The role of arts and culture in urban regeneration of post-industrial eastern Lisbon

Laura Pomesano[1*] and Roberto Falanga[2]

*Correspondence:
Laura Pomesano
laurapomesano@gmail.com
[1]Information Sciences,
Technologies and Architecture
Research Center, ISTAR-IUL), Lisbon,
Portugal
[2]Instituto de Ciências Sociais,
Universidade de Lisboa, Lisbon,
Portugal

Abstract

The urban regeneration of the post-industrial areas of Marvila and Beato, in Lisbon, provides an exemplary context for analysing contemporary urban transformations. This study explores the role of culture and artistic activities in urban regeneration through the Meeting with Cultural Agents from Marvila and Beato, a workshop that was part of European project ROCK (Regeneration and Optimisation of Cultural Heritage in Creative and Knowledge Cities). Our findings highlight how urban transformations are driven by economic interests, coupled with institutional and socio-spatial fragmentation. We argue that such outcomes may compromise the active involvement of local communities and reduce social cohesion within the territory. Through the application of a qualitative methodology involving cultural agents in Marvila and Beato, this study underscores the potential of culture as a catalyst for urban transformation, while also identifying risks of exclusion resulting from gentrification and commodification processes. Our case study reveals that the areas along the river have attracted significant investment, contributing to the creation of a new cultural and economic hub. However, this type of urban development has predominantly favoured private-led regeneration initiatives at the expense of social cohesion, thereby jeopardising local identities. We aim to contribute to the ongoing debate on urban policies by offering insights into the challenges of urban regeneration in post-industrial contexts and the opportunities for integrative strategies that combine economic development, social inclusion, and the protection of cultural heritage. Coordination among local actors, institutions, and private entities through the activation of participatory processes and the establishment of platforms for cultural collaboration is essential in this regard.

Keywords Public participation, Industrial heritage, Creative and cultural sector, Gentrification

1 Introduction

In recent decades, urban regeneration has emerged as a critical convergence point of economic, social, and political dimensions. The regeneration of post-industrial urban areas has long been a pressing issue for many cities, particularly in Western countries, where deindustrialisation has left vast spaces marked by physical degradation and social marginalisation [1, 2]. This phenomenon has spurred the adoption of policy strategies

aimed not only at transforming these territories but also at redefining their roles within the urban environment, seeking to integrate economic development with social cohesion objectives [3]. As a result, urban regeneration has increasingly addressed the negative effects of deindustrialization and attracting new investments, often guided by strategic planning frameworks and political agendas at both local and national levels [4].

The growing interest in reusing abandoned urban spaces forms part of a broader framework of economic and social transition, wherein culture and creativity have assumed a pivotal role in redefining local identities [5]. The outsourcing of local goods and services has created new opportunities for private actors, driving urban transformation while raising questions about the inclusiveness and sustainability of the processes involved [6].

In many cases, urban regeneration in post-industrial areas begins with the interest of artists and students, who may be drawn to degraded areas due to lower costs and favourable conditions for artistic production. The prevailing literature tends to identify these individuals as pioneer or marginal gentrifiers [7–9], aligning with the notion of the rise of the 'creative class'. This trend is often supported by public administrations that view private investment in artistic and cultural activities as a potential tool for revitalisation and city rebranding [10].

In Portugal, scholars in architecture and industrial archaeology have noted that the country's industrial heritage has undergone rapid and growing degradation, characterised by a lack of continuity between the historical trajectory of production and policies of recovery and reuse [6, 11, 12]. Lisbon's eastern area is an emblematic case [11]. Specifically, the area designated for the 1998 Universal Exhibition (Expo '98), once marked by a strong industrial identity, underwent a profound transformation that involved the demolition of industrial heritage to accommodate new exhibition facilities [13]. Consequently, Expo '98 served as a catalyst for functional and urban regeneration, promoting a new model of urban development that reshaped the city's north-eastern region [14]. Close to Parque das Nações, Marvila and Beato form a strategic link between the eastern area and the historical centre. However, despite the eastern area's potential for investment, it has faced significant challenges in urban mobility and housing conditions.

More recently, new tensions have arisen from urban regeneration processes in Marvila and Beato, as examined through the European project ROCK – Regeneration and Optimisation of Cultural Heritage in Creative and Knowledge Cities (2017–2020)[1]. The urban area along the river, characterised as post-industrial territory, has been the focus of numerous redevelopment and reoccupation initiatives. The strategic location and the potential for repurposing warehouses and former industrial sites have encouraged the establishment of artistic and cultural activities, which play a vital role in the ongoing urban transformations. However, alongside new opportunities for private investors, the revitalisation has posed significant challenges for a substantial portion of the local population, particularly low-income residents.

This study seeks to examine how urban transformations resulting from the regeneration of post-industrial areas in Marvila and Beato are impacting the territory. Within the ROCK project, the Meeting with Cultural Agents, held at the Marvila Library on 7 February 2020, provided valuable data on this subject [15]. In the following sections, we

---

[1] The authors participated in the ROCK project, DOI https://doi.org/10.3030/730280. Laura Pomesano as external member and Roberto Falanga as Co- Principal Investigator.

explore the role of art and culture in the present and future processes of urban regeneration in this area, as well as the challenges emerging from these transformations. To address these issues, the research adopts a qualitative case study approach, combining participatory methods with a structured survey to collect and triangulate insights from local cultural agents involved in the regeneration of the area. The study aims to analyse the strong concentration of regeneration dynamics along the riverfront and highlight the gentrification effects stemming from building rehabilitation. Furthermore, it intends to discuss the implications for public participation in urban regeneration that is predominantly driven by the private sector.

This research is grounded in the premise that, in the absence of inclusive public policies and mechanisms for community participation, the transformative potential of artistic and cultural practices risks being co-opted to serve private agendas based on territorial (re)branding that reconfigure the space by excluding local actors.

The case of Marvila and Beato highlights how uneven urban development has created precarious environment for cultural activities, placing local agents in competition with one another and making them increasingly dependent on private funding. Although culture has the potential to drive meaningful change, entrenched institutional and structural barriers continue to restrict community involvement in both cultural initiatives and urban decision-making. Furthermore, the selective use of industrial memory for (re) branding purposes, often stripped of its social and historical depth, reflects a broader strategy of symbolic appropriation that neutralises critical narratives. In this context, public authorities play a crucial role: only sustained, inclusive and community-anchored cultural policies can redirect these processes toward a more equitable and socially grounded model of urban transformation.

In doing so, the study offers an original contribution to the existing literature on urban regeneration in post-industrial areas by critically addressing the tensions between cultural valorisation, social inclusion, and market-driven redevelopment. While much of the existing literature tends to focus on the ambivalent role of artistic expressions in relation to gentrification, this study builds on that perspective by bringing forward a bottom-up approach that engages directly with the cultural workers involved in the transformation of the territory. Yet, despite these existing reflections, the heterogeneity of artistic practices and the diverse perspectives of cultural actors on urban change remain underexplored. By foregrounding these dimensions, the study formulates specific recommendations to counteract gentrification, rooted in local cultural practices, community-based initiatives, and sustainable visions of regeneration. It also underscores the role of public authorities in strategically mobilising culture as a tool to attract investment, a practice that may contribute to reinforce processes of gentrification. In this way, the research advocates for integrated strategies that empower local communities and recognise the complexity of urban identities.

2 Urban regeneration in post-industrial areas

The term 'urban regeneration' first gained prominence in the United Kingdom during the 1980s to characterise the radical transformation cities underwent following World War II. These transformations resulted from the extensive restructuring of production and economic systems, along with urban deindustrialisation, which left large areas available for new purposes [4, 16, 17]. The examples that follow showcase how big operations

of urban regeneration have spread around the globe with similar intents, while unleashing controversial results.

From the late 1970s, Margaret Thatcher steered the UK towards a neoliberal economic model that placed competitiveness at the centre of political agendas. Traditionally associated with individuals, the concept of competitiveness was extended to cities, which were increasingly expected to attract investment, resources, and economic opportunities. A new management approach combined public policies and private initiatives [17, 18], aiming to enhance cities' roles in the global market while fostering both rivalry and strategic collaboration between urban territories.

Moura and colleagues [17] distinguish between post-World War II urban regeneration and the regeneration initiated after the economic crisis of the 1970s. In the earlier period, the state played a predominant role in reconstruction, addressing economic and social needs and promoting development, particularly in Europe. From the late 1970s, the progressive reduction in state intervention underscored the need to physically redevelop degraded urban areas, including abandoned deindustrialised spaces.

