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Short Running title

Mobilities, place-making and citizenship in Mouraria

Title

Understanding short and long mobilities together: Place attachment and community dynamics in Mouraria, Lisbon

Abstract

The increase in mobilities over the last decades has facilitated the circulation of people, with short- and long-term mobility practices often intertwining in the same destinations. Alongside migration processes of long mobility to search for better living conditions, short mobility processes, such as touristification, started significantly shape some cities and their communities in Southern Europe. This study examines place attachments, community and cultural dynamics of ‘migrant’ and ‘local’ residents of Mouraria, a historic and multicultural neighbourhood in Lisbon, and the consequences of touristification on those. Through walking interviews with ‘local’ residents and long-term ‘migrants’ (n = 20), we concluded that most of the interviewed ‘migrants’ presented a traditional-active place attachment associated both with proximity to their culture of origin and practices envisioning the well-being of the neighbourhood’s community. Additionally, we found that the essentialization of Mouraria’s community life ('bairrismo') was endorsed mainly by ‘local’ residents and associated with a conditional acceptance of new residents, while touristification tended to highlight structural social injustices for both ‘local’ and ‘migrant’ residents. We discuss how the community dynamics created between these different mobility processes contribute to generate multicultural and community practices in both groups of residents.

Keywords: migration, touristification, place attachment, community, walking interviews, mobilities, Mouraria (Lisbon)

1. Introduction

Human mobilities are assuming a structural role in our globalized societies (Cresswell, 2006), and are exponentially increasing in different forms. Data show that at the end of 2022, 184 million people were living out of their country of origin (World Bank, 2023), and in Portugal, specifically, 11.5% of the resident population was born in a different country (Oliveira, 2022).

While engaging in intercultural processes resulting from long-term migrants and local communities' interactions, in some cities both these groups are nowadays confronted with social and environmental consequences of touristification - a multidimensional process that by commodifying neighbourhoods and cities for tourism, leads to the displacement and replacement of their previous dwelling and working functions for tourism and tourists, as demonstrated by Sequera and Nofre (2018) and others (e.g., Tulumello & Allegretti, 2021; Estevens et al., 2023). In fact, the number of non-resident tourists in Portugal during 2022 was estimated to be around 22,3 millions (Turismo de Portugal, 2023), and around 14,4% of these tourists (3,2 million) were in Lisbon - which had, in 2022, a resident population of 509,614 thousand inhabitants (Câmara Municipal de Lisboa [CML], 2022). In other words, neighbourhoods and cities are increasingly being transformed by different mobility processes (Di Masso et al., 2019; Jover & Díaz-Parras, 2022), but often without their intersecting impacts on communities' multicultural dynamics and lived experiences being examined.

In fact, so far Social and Intercultural Psychology have not considered much the implications of place attachment and community dynamics on migrants' relationships with and involvement in place changes. Place-based approaches from Environmental and Community Psychology (e.g., Manzo & Perkins, 2006; Bailey et al., 2021) may then contribute to a better understanding of these processes. The present study, through the focus on a historical, multicultural and touristified Lisbon neighbourhood – Mouraria –, follows a place-centred approach to: (1) explore if and how 'migrants' place attachments develop in this context and its impacts on multicultural identities; (2) examine 'local' residents' representations of Mouraria and if and how they affect intercultural relations with 'migrants' in the neighbourhood; and (3) examine if and how touristification, as a place change process with very disruptive consequences (Daly et al., 2021), impacts the relationships between 'migrant' and 'local' residents.

1.1. Place Attachment in a Mobile World

From a place-centred perspective, authors have argued that mobilities impact how people relate to places – not by undermining these relationships, but instead by complexifying them intertwining ‘fixities’ and ‘flows’ (Di Masso et al., 2019). Accordingly, place attachment – an affective bond one can establish with a significant place (Low & Altman, 1992) – may be studied through a processual approach, which considers the development of this (dis)connection over time, along with the sociopolitical aspects, significant others, and former place experiences that influence this process (Bailey et al., 2021).

Considering these dimensions, different place attachment styles may be developed (Hummon, 1992), extending from traditional – when a bond exists almost in an unconscious way, often explained by being born or living permanently in a certain place – to active, which is defined as happening after choosing a place to live and often implies an active engagement with the place through participation in its sociocultural and community life (Lewicka, 2011). More recently, Bailey and colleagues (2016, 2021) discussed another place attachment style – traditional-active – defined by an existing traditional bond then complexified and activated with place changes and changes of place.

In respect to long-term migration and consequent relationships with spaces, communities and cultures of destination places, Social and Intercultural Psychology studies have considered the importance of contextual and functional factors - such as host communities’ relations with migrants (Bierwiazek & Waldzus, 2016). Hence, complementing an urge to understand how mobility processes impact the way people connect with and get involved in new places of living (Di Masso et al., 2019), there is a need to explore how representations of place impact community relations with social and cultural diversity resulting from long-term mobility processes (Wnuk et al., 2021).

