered to reach fair development in the long run. The modern aversion to concentration and the compact model mentioned previously has been overshadowed by recent claims and studies that associate this model with sustainability and sustainable development when climate change effects in cities call for an urgent replacement of current “spread-city” strategies. The encouragement and support of the compact city model have increased as a response to concerns in modern urbanism, distinctively the consequences of a dispersed pattern of development for not only the environment but for economic, societal, and community values (Bibri et al., 2020; Morrison, 1998;). Considering global trends toward urbanization, the OECD report on Compact Cities associates the model with sustainability. In the report recommendations, the compact model plays a significant role in dealing with the needs of urban areas that 2050 are expected to be sheltering 70% of the world’s population. As it is mentioned, “Compact city policies are expected to play a role in meeting these goals because, by influencing the use of space in cities, they can substantially improve cities’ environmental, social and economic performance” (OECD, 2012 p. 26) as well as enhance the conservation of the countryside and agricultural sites (Saaty & De Paola, 2017; Jenks & Jones, 2010). When debating the CCM, an important argument is the reduction of intra-urban trip distances, the gradual decrease in car usage, and a push for sustainable transportation (Ahlfeldt & Pietrostefani, 2017; Jabareen, 2006; Newman, 1999). Consequently, it is believed to be a factor in the reduction of CO₂ and push for a general increase in citizens’ health (Stevenson et al., 2016). The UN’s Sustainable Development Goals, specifically SDG11 entitled “Sustainable Cities and Communities”, recognize the “compact model” to develop considering inclusiveness, safety, resilience, and sustainability.

The debate on Compact Cities in Europe increased since the 90s when the European Commission published the “Green Paper on the Urban Environment” (1990) that addressed the growing pressures of European cities when dealing with rapid growth and sustainability. The paper's overall argument resides in the critique of the continual outward expansion of cities characterized by a spread development and a “failure of the periphery”, which includes the concerns over the increasing role of the car and the segregation of economic activities and residents. Like the previously mentioned authors, the Commission paper emphasizes the benefits of “density and variety” that brings “the efficient, time-and-energy saving

combination of social and economic functions” (European Commission, 1990, p.21). The paper argues that European cities “can still be saved” (p.22) and can encounter the same struggles as other urban areas worldwide but not at the same scale if embracing compactness. However, it is noted that difficulties such as pollution, traffic congestion, slums in the center and the periphery, or deficient infrastructure, even though they are found in the continent, are not as severe as they are elsewhere in the world. Due to that fact, according to the paper, the primary attention should be on economic growth, namely sustainable growth, since the economic failures of Europe put the cities under additional pressure. Considering European values, it is emphasized the old continent’s traditional commitment to “social cohesion”; nonetheless, the goals for the future need to ensure more equal and decent living conditions. To grant those objectives, proximity and density are seen as a development motor. The enemy of it is “undifferentiated suburban sprawl” that seems to isolate individuals. Even so, it is essential to note that the paper was written in 1990, and the characteristics of European cities have changed significantly. However, problems such as the desertification of locals in the city centers are still mentioned in the paper, blaming offices and shops occupying previously locally owned residencies. The term “gentrification” regarding the city center is only mentioned once, leading us to conclude that it is not a significant phenomenon striking European 1990s urban areas as it is today.

The need to ensure sustainability in urban areas arises from the necessities created within the context in which we live today and how the cities evolved. The need for new policy-making regarding development comes from the failure of current policies that are seen as a continuation of the general failure in the use of resources and in the unsustainable way that humans have been living on Earth, especially in the West. Without a doubt, we can affirm that climate action is more urgent today than ever before, and consequently, the possibilities for development and economic growth as we commonly know it need to change to be able to achieve it in the times we live in, keeping in mind the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), namely the 11th goal of “Sustainable Cities and Communities”. The United Nations describes the compact model as the urban form linked to the reduction of “overexploitation of natural resources and increase economies of agglomeration, with benefits for residents in terms of proximity” (UN-HABITAT, 2015, p.2). Even though creative and different solutions such as the “Compact City” model are necessary, the context in which they are inserted is crucial to understand whether those strategies can be applied since not all sustainability can be obtained with density, diversity, and mixed-use of land. The term “density” is considered ambiguous since it is used to study several different phenomena that authors often adapt to

their own scale of study. When analyzing the physical density of the urban space, several parameters can be considered, such as street density, traffic density, or the density of office space, among others. There are still very few empirical studies on how the compact model can impact a city's sustainability and, thus, not many conclusions. Studying the cultural background and pointing out regional and national differences of the different places is crucial to understanding whether it can push for development and economic growth. Nonetheless, it is important to note how the term "sustainability" has different interpretations in different parts of the world, and there is no "one-size-fits-all" solution (Jenks & Jones, 2010).

When studying Amsterdam's Eastern Dockland, Hoppenbrouwer and Louw (2007) developed a conceptual model for the functions of mixed-land use from a spatial perspective. The typology characterizes four dimensions of land/building diversity that can be encountered in the urban space that "symbolize mixed-use at a particular point, on a flat surface, vertically clustered and in sequential order". The first dimension is the "shared premises dimension," where different activities are joined in the same building and even the same floor, for example, housing and another economic activity. Secondly, the "horizontal dimension" is seen when the urban space has different activities functioning in proximity; however, it is placed into several buildings independently. Usually, a residential building will not have an entrepreneurial or working facility within the same building and vice-versa. Thirdly, the author describes the "vertical dimension" that differs from the "shared premises dimension" because of its building's organization. Different activities are separated by floor/height efficiently. Lastly, the fourth dimension that Hoppenbrouwer and Louw (2007) describe is time. In today's globalization, cities evolve and change rather quickly than before. Building usage also changes over time to accommodate the present needs of the urban space, emphasizing the multidisciplinary usage of the building. Even though mixed-land use is not exclusive to the compact city approach, diversity inserted in that mixed-land use is essential for sustainability. Nonetheless, where we can insert this theory is blurry and depends on the use of it in different contexts (Burton, 2002). Taking Jacobs (1961) as an example, her teachings are employed on the neighborhood scale as it will be used in this research.

1.3. The political economy of land

When planning the sustainability of a city or neighborhood, human beings, their rights, and the enabling of fair living conditions and economic growth are the main discussion factors. Nonetheless, the way to finance and achieve this sustainability might not be a consensus if discussing whether to prioritize private or public capital. Even though Jacobs dedicates very little of her argument to the political economy of development in the urban space, in the 21st chapter of *Life and Death of Great American Cities*, it is clear her criticism and opposition to top-down planning. She stresses that cities should be divided into little administration parcels based on horizontal governance to respond to the population's most significant concerns. She mentions the concept of "Metropolitan Government" where "(...) politically separate localities would continue to have a political identity and autonomy in purely local concerns, but they would be federated into a super-area government which would have extensive planning powers and administrative organs for carrying out the plans into action" (Jacobs, 1961, pp. 555). When reading the book, Jacobs portrays an idea of libertarianism for example when regarding state intervention that she characterizes with a "paternalistic approach" of government action in planning urbanization of 50's New York. State intervention should only be advised when ensuring the availability of investment for housing rehabilitation and renovation, and current policies of destruction and rebuilding should be avoided. Using her words, individuals are like "dancers," and the government needs to create the conditions for them to dance.

"Conventional planning approaches to slums and slum dwellers are thoroughly paternalistic. The trouble with paternalists is that they want to make impossibly profound changes, and they choose impossibly superficial means for doing so. To overcome slums, we must regard slum dwellers as people capable of understanding and acting upon their own self-interests, which they certainly are" – (Jacobs, 1961, p.271)

Similar beliefs on the paternalistic role of the state regarding public housing can be found in famous neoliberalist economist Milton Friedman's book *"Capitalism and Freedom"*:

"Public housing cannot, therefore, be justified on the grounds either of neighborhood effects or of helping poor families. It can be justified, if at all, only on grounds of paternalism; that the families being helped "need" housing more than they "need" other things but would themselves either not agree or would spend the money unwisely" – (Friedman, 1962, p. 178)

Even though Jacobs's theory does not mention a neoliberal wing, some of her writings might lead to those liberal ideals. By arguing for an empowered community at the core of neighborhood development and the vital role of private initiative, some writings coincided with a neoliberal agenda, even though Jacobs is often associated with the Left (Tochterman, 2012). When describing neoliberalism, community well-being resides in the promotion of economic (and political) practices that "liberate individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework," as written in Harvey's "A Brief History of Neoliberalism" (2005). The author, among other elucidations on neoliberalism's impact from the 70s onwards, illustrates New York after Jacobs. The city embraced a neoliberal path like never before. For example, US foreign investment before 1973 was mostly made directly with the exploitation of raw materials or in the investment of specific markets in Europe or Latin America (such as the telecommunications or automobile market). However, post-1973, the leading investment of New York banks in foreign governments was mainly directed to lending capital, which was only possible due to the liberalization of financial markets and credit worldwide, which was highly promoted by the US government (2005, p28). Regarding the city's administration during this period, Harvey states:

"The city government was more and more construed as an entrepreneurial rather than a social democratic or even a managerial entity. Inter-urban competition for investment capital transformed the government into urban governance through public-private partnerships. City business was increasingly conducted behind closed doors, and the democratic and representational content of local governance diminished." – (Harvey, 2005, p. 47)

Despite Jacobs arguing for less state intervention and more "power to the people," Harvey, on the other hand, asserts that when the role of the state is focused only on maintaining individual entrepreneurial freedoms institutionally, powerful interest groups will inevitably "distort and bias state interventions for their benefit" (Harvey, 2005; Addison et al., 2012), because of deregulation and privatization that is followed by a rise in an elite power. Neoliberalism in the urban space seems to attract and give preference to the private interests of those with the most power and money, leading to an outstanding control of social life to maximize profit and a rise in social and economic inequality (Chomsky, 1999). Contrary to what Jane Jacobs believed, the citizen's power is diminished in favor of profit.