The 1970s also saw a significant shift towards capitalism, marking a fundamental transition in the global economic system [19]. Neoliberal policies introduced to address the economic crisis ushered in new production and consumption patterns [20], which were underpinned by industrial relocation, automation, and financialisation of the economy. These changes altered existing economic and social balances [19]. The state's role was redefined from directly steering urban development to facilitating private sector initiatives in public policymaking, often prioritising specific social groups [18, 19, 21].

Roberts and Sykes [3] critically analyse urban regeneration, highlighting how private initiatives have often prioritised physical transformations over social cohesion. Since the 1980s, the decentralisation of state functions has increased collaboration with the private sector. While the state has continued to support private sector interests on a large scale, this has, in some cases, been to the detriment of local communities [22]. Public policies not only support but sometimes incentivise market expansion in urban areas, contributing to social and territorial polarisation.

The transformation of the London Docklands stands as a paradigmatic case of state-led urban regeneration, illustrating the shift from post-war reconstruction policies to neoliberal urban redevelopment strategies [23]. As reported by Hamnett [23], the Docklands area was historically a working-class district central to London's maritime economy. However, the decline of the shipping industry in the mid-20th century led to the progressive deindustrialisation of the area, leaving behind vast tracts of underutilised and derelict land.

As a response to the economic crisis and the retreat of the welfare state, the British government established the London Docklands Development Corporation (LDDC) in 1978 [4]. The LDDC was granted extraordinary planning powers and land ownership rights, effectively bypassing local authorities to implement a vision aligned with entrepreneurial urbanism [23].

One of the most defining aspects of the Docklands regeneration was its explicit goal of social and economic restructuring. The LDDC facilitated large-scale commercial developments, particularly in Canary Wharf, which became a financial hub rivalling the City of London [4]. Simultaneously, the construction of high-end residential units aimed at affluent professionals replaced traditional working-class communities [24].

The case of the Docklands stands out for the active exclusion of pre-existing populations through state policies that prioritised private market-oriented residential development. Under the Thatcher governments, local authorities were largely bypassed as agents of urban regeneration, with the establishment of Urban Development Corporations (UDCs), such as the LDDC, tasked with attracting private capital and directly managing territorial redevelopment processes [4]. In this context, such policies contributed to erase the history and geography of the local working class, fostering a social reconfiguration that favoured the middle class [24]. This case highlights the social costs of market-driven urban regeneration, particularly in terms of forced displacement and the exclusion of local communities from the benefits of urban development.

Harvey [25] interprets urban transformation as a crucial strategy of capitalism for the absorption of surplus capital. He argues that capitalism necessitates urban processes to ensure the continuous reinvestment of accumulated wealth, making space an essential element in economic production. Through the concept of "accumulation by dispossession" [p. 53] Harvey illustrates how urban redevelopment and reinvestment in previously devalued areas not only reshape the urban landscape but also contribute to a redistribution of property and wealth in favour of privileged groups. The role of urban policies, therefore, extends beyond planning and design, functioning as mechanisms for market expansion that facilitate investment while exacerbating social inequalities.

In parallel, Lees [26] introduces the notion of 'super-gentrification,' describing a stage in which already gentrified areas experience intensified investment by financial elites. Unlike traditional gentrification, which often involves the middle class reclaiming urban spaces, super-gentrification is driven by global financial actors, "financiers" [p. 2487] who transform once-gentrified neighbourhoods into exclusive enclaves, further displacing former residents, illustrating how cycles of urban regeneration perpetuate social stratification, reinforcing economic divides through successive waves of capital reinvestment.

Adding nuance to this discussion, Hamnett [23] argues that gentrification cannot be attributed to a single, universal cause but rather emerges from a complex interplay of factors that vary across time and place. The process is contingent on both the presence of individuals with the necessary socioeconomic status, cultural preferences, and aesthetic values to drive neighborhood change, as well as the availability of properties that can accommodate such transformations, whether through the restoration of historic buildings or the construction of new housing.

Loures [27] highlights how urban regeneration activities have progressively moved away from being driven by urban design and planning principles, becoming instead expressions of economic and sociocultural forces. His study on post-industrial redevelopment underlines that while urban transformation policies are essential for containing urban sprawl and fostering revitalization, they often prioritize economic objectives over social cohesion. Loures also identifies how regulatory constraints, the high costs of redevelopment, and difficulties in obtaining financial support constitute major obstacles to the successful conversion of post-industrial sites. This further reinforces the concern that regeneration policies, when dominated by market logics, may inadvertently contribute to exclusionary urban dynamics. These observations resonate with the case of Marvila and Beato in Lisbon, where the valorisation of culture and creativity, which has progressively replaced industrial production, has become a key driver of urban transformation [28]. Regeneration in these areas has been strongly influenced by what Jones and

Evans [4] describe as 'cluster policy', the geographical concentration of workers in related sectors, fostering networks and the rapid exchange of services and innovations. Initially spontaneous, such clusters have increasingly been encouraged by governments seeking to accelerate the development of technology hubs and industrial parks in strategic urban areas. These policies aim to increase efficiency and productivity while consolidating the role of specific territories in economic and cultural growth. However, authors raise critical questions about the types of culture promoted in regenerated spaces, emphasising that informal and experiential practices are often excluded.

An illustrative example of these dynamics is the Poblenou neighbourhood in Barcelona [29]. Historically marked by precarious infrastructure and a significant artist presence, the low cost of disused industrial spaces began attracting newcomers in the 1980s. This transformation culminated in the 22@Barcelona project, which established the neighbourhood as a technological and creative hub [30]. However, urban regeneration led to a substantial increase in real estate costs, displacing local artists and small businesses—the very groups that initially contributed to the area's cultural vibrancy. This example highlights the risks of profit-driven regeneration, which can compromise the cultural and social diversity of urban areas [31].

Ley [32] examines Vancouver, where neighbourhoods initially inhabited by artists attracted by low-cost spaces and multicultural environments later drew significant investment. The author highlights how artists, often associated with high cultural capital but limited economic resources, helped reinvent the aesthetic value of degraded urban areas. The cultural value generated by artists was systematically appropriated by the real estate market, driving up prices and transforming neighbourhoods into elite spaces. Ley describes this recurring dynamic in post-industrial cities as a cycle where aestheticisation precedes commodification. Once neighbourhoods undergo such transformations, artists frequently abandon them in favour of less commercialised and more affordable environments [32].

The relationship between public and private funding emerges as a critical factor in sustaining cultural initiatives. Heilbrun and Gray [33] argue that while public funds provide stability and artistic freedom, increasing dependence on private capital can limit cultural authenticity and transform regenerated areas into highly commercialised spaces. This mirrors the processes described by Ley [32], where aestheticisation by artists was followed by commodification. Diversifying funding sources is essential to ensure the longevity of initiatives, as public support alone often falls short of meeting economic needs. Scholars further highlight the importance of balancing funding sources to maintain cultural sustainability and preserve local identities, warning against practices that overlook the context of intervention [34, 35].

In this context, the increasing reliance on cultural and creative industries as drivers of economic growth has positioned post-industrial cities as key nodes within global economic networks. Governa et al. [36] examine the case of Turin, where urban transformation strategies have aimed to integrate the city into international circuits of finance, research, and cultural production. However, as the authors point out, these strategies are not exempt from significant limitations. The criticalities identified are attributable to several interrelated factors. Firstly, the predominance of physical interventions is closely linked to the origin of funding sources, often derived from housing policy budgets, which tend to prioritize construction over social or cultural processes. Secondly, the

inability of local administrations to ensure stable intersectoral cooperation reflects both organisational and cultural limitations within the public sector, which remains anchored in compartmentalised logic and insufficiently equipped to implement integrated and territorially grounded policies. Similar dynamics can be observed in other cities undergoing post-industrial regeneration, where culture is leveraged both as a branding strategy and as a tool for economic restructuring [37]. However, as Kearns and Philo [38] argue, urban marketing strategies often manipulate culture and history to 'sell' places. These strategies frequently promote ostensibly local traditions and lifestyles that may be inauthentic, generating tensions with communities that do not identify with these new representations. The contrast between the desire for authenticity and the adaptation of cultural symbols to market demands emerges as a crucial issue, particularly in regenerated neighbourhoods where such dynamics can fuel cultural conflicts. Choay [35] warns that profit-driven approaches risk creating a "break with the duration and use of living memory, in favour of instantaneity" [p. 39], leading to fragmented interventions that undermine the construction of a collectively recognised heritage.