Following a social constructionist perspective (Dixon & Durrheim, 2000), places can be represented in essentialist ways – when their characteristics are socially constructed as natural and constant over time, and there is an idea of essence confirming their authenticity and proposing what is expected for that place (Batel et al., 2015). This in turn constructs power dynamics between who belongs or does not belong to a certain place, and who gets to define that - which leads to social exclusion (Batel et al., 2015; Di Masso et al., 2014). But places can also be represented in dynamic terms, more fluid than static, constructed through interactions between people from different social and cultural backgrounds. Within this perspective, places are seen as changeable, being these anti-

essentialist representations associated with openness to changes in place such as social diversity resulting from long-term mobilities (Wnuk et al., 2021).

Regarding short-term mobilities, tourism and especially touristification bring significant social, economic, and environmental consequences to the places involved (Daly et al., 2021). Touristification is an urban change process defined as a transformation caused by tourism intensification, that restructures the city and its neighbourhoods into places for tourists' attraction, impacting local communities (Sequera & Nofre, 2018). The proliferation of short-term rental accommodations for tourists alongside associated increasing housing and services' costs, can result in former residents' physical and psychological displacement from their homes and neighbourhoods of residence (Cocola-Gant, 2023; Tulumello & Allegretti, 2021). The remaining local population face significant changes in their daily life. These go from the loss of a sense of community to constantly overcrowded spaces and noisy nightlives (Nofre et al., 2017), the closing of local shops and opening of new unaffordable shops catered for tourists (Sequera & Nofre, 2018), and cultural traditions' mobilization to become part of the tourist consumption dynamic (Aramayona & Batel, 2022), to name but some impacts. As such, tourism-induced changes can lead to a weakening of people-place bonds, even for long-term residents with previous strong place attachments (Kim, 2021).

These place changes may generate community responses to cope with and resist to their negative consequences and protect people-place bonds (Aramayona & Batel, 2022). Disruptive events that happen in a specific place/community often put forward a sense of a common fate (Ntontis et al., 2018). Accordingly, contexts of crisis may foster psychosocial conditions for mutual aid within the affected communities, effacing potential previous group differentiation and conflict (Ntontis et al., 2018).

In this context, this study aims to explore if and how touristification, as a process of urban transformation with very disruptive consequences for residents and their communities (Daly et al., 2021), affects the relations between 'migrant' and 'local' residents and their people-place bonds, community and multicultural practices. For that, we also aim to examine if and how both 'migrant' and 'local' residents relate with Mouraria and its community, namely by analysing their place attachments and forms of citizenship. While doing this, this study aims to contribute to develop a more place-based and critical approach to Social and Intercultural Psychology on intercultural relations and citizenship (Zisakou et al., 2024).

2. Method

2.1 Context – Mouraria

Situated in Lisbon's historical centre, Mouraria is a neighbourhood characterized by Portuguese cultural traditions, such as *Santos Populares* and *Fado* (Mendes, 2012). Multiculturalism has also been part of Mouraria's history: the name - *Mouraria* - is connected to the city's Muslim-ruled period, and it has had throughout time a high percentage of migrant residents and several points of multiethnic commerce (Fonseca & McGarrigle, 2013).

Although public sociability and strong community ties have long been central to Mouraria's social life, they have been increasingly challenged by efforts to cultivate a more cosmopolitan image of the neighbourhood (Bettencourt et al., 2021). The social and public space regeneration process initiated by the Lisbon City Council in 2009 (CML, 2012) ultimately led to a 'social cleansing' of the area (Tulumello & Allegretti, 2021), with official narratives framing these changes more positively than the residents' perspectives (Bettencourt & Castro, 2015). As a result of these transformations, Mouraria has become increasingly targeted as a tourist destination, leading to an ongoing process of touristification in recent years (Tulumello & Allegretti, 2021).

2.2. Participants and Procedure

Participants of this study are Mouraria residents that lived there for at least seven years – enough time to experience different stages of the touristification process in the neighbourhood (Baptista et al., 2018).

Twenty participants ($n = 20$) were interviewed, of which 11 were 'local' residents and 9 'migrant' residents. 'Local' participants are residents that were born in Portugal and that live in Mouraria for 20 or more years (Bettencourt et al., 2021). Three of these participants lived there for less than 20 years (15-18 years) however were included as their continued contact with Mouraria was considered substantial for the study purposes: one of them moved to a different neighbourhood for some years but kept visiting Mouraria frequently since he had close relatives living there; the other two were living and working in the neighbourhood, therefore spending there most of their time. Ages ranged from 18 to 78 ($M = 53$). From the 9 'migrant' residents interviewed, five were born in Bangladesh, and the others were from Algeria, Brazil, Nepal, and Pakistan. For these interviewees, the residency period in Mouraria ranged from 7 to 32 years ($M = 14$). Considering ages, the group average was 47 years old (ranging from 35 to 61).