Regardless of previous apologists or critics of neoliberal practices, the following analysis resides on the possible outcomes when various interests of the actors that englobe the city strategies and development enter the sustainability and urban development debate. Even

though some authors defend the need to attract private investment and open the markets to private capital to broaden the possibilities of creating sustainability (Woetzel & Bouton, 2020), others report quite the contrary when private actors and neoliberal policies are put in a central role in development. When ensuring sustainable growth, balancing socioeconomic, political, and environmental factors is mandatory. Skovbro (2002) studies a Copenhagen district (Oesterbro) in the compact city context. The author denounces how developers' interests are favored over public ones. A compact city approach became a strategy for increasing sustainability. However, those plans were backlashed. A sustainable agenda became the disguise for business interests. According to the study, developers' economic strategies have pressured local authorities to accept harmful, non-sustainable negotiations in favor of profit. The district had a grand need for housing rehabilitation under a high-density context, mainly directed to the assistance of the elderly, students, kindergartens, and other service facilities to respond to the population's needs. Nonetheless, housing policy development in the municipality of Copenhagen settled majorly in the hands of high-income development groups attracting high-income households. Densification was initially pushed in the district as a means to sustainability, in alignment with the European Commission guidelines in the previously mentioned "Green Book". However, the plans benefited the power of capital and business, consequently increasing the area's general housing pricing. What was meant to increase social density and diversity consequently promoted gentrification, leading to social exclusion. This phenomenon is not unique. Municipal projects labeled as "compact development" within a sustainability agenda (or other development labels such as "smart growth") have been facilitating capital opportunities and pose a challenge when ensuring affordable housing or safeguarding socially vulnerable groups' interests (Anguelovski, 2016; Dooling, 2009). The housing market poses as the main struggle to ensure real sustainability in several cases. Affordable housing has little marketability and limited profit; thus, it is not considered attractive to developers (Addison et. al., 2012). Nonetheless, for urban densification to bring real sustainability and development, the key to success is in planning and processing to avoid conflicts from different actors, such as local environmentalists or the rise of social concerns versus the interests of developers (Skovbro, 2002).

1.4. Compact City: paradoxes and dilemmas

Even though there is a fair amount of support for the compact city model and its link to sustainability, other authors supported by empirical evidence have shown the risks and dilemmas this approach entails. As a continuation of the previous topic regarding house affordability, Skovbro (2002) investigates the case of Oesterbro, Copenhagen. The high levels of diversity in the area did lead to an increase in population density in the 90s – as mentioned by Jacobs (1961) when discussing “primary” and “secondary” users - that consequently raised developers’ interest and accelerated the increase in housing prices. Wood et al. (2008) studied the Melbourne Metropolitan Area 2030 strategic plan, which aims to be a “more compact city contained by a growth boundary”. Even though the author sustains some values of the compact city approach, such as the number of jobs created in the dense central business district, it also raises concerns about the loss of community mix and lower-income displacements, and the less availability of housing at lower prices. Critical academics of the Compact City model often mention that linking density to affordable housing is a fallacy when the phenomenon may be the contrary (Burton, 2000; Duranton & Puga, 2020). Addison et al. (2012) use comparative research analysis of different urban areas with different levels of compactness. The authors explain the rise in land value with a supply-demand explanation. When demand is higher, the value and density will follow. It is a market-driven land development, and based on research, housing is more expensive in a compact city. Kain et al. (2022) mention the Barcelona case, which is branded as a “global city” that prides itself on having an ambition for a zero-carbon city and a walkable city by pushing for proximity. Gentrification and migration of low-income households to satellite municipalities are among the consequences of those policies. When discussing mixed-land use in a compact city, Koster and Rouwendal (2010) also address homeowners' preferences for mixed-land use and its impacts on residential property values in the Rotterdam City Region. The study concludes that the effort of the municipality and local policies to attract skilled workers by offering an “attractive and dynamic urban environment” by developing areas where residential and economic activities are co-located resulted in a willingness of people to pay more for the area. In this study, it is essential to note that the Rotterdam Municipality used this strategy specifically to attract higher-income households, which might present a paradox when linking the concept with sustainability.

In other dimensions, authors often push the “Compact City” approach to deal with today’s rapid urban growth in a sustainable way; nonetheless, the concept of density is

associated by others with issues regarding the decrease in the population's quality of life (Mouratidis, 2022; Connolly et al. 2020). De Koning and van Nes (2017) studied the city of Bergen, and even though it has intentions to make a compact city, the maximization of space created very poor urban quality for pedestrians, pushing the population away from the density and into an "anti-urban" path. The rapid growth of dense and extensive urban areas in European cities is often not accompanied by the healthiest structural and sustainable development, leading to social-economic disparities and the rise of infrastructure development struggles in a very demographically dense urban area. Besides, it can also facilitate the spread of direct adverse health effects, as was seen in the recent COVID-19 pandemic, where distance was a must to deal with propagation (Connolly et al., 2020). For others, this approach produces high levels of noise, dust, smells, and toxic pollutants that are caused by all the diverse activities present in a proximate urban space (De Roo, 2000). Since many intrusive activities and functions are happening, it seems logical to maintain the distance from the residential areas; however, the author ironically states that the compact city approach pushes "distance" as a luxury.

Newman (2005) questions the compact city approach by emphasizing the population's role. He criticizes authors such as Jenks for trying to study the model itself and not the organic form that constitutes that model. He calls the model a fallacy. In other words, instead of asking whether the compact model is sustainable, we should ask whether the beings shaping that structure live sustainably. According to him, when questioning sustainability with a focus on human beings and not on urban structures or density, the level of accuracy is raised. This includes studying the processes of production, consumption, and living processes, which leads us to conclude that focusing on the urban form limits the veracity of the research. The author concludes the article by arguing that "density" or the "Compact city" is not a sufficient condition or necessity for sustainability. When analyzing the article, one can understand the author's argument and be sympathetic to it since how humans behave and use their resources is fundamental when trying to achieve sustainability. Nonetheless, urban planning strategies should still take place in the discussion. How a city is planned economically, socially, and environmentally clarifies how humans behave and interact with the environment around them, and thus, it is vital to study and debate. As stated by economic geographer David Harvey, "(...) the question of what kind of city we want cannot be divorced from the question of what kind of people we want to be" (Harvey, 2008, p. 23).

2. METHODOLOGY

2.1. Approach to the project

To answer the question at stake in this case study and proceed to the operationalization of the theory, where the goal is to insert the concept of “Compact City” in the case of this territory, there is a need to address the three main pillars of sustainability – social, environmental and economic. Even though all three dynamics are intertwined, the research is separated into different chapters that will address the territory, the local political strategy, and economic trends relevant to delimit that strategy further. The main question in the theory, which is the central challenge of this research, is whether denser urbanism leads to an economically effective territorial strategy and higher levels of sustainability in the area.

The dissertation follows an explaining-outcome process tracing approach (Beach & Pedersen, 2013) that links specific intervening causal processes or “within case interferences” to a sufficiently explaining outcome. As highlighted, this approach is much more case-centered than theory-centered; thus, it seems the most suitable approach to studying a theory that depends so much on its specific context. The mix of different methodologies, such as participant observation and secondary data gathering, will be preponderant in allowing more profound insight into the territory and its casual mechanisms and linking it to the CCT and sustainable development. The gathered data included INE – Statistics Portugal – data, municipal and parish official documents, official online publications of these entities, and academic projects regarding sustainability and mobility in the area.