Repurposing industrial heritage carries risks when insufficient attention is paid to the needs and aspirations of local communities. Scholars stress the importance of respecting local specificities to avoid commodifying cultural services and products [26, 35, 39]. Deindustrialised areas at the close of the 20th century were often characterised by high rates of poverty and unemployment, increasing the risk of social and cultural exclusion for local populations [2]. The arrival of newcomers with greater economic resources inevitably transforms the social and urban fabric of post-industrial areas, potentially marginalising local communities and exacerbating urban fragmentation [40].

Urban regeneration has thus sparked significant critical debate about alternative approaches to transforming cities. Successful practices are those that balance physical redevelopment with interventions designed to preserve cultural and social identity, avoiding the commodification of long-marginalised areas [41, 42]. The tension between social issues and physical interventions remains a crucial concern in urban regeneration. As Perrault [43] notes, only integrated and sustainable approaches can mitigate social inequalities while fostering urban transformations that prioritise inclusivity and collective well-being.

3 Lisbon

Deindustrialisation in Portugal was triggered by the Revolution of 25 April 1974, which brought profound political and economic changes. These changes significantly impacted the industrial sector during a period of political instability and democratic transition [44]. In the 1980s, Portugal's accession to the European Union led to an economic shift that favoured services at the expense of industry [45, 46]. A competitiveness-driven economy shaped the late development of cultural industries, which gained momentum during the economic liberalisation of the 1980s. This period saw the introduction of private capital to enhance self-sustainability and revenue generation in the sector [46].

Lisbon has served as a testing ground for the regeneration of degraded industrial areas in Portugal. The closure of numerous factories and warehouses left behind empty and abandoned spaces, often characterised by layers of disordered growth [45, 47]. Expo '98, held in the north-eastern part of Lisbon, marked a turning point in this process. Industrial areas were repurposed as cultural spaces aimed at attracting tourists. The event also

supported Lisbon's transition to a service-based economy [14, 48]. Expo '98 acted as a catalyst for international investment, as Barata Salgueiro [14] notes, positioning Lisbon as a competitive and innovative city with global appeal, thereby attracting further urban regeneration projects.

Cordeiro [11] observes that many industrial remnants were neglected or demolished up to the 2000s. Some interventions during Expo '98 exemplify the loss of industrial heritage [13]. However, the visibility garnered by Expo '98, coupled with inspiration from other European cities such as Barcelona, heightened awareness of the need to regenerate abandoned spaces and promote the creative sector to revitalise deindustrialised urban areas [49].

The 2008 financial crisis represented another significant turning point. Austerity policies accelerated the financialisation of urban spaces, creating fertile ground for gentrification in Lisbon [50]. Neoliberal policies, including the New Urban Rent Law in 2012 and the simplification of the Short Rent Law in 2014, reshaped the housing market. These policies increased living costs in regenerated areas and placed significant pressure on resident populations. Political measures, such as the Golden Visa programme and incentives for foreign investment, further encouraged the regeneration of run-down areas but altered the socioeconomic structure of traditional neighbourhoods, driving up rents and displacing local communities [51].

Lisbon has since adopted an urban competitiveness model, promoting cultural and creative hubs in former industrial spaces. However, a lack of inclusive public policies has exacerbated gentrification processes [51]. Initially, spontaneous and informal artistic and cultural activities redefined the use of these spaces. Over time, these initiatives were often replaced by corporate interventions that attracted private investment and drove up real estate values in urban areas [10]. The report *Lisbon Creative Economy* [52] maps the concentration of entities in the creative and cultural sectors, revealing clusters in specific urban areas. Costa and colleagues [53] link the emergence of these clusters to the proliferation of coworking spaces, which have reinforced trends of urban concentration.

Projects such as the LX Factory, situated in a former textile factory, and the Hub Criativo do Beato exemplify urban regeneration in Lisbon, reflecting the city's cultural and economic transformations in recent years. The LX Factory has promoted cultural activities and attracted new audiences to the western part of the city but has also contributed to increased real estate values and the elitisation of surrounding areas [54]. Meanwhile, the Hub Criativo do Beato, promoted by the municipality to attract businesses in the creative sector, has raised concerns about gentrification and the exclusion of local communities [55].

The city's cultural policies play a pivotal role in shaping urban spaces, often favouring specific interests and consolidating an "enterprise-city" structure [56]. Rather than benefiting the community, culture is frequently used as a marketing tool. Guided by a business logic that prioritises financial returns and the construction of a competitive urban image, cultural policies can undermine inclusive and sustainable approaches that engage local communities [10, 51, 56].

According to Mendes and Jara [50], the "enterprise-city" represents a model of urban governance shaped by managerial logics, prioritising economic efficiency, territorial competitiveness, and the attraction of external investment. Within this framework,

municipal governments adopt an entrepreneurial stance, steering urban policies towards the development of city environments designed to appeal to capital inflows.

The authors argue that such dynamics create the conditions for processes of urban transformation that can be characterised, drawing on Lees' conceptualisation, as instances of super-gentrification. Through mechanisms such as cultural promotion and legislative reforms, including, in the case of Lisbon, the liberalisation of the rental market and the implementation of favourable tax regimes, "transnational financial actors" (Lees' financiers) are drawn into these territories. These investors typically fund the development of luxury real estate in areas once stigmatised but later regenerated, ultimately turning them into super-gentrified zones. In many cases, urban regeneration is deployed as a rhetorical tool to legitimise these transformations.

The contributions of Estevens and colleagues [10] provide further insight into the relationship between art, culture, and processes of urban transformation, emphasising how cultural policies have been strategically mobilised, playing a crucial role in neoliberal urban regeneration in Lisbon. The authors highlight the ambivalent role of culture, which simultaneously acts as an economic catalyst, drawing investments and stimulating the real estate market, and as a means of local resistance against commodification and gentrification dynamics. These dual processes are particularly evident in the emblematic case of Largo do Intendente, where the introduction of artistic and cultural structures has triggered complex dynamics of local revitalisation. In this context, cultural and artistic initiatives promoted by local groups critically oppose the dominant neoliberal model of the creative city and the policies aimed at commodifying urban space. Nevertheless, these alternative practices paradoxically contribute to increasing property values, inadvertently facilitating gentrification processes.

A complementary perspective is provided by the study of Ochoa and Allegri [57] who introduce the concept of Intermittent Practices to describe a set of often temporary, informal or precarious uses that nevertheless serve as catalysts for urban transformation in Lisbon. These practices promote alternative forms of spatial appropriation and urban production grounded in citizen participation, culture, and collaborative processes, consciously diverging from the dominant neoliberal model of the creative city. Drawing on ten case studies, the authors highlight the role of such practices in shaping what they term the "intermittent city" [p. 203], a flexible and adaptive urban condition capable of responding to contemporary dynamics of precarity, exclusion, and socio-spatial inequality. Among the cases examined, Largo Residências emerges as a particularly illustrative example: a cultural intervention model deeply embedded in the social and cultural fabric of the neighbourhood in which it operates. Originally based in Largo do Intendente, the project occupied a privately-owned building for over a decade, fostering a mixed-use economy combining social services, including housing, a café, and a shop, with artist residencies, community initiatives, and cultural events [58]. As emphasised by Marta Silva[2], the project's artistic and executive director, the goal was not merely to deliver culture to the community, but rather to engage local residents directly in both the processes and outcomes of cultural production.

---

[2] The description of the Largo Residências initiative draws on the presentation given by Marta Silva during the "Terceiros Lugares – LX 24" conference, held on 11 October 2024. The author, L. Pomesano, attended the event in person. A full video recording of the presentation is available on the YouTube channel of the Faculdade de Arquitetura de Lisboa, which hosted the event, at the following link: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ksn87ghIeaM.

From the outset, the project adopted a critical stance towards its own role in the neighbourhood's transformation, fully aware of the potential to inadvertently contribute to rising property values and the consequent displacement of long-standing residents, a risk encapsulated by Silva's striking observation: "our success is what will kill us". The inability to secure the continuation of the lease ultimately forced the collective to vacate its original premises, marking the beginning of a new phase involving the temporary occupation of state-owned vacant buildings. Following negotiations with ESTAMO, the public real estate agency, the group was able to relocate first to the former GNR (Guarda Nacional Republicana) barracks at Largo Cabeça de Bola, and later to part of the former Miguel Bombarda Hospital complex. The new site, named Jardins do Bombarda, exemplifies a form of collaborative urbanism in which the physical construction of space becomes a collective and community-driven process. The studios and infrastructure were designed and built by the members themselves, in an approach that blurs the lines between cultural production, social engagement, and urban regeneration.