Data collection was conducted through walking interviews that had a narrative structure (Evans & Jones, 2011; Jovchelovitch & Bauer, 2000). Walking interviews often foresee an itinerary chosen by participants that is pursued during the interview. Consequently, the participants' answers are enriched by place stimuli (Evans & Jones, 2011) and, in the case of the present research, particularly by place changes, brought about to the neighbourhood by different mobility processes and other related socio-economic aspects of the last decades. By including a narrative structure to the walking interviews, we aimed to allow participants to have greater agency and involvement as they chose the direction of the interview solely based on cues provided by the interviewer (Jovchelovitch & Bauer, 2000) and by the places around them while walking. The provided cues were related to perceived changes in the neighbourhood and connection with Mouraria and its residents over the years, e.g. *'Can you tell me about your daily life in Mouraria? You can bring up memories, take me to significant places or even tell me about the people in the neighbourhood.'*

This research was approved by ISCTE Ethics Committee (Assessment 35/2022), and all participants provided signed informed consent. The interviews were conducted in either Portuguese or English depending on participants' preferences, between April and June 2022. The interviews were audio-recorded, with an average duration of 45 minutes each.

To analyse the data, Thematic Analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006), under a critical realist frame (Willis, 2022), was chosen as it allows for a systematic understanding of how participants attribute meaning to Mouraria and to its residents and users, and consequent interpretation of how they socially construct its development over time (Terry et al., 2017), including tourism; but while also recognising that those meanings have real antecedents and consequences related with the socioeconomic, political and material causes (Di Masso & Dixon, 2015) and impacts of touristification, and other urban change processes (Estevens et al., 2023). Inductive open-coded was used and patterns identified, being iteratively discussed between the authors of this paper, and also discussed at research group meetings, international conferences and other academic contexts. The codes were then organized forming sub-themes and then themes that were finally disposed into a Conceptual Map that will be presented in the following section. The relations between the themes and sub-themes presented in the conceptual map were identified based on our analysis of participants' accounts. In the next section, findings

will be presented together for ‘migrants’ and ‘locals’ when the themes identified are similar between them (3.3; 3.4), and separately when they are different (3.1; 3.2).

3. Findings

The Thematic Analysis resulted in a set of diverse themes and subthemes that were identified as giving an account of the experience of ‘migrant’ and ‘local’ residents in Mouraria, namely of their place attachment and community relations, as well as their responses to touristification. This is summarised in the Conceptual Map shown in Figure 1 below, and will be described along this section.