2.2. The territory

The grand purpose of the territorial analysis is to incorporate the case study into the “Compact City” model’s premises and beliefs. To get there, it is emphasized the specific characteristics observed in the Moscavide village that are relevant to link to the foundations of the compact theory, mainly by field/urban observation, by identifying the presence of dense/extensive urbanization, buildings median size, and general characteristics. To study the maximization of space, through field observation, it is categorized each building into six different categories depending on its integrated land usage:

1. Residence-only purpose; 2. Multiple purposes; 3. Business only; 4. Services; 5. Cultural/Religious; 6. Green Spaces.

These categories are later marked in a map of the case-study area to give a geographical perception of the level of density and mix-land use in the territory.

To complement this analysis, it is used Hoppenbrouwer and Louw's (2007) method (fig.1). As mentioned before, the authors developed a conceptual model for the functions of mixed-land use from a spatial perspective. The analysis of the use of space in this research, while adapting it to the present work, serves as a way to explain specific trends repeated in the territory and the consequences it has in it. The authors also refer to the “compact way” as a facilitator of sustainability and livable conditions. The typology characterizes four different dimensions of land/building diversity that can be encountered in the urban space that “symbolize mixed-use at a particular point, on a flat surface, vertically clustered and in sequential order”: shared premises dimension, horizontal dimension, vertical dimension, and time dimension (land use changes over time).

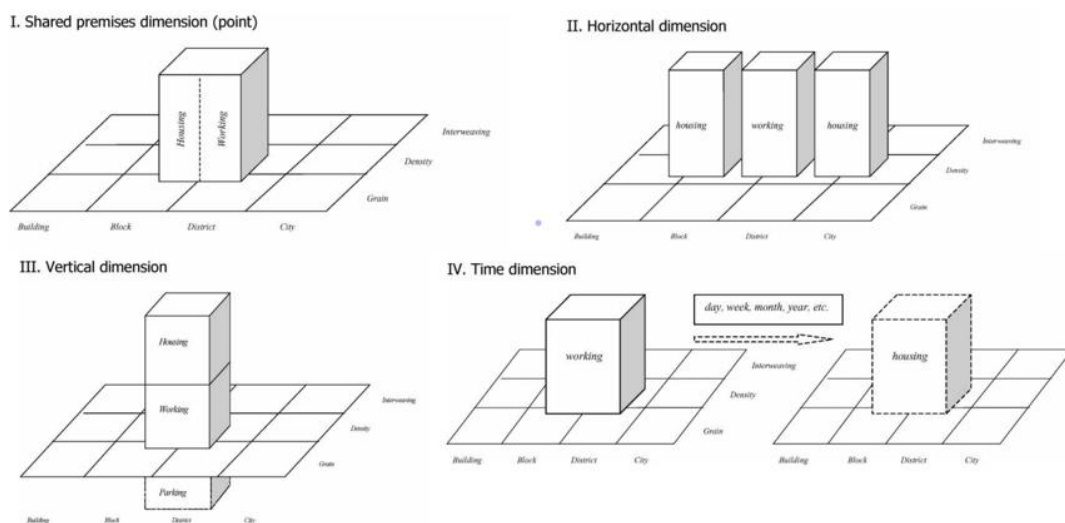


Fig. 1 Hoppenbrouwer and Louw's (2007) Conceptual Model of Mixed-Land Use

This chapter also includes a description of the area's public transport network and how it incorporates the practicality of the territory and connects the village to several crucial points of Lisbon and Loures. A rich public transport network is critical to give the population more access to employment and other opportunities and reduce the need for private transportation for daily commutes. By not having a car, the population should not feel limited in movement or limited in the search for experiences that would fulfill their life. Additionally, it is

preponderant to identify and analyze the proximity of the population to prime services necessary for healthy, sustainable living, such as access to public transportation, health care services, education, and leisure infrastructures.

2.3. The political strategy

Secondary data analysis is conducted in this chapter, which involves the study of institutional documents relevant to understanding and identifying the various policies/strategies of development implemented in the territory that potentially influence economic and sustainable development. Also included are relevant online publications from the government actors that help delineate the development strategy employed. The focus is on understanding the position of the political “realm” in terms of sustainability and whether the initiatives made by local governance contribute to or instead hinge on the promotion of sustainable development. Besides, document analysis helps identify potential partnerships and strategies linked to specific economic and social phenomena, such as the increase in land value, gentrification tendencies, or welfare policies. In sum, it is by analyzing the documentary evidence that the factors that shape the area’s development trajectory are evidenced. For example, one can understand political priorities and link them to a sustainable outcome by investigating the local budget (GOP report and budgeting for 2023) and allocating resources and funds to activities that promote such causes.

2.4. Economic Trends

This analysis englobes segments of the previous two chapters while highlighting in the first phase the evolution of the local budget and the origins of the executives’ capital sources and showcasing the evolution of the territory’s housing in the last decade. The reason to dedicate a whole chapter to housing trends and the evolution of the housing market in the last decade is because of its importance to the density, diversity, and mixed-land use of the territory and all the problems that previously arose with the village’s planning. It is compared the house pricing both in rentals and selling trends over this decade, as well as a comparison with the nearest parishes of Lisbon and Loures¹. Lastly, it is examined the typology of the buildings in the parish, such as its dimension and included households, over this same period, using different data from INE – *Statistics Portugal* - to signal *explaining-outcomes* on the parishes development strategy,

¹ Data from Idealista Portugal. Idealista is one of the most used real state advertising portal in Portugal.

3. THE CASE STUDY

3.1. The territory: an obliged dense planning

This research focuses on the core area of the Moscavide neighborhood. Because of its peculiar characteristics, this village became the choice to question some of the theory's assumptions. Since this study does not focus on the city level, as most of the academic work on the subject is, some Compact City theory authors classify this smaller scale as a "Compact Urban Development".

Cornered between Lisbon and Loures, with over 14 200 population (Census, 2011) in a little over 1.2 km² of total area, for many years, it has been considered the place with the highest population density in the municipality of Loures (JF-UFMP, 2020). It is a small neighborhood composed mainly of buildings over 70 years of age and without many possibilities for change or space to create vast green areas for public use. According to JF-UFMP - *Moscavide e Portela parish* - the neighborhood encountered a construction boom between the decades of 1940s and 50s to accommodate the housing of people coming from other regions of Portugal, such as the Alentejo and *Beira Litoral*, searching for better living conditions and job opportunities in the Lisbon area. As stated, the rapid growth of some urban regions is detrimental to the quality of structures and healthy urban planning. It might consequently lead to forming a marginalized area with a lack of spatial strategy. The parish believes this fast-growing past of the neighborhood still causes structural problems and delays its healthy development today.

Even so, in the last decade, the territory shows noteworthy trends in its land value – related to housing price - from 1537€/m² in May 2015 to 3489€/m² in September 2023, corresponding to a rise of 127% during this period (Idealista²). This increase follows a similar trend in the rest of the Lisbon territory. In fact, even though Moscavide is in the Loures Municipality, due to the village's proximity to the Lisbon capital, some socioeconomic characteristics in the case study are worth comparing to Lisbon's scope instead of the Loure's, and as it will be done, when relevant, throughout this study.

It is a territory full of history and community life that, with its little space, makes the fullest out of it. The notorious maximization of space in Moscavide gives it the (in)famous

² This data is related to the houses in the Idealista's website that have been active and visible during the value measurement.

label of “open-air shopping center” – *centro comercial a céu aberto* – that to some can be seen as a blessing, to others as a curse. When walking in Moscavide’s streets, one can certainly feel the density aspect of the village as being its primary attribute.

Nonetheless, in recent years, Moscavide has been spreading in space, going through healthy planning, so it makes sense to divide it into three different areas: the core - englobing the older part of Moscavide - and the north and east areas, composed by newer construction and different planning to the one being examined in this case study.