The governance of Jardins do Bombarda follows sociocratic principles, featuring monthly assemblies and working groups dedicated to specific areas such as programming, communication, neighbourhood engagement, and garden use. This organisational model stands in sharp contrast to the typically top-down nature of urban interventions, aligning instead with what Ochoa and Allegri describe as "a circuit of intermittencies" [p. 202]: fragile yet meaningful networks of shared and temporary spatial appropriation, capable of engendering lasting transformations within the urban fabric.

Nevertheless, as Costa and colleagues [53] observe, the effectiveness and long-term viability of these alternative cultural practices are significantly constrained by structural limitations. The lack of continuity in cultural policy, coupled with weak interdepartmental coordination and persistent bureaucratic obstacles, undermines their consolidation and limits their potential for political impact. These challenges are particularly evident in cases such as Jardins do Bombarda, where, despite strong community embeddedness and demonstrable local impact, initiatives remain dependent on precarious agreements and lack the institutional frameworks necessary to ensure long-term stability.

As a result, despite their clear transformative potential, such practices continue to operate in a precarious space between innovation and vulnerability. This highlights the pressing need for a critical reassessment of urban and cultural policy, one that moves beyond a logic centred on competitiveness and instead foregrounds social justice, citizen participation, and the cultural dimension as central pillars of inclusive and sustainable urban regeneration.

4 Methodology

4.1 Case study

The methodology is based on a case study approach. The selected investigation area corresponds to the ROCK project intervention territory in Marvila and Beato, a prime context for analysing urban transformations driven by regeneration processes (Fig. 1). This area occupies a strategic position between the site of Expo '98 and Lisbon's urban centre, resulting from the city's expansion along the Caminho do Oriente, an axis extending from Madre de Deus in the west to Poço do Bispo in the east [13].

To the north, the area stretches beyond the railway line and encompasses the neighbourhoods collectively known as '4 Crescente,' including Alfinetes, Salgadas, Quinta do

Fig. 1 Territorial delimitation of the ROCK project area in Lisbon. The railway infrastructure visibly divides the territory into socio-spatially distinct zones. Prepared in ArcGIS Pro, based on data provided by the ROCK project and Lisbon Municipality. Available at: http://geodados.cmlisboa.pt/ (accessed on: 12 Dec. 2022). The map mosaics use data provided by Esri, HERE, Garmin, OpenStreetMap contributors and the GIS User Community. Author: Laura Pomesano

Marquês de Abrantes, and Quinta do Chalé. Since the 1990s, efforts to eliminate precarious housing and slums, such as the case of the *bairro chinês*, have paved the way for the construction of social housing and cooperatives [59]. Between the late 1990s and early 2000s, demolition efforts were followed by the resettlement of residents. In contrast, the area along the riverside has largely retained private housing. In the northern zone, the concentration of social housing managed by Lisbon Municipality has fostered new opportunities for community initiatives [60].

This area was characterised by intense industrial activity until the 1980s, when Portugal underwent a significant process of deindustrialisation [13]. The decline of industries in Marvila and Beato led to progressive impoverishment and depopulation, particularly in communities historically inhabited by workers and their families [61]. More recently, the emergence of a creative industry along the riverside, coupled with the adaptive reuse of industrial heritage, has created fresh opportunities for development [62].

In this context, cultural initiatives have also revealed tensions between top-down interventions and community involvement. This mistrust is particularly evident in the inner areas of Marvila and Beato, where residents often resist changes driven by external actors [60]. The 2017 Muro Festival, organised by Lisbon's Galeria de Arte Urbana, serves as an emblematic case (Fig. 2). While it attracted a large audience and transformed building façades into artistic murals, it highlighted contradictions in urban regeneration. By formalising graffiti into a regulated cultural attraction, some residents felt excluded from the creative process, reduced to passive spectators [63, 64]. Events like this can fail to take root within the community, fostering mistrust of external transformations.

By contrast, bottom-up initiatives demonstrate the potential for more inclusive cultural development. A prominent example is the Fábrica Braço de Prata, a cultural space

Fig. 2 Murals from the 2017 Muro Festival in Marvila, Lisbon. Author: Laura Pomesano (2020)

Fig. 3 An interior view of the Fábrica Braço de Prata cultural centre in Marvila, Lisbon. Author: Laura Pomesano (2020)

established in the former offices of the Fábrica de Material de Guerra de Braço de Prata [65] (Fig. 3). Founded in 2007 by the philosopher Nuno Nabais, the Fábrica Braço de Prata hosts a diverse range of artistic and cultural projects, providing a supportive environment for the development of creative activities [66]. This initiative has played a fundamental role in strengthening relationships between long-standing residents and new inhabitants of the area, contributing to a cultural dynamic more firmly rooted in local community engagement [67].

Through the ROCK project, strategies were examined to promote inclusive and sustainable urban regeneration by valorising local heritage. The project established strong interactions with the local community and stakeholders, exemplified by workshops with cultural agents from Marvila and Beato. These activities recognised the importance of cultural development strategies that respect local specificities and actively engage community members.

4.2 Workshop design[3]

The workshop took place on February 7, 2020, at the Marvila Library, as part of the activities developed within the ROCK project. It was methodologically structured in two complementary components: a participatory discussion format based on the World café method and a structured survey administered to all participants. The rationale for this mixed-method approach was to enhance the reliability and analytical depth of the research by triangulating qualitative and quantitative data sources.

4.3 World café

The World café is a method introduced by Juanita Brown and David Isaacs in the 1990s [68]. This approach creates an ideal environment for the exchange of perceptions on pertinent themes and issues. Its potential lies in fostering an informal and welcoming atmosphere, where discussions take place around tables, each addressing a specific subtopic complementary to the core theme.

In this case, the discussions were framed around four guiding questions, each of which was further explored through sub-questions aimed at deepening the debate. Participants engaged in a rotational dialogue format, where each group remained at a table for 25 min, actively discussing the proposed topic. Each table had a moderator responsible for explaining the subject, guiding discussions, facilitating the emergence of ideas, and mediating any potential conflicts. The moderator also played a crucial role in ensuring an equitable discussion, strategically introducing sub-questions at appropriate moments to stimulate engagement from all participants. After each session, groups rotated to the next table, ensuring that by the end of the workshop, all participants had contributed to discussions on each of the four key themes. The relationship between urban regeneration and cultural activities served as the primary focus of the World café. The central theme explored the role of art and culture in shaping the present and future of urban regeneration in Marvila and Beato. Building on this framework, the guiding questions and their respective sub-questions were as follows:

1. **'What culture in Marvila and Beato?'**

This table assessed various perspectives on cultural activities in the area, highlighting opportunities and challenges.

Guiding sub-questions:

- How does your cultural work contribute to the territory/community/visitors/the city? In what ways does the territory (its industrial past and current post-industrial dynamics) influence your work?

---

[3] The contents discussed in this section are substantiated by data contained in the report encontro com agentes culturais de Marvila e do Beato (Nunes, Poggemann, and Pomesano, 2020), published by the Institute of social sciences, university of lisbon. Http://hdl.handle.net/10451/44488

- How do different cultural initiatives in Marvila and Beato interact with each other and with the broader urban context?
- Do you perceive any gaps in the cultural offer of the area? If so, what types of cultural initiatives are missing, and in which locations?
- Are there any types of cultural expressions that are more or less valued (by the public, by political authorities, by investors, by the cultural sector)?

2. **'What challenges for participation and access to culture?'**

Here, participants discussed the potential of culture to foster access and engagement among local communities.

Guiding sub-questions:

- What are the main barriers to cultural access (physical, social, intellectual, economic, etc.) in Marvila and Beato?
- What are the challenges in engaging and involving the local community in cultural activities?
- Is public access and participation a priority in your work? What measures do you implement to foster inclusivity?
- What strategies could be adopted (by cultural agents, political institutions, and the public) to mitigate these barriers and promote more inclusive participation?

3. **'What role for culture in the regeneration of this territory?'**

This discussion examined the interplay between culture and socio-spatial transformations, considering how culture could sustainably contribute to changes in the area.

Guiding sub-questions:

- Do you consider culture an important factor for the urban regeneration of Marvila and Beato? Why?
- Can temporary cultural initiatives (e.g., pop-up events, festivals, short-term cultural projects) contribute positively to urban regeneration? How?
- Cultural-led regeneration is often associated with risks of social exclusion, touristification, and gentrification. What is your perception of these dynamics in Marvila?
- What principles should guide cultural and urban strategies to ensure inclusive regeneration while avoiding exclusionary dynamics?