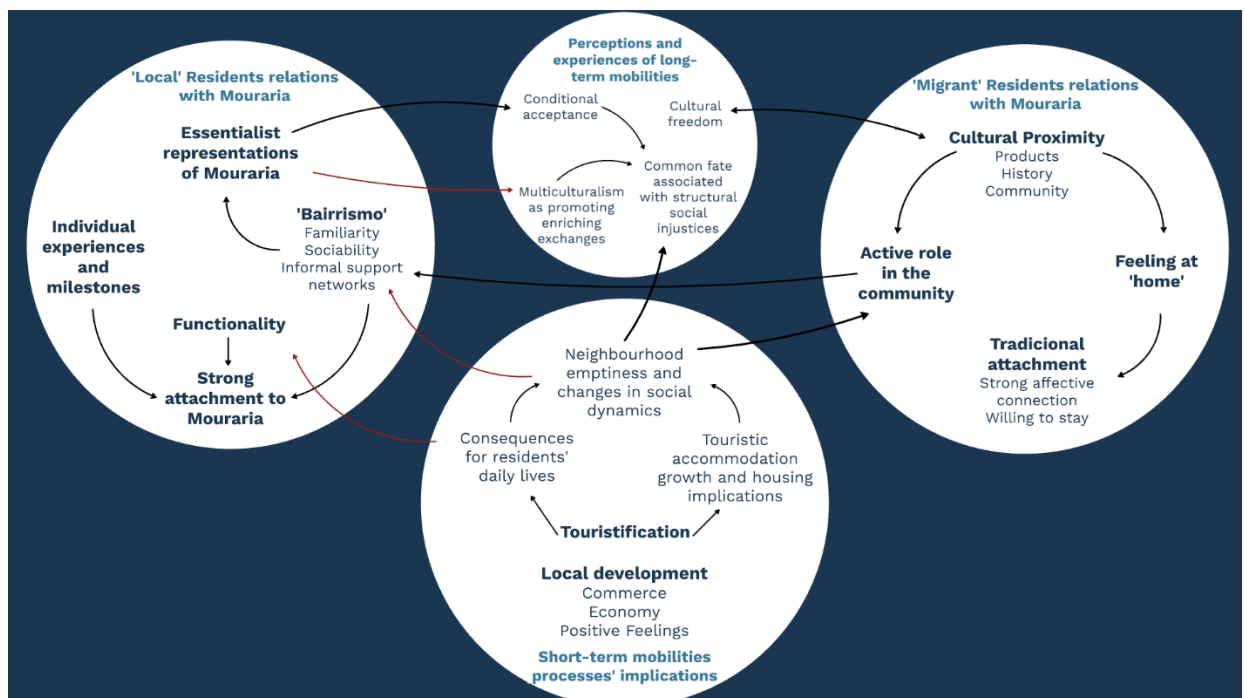


Figure 1 - Conceptual Map of Results (black arrows indicate positive associations and red arrows indicate negative ones)

3.1. How do long-term ‘migrant’ residents relate with Mouraria?

Cultural Proximity

Most of the interviewed ‘migrants’ mentioned Mouraria as a multicultural neighbourhood where they could find products from their country of origin, a strong community of other migrants with whom they can share traditions and specific places where they can practice their religion. This possibility to maintain some cultural practices of the country of origin has been considered as a key dimension of empowering intercultural relations (Buchbindder & Shoukair-Khoury, 2023). This proximity to their cultural heritage and practices contributed to a sense of ‘feeling at home’, thus reinforcing their connection with Mouraria and contributing to the affirmation of their multicultural identities. One

Bangladeshi participant even named a specific area in Mouraria as ‘Bangla Town’, stressing its strong cultural and territorial identity:

(1)

*Yes! **Bangla Town**, it means... We feel like home. It's because you can see this kind of shop, this kind of grocery shop. You can get all kinds of things that is available in my country, you understand? (...) Sometimes people, when they are abroad, they miss their food, you know, their culture, their people, a lot of things, but if I walk through this road, I don't feel that I'm abroad or something like this. (P1), (M)¹*

In Extract 1 the participant also refers to negative feelings one can feel while beginning a relationship with a new place, which are in this case effaced in this cultural proximity context. This is again mentioned by another participant that considers Mouraria ‘his place’:

(2)

This is like multicultural here, you know? We don't feel like alone as if we go to ‘campo’ [the countryside in Portuguese], you know? (...) Is little bit difficult by nature to adjust. (...) If you have similar kind of the culture, like Indian, Bangladeshi, Nepalese, like South Asian there are similarities... (...) All the time is difficult and that's why [I] prefer to live around this ‘bairro’ [neighbourhood in Portuguese]. (P18), (M).

Some participants underlined that they feel connected with Mouraria because of what it historically represents for their culture and religious identity. This neighbourhood has a past of being the place where Muslims stayed after the city was taken in the twelfth century by the Catholic genocidal Crusades (Fonseca & McGarrigle, 2013), and some participants shared that they know about its history:

(3)

I know somethings, this is the history of this area and, that time, lot of people... Muslims also died here. (...) After that the Christians won the war and they

¹ All extracts are signalized with the participants’ group (either ‘L’ for ‘Local’ or ‘M’ for ‘Migrant’).

established their religion here, yeah, this is the history and Mouraria is actually one of the areas where there is no historical place like this, Mouraria. (P11), (M).

Most ‘migrant’ participants mentioned that living in Mouraria allowed them to maintain a connection with their culture of origin, thereby showing a strong attachment to the neighbourhood and a will to stay or come back in case they would have to leave (Scannell & Gifford, 2010). It is possible to identify in these participants’ description of their relationship with this neighbourhood a strong attachment similar to the relationship that people that lived there for a long time have with it and fostered by the possibility to preserve and even promote their own cultural significant practices in this place. This equates then to a traditional attachment style (Lewicka, 2011), that is clearly shared by ‘migrant’ participants, even if they did not grow up here or lived here all their lives. These participants established a bond with Mouraria through daily practices, cultural proximity and a community of social support, which resulted in a feeling of ‘being at home’ and enhanced their multicultural identities.