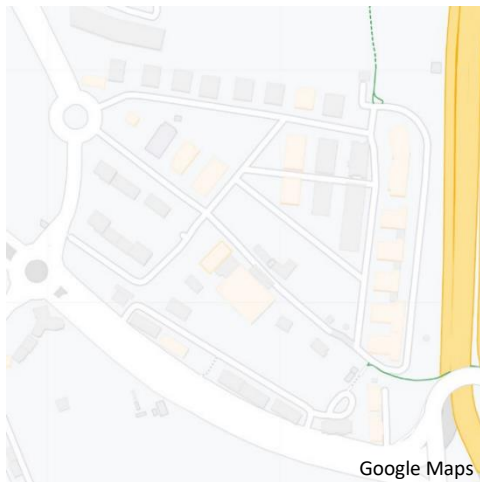


Fig. 2 East Area

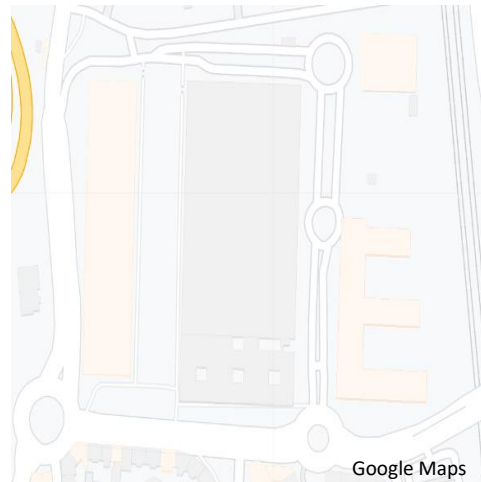


Fig 3 North Area

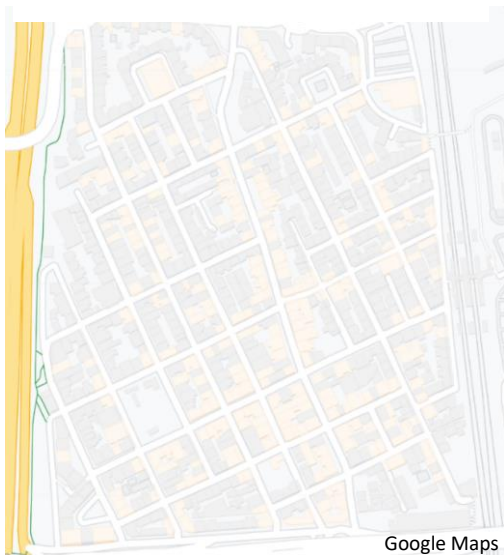


Fig. 4 "Core" Area



Fig. 5 Satellite image of "core" area

The core area became the choice of study of this dissertation. When comparing to the previous maps, they show a totally different layout and history, from the core area, where until not so many years ago, it was considered the totality of the parish. Broadly, its organization is composed of square blocks of apartment buildings with narrow streets

connecting them and oriented by two main larger roads that organize the area's traffic. The geographical limits of this research will be R. João Pinto Ribeiro (south) and Avenida de Moscavide (north), the Avenida Infante Dom Henrique (IC2) in the west, and the railway will limit the east point of the case study.

3.2. The Territory: Open air shopping center. The Maximization of Land-use

The “core area” is the oldest area of the territory and the “heart” of Moscavide. These are the neighborhoods where the village's identity is significantly marked and the one chosen to represent the center stage of this case study. It is also where the Compact City Theory's traits are clearer and more distinct. When walking through these streets, those traits are easily found. Every narrow street has housing, businesses, and services that feed the village's density feeling and its diversity and notorious land use. The growth and demographic boom in the territory in the 40s and 50s was majorly concentrated here. The outcomes of it are still evident. It is seen as a residential area due to its demographic density; nonetheless, it is unfair to only give it that connotation with such maximization of land use.

To study and understand the area's individualities, the nature of each building in the core area is outlined to find the causal mechanisms that lead to conclusions on land use efficiency. I split the buildings into different categories that better describe the usage of a particular space: Residence-only purpose, business-only purpose, multiple purpose, operationalization of services, cultural or religious spaces, and green spaces. Note that because of this incredible maximization, most of the operationalization of services and some of the cultural and religious activities are inserted in a multiple-purpose building.

The territory is mainly constituted by resident buildings (fig. 6). The orange marker represents the buildings where no other activity besides residency is used. These buildings have no present infrastructure to hold and maintain a business or any other purpose and can only serve as housing. The lilac markers correspond to the constructions with multiple purposes. Generally, these are resident buildings with prepared infrastructures to host one or multiple businesses and/or services on their ground floor. Closed businesses were still included in the study as a business structure and part of the “multiple purpose” category since the point of the classification is to evaluate the structures according to their potential maximum use. The maximization of land seen in the area is thanks to these two categories and sums up more than 90% of the territory. The following categories are not as common yet

essential to understanding Moscavide’s modus operandi. The red marker identifies buildings that are only used to serve a business. These buildings are rare in the area since they limit the use and versatility of the space. The blue marker indicates the presence of a “service”, which includes educational, medical, banking, and public services. Most services are also included in the “multiple purpose” category. The same occurs to the cultural and religious activities, represented by the buildings with pink markers, that even though they are often used exclusively for that activity, they can also be included in the “multiple purpose” category. Lastly, the green spaces are marked with green. The locations marked with a black pin are designated as “unknown” because of their usage or number identification



Fig. 6 Mapping of land-usage in “core” zone of Moscavide

This territorial analysis included twenty-seven streets and squares, encompassing eight hundred and twenty-one units, excluding unidentified structures. For this study, each door number represents a building later categorized into the abovementioned uses. The planning strategy of Moscavide derives from its need to accommodate a demographic urgency since its genesis. Although the demographic boom mainly occurred between the 1940s and 1950s, the

village still attracts several people today who use it as a commuting town for workers in Lisbon. The “residency” aspect of the village is clear, and land use has been maximized to accommodate this demographic necessity, where 98.3% of all buildings have primarily a residential purpose, and in 50.4% of those, the residential purpose is their only purpose. When population accommodation is a priority, but there is also a focus on not neglecting the village's revenue opportunities, densification was almost forced into this space. Plus, twelve of the nineteen buildings with service activities are also included in the buildings with multiple purposes. In fact, there are only three buildings directed to business only, showing that Moscavide is almost entirely composed of housing. It is important to note that given its small area of analysis, the parish still provides a healthcare center at a walking distance from the “core”, located in the “north” area, and a fire station also at a walking distance, located in the “east” area and that still serve the population closely and daily, even though it is not integrated into the case study, it still serves the “core” to the fullest.

When transcribing Hoppenbrouwer and Louw's (2007) typology, it is hard to fully correspond a dimension type to the core area's reality; however, the ones that almost entirely correspond to the 49,6% of buildings with mixed purposes is type 1 category – shared premises – and type 3 - vertical dimension. The shared premises – type 1 - are often encountered when the building includes services that operate door-to-door with residential apartments. The easy access is not as crucial as if it were a business operating in that space. Nevertheless, when the building shares residential and business purposes, the vertical dimension – type 3 – is the type that best describes the structure's composition. Businesses are often located on the ground floor, giving people easy access and giving the business more visibility. Still, we cannot fully associate Hoppenbrouwer and Louw's (2007) type 3 dimension to Moscavide's reality since they include in this classification the parking aspect. In the case study reality, it is often located on the public road. The horizontal dimension described in the author's typology is typical in urban planning where different buildings, dedicated to one purpose, coexist together side to side, giving the diversity aspect to the space. However, this horizontal aspect is not seen in the case study's territory. The diversity of this space is amplified precisely because this dimension does not exist. There is an importance of verticality for diversity. Lastly, the time dimension is the fourth and final classification in the author's work. Regarding this aspect, Moscavide is in constant mutation. With different buildings being renovated, old buildings giving space for new ones to reappear, and businesses quickly changing. Thus, it is hard to track how time often changes a building's

typology, luckily, this does not seem so relevant when looking at the whole picture. The village does not change its primary compact individualities, a consequence of its historical context. A not-so-positive aspect of this maximization is that it was only identified two green zones in the whole territory. Even though the village is located near the well-known “Parque Tejo” inside the territory, the vast greenery of the park has null impact. The whole place is “stuffed” with buildings in every street, limiting the actions for future improvement in this regard unless the area suffers a radical urban planning change.

Nevertheless, businesses can be seen all over the village. The planning of the territory, even though scarce, is what gives its community sense and economic effectiveness. This densification of people and business is a major sustainable push in the territory that benefits both urban actors – residents and entrepreneurs. The closeness of the population to their needed utilities not only implies a reduction in CO2 emissions, removing the car as a central necessity to daily life, but it also gives commerce the visibility needed to have a prospering business. The same businesses in a not-so-densely populated area probably would not be as successful as they could, if located in a dense territory with a remarkable space maximization and broader visibility that a business in a compact urban development would have. Nonetheless, even though this compact urban development brings opportunities to the territory to facilitate sustainability, the parish's reality does not fully embrace those premises.