4. **'What future for culture in Marvila and Beato?'**

Participants at this table outlined potential future scenarios for cultural development, emphasising inclusive and collaborative processes.

Guiding sub-questions:

- Imagine an ideal future for culture in Marvila and Beato—what would it look like?
- What resources (networks, funding, policies, actors) would be necessary to achieve this vision?
- How could future cultural-led regeneration projects (such as ROCK) better contribute to sustainable urban development?

- Do you believe that digital tools (e.g., collaborative online platforms, citizen engagement apps) could play a positive role in improving cultural access and participation?

To define the workshop's target audience, cultural agents were first mapped using information available through the ROCK project. Additional cultural actors who were not physically present in the ROCK area but contributed significantly to its cultural activities were identified through interviews. A key interview was conducted with the director of the Marvila Library, a pivotal figure in promoting cultural activities and engaging the local community.

As a result, a list of 41 invited cultural agents was compiled, categorised as follows:

- Cultural organisations: 7.
- Cultural institutions: 5.
- Creative spaces: 4.
- Cultural projects: 5.
- Dance: 2.
- Festivals: 2.
- Galleries and visual artists: 6.
- Theatres and performing arts: 8.
- Others: 2.

Ultimately, 18 cultural agents participated in the World cCafé workshop held at the Marvila Library. These participants reflected a heterogeneous sample of the local cultural landscape, including: 2 cultural organisations, 2 cultural institutions, 2 creative spaces, 2 cultural projects, 1 dance company, 1 festival, 2 visual arts galleries, 5 theatre and performing arts groups, and 1 other initiative. This diversity ensured a multiplicity of perspectives and experiences, allowing for a rich and nuanced discussion on the role of culture in the urban regeneration of Marvila and Beato.

The four guiding questions were posed at each table, which was also equipped with a map of the study area indicating the locations of the invited cultural agents (Fig. 4). By highlighting the spatial proximity of participants, the map served as a tool to explore their sense of belonging to the local community.

The adoption of the World café method as a tool for qualitative data collection offers numerous advantages, including the ability to engage a large number of participants in dynamic and participatory discussions. By dividing them into smaller groups, the approach facilitates active participation from all individuals. However, as highlighted by Löhr and colleagues [69], the method also presents certain limitations. Among these, one key issue is the superficiality of analysis, as discussions often produce broad categories of responses rather than an in-depth exploration of the topics addressed. Additionally, the difficulty in distinguishing individual responses makes it challenging to attribute specific opinions to individual participants or subgroups. Another critical aspect concerns group dynamics, which may lead to distortions in results if certain participants dominate the conversation while others remain in the background. Finally, the lack of control over the response process limits the ability to obtain clarifications and further insights in real-time, reducing the reliability and completeness of the data collected.

To address these challenges, several methodological strategies were implemented. Firstly, an evaluation questionnaire was introduced to complement the qualitative
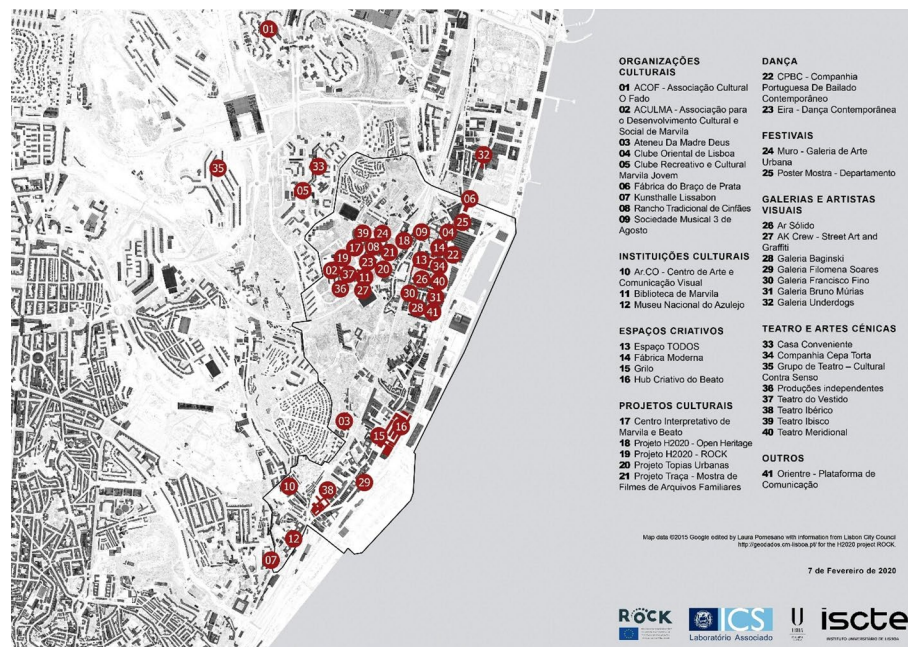
Fig. 4 Map of the Meeting with Cultural Agents from Marvila and Beato. Prepared in ArcGIS Pro, based on data provided by the ROCK project and Lisbon Municipality. Available at: http://geodados.cmlisboa.pt/ (accessed on: 12 Dec. 2022). The map mosaics use data provided by Esri, HERE, Garmin, OpenStreetMap contributors and the GIS User Community. Author: Laura Pomesano

findings with more structured and measurable quantitative data, thereby allowing for a more precise assessment of participants' perceptions. Additionally, to enhance the depth of discussions, a series of sub-questions for each discussion round was developed to guide the debate and ensure that key themes were explored in greater detail.

Another measure aimed at improving the process was the presence of a moderator at each of the four tables, selected from among the researchers involved in the ROCK project. Choosing moderators familiar with both the topics discussed and the local dynamics ensured that they could actively encourage participants to share their views and respond to both the main question and the sub-questions. Furthermore, in the two rooms where the workshop took place, each containing two tables, a timekeeper was appointed to monitor the session and indicate when participants needed to rotate to a different table. This arrangement allowed moderators to focus exclusively on facilitating the discussion without having to manage logistical aspects such as timing.

At each group rotation, the moderator summarised the key ideas that had emerged so far, providing participants with a starting point for discussion. This approach enabled participants to either agree or disagree with previously discussed viewpoints, fostering a more critical and structured reflection while ensuring the active involvement of all participants. Thanks to these measures, it was possible to overcome some of the typical limitations of the World café, thereby enhancing the validity of the data collected.

As a result of this structured process, the World café generated a substantial body of qualitative material. The data collected included audio recordings of the discussions, as well as written notes taken by both the moderators and participants on dedicated worksheets available at each table. These materials documented the key arguments, reflections, and emerging themes discussed throughout the sessions.

To analyse the collected data, a content analysis was conducted. This approach involved:

- Transcribing the recorded discussions to capture the full extent of the participants' contributions.
- Organizing the data based on the four key thematic areas of the workshop (local cultural dynamics; challenges to participation and access; the role of culture in urban regeneration; and future visions for territory's transformation).
- Identifying recurring themes and sub-themes, distinguishing between predefined categories (aligned with the guiding questions) and emerging categories that arose organically from the discussions.

The thematic classification followed a structured coding process based on the workshop's main guiding questions, while remaining open to the integration of complementary insights spontaneously introduced by participants. The analysis was conducted manually, relying on direct thematic coding by the research team.

This methodological approach ensured that both individual viewpoints and collective perspectives were adequately represented, allowing for a comprehensive understanding of the role of cultural initiatives in Marvila and Beato's urban regeneration process.

4.4 Survey design

The survey was developed to align with the thematic framework of the workshop, allowing for continuity in content while enabling a more individual and anonymous expression of perspectives. It served as a tool for capturing perceptions, experiences, and strategic orientations of cultural actors.

The objectives of the survey were to:

- Gather individual perceptions on the impact of urban transformations;
- Identify perceived challenges and strategic priorities for the cultural sector;
- Assess levels of collaboration and engagement with urban development initiatives;
- Explore future interests in participating in regeneration processes.

The questionnaire was composed of closed and open-ended questions, organised into the following thematic blocks:

- Spatial and temporal engagement with the territory;
- Professional and institutional profile of cultural actors;
- Cultural field and target audiences;
- Perceptions of urban transformation and cultural regeneration;
- Collaboration networks and partnerships;
- Involvement in urban development initiatives (e.g., ROCK, BIP/ZIP[4], Participatory Budgeting[5]);
- Future aspirations and strategic interests;
- Challenges faced and suggestions for improvement.

---

[4] BIP/ZIP – Priority Intervention Neighbourhoods and Zones is a funding programme launched by the Lisbon City Council in 2011 to support local development and social cohesion projects in priority neighbourhoods. It promotes partnerships between local associations, citizens, and public institutions. https://bipzip.cm-lisboa.pt.