Relations with ‘Local’ Residents

Most of these ‘migrant’ residents have lived in different places before coming to Lisbon. Some of them compared Portuguese residents with others from former residence places, considering Portuguese nicer and more open to newcomers and their culture:

(4)

Yes, I think, even though, like everybody, we also have some complaints about the facilities, about some neighbours, we are not connected to all the same way. But the thing is we strongly believe, being an outsider immigrant, that we have much freedom living in this neighbourhood, [so] we should appreciate it. (P8), (M)

In Extract 4 a feeling of gratitude inherent to the migrant condition is expressed and associated with preclusion of sharing ‘some complaints’. This positions ‘migrants’ in an inferior power position to ‘locals’, as those who have to get acculturated (Figgou & Baka, 2018) and adapt because they are ‘outsider immigrants’, and that feel excluded from the possibility to ‘complain’ if they are not being rejected and discriminated in a blatant and violent way. Portuguese residents are then presented as the ones who allow ‘migrants’ to be in a context of cultural freedom. This way of representing Portuguese people is

consistent with *Lusotropicalism*, a representation of Portuguese relations with the communities that Portugal has violently invaded and occupied in its colonial past that suggests that the Portuguese are very integrative *and easily* interchanging cultural elements with different peoples (Bastos, 2019). However, this myth of *Lusotropicalism* has only contributed for colonial relations and associated racism between Portugal and ex-colonies, such as Brazil and others from the CPLP (Portuguese Speaking Countries Community), to be reified and reproduced (Bastos, 2019). This type of representations is often an obstacle to identify and contest less blatant forms of discrimination and prejudice, such as those presented in the following extract:

(5)

When we distribute the food, there is homeless people, prostitutes, immigrants, local people, so the neighbours, people who are living in this neighbourhood, they feel shy to be in the line. So, they come to us before or after: [saying] ‘ok, we also need this support, but we cannot be in the same line where there’s lots of mixed people’. (P1), (M)

In this case, the participant that was helping the local community by distributing food was confronted with a circumstance where some vulnerable people that live in the area (presented here as ‘local people’, as if they are more from this place than immigrants), were ashamed of being seen in such an extreme poverty context together with other people seen as marginalized groups, including unhoused people, sex workers and immigrants. Of relevance here, is how it is ‘migrant’ residents that are providing support to all people in a situation of poverty, not ‘local residents’ or local authorities, or the State. This importantly brings to the fore then that ‘migrant’ residents are enacting here local forms of citizenship that, albeit often not recognised as legal or ‘real’ citizenship by other residents and the government, clearly contribute to the well-being and development of this community and to their own local integration and sense of belonging (Zisakou et al., 2024). And this even though they are seen and discriminated as a marginalized Other (Di Masso et al., 2014).

Active Participation in the Local Community

As exposed in Extract 5, ‘migrant’ participants have an active role in the local community. Some of them started associations after arriving in Lisbon, targeting initially other

migrants that were in need of help. However, after some time, and especially during the COVID-19 pandemic, these associations started to provide help to the community as a whole, distributing food and other essentials to both ‘migrants’ and Portuguese ‘locals’. These dynamics of social support go along with the development of a sense of common fate in moments of crisis (Ntontis et al., 2018).

Another form of active participation identified by the participants was to be formally enrolled in a Portuguese, most often the socialist, political party, participating locally in the electoral campaigns. Alongside formal ways to actively engage with the local community, there were also participants who mentioned informal ones, such as helping elderly residents with simple daily tasks or dynamizing the neighbourhood’s social life. On the one hand, these practices contributed to the overall well-being of Mouraria residents, and on the other fostered a feeling of community belonging in the migrant participants reporting this type of involvement:

(6)

Mostly women came to my shop (...) and I always helped taking the bags. [Sometimes] They didn’t need to come here. (...) I feel very proud when I helped them (...). Mostly died, (...) but still they are always in my eyes because I respect [them] too much and they loved me also too much (...). (P19), (M)

Through formal political activity, associativism and informal social support, these participants highlighted they have an active role in the neighbourhood. As such we can say that most ‘migrant’ participants presented a hybrid traditional-active place attachment (Bailey et al., 2016; 2021) explained by a feeling of ‘being at home’ prompted by cultural proximity, and an active role, interest and contribution to Mouraria’s community and cultural life.

3.2 How do ‘local’ residents relate with Mouraria?

Life trajectories and Functionality

Most ‘local’ residents presented themselves as having a strong affective bond with Mouraria. One of the reasons pointed out frequently was individual trajectories including life milestones that took place in the neighbourhood (Scannell & Gifford, 2010). These experiences are regularly connected with significant others, contributing to a bond intensification and a will to stay in the neighbourhood (Bailey et al., 2021). When asked

to talk about their relationship with Mouraria, some participants emphasized it as crucial for their lives:

(7)

For me, it's everything, Mouraria is where I describe myself since I first moved my feet until maybe my death, do you understand? Mouraria is my father, my mother, because both are from Mouraria... Mouraria for me it's my grandmother's life, Mouraria for me it's my brother's life, that God has because he is no longer with me. Mouraria for me is, by no doubt, my life (...). (P7), (L)

Apart from individual experiences, some participants mentioned physical aspects of Mouraria that impact their daily lives, specifically in terms of functionality. Diversity in commercial establishments and proximity of transports and other services were noted as place characteristics that make life easier and better in Mouraria. Elderly participants felt more independent in their everyday lives because they were free to acquire essential products and use basic services autonomously, since they could find all these nearby. Furthermore, this proximity fostered familiarity between neighbours, social interaction, and a sense of freedom that enhanced their quality of life:

(8)

We have access down there, here, everything (...). And there we go, half a dozen old ladies, there are about six of us, we go for a walk, everyday we take a walk here, drink a coffee, we go there to Rua da Palma, and that's our daily life, (...). (P4), (L)

This feeling of sociability and freedom that these elderly residents share, and that is enabled by certain physical and functional aspects of Mouraria, can be compared to the cultural freedom experienced by 'migrant' residents in this neighbourhood. The multicultural and proximity environment of Mouraria allows residents to maintain their autonomy and enhance their quality of life, given that, as we will further discuss below, some of the groceries and other shops that still exist in Mouraria are supported by 'migrant' residents.

‘Bairrismo’ and Multiculturalism in Mouraria

'Local' residents often mentioned familiarity, associating it with mutual help. Informal support networks shape residents' daily lives through strong connections between neighbours, as demonstrated in the following extract:

(9)

Because, as I still can, I still often make a little soup, some food, for the lady on the 3rd floor, who doesn't need it, but doesn't leave the house anymore and it's been hard for her to walk for three years. (P4), (L)

Some 'migrant' residents also identified these social relations in the neighbourhood as something they appreciate and makes them 'feel at home', since they recognize and are recognized by people that greet them on the streets. The 'local' residents frequently used the Portuguese word 'bairrismo' to describe this 'urban village' environment (Zukin, 2009) typical of the neighbourhood over the years:

(10)

When I used to go out in the street... there were so many people living there, so many older people... they enjoyed talking and they were like: 'good morning, good afternoon', or something!. They wanted to know the people and... that village environment was very warm in the middle of... sometimes cities can be a little bit cold, right? (P6),(L)

However, there is a certain nostalgia concerning 'bairrismo'. Interviewed 'local' residents often mentioned two types of Mouraria. According to some of them, there was an old familiar Mouraria portrayed as full of deep neighbourhood ties, which is now disappearing and giving way to a new one, emptier and devoid of this social lifestyle. This perception that the neighbourhood has an essence ('bairrismo') and that its disappearance compromises Mouraria's identity and gives rise to a different neighbourhood can be interpreted as an essentialization of this place (Batel et al., 2015). This essentialization can in turn be associated with the protection of that essence and related exclusions. The following extract exemplifies this:

(11)

Things are different, right? For now, I'm still willing to stay here. I still like it, still like it, still. But that's because we try very hard that 'bairrismo' prevails, right? But a lot of people from the neighbourhood are already missing, right? You can already notice that. (P9),(L)

This second, changing, Mouraria is also associated by some 'local' residents with multiculturalism. Although some consider multiculturalism as part of Mouraria's identity, and as something that enriches the neighbourhood and fosters intercultural and community exchanges, some others relate multiculturalism with the loss of former 'local' residents and of social dynamics, hampered by language barriers.

(12)

I like the former people that are still here. That doesn't mean I have complaints about the new ones. But the new ones don't know us, they are all mostly... speaking in a foreign language, and we don't know how to speak in a foreign language...

(P5),(L)

The absence of former residents, that used to go along with the neighbourhood social dynamics, and the consequent effacing of 'bairrismo' - which is considered by most of these participants as imprinted in Mouraria's identity - appears to have a role on how 'local' residents receive and accept newcomers:

(13)

I accept the new people if they know how to be in their place and don't try to change what is already here. Things that... things that are within the culture of people here. (P20), (L)

This example shows how representing Mouraria in an essentialist way - regarding its social dynamics, namely 'bairrismo' - has an impact on their relations with newcomers (Wnuk et al., 2021). Some of the 'local' residents affirm to approve the arrival of new residents if they 'align' with them and participate in the community social life in a way that contributes to the prevailing of 'bairrismo'. Moreover, extract 13 refers to new residents knowing 'how to be in their place', which reveals a representation of position and power relations grounded in place that can promote exclusion - as the people

originally from a place are presented as having the right to impose norms to the ones arriving, having then more power (Di Masso et al., 2014).

Some 'local' residents also mentioned feeling insecure due to an increase in robberies and drug trafficking as illustrated in the extract below:

(14)

Nowadays it doesn't mean that we don't get along, it's a bit more divided because there are many ethnic groups, there's a lot... I don't even think about sleeping with the door open [anymore] and don't even think about leaving a child playing in the street without supervision (...) Nowadays, it is a danger to just get out of the house, let alone going to the grocery shop... (P7), (L)

Although this extract does not explicitly say that migration is associated with crime, these themes show up in it as implicitly related, as this participant started by talking about ethnic diversity and ended up referring to insecurity. Associations of this type legitimize negative xenophobic attitudes and discrimination towards migrants (Di Masso et al., 2014), something which needs to be problematized and deconstructed.