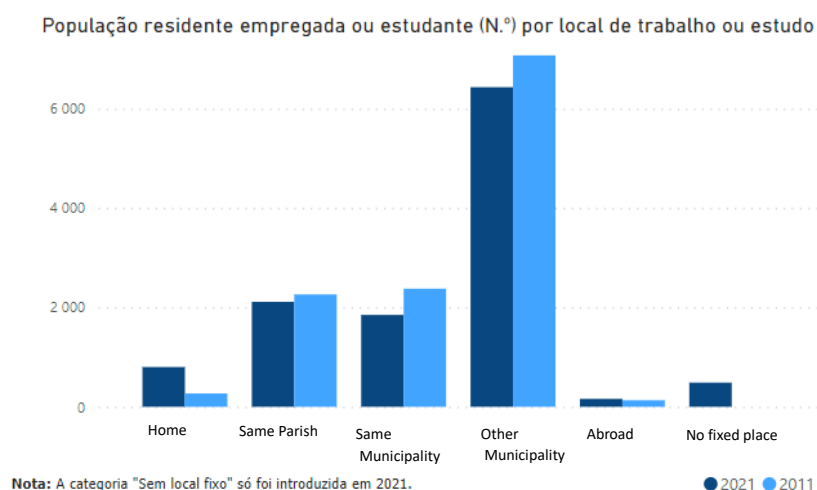


Fig. 7 Resident population working/studying location.

Source: INE – Statistics Portugal – Census 2021

Most of the population still works/studies in another municipality, namely Lisbon. The reality of the case study is that under all the diverse density and compact opportunities that derive from its planning, the village itself could never be self-sufficient. It will, in all likelihood, always work as a commute town. However, the chance for sustainable

development is still maintained. In fact, if inserted in a complete public transportation system, the residents can commute to other municipalities without putting sustainability into question.

3.3. Public Transport and public space

As mentioned, diverse land use in the territory is essential when planning a compact urban development. Nonetheless, other aspects are necessary to make it efficient. The proximity of different activities is crucial to making a space more adequate to people's necessities, increasing its functionality, and making it more sustainable. At times when this proximity cannot be planned at walking distance, a good public transport system is vital to achieve this aspect of urban sustainable development. It is believed it can reduce congestion and work in favor of climate goals by reducing carbon dioxide emissions and the necessity for private vehicle use, thus making the area a healthier place to live. Nevertheless, the territory presents itself as a possible paradox in this context. The village benefits from an excellent public transport system, which is essential when serving the population of a commuting town. Due to this public transport system, Moscavide seems to be closer to Lisbon than Loures, where there are several transportation options towards the capital than towards its own municipality, giving people a much broader option range when searching for employment opportunities. The Moscavide public transportation network includes:

- The metro station. Part of the Red Line and connecting the Lisbon airport to the center of Lisbon. Considered one of the most effective ways of connection to the capital city;
- The train station, operating the Lisbon Urban trains in the Line of Sintra and Azambuja. Besides bringing Moscavide closer to Lisbon's city center, also connects the town to the rest of the metropolitan area north suburbs in the continuity of the Tagus River;
- A large bus route service, operated by Carris, Carris Metropolitana and RL (Rodoviária de Lisboa) that approximates Moscavide to the various parts of the neighboring areas. It is included in the "Area 2" of Carris Metropolitana, connecting the village to Loures, Odivelas, Mafra and Vila Franca de Xira. Encompasses the Carris main routes 705, 725, 728, 731, 744, 759, 782, as well as RL's 301, 302, 303, 309, 310 and 318 routes.

The public transport system in this village is enviable not only when compared to villages of Portugal but also other areas inside the Lisbon Metropolitan Area. Furthermore, even though it serves a significant part of the population, according to the parish, carparking

is for a long time one of the biggest problems in the area due to its sufficiency. Consequently, public space is occupied, reducing the size of sidewalks in the street. When most residential buildings do not have inherent parking, the village becomes a not-so-friendly pedestrian zone. Nevertheless, one of the Parish main goals is to give the population better solutions to relieve the public space of private vehicle congestion and to increase the valorization of green spaces, by giving better parking options, without invading the public space. According to their official website, the urban planning strategy to tackle this ongoing issue, is the construction of an underground car park in a peripheral area of the village (JF-UFMP, 2021³). Knowing the reality of Moscavide, private vehicles congestion are a fight not worth fighting. At least not if the fight is the reduction of cars in the village. Urban development's only solution is to give a better supply of parking in order to minimize the constraints coming from it.



Fig. 8 Parking in Public Space

In this context, it's interesting to mention ORB International's research⁴, released on September 2017 and entitled "Attitudes to Car ownership across European Cities", that inquired on Europeans mindsets towards car ownership, public transportation and app-based mobility services such as Uber. According to the study, 74% of Lisbon citizens included in the sample owned a personal vehicle, and 54% of those owned more than one personal vehicle in their household, giving the Portuguese capital the second place in this car ownership poll, only below Rome with 86% of people owning a personal car, and 60% with more than one car

³ March 27th 2021– Parque de estacionamento subterrâneo, novo mercado e praça pública. Junta De Freguesia De Moscavide E Portela. <https://jf-moscavideportela.pt/noticias/noticias2021/comunicado-parque-de-estacionamento-subterraneo-novo-mercado-e-praca-publica-aprovado/>

⁴ "ORB/Uber: Attitudes to Car Ownership Across European cities" September 2017. The report included the following cities: London, Paris, Amsterdam, Brussels, Rome, Berlin, Warsaw, Stockholm, Barcelona, Lisbon – resorting to a 10.000 people sample.

in their household. Although this is not a recent study, with Lisbon at the top of ranked car ownership (and more than one ownership), we can perceive, to some extent, the city's attitude towards cars. However, what are the populations' behaviors towards public transportation? From this specific study, we can only conclude a little; however, some points are worth highlighting. When asked about if in the last 12 months (since the end of July 2016) the people enquired used an app-based service, 29% of people in Lisbon used it to book a car with a driver (ex. Uber). Of those, only 7% claim they do not live near public transport, and 33% claim that public transport was unavailable or too limited for their needs. Thus, when transcribing this into the case study, being a small village cornered between two large cities, Lisbon and Loures, some subjects are often better applied to one municipality rather than the other. The reason why it is more credible to study Lisbon's public and private transportation when trying to understand the case study's transportation paradigm is not only because of its proximity to the capital but also the public transport options that are more directed and mutual to the ones offered across the Lisbon than they are to the ones offered in its own municipality.

Subsequently, within the scope of "Remedio Project⁵", a group of ESTeSL - Lisbon School of Health Technology –academics, developed a study, in which they evaluated Moscavide's population habits regarding transportation and daily travels (Almeida-Silva M, et. al., 2018). Using this study, we scope more direct information from the core area itself, not from the full parish range, even if it means using a much-reduced sample. Of the 105 people inquired, 47% are residents, 32% are workers and 21% are visitors⁶. From the residents inquired, 59% of those do not own a personal vehicle, and 37% have one private vehicle in their household. These are encouraging numbers that, initially, it seems as if the public transportation system encountered in the area serves most of the population inquired daily. Nonetheless, the following data can present a paradox to a certain degree. When asked about the method of transportation to work, the responses are disappointing. According to their study, 56% of the people used the car in their daily travels to work, even though 59% of the resident population did not own a private car. Regarding the rest of the sample, 31% of people use public transportation (metro or bus), 8% responded with "walking", and 6% use a method

⁵ Project REMEDIO - REgenerating mixed-use MED urban communities congested by traffic through Innovative low carbon mobility sOLutions – is an European project that addresses the challenges of high-density cities, regarding traffic issues.

⁶ The visitors inquired were in their majority, regulars, meaning that they often visited the study area at least 3 times per week.

of transportation provided by their employment. Nevertheless, not so different tendencies are found in the full parish (fig.9).

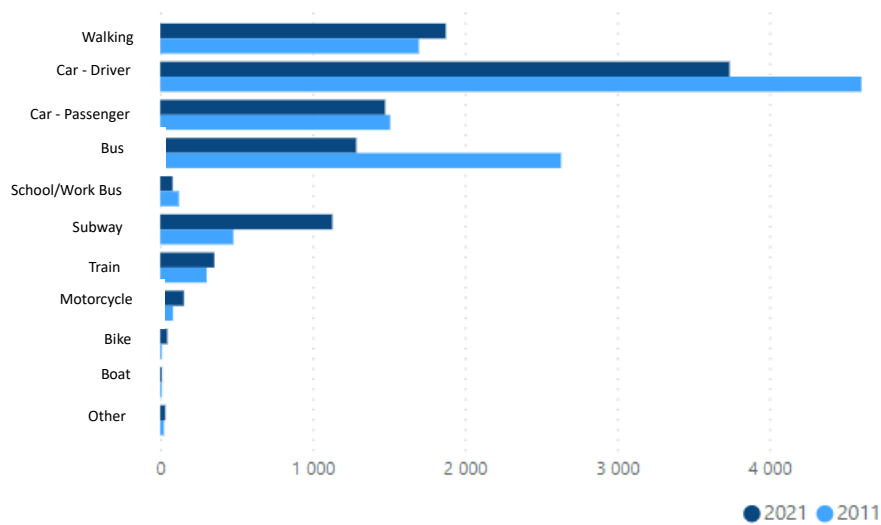


Fig. 9 Resident population by main means of transport
Source: INE – Statistics Portugal – Census 2021

The decade is marked by a significant decrease in drivers (approx. 19%) and an abrupt decrease in bus users (approx. 51%). These numbers can partly be explained by the opening of Moscavide Metro station in 2012, which gave the territory a more efficient and broad way for its residents to connect to Lisbon. Even so, these are not cheering statistics when comparing this information with the data in Fig. 7. The conjunction of the majority of residents working and studying in another municipality, the preferred transportation being the private car, and the lack of parking in the territory that reduces public space give Moscavide its chaotic feeling. Authors such as De Roo (2000) and De Koning and van Nes (2017), alluded to concerns about the possibility of a density of this scale bringing high noise levels and overcrowded roads in the territory. Even though that area is granted with a diverse public transport network that (still) serves a big part of the population, the ideal preference of transportation is the car, which, in such dense territory, can only bring traffic congestion and chaos. Theories' success will always depend on their context and the population's attitudes towards the issue.