[5] The Participatory Budget of Lisbon allows citizens to propose and vote on projects to be funded by the municipal budget. Initiated in 2008, it encourages civic participation and direct engagement in local public policies. https://op.cm-lisboa.pt.

The combination of quantitative formats and qualitative prompts (e.g., free-text comments) allowed for both measurable indicators and reflexive contributions.

The survey was administered in paper format during the coffee break of the World café, when participants had time to reflect individually on the workshop discussions. This timing allowed for a natural integration into the event without interrupting the dynamic of the group sessions.

5 Findings[6]

5.1 World café

The findings emerging from the discussions with participants are organised according to the four guiding questions, with each addressed in detail through the corresponding sub-questions.

5.1.1 What culture in Marvila and Beato?

How does your cultural work contribute to the territory/community/visitors/the city? In what ways does the territory (its industrial past and current post-industrial dynamics) influence your work?

Participants highlighted how artistic and cultural activities have contributed to strengthening the relationship between the local community, despite initial resistance stemming from perceptions of external origin. Over time, cultural actors gained the trust of residents through inclusive and participatory strategies, such as public exhibitions, community events, and educational programmes. The cultural offer has enhanced the visibility of the area, attracting visitors and encouraging local engagement. However, persistent barriers remain, including economic constraints, limited dissemination of information about cultural activities and opportunities, and restricted access to cultural participation. In addition, participants emphasised that the area's industrial past and post-industrial dynamics represent a key identity resource for cultural initiatives, offering narrative tools to promote memory and local heritage. Nonetheless, many noted that this industrial legacy is still insufficiently recognised and not yet fully integrated into current cultural programming.

How do different cultural initiatives in Marvila and Beato interact with each other and with the broader urban context?

On this topic, participants broadly agreed that communication among cultural initiatives is fragmented and lacks coordination, a situation further complicated by the geographical spread of the area and its division between multiple parishes. The need for more structured collaborative networks was widely recognised as a way to strengthen the cultural impact of local initiatives. However, opinions diverged: while some viewed fragmentation as a potential asset for maintaining the autonomy and diversity of projects, others argued that the absence of coordination undermines their effectiveness and limits community engagement.

Furthermore, both Marvila and Beato are perceived as being isolated from the rest of Lisbon, both physically and symbolically, a sense of marginality exacerbated by

---

[6] the analysis presented in this section are supported by the findings presented in the report encontro com agentes culturais de Marvila e do Beato (Nunes, Poggemann, and Pomesano, 2020), published by the Institute of social sciences of the university of Lisbon. http://hdl.handle.net/10451/44488

inadequate public transport, particularly at weekends, which presents a further barrier to cultural participation.

Do you perceive any gaps in the cultural offer of the area? If so, what types of cultural initiatives are missing, and in which locations?

The discussion highlighted significant gaps in the cultural offer, particularly with regard to cultural activities targeted at young people, sports, less commercially-oriented artistic expressions, and community-based practices rooted in local proximity. Although recent years have seen the emergence of new sporting opportunities, this dimension has historically been overlooked, as has the recognition and support of alternative art forms with limited media visibility. These deficiencies are more pronounced in the peripheral and less connected areas of the territory, where access to cultural initiatives remains limited. Diverging perspectives emerged on this issue: representatives of more established cultural organisations pointed to economic and organisational constraints that hinder their ability to address these needs, while actors from emerging initiatives identified opportunities for new forms of collaboration to bridge existing gaps.

Are there any types of cultural expressions that are more or less valued (by the public, by political authorities, by investors, by the cultural sector)?

Participants observed that high-profile initiatives, such as urban festivals and initiatives supported by the Lisbon City Council (CML), tend to receive greater funding and institutional recognition. In contrast, smaller-scale initiatives, including community projects, independent theatres, and locally rooted cultural activities, often operate under precarious conditions, lacking structured public support and relying heavily on the personal commitment of their organisers. There was broad agreement on the need for more coherent cultural policies that support local and independent cultural production. However, views diverged regarding the role of public institutions: while some called for greater state involvement to ensure long-term strategic support, others expressed concern that excessive regulation could compromise the autonomy and spontaneity that characterise grassroots cultural initiatives.

5.1.2 What challenges for participation and access to culture?

What are the main barriers to cultural access (physical, social, intellectual, economic, etc.) in Marvila and Beato?

Participants identified multiple barriers to cultural access in Marvila and Beato, encompassing not only physical accessibility but also economic and infrastructural limitations. Mobility emerged as a central concern: poor connectivity with the rest of the city poses obstacles for both external visitors and the local community. While some cultural venues benefit from better transport links, architectural, visual, and cognitive barriers persist, limiting accessibility for people with disabilities. These challenges are exacerbated by the lack of attention to specific accessibility needs, such as the absence of braille texts or the presence of structural obstacles. On an economic level, precariousness affects both cultural initiatives, which often lack stable funding and rely heavily on volunteer work, and local residents, many of whom struggle to afford access to cultural activities. This instability undermines the ability to develop long-term, inclusive programming and makes it difficult to cultivate a stable and engaged audience.

What are the challenges in engaging and involving the local community in cultural activities?

In line with the findings discussed under the sub-question "How does your cultural work contribute to the territory/community/visitors/the city? In what ways does the territory (its industrial past and current post-industrial dynamics) influence your work?", participants reiterated that local community involvement in cultural projects is often limited and superficial. An additional theme emerging from participants' testimonies concerned the perceived instrumentalisation of residents' participation. Many reported that, in order to justify the funding received, artistic and cultural initiatives are frequently required to demonstrate community engagement in quantitative terms, without necessarily delivering meaningful or lasting benefits for those involved. This cycle of engagement followed by disengagement has, over time, led to a sense of frustration and mistrust. Some participants stressed that community involvement should not be forced but should emerge organically. Current funding policies, however, tend to impose expectations of participation that do not always align with the lived realities of the territory, resulting in forms of engagement that are more formal than substantive. A positive exception mentioned was the Marvila's Library, which is recognised as an important point of access to culture within a disadvantaged neighbourhood. Nonetheless, it was acknowledged that this institution alone cannot meet the broader cultural demands of the area.

Is public access and participation a priority in your work? What measures do you implement to foster inclusivity?

Access and participation of the local community clearly emerged as a major concern shared by all participants. While some institutions, particularly art galleries, reported having already achieved a satisfactory level of physical accessibility, others pointed to more systemic shortcomings in design and expressed frustration over the lack of specific expertise required to address these issues effectively.

What strategies could be adopted (by cultural agents, political institutions, and the public) to mitigate these barriers and promote more inclusive participation?

To foster more inclusive cultural participation, participants proposed a series of strategic measures:

- Stable funding: Increase and regularise financial support to ensure greater stability for local cultural initiatives, reducing reliance on volunteer labour and enabling long-term planning.
- Shared communication platform: Develop both digital and physical tools to coordinate cultural programming, enhance the visibility of initiatives, and prevent the dispersal of information.
- Community facilitators: Involve trusted local figures to mediate between cultural initiatives and residents, promoting more authentic and inclusive dialogue.
- Local networks and partnerships: Strengthen collaboration with neighbourhood associations, parishes, and local institutions to co-organise events and ensure more active community involvement.
- Participatory and co-creative activities: Promote workshops, theatre projects, and co-creation labs that engage diverse segments of the population, including young people, older adults, and vulnerable groups, in order to reduce the distance between artists and communities.
- Greater accessibility and inclusion: Offer free events in public spaces to attract a broader audience. Improve physical accessibility by removing architectural barriers

and adapting spaces for people with cognitive or motor disabilities, although, as participants noted, addressing this effectively remains a challenge in the absence of adequate investment.

5.1.3 What role for culture in the regeneration of this territory?

Do you consider culture an important factor for the urban regeneration of Marvila and Beato? Why?

In line with the findings discussed under "How does your cultural work contribute to the territory/community/visitors/the city?", participants agreed on the central role of culture in the urban regeneration of the territory. They emphasised how cultural initiatives have attracted investment, transformed previously marginalised areas, and stimulated both economic and social dynamics. The valorisation of the area's historical and industrial memory has contributed to strengthening local identity. However, as highlighted in "What are the challenges in engaging and involving the local community in cultural activities?", participants also warned that this heritage can be used in instrumental and uncritical ways, potentially fuelling gentrification processes to the detriment of the local population.

Can temporary cultural initiatives (e.g., pop-up events, festivals, short-term cultural projects) contribute positively to urban regeneration? How?