3.3. Short-Term Mobilities: Tourism in Mouraria

Local Development

When invited to share their experiences about recent changes occurring in the neighbourhood, most participants, both 'migrants' and 'locals', brought up the topic of tourism, mostly to discuss its negative impacts in the neighbourhood. Nevertheless, some identified some positive impacts of tourism for the neighbourhood, especially in comparison with other times with fewer visitors. Economic growth and business prosperity were pointed out as beneficial consequences of tourism, reflecting also official discourses that present tourism in Lisbon and Portugal as only positive for the economy (Boager & Castro, 2022). Additionally, some participants associated tourism with positive experiences, such as feeling happy and proud in showing their neighbourhood to new visitors. Some associated the arrival of tourists with a decrease in perceived insecurity in specific areas, which goes along with the aforementioned politics of 'social cleansing' (Lee & White, 2020). Despite these perceived advantages, most participants identified adverse consequences, especially for those who do not benefit directly from positive

outcomes, namely, those that do not own local businesses that are fit for tourists (Kim, 2021):

(15)

You know that there is a lot of people here that live from commerce, and tourism is great, right? That is: if you go from that way or perspective, it's like 'ah, it's good and everything...'. But, if you go from a perspective of lived experiences, maybe they will say the same as I do. We, the ones from the neighbourhood, want a house and don't have one! They [the tourists] come and have everything. (P7).

(L)

In this extract, it is highlighted that most locals are experiencing lack of resources to satisfy basic needs, such as housing, when tourists come and have access to everything. For most participants, the problem is not presented as being tourism itself, but the practical consequences of its intensification and the lack of effective public policies in place to regulate it and protect residents' rights – which resonates with touristification (Sequera & Nofre, 2018).

3.4. Touristification

Disruption of Residents' Daily Lives

The intensive increase of tourism in Mouraria brought severe challenges to residents' daily lives. Participants mentioned the proliferation of short-rental accommodations for tourism, along with problems such as noise, obstacles in circulation, changes in local commerce and inflation in local shops:

(16)

If you want to eat something Portuguese you will have to pay for it or else... There are not a lot of... [accessible] small, small cafes and pastry shops. (...) I think they are giving away a little bit of Mouraria to the tourists, and I think that is a shame.

(P17), (M)

This 'migrant' resident mentioned the replacement of local commerce that used to have affordable prices for people living in the neighbourhood by other forms of commerce targeting tourists – who have more purchasing power. Touristification-led changes in local

commerce also particularly affected the elderly population of Mouraria. Some participants complained about the disappearance of grocery shops, that were crucial for some of these residents because they were nearby. In this regard, some participants underlined the role of some migrants that through their mini-markets and fruit shops provided an alternative to closed traditional establishments. In this sense, they contribute to the maintenance of proximity commerce and to everyday life dynamics, distinctive of this neighbourhood and now challenged by touristification.

Housing

Another implication of touristification discussed by participants was an increase in housing prices and difficulty in finding long-term housing solutions, both for ‘local’ and ‘migrant’ residents:

(17)

I changed three houses; this is my third house. First, I was living there, after some time they tell me: ‘please, contract is finished, we want to continue with tourism’. After that I find another street. I stayed there three years and after that they are telling me: ‘sorry, no more contract, we want to change for tourism, so...’. Luckily, I found this very small house, so.... (P19), (M)

In extract 17 (‘migrant’), as well as in extract 15 (‘local’), participants clearly express a widespread difficulty in securing housing solutions within the neighbourhood. The inability to pay a rent due to low income and to the inflated real-estate reality of the neighbourhood is widely associated with touristification and lack of appropriate public policies, according to participants. These structural social injustices were commonly recognised by both ‘migrant’ and ‘local’ participants, and in some cases acknowledged to be even more challenging for ‘migrant’ residents due to clear differences in terms of income. Some participants mentioned the conditions in which some residents were living, especially Southwestern Asian migrants, and that involved overcrowded flats due to the need to share rent prices. This is discussed by a ‘local’ resident below:

(18)

But, we have a lot, a lot, a lot of tourism in this area. We have many people who have been showing up. (...) By the way, we have lots of buildings occupied with practically

only 'Bangladeshis' and Nepalese people, and if you ask me if I agree: 'no'. Because they destroy and destroy. And that's it. Maybe, because wages are low and because they are not used to live like us, there are many together in one apartment ending up destroying it.(...) I had colleagues from Nepal where, at the time, I was earning, for example, 1400 euros and they were earning 600. I mean, if you have to pay a rent of 1000 euros and you earn 600, that's it... They are forced to join in, and that's it... (P9), (L)

In this extract, the distinction between 'us' and 'them' as in '*they are not used to live like us*' is explicit and shows discrimination (Di Masso et al., 2014). However, the resources scarcity with which these 'migrants' live – very low wages, even lower than 'locals' – and 'normal' intercultural differences in the way of living are also recognised as explanatory for overcrowded flats. In turn, this highlights how the lack of adequate integrative housing and migration policies promotes discourses of intercultural discrimination and xenophobia.