4. POLITICAL STRATEGY

The Compact City is often planned for a specific end. The central end that follows the theory is the achievement of higher levels of sustainability by implementing – the “compact way”. In the case study, it was never an option. To plan under high densification is an obligation rather than a choice. The reason to ensure sustainable development comes as a necessity for preserving the quality of life in the village. Nonetheless, according to JF-UFMP, their mission is to build a sustainable zone centered on the population and willing to provide quality living to its residents and ensure it is an attractive zone for private investment (JF-UFMP, 2022).

JF-UFMP is governed by Portuguese Socialist Party’s deputy Ricardo Lima, that started his journey as parish president in a first mandate from 2017 to 2020, winning again in the 2021 local elections, initiating its second mandate. The president brands this last mandate as “The people’s project” posted in the JF-UFMP official website⁷, where its affirmed that the populations needs come first. A budgeting analysis of the parish for 2023 – *Orçamento e Grandes Opções do Plano* – serves as an initiation to the perception of political strategy, and that aggregates the expected expenses of the year, in the context of PPA – *Plano Plurianual de Ações Mais Relevantes* - (Multiannual Plan) and PPI – *Plano Plurianual de Investimentos* – (Multi-Year Investment Plan). By studying the latter category more deeply, we find a division in six different categories of expenses that encompasses a total budget of 620 280,00€:

1. Parish Assembly – Assembleia de Freguesia;
2. Parish Council – Junta de Freguesia;
3. Organization, Finance and Human Resources – Organização. Finanças e Recursos Humanos;
4. Environment and Urban Services – Ambiente e Serviços Urbanos;
5. Economic Activities and Urbanism – Atividades Económicas e Urbanismo;
6. Social Action, Citizenship and Education – Ação Social, Cidadania e Educação.

⁷ Entitled “MENSAGEM DO PRESIDENTE – RICARDO LIMA | MANDATO AUTÁRQUICO 2021/2025” – posted in the 15th of October 2021. Accessed in <https://jf-moscavideportela.pt/junta/mensagem-do-presidente/>

The following graphic illustrates the percentage of the budget directed to the different categories mentioned above.



Fig. 10 Percentage of each category in total budget

Source: JF-UFMP – GOP e Orçamento 2023

As it is portrayed, two categories stand out in the investment program - the one regarding social activities and the one regarding environment and urban services. It is evident by the budget that the parish makes efforts to create healthy living environment conditions for their citizens, including activities of cultural enrichment, physical education, and community projects based on the population's characteristics and needs. The majority of these are part of the 25-64 age group – both in men and women – nonetheless, from Census 2011 to 2021, the 65+ age group is the one that grew the most in 10 years. The 0-14 group grew only 0,08% in this year's gap, and the 15-24 and 25-64 group, had a decrease in representation of 0,16% and 12,6%, respectively. In the same period, the 65+ age group grew by approximately 8%, making 31% of the global parish population. However, OECD calculations show the same tendencies in its members. From the ten-year period before (2001 to 2011), the elderly group increased by 23.8% in its members' metropolitan areas (OECD, 2015). The aging of the population is a very present topic in Western societies, and that concerns governments' political strategies and puts in question the urban planning necessary to push for healthier and safer planning options for our cities, keeping in mind its demographic characteristics. In fact, Moscavide and Portela is the oldest parish inside the Municipal of Loures. The case study is where the % between young people (0-14 years old) and the elderly population (65+) is more notorious: 11,1% of juveniles against 27,8% of elders (Census, 2011), where the aging index marks 249,7 against Loure's 113,7. Additionally, the index of dependence of the elderly population – number of people 65+ per every 100 active people – is, with no surprise, way

superior in Moscavide than it is in the rest of the municipality. In contrast, the index of dependence of young people is the lowest.

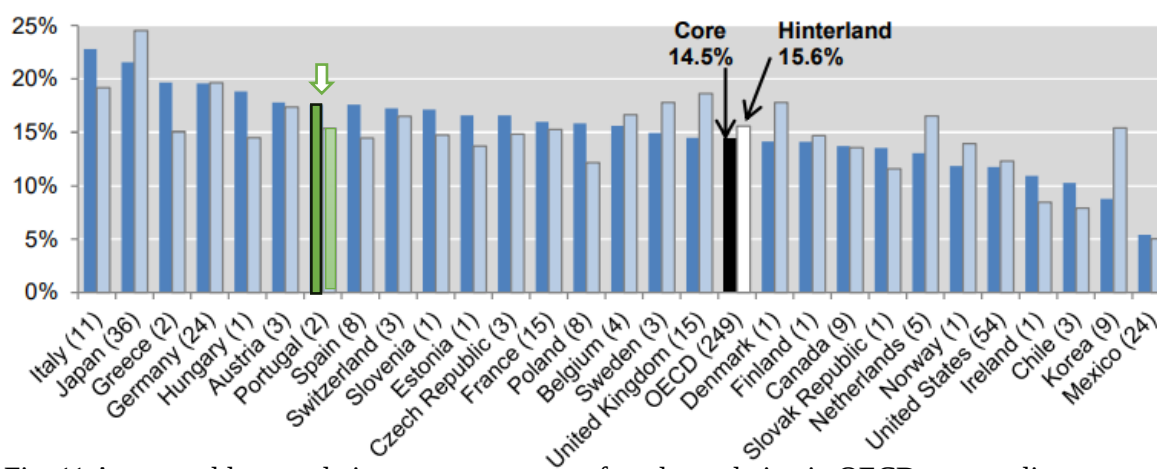


Fig. 11 Average older population as a percentage of total population in OECD metropolitan areas, for urban core and hinterland (2011)
Source: OECD Regional Statistics (database)

Considering these statistics, the parish political strategy embraces several activities directed towards this growing group. The PEAS program – Programa de Envelhecimento Ativo e Saudável – is composed of several projects that encourage a stimulating retirement of its elderly residents and includes activities such as gymnastics, yoga, and senior dances, as well as theatre groups, art studios, and IT classes, among several others. These projects can be linked to those mentioned in OECD 2015’s publication “Aging in Cities – Policy Highlights”. The publication refers to Toyamma’s Compact City and its encouragement for elderly citizens to walk by creating a “Walking Point Programme” in a walking-friendly environment. These types of activities are included in strategy n.º3 “Promoting health for all ages”, n.º4 “Increasing older people’s engagement in the labor market and social activities” and n.º. 6 “Redesigning the urban area to increase attractiveness and well-being” - where the Compact City strategy is given as an example of good practice and considered an investment of the political strategy in aging societies and to increase the healthy and sustainable lifestyle in the urban space and incentivize independence among the elder residents (OECD, 2015, p. 19). In an urban planning setup where the elders are a prime concern, all generations can benefit from the satisfaction and sustainability of it. Even though the territory is getting older demographically, the JF-UFMP political strategy reaches both ends of the spectrum, including projects that help create attractiveness to young settlers, renovating the sense of community. It is an example the project “Freguês de berço”, which consists of a reinforcement of support to the families living in the parish to motivate them to expand the family and settle. The

initiative consists of a kit with several essential goods for the new parents and baby children. JF-UFMP also provides several educational, cultural, and physical activities for kids in the “Sou Futuro da Freguesia” project. In terms of social intervention, and regarding actions closer to the population, the parish put together a social intervention office – Gabinete de Intervenção Social – that works closely with precarious situations of residents in need of a special kind of assistance and support, linking associations and institutions that evaluate each case according to its specific necessities, resorting to a social emergency fund gathered by the parish – FES - Fundo de Emergencia Social. As mentioned in the FES regulation written in 2018, the fund does not intend to replace social security powers but to minimize precarious situations at imminent risk and with an urgent nature. Its primary goal is to fight poverty and social exclusion as a “transitional program” with punctual temporary measures towards precarious residents. It is a first assist when other social resources cannot be helpful in a short time, promoting social and economic inclusion, innate to sustainability and essential to the composition of a health compact living system. As mentioned before, besides the “Environment and Urban Services” - regarding the general street maintenance - the second most significant share of this executive’s 2023 budget is “Social action, education and citizenship” representing 33,17% of total costs. The village's ongoing projects indicate concern for its residents' welfare and well-being. The executive’s social intervention office ensures that all residents have the assistance needed to satisfy not only their basic needs but also to guarantee tools to ensure the possibility of improvement of possible precarious situations. None of these actions qualify as monetary help but are more practical and directed to its residents. Take the example of the stimulus to obtain autonomy for people in situations of long-term unemployment by learning soft and hard skills for the labor market. Or the incentive to keep an active elderly population by providing the tools needed for daily movement. Not to mention the local food bank that ensures every household has at least one last resource to obtain food. Or even the community laundry that helps the most fragile fringe of the population still ensure these essential tasks for free.