Temporary initiatives, such as festivals and artistic events, are generally regarded as effective tools for enhancing the visibility of the area, fostering social interaction, and building collaborative networks at both local and national levels. Despite these positive aspects, concerns were raised regarding the long-term sustainability of such interventions, leading to a diversity of opinions within the discussion. Without being embedded in broader structural strategies for cultural and social development, temporary initiatives risk remaining isolated episodes, failing to produce lasting benefits for the local community. Some participants expressed fears that such events may contribute to processes of gentrification, turning culture into a tool for territorial marketing rather than a means of fostering social rootedness and cohesion.

Cultural-led regeneration is often associated with risks of social exclusion, touristification, and gentrification. What is your perception of these dynamics in Marvila?

The discussion revealed a strong awareness of the risks of gentrification within the area under analysis, particularly in the riverside zone. Cultural actors acknowledged that, even unintentionally, their work may contribute to increasing the attractiveness of the territory, thereby driving up property values and accelerating the socio-economic transformation of the neighbourhood. Some expressed a sense of responsibility in relation to this dynamic, recognising that the influx of external investment may lead to the displacement of long-standing communities and the consequent erosion of the local social fabric. A particularly critical issue raised during the debate concerns the emergence of social barriers between long-term residents and newcomers. The latter, often drawn to the symbolic appeal of regeneration, do not always engage with local cultural activities, risking the formation of a parallel community with limited integration into the pre-existing social landscape. This results in a physical coexistence of distinct social groups, but without meaningful cultural or social interaction.

What principles should guide cultural and urban strategies to ensure inclusive regeneration while avoiding exclusionary dynamics?

The need for a more inclusive approach to cultural policy was strongly emphasised, with a call for greater authenticity and meaningful participation. Participants reiterated the importance of valuing historical memory and local heritage, warning against initiatives that are disconnected from the realities of the territory or that instrumentalise culture to obscure underlying socio-economic inequalities. Emphasis was placed on the development of cultural models grounded in continuity and active community involvement, particularly through participatory programmes and co-creation processes. The overarching goal is to ensure that culture serves as a genuine driver of sustainable regeneration, while avoiding dynamics of exclusion and gentrification.

5.1.4 What future for culture in Marvila and Beato?

Imagine an ideal future for culture in Marvila and Beato—what would it look like?

Discussions on this topic reinforced previously identified themes and conclusions, highlighting that an ideal future for culture in the area under study cannot be fully realised without ensuring both physical and social accessibility, within the territory itself and in its connection to the wider city. At the same time, participants agreed that without the integration of historical memory and local identity into the processes of urban transformation, no meaningful future can be envisioned. Concerns regarding housing pressure and the risks of gentrification were once again brought to the fore. These processes threaten the inclusivity and rootedness of cultural initiatives within the local community, underscoring the urgent need to strengthen collaborative networks and ensure that cultural development remains socially embedded and equitable.

What resources (networks, funding, policies, actors) would be necessary to achieve this vision?

To realise this vision, participants identified a range of resources and strategies that largely reiterate the solutions previously proposed to address physical, social, intellectual, and economic barriers. A central point of consensus was the essential role of building local collaborative networks to facilitate coordination between cultural actors and public institutions. In this regard, the introduction of a dedicated mediator or central coordinating body was suggested, functioning as a shared "back-office" to promote communication and collaboration among the various cultural initiatives operating in the territory. Such a figure could also support initiatives with a less corporate or entrepreneurial profile by improving their access to relevant information and helping them navigate funding opportunities, which are often perceived as overly bureaucratic and difficult to access. Additionally, participants emphasised the need for long-term cultural policies, moving beyond the current reliance on sporadic funding in order to provide stability and support the sustainable growth of local initiatives. Public institutions were seen as playing a decisive role in offering structural support to the cultural sector and in preventing these initiatives from remaining isolated or marginalised.

How could future cultural-led regeneration projects (such as ROCK) better contribute to sustainable urban development?

To ensure lasting impact, regeneration projects that recognise the transformative potential of culture, grounded in clear sustainability strategies, such as the ROCK initiative, should be designed as long-term processes. Participants pointed out that funding is often dispersed across short-lived initiatives, which fail to produce structural change within the territory. Moreover, it was stressed that international projects should aim

to support and strengthen existing local initiatives, fostering their growth and integration within the community rather than overshadowing or replacing them. A further key consideration in this regard is the need for genuine community engagement, avoiding externally imposed programmes that are overly rigid or disconnected from local realities. Finally, participants emphasised the importance of creating a lasting body of knowledge and resources that remains accessible beyond the lifespan of project funding. Tools such as digital platforms, documentary archives, and training materials were identified as valuable instruments to ensure continuity and long-term relevance.

Do you believe that digital tools (e.g., collaborative online platforms, citizen engagement apps) could play a positive role in improving cultural access and participation?

The discussion revealed a generally positive view of the use of digital technologies to enhance cultural access and participation. Tools such as mobile apps, interactive online platforms, and geolocated information systems were seen as potentially valuable for facilitating engagement with cultural events and strengthening connections among local cultural actors. However, some participants raised concerns about the long-term sustainability and management of such tools. For them to be effective, these technologies must be used consistently and maintained over time, a process that requires dedicated professionals or collaborative networks to ensure continuity. A degree of scepticism was also expressed regarding the excessive emphasis on technology. Participants warned that, without integration into a broader and sustainable cultural strategy, digital tools risk becoming short-term investments with limited lasting impact, ultimately destined to be abandoned.

5.2 Survey

The results of the questionnaire distributed during the extended break of the World café are presented here as a complement to the collective discussions, following the same four guiding questions. This approach allows us to highlight both convergences and divergences between individual perspectives and shared narratives.

5.2.1 What culture in Marvila and Beato?

The workshop revealed a fragmented cultural landscape in Marvila and Beato, marked by limited coordination among agents and asymmetries in institutional support. These perceptions are confirmed by the survey data, which show a concentration of cultural activity in the riverside area of Marvila (32%), reflecting spatial inequalities already noted during the discussions (Fig. 5).

Moreover, the majority of cultural agents operate in precarious conditions, relying on temporary or publicly provided spaces. This aligns with the concerns raised about the undervaluation of smaller, community-based initiatives. While the workshop emphasized the symbolic relevance of the industrial past as a key narrative for cultural identity in Marvila and Beato, the survey data offer a more nuanced picture. 15% of respondents identified Cultural Heritage as the main domain of their work. However, this category likely encompasses a wide range of heritage-related practices and does not necessarily refer to industrial heritage specifically. Moreover, only 10% reported working in community-based artistic projects, which supports the qualitative perception that grassroots, memory-driven, and proximity-based initiatives remain underrepresented within the overall cultural offer (Fig. 6). This partial alignment between workshop narratives and
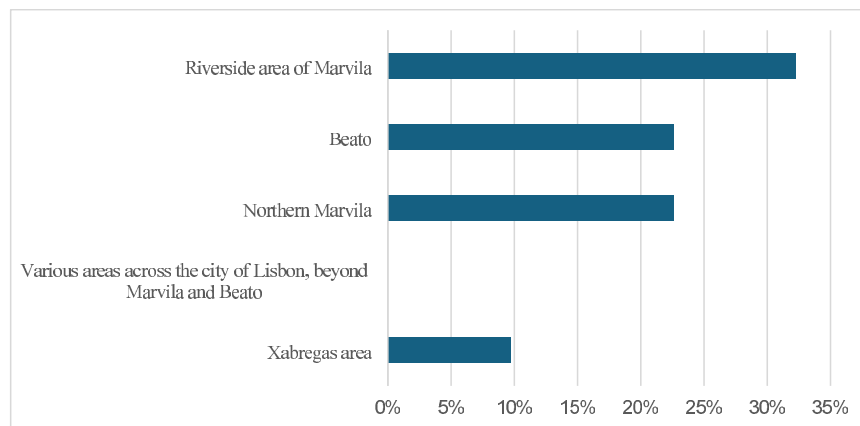
Fig. 5 Geographical distribution of cultural work in the territory of Marvila and Beato. Responses to the question: "In which area of this territory is most of your cultural work developed?" The majority of respondents indicated the riverside area of Marvila, followed by Beato and northern Marvila. A smaller percentage reported activity in Xabregas or in other areas of Lisbon
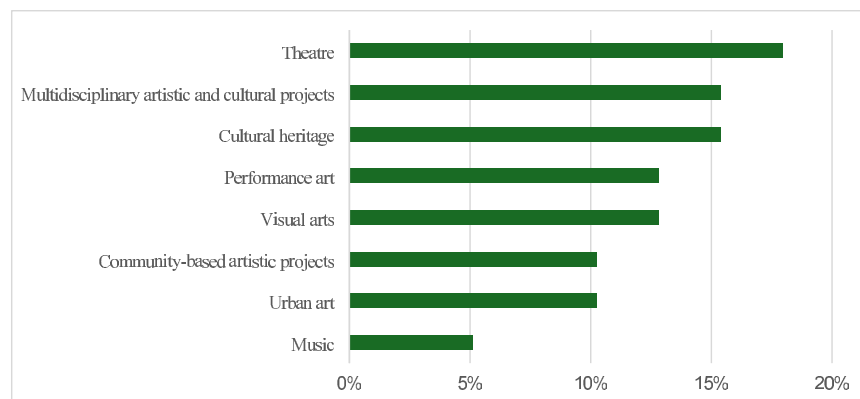