Neighbourhood Emptiness and Changes in Social Dynamics

Alongside housing problems, most participants stressed how the proliferation of tourism accommodations and the uprise of real-estate prices already resulted in the displacement of former Mouraria residents. Consequently, some residents affirm that Mouraria looks like a different place now, where they feel more solitude and less as community members:

(19)

Sometimes, I feel like I'm living on an island because before it was like: I was going out and I didn't even need to arrange something with anyone, there was always someone there to talk or to have a coffee with. (P6), (L).

Some 'migrant' residents also identified these same issues and felt they were unfair, but in some cases expressed that they did not feel comfortable to actively contest and challenge them because '*the immigrants are still in pain, they still don't know this right to speak out, or to report or how to prevent it*' (20), (P8), (M). This statement is particularly relevant as it clearly exposes the contradictions of neoliberal capitalist democracies and their definition of who is a citizen and who is not (Agamben, 1998): this participant expresses that despite, as we have seen above, 'migrant' residents enacting several forms

of local citizenship that promote local sustainability, well-being and justice, they are left out of participating as citizens through formal channels, because there is no support from local authorities and the State to promote a proper integration of migrants as citizens in Mouraria/Lisbon/Portugal (Constantino & Minas, 2022).

4. Discussion

Through a place-centred approach, in this study we explored people-place and community bonds and practices of ‘migrant’ and ‘local’ residents in a multicultural Lisbon neighbourhood – Mouraria – and if and how touristification affected the relations between them and with the neighbourhood.

Firstly, the results show that traditional attachment to places is not exclusive of those who are born in those places (Lewicka, 2011), being also experienced by ‘migrant’ people that, through cultural proximity, see in these new places extensions of their homes abroad. This goes along with the proposal that mobilities complexify people-place bonds instead of effacing them (Di Masso et al., 2019). According to our findings, contexts of migration – that is, the experience of moving from one place to another, with all the multiscalar readaptations that this change entails – may also foster the development of an active component of attachment (Bailey et al., 2021), connected with new forms of local citizenship (Di Masso, 2015). This in turn contributes positively to local and community development, and to a sense of belonging to these new places of living (Zisakou et al., 2024), emphasising the need to consider complex people-place bonds and practices when studying intercultural relations, namely representations of citizenship

When talking about Mouraria, participants, and especially ‘local’ participants, often represented Mouraria’s social life - ‘bairrismo’ - in an essentialized way. This essentialization puts forward a conditional acceptance of migrants based on their ability to align with the social environment created by those who were already living there (Batel et al., 2015). This conditional acceptance by ‘local’ residents seems to be a way to protect ‘bairrismo’ - which is increasingly at risk due to touristification - but it may have negative implications for other residents who actively nourish and support community ties, like migrants. These localized power asymmetries may then foster exclusion (Di Masso et al., 2014), namely a spatialised exclusion – e.g., Bangla Town -, even though ‘migrant’ residents are local active citizens, showing it through practices of mutual aid, and feel a strong attachment to the neighbourhood because it ‘allows’ them to maintain their cultural practices, precisely in those ‘exclusive’ spaces (Bettencourt et al., 2019).

As such, these findings highlight the relevance to analyse these dialectics between space and power to further understand intercultural relations and multicultural identities and how they are intrinsically connected with place attachments and exclusions - which are in turn shaped by diverse representations of citizenship, such as citizenship 'by soil' and citizenship as practice. As seen here, it is localised forms of citizenship that have then the potential to be used as a common ground for different groups' claims and identities, especially in contexts of place and community disruption such as touristification (Manzo & Perkins, 2006).

These results also contribute to demonstrate that discriminatory representations of migrants are fostered by inappropriate and unfair housing policies, unregulated tourism and a lack of integrative migration policies, that create unliveable lives for all, and which consequences often find 'easier' culprits in migrants (Andreouli & Howarth, 2013). It is crucial then to support forms of citizenship and political action already present in the neighbourhood to be directed towards local authorities and governments' policies that are currently prioritizing tourism and economic growth.

Finally, this study also contributes to research on acculturation and associated theories, to show that a place-based approach and related focus on shared places and local citizenship practices allow to both better understand and make clearer how multicultural identities and practices develop and change throughout time and space, and how structural factors crafted by globalised capitalist societies, like current public and local policies on housing and tourism in Lisbon, shape intercultural relations.

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