5. Economic Trends

5.1 The parish in numbers

All the funds allocated towards initiatives and activities from the parish to the population and local businesses are reported in GOP and Budget 2023 (Grandes Opções do Plano e Orçamento 2023). This local budget has seen an increase in the last few years. According to the executive, the parish has seen an increase in budget of 28.5% from 2021 to 2022, associated with the economic recovery after the pandemic period, and a continuation of that increase from 2022 to 2023 of 5.8%, making a total budget of 3 928 388€. This revenue is majorly associated with net current transfers (94,43%) from direct taxes, fees, charges, and penalties, but mostly transfers such as the state financial fund of parishes – F.F.F. Fundo de Financiamento das Freguesias – as well as transfers from the Loures Municipality within the scope of inter-administrative contracts and (residually) the selling of goods and services related to the parish. The later services relate to monthly rents and taxes or the cultural and social activities revenues. In fact, according to the executive, those activities are directed at economic development since they serve as revenue for the executive and a helpful way for local businesses to be integrated into that development. All the activities described in the budget are commercially directed. It is the example of the local fairs and markets throughout the year, cultural activities in the streets, and programs encouraging residents to buy in local businesses.

From the referred in official documents and the allocation of funds in the local budget, it is not an exaggeration to say that the parish's economic development relies majorly on how the local commerce performs. All actors benefit if the territory can provide a dynamic and prosperous business environment. The parish increases its revenues included in the net current transfers, the businesses have access to a more considerable exposure of its goods and services and a more straightforward increase of its customer base, as well as a growth of local entrepreneurs, and the population guarantees an accessible evolved and thriving diverse business, that consequently would reduce the need to leave the territory in order to find the needed commodities. In this context, without the three significant aspects of CCT, density, diversity, and mix-land use, Moscavide would not be able to achieve the economic performance enhanced by their local strategies.

5.2. Housing Evolution: The continuation of history

The debate on sustainability and housing market affordability often lies in the area's spatial planning and how it can affect its pricing. A very simplistic way to explain it is by using the supply and demand model. An increase in density should consequently lead to an increase in the housing supply, alleviating its pricing (Ahlfeldt & Pietrostefani, 2018). Unquestionably, other factors come into play to influence the housing pricing of an area, such as its location, building characteristics, the desirability of the area regarding job opportunities, commercial activity, and community levels, which can explain the increase in housing prices of a particular area. Thus, even though Moscavide has the cheapest price per m² of 3489€ when compared to the two nearest parishes (located in the Lisbon Municipality) – Parque das Nações (6015€/m²) and Olivais (3911€/m²)⁸, it's a territory under pressure where vacant housing is scarce and its maximization of land brings various opportunities. Density and particularly the supply and demand model, cannot explain the areas pricing or predict an hypothetical house pricing stabilization. In fact, in this context, the pricing evolves similarly to the trends seen in the rest of Lisbon, yet, significantly more expensive than the nearest parish of the Loures Municipality – Sacavém e Prior Velho (2807€/m² – September 2023) – and from Portugal's median housing price of 1509€/m²⁹(INE, 2023).

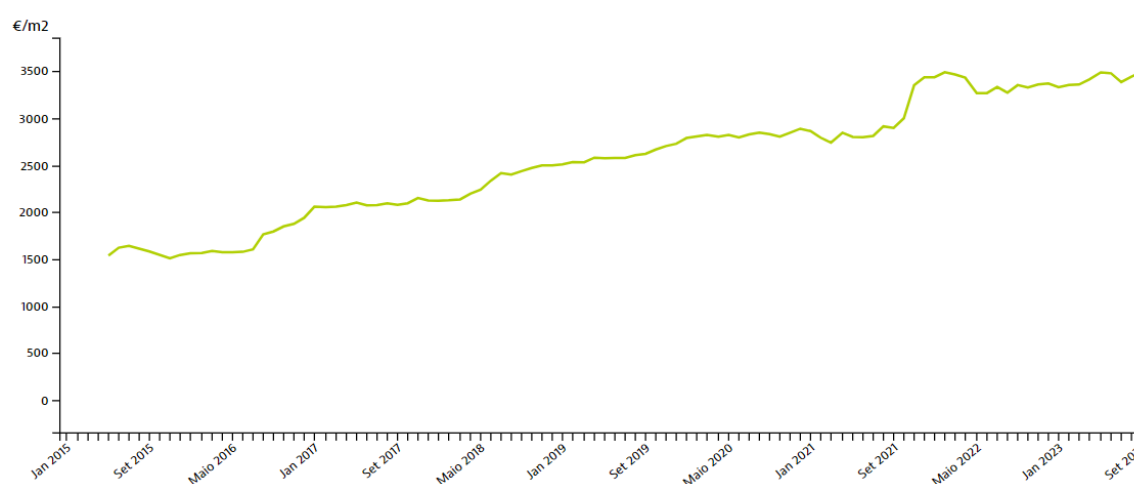


Fig. 12 Selling housing price evolution in JF-UFMP from January 2015 to March 2023

Source: Idealista Portugal

⁸ Values registered in September 2023

⁹ This value is based on the housing sales in Portugal made from April 2022 and March 2023

Regarding renting trends, the upward movement from 2019 to September 2023 is not as noticeable as the selling prices in fig.10, and marked in the same period. The lowest numbers registered were in the last two months of 2020 and beginning of 2021, being the lowest renting €/m2 registered in February 2021 (10€/m2), that can be explained by the uncertainty in the renting market caused by the COVID19 pandemic.

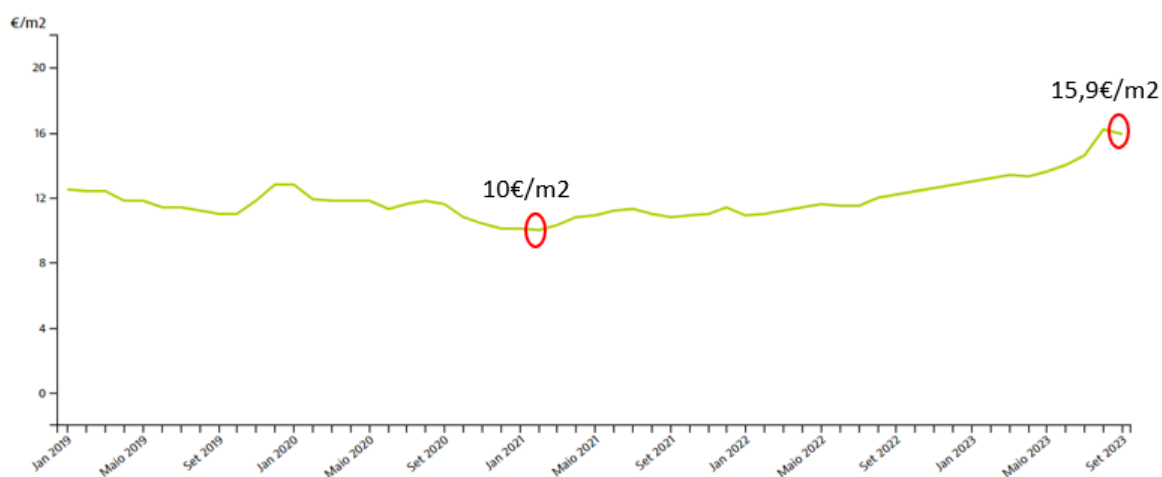


Fig. 13 Renting housing price in JF-UFMP from January 2019 to May 2023
Source: Idealista Portugal

According to JF-UFMP registered data from 2021, in the 3178 renting houses present in this examination, the majority of those are being rented in the parish at a price range of 400€ to 649,99€, the equivalent of 34.5%. Only 18.4% of houses are being rented at a higher price range, and 47.1% are renting at a lower range price. In fact, 19% of these lower-range rents are for less than 100€. At first glance, these numbers seem to depict a cheap renting area not only when compared to borderline areas but in general. Moreover, it could be explained by the small typology of the houses; however, it is important to note this information includes the Portela area as well, with buildings much different from the ones found in the territory's "core" and tendentially bigger in m2, and where density and land use are not in the same levels. Portela is an urbanization with most buildings from the 1970s and the first neighborhood in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area created from scratch under a territorial planning scheme. However, as mentioned before, the creation of the village of Moscavide was the opposite, with little to no structured planning and happening 20 years before the construction of the Portela neighborhood since it came out of the urgent necessity of housing

for new Lisbon workers. The unification of these two areas in one single parish occurred in 2013 amid the administrative reorganization that took place in Portugal.