Fig. 6 Main cultural fields of activity in Marvila and Beato. Responses to the question: "In which cultural field is most of your work in this territory developed?" Theatre emerges as the most represented field, followed by multidisciplinary projects and cultural heritage. Other relevant areas include performance art, visual arts, and community-based practices

survey categories suggests that while local memory and heritage are widely valued in discourse, they are not yet central in practice. A point of tension emerges when comparing the desire to reach new audiences, especially local residents, youth, and people with disabilities, with the actual profiles of current audiences, which remain more generalist and external. This discrepancy reinforces the perception that culture is often consumed by outsiders rather than rooted in local dynamics.

5.2.2 What challenges for participation and access to culture?

The barriers discussed in the World café, economic precarity, physical inaccessibility, and infrastructural limitations, were echoed in the survey. Respondents most frequently pointed to scarcity of resources, difficulties in attracting audiences, and weak local cultural networks as major obstacles. Coherently, a clear aspiration emerged to strengthen ties with the local community. Participants indicated that the main groups they wished to reach were residents of the Marvila and Beato neighbourhoods (22%), followed by children and young people (19%), and people with special needs (14%) (Fig. 7). These
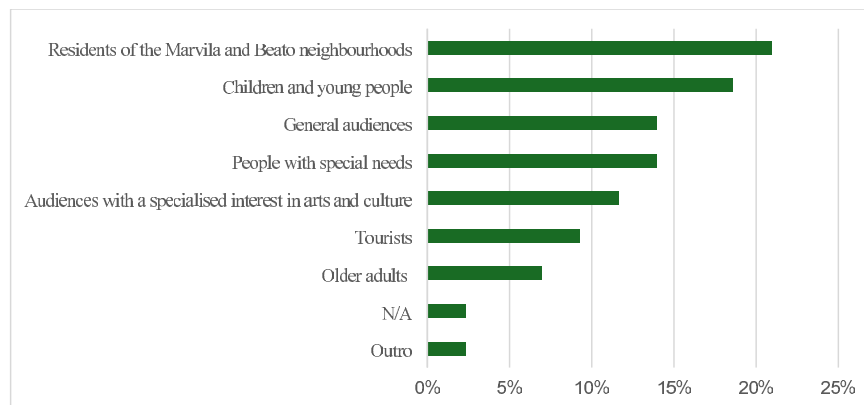
Fig. 7 Target audiences that cultural agents would like to reach in the future. Responses to the question: "Beyond your current audiences, are there other target groups you are not currently reaching but would like to engage in the future?" The results reveal a strong aspiration to reach residents of the Marvila and Beato neighbourhoods

preferences reinforce the concerns expressed during the workshop regarding the limited engagement of local populations and underline the need for more inclusive and community-oriented cultural strategies.

5.2.3 What role for culture in the regeneration of this territory?

Survey participants expressed an overall positive perception of the cultural impact of urban transformations, with 80% describing it as moderately or strongly positive. This aligns with the workshop view of culture as a driver of urban revitalisation.

Nonetheless, only a small portion (10%) reported being very involved in urban development initiatives, suggesting a disconnect between the recognised importance of culture and the actual agency of cultural actors in shaping the regeneration process. This divergence reinforces the concern raised in the workshop that culture, while visible and celebrated, is often marginalised in decision-making and strategic planning.

The survey also confirms a trend of collaboration concentrated within the territory (45%), supporting the workshop's emphasis on the internal dynamics of the area. However, aspirations for future partnerships indicate a desire to expand networks and overcome institutional silos, points raised by several participants during the discussions.

5.2.4 What future for culture in Marvila and beato?

The survey reveals a strong interest (65%) among respondents in participating in future urban development strategies, indicating that the cultural sector is not only aware of the local challenges but also motivated to contribute to inclusive and sustainable change.

When asked about strategic priorities the workshop conversations revealed a consensus: a desirable cultural future for the area must be inclusive, rooted in memory, and supported by strong local networks. The survey confirmed this vision, with most participants identifying as key priorities the creation of better cultural networks, more efficient policies, and structural funding mechanisms.

6 Discussion

Building on the four guiding questions of the workshop, this discussion reflects on the tensions and implications emerging from the data. Each subsection addresses one of the core themes, culture, participation, regeneration, and future prospects, critically linking empirical findings with the theoretical framework presented above.

6.1 Fragmented cultural framework

Urban regeneration in Marvila and Beato reflects institutional and socio-spatial discontinuities, which hinder the development of an integrated cultural identity rooted in the local context. Urban regeneration driven by external interests often exacerbates social divisions, fostering an "enterprise-city" [56] that prioritises economic returns and urban visibility over the needs of local communities [9, 10].

Since the 1980s, Portugal's transition towards a service economy has been accompanied by the decentralisation of the State's role and increased private sector involvement. These neoliberal policies, particularly in the housing market, have favoured economic objectives at the expense of social cohesion, creating fragmented "cultural islands" with limited interaction [3]. Participants at the workshop noted how competition for scarce resources has intensified this fragmentation, with better-funded entities overshadowing others and fuelling local competition [18, 70]. As emphasised by Heilbrun and Gray [33], the increasing reliance on private capital can undermine cultural authenticity and steer artistic practices towards market-driven logics of consumption. At the same time, as noted by the participants, public funding is often aligned with market dynamics, reinforcing the trend identified by the authors in other areas of the city [4, 12, 18]. Spatial disparities within Marvila and Beato exacerbate these challenges. The riverside has emerged as a new hub for the creative industry, supported by the Lisbon municipality [52, 71]. This development contributes to urban competitiveness and positions the area as a cultural and technological centre. However, it also drives socioeconomic reconfiguration, displacing economically vulnerable residents due to rising prices and real estate pressures. Urban regeneration projects often prioritise external audiences, financial returns, and market visibility over local community needs. The Hub Criativo do Beato exemplifies this trend. Occupying the former site of the Manutenção Militar, it serves as a hub for start-ups and large companies. While it brings economic and cultural benefits, it also raises concerns about elitisation and the exclusion of economically vulnerable residents.

Another dimension of fragmentation emerges from the limited social and cultural integration between long-time residents and newcomers. As noted by several workshop participants, new inhabitants, often attracted by the symbolic and aesthetic appeal of urban regeneration, tend to engage with culture as consumers rather than as participants, contributing to the formation of parallel communities. This results in the physical cohabitation of socially distinct groups without meaningful cultural or social interaction, compromising the development of a shared cultural identity.

6.2 Barriers to inclusive participation

The low participation of local communities is both a cause and consequence of the economic fragility of cultural projects. Initiatives aiming to address community needs struggle to compete with those designed for external consumption, leaving residents feeling

abandoned and eroding trust in regeneration efforts. This discrepancy resonates with Ley's [32] analysis of urban regeneration as a process where aesthetic value, once created by local actors, is captured and commodified by real estate interests. The difficulty of involving local populations in urban regeneration stems from an emphasis on aesthetics and cultural consumption tailored to external visitors, which undermines social inclusion and weakens community bonds. Governance challenges compound these issues. As noted by Costa et al. [53], public cultural policies suffer from discontinuity, limited political significance, and bureaucratic inefficiencies, all of which constrain the autonomy of cultural operators. Precarious funding further hampers long-term sustainability, making it difficult to establish lasting cultural initiatives. A long-term strategy is essential to transcend government cycles, adapt to local specificities, and prioritise community involvement. Without such a strategy, funding cuts and fluctuations in cultural services risk destabilising the sector.

Although cultural actors express a strong interest in actively participating in decision-making processes, as confirmed by data gathered during the workshop, they are often excluded from the stages where strategic direction is defined. Consultation tends to be limited to weak or episodic forms of