Even so, regarding the dimension scale of buildings over the decade, interesting conclusions can be drawn when comparing Census 2011 and 2021. The categories are divided by 1 (household per building), 2 to 4, 5 to 9, and 10 or more. From the total number of buildings analyzed in this period, the percentage of buildings with only one accommodation dropped by approximately 7%. All the other categories have seen an increase in this period. In the last decade, the parish has seen an increase of approximately 1% in buildings with 2 to 4 houses, 4% in buildings with 5 to 9 houses, and 2% in buildings with ten or more residences included. In an already massified area, demographically, the growth of households and the inevitably coming of new residents to the area is still a growing process, where most households are considered the primary residency.

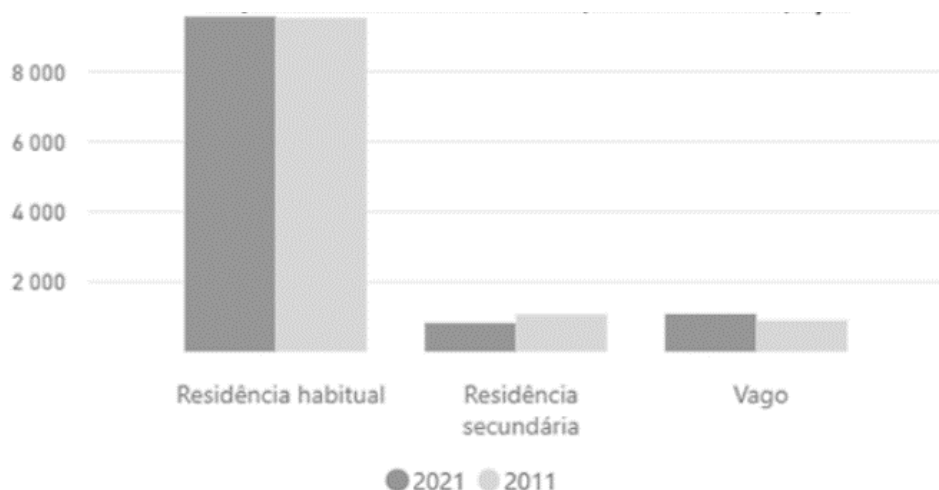


Fig. 14 Classic family accommodation by type of occupation divided by primary residence, secondary residence and vacant

Source: INE – Statistics Portugal – Census 2021

Only 7% of these accommodations are considered a secondary residency in 2021, a drop of 2.2% when compared to the data gathered in 2011. The vacant residencies have seen a slight increase of 1.6% in this period, yet not a relevant value to change the outcomes of demographic density. When analyzing this information, on the surface, the planning strategy does not include a reduction or control of the population, to perhaps contrary the pressure of the territory's space. The current plans of the parish seem to be the spread of construction and population onto the newer areas – north and east – without a radical urban planning shift in

the “core” area. The latter might even be adapted to attract an increase in population. As mentioned several times throughout this dissertation, demographic density is a condition rather than an option and has been part of the village's history since its beginning. Even though it implies constraints, the territory is adapted to it and functions according to its setting..

Conclusion

When starting the “Compact City” application project, the choice of Moscavide was almost immediate. Even though my personal knowledge about its history or political strategy was scarcely any, some vital information is obtained as soon as one enters the village. The compacting of the space is notorious. Its traits and planning seem to have followed almost perfectly the primary premises of the CCT during its construction in the 1940s. In fact, after investigating this territory’s major traits in depth, density diversity and mix-land use can even be considered its primary elements. Even though these attributes were, in a way, forced into the land, the village made the best out of it and continues doing so today, with a well-known efficiency of its land. Because of this, the territory can give the sense of living in the chaos of the big city, yet still keeping the feeling of small-town energy with a vibrant community, just as Jane Jacobs predicted it would as a result of compactness.

Nonetheless, the traits of Moscavide that ensure this positive outcome are also a conductor for various problems that very strikingly affect the population’s life and put some aspects of its well-being at risk. Even though it is argued that the mix-land use is notorious for bringing several benefits to residents and businesses, and as a result of strengthening this economic relationship, the green spaces in the territory are almost nonexistent. The conjunction of lack of green spaces plus the amount of cars parking in the streets and the resulting reduction of space on sidewalks definitely gives the case study the overcrowded feeling that density could bring since every street is a place to park, putting in question some environmental impacts of this urban planning.

Regardless of this aspect, the political spectrum - represented in this project almost entirely by the parish (JF-UFMP) executive - seems very aware of its territory’s problems and tries to rearrange solutions realistically, given their space of action. However, this research shows that the parish has the most crucial role in ensuring sustainable development in the territory in the social pillar of sustainability. All the mentioned measures and more are at the service of all those living in exclusionary and vulnerable situations that desperately need help and represent a social emergency. Indeed, the parish does not only offer help to those in the most vulnerable situations, as shown when discussing its political strategies; nonetheless, the executive shows knowledge and understanding of the population encompassing the territory and shows an effort to ensure social inclusion and equity.

Regarding its local economic development, by analyzing the local budget and investment plan, local business is a significant part of its strategy. Most of its revenues are part of state and municipal funds; nonetheless, the revenue-bringing activities that are a responsibility of the parish and its local initiatives are often directed to local commerce as a way to evolve local enterprises. I would say this strategy would not be as successful as it is if not made in a compact urban development, where all actors are “confined” to a small space, bringing more visibility to every single one of them than when compared to a territory with an urban sprawl model of urban planning. Moreover, even though the dense features of the village have brought development constraints within its borders over the years, one can understand why there is no ongoing local strategy to reduce that density. It can facilitate development on other fronts and serve its elderly population much more conveniently. There is also a sense of completeness. The village is provided with all essential and urgent services and educational and health services in its proximities.

From the perspective of the research, the characteristics of the village, in the scope of CCT, do enable the efficiency of its economic development if talking about business and service visibility. However, although it can facilitate some aspects of sustainable development, it also constrains others. The presence of the private car presents the biggest obstacle to better sustainable planning in the area. In the context of this case study, density does not assist in creating healthy planning or the push for more healthy living. In fact, it is an enabler of chaos and noise and pushes for an anti-pedestrian development. Even though all services are accessible within walking distance, the private car is still a significant component of the territory’s surroundings.

In brief, when answering the question “Does compact planning facilitate sustainable development”? It depends. Such planning has aspects that can reinforce an efficient use of the land; nonetheless, this case study does not prove that sustainability is a consequence of its planning. Despite the territory’s political strategy acknowledging the importance of sustainability and ensuring important social and economic policies that go in favor of possible sustainable development, and perhaps because of its dense characteristics being a consequence rather than a plan, the urban planning of the area alone, cannot be taken as the enabler of such development.

For future research

To complement this study, incorporating interviews with prominent socio-economic actors of the territory – residents, entrepreneurs, and private investors - would reveal the perception of those living in the territory. It would be beneficial to incorporate local entrepreneurs' awareness of the benefits and constraints that density brings to their businesses and why they chose the village of Moscavide to settle their economic activities. Interviewing residents on their perception of living in dense urban planning would be relevant to delimiting the disadvantages and benefits of living in such a model. In terms of environmental sustainability, this research would be enriched with an investigation of the area's resource management and waste management as well as the major energy resources supply.

Limitations

While writing this dissertation, some barriers limited the research. Firstly, Moscavide and Portela are two very different places belonging to the same parish; some information might get lost or not fully represent the reality of these two areas due to their characteristics. However, the parish scale is the smallest one to find official information regarding building and demographic traits.

Secondly, even though there was an attempt of contact, due to scheduling difficulties, there was no possibility of rearranging an interview with local government, namely, parish president Ricardo Lima, as it was initially planned, and that limited the delineation of political strategy to its official documents and publications.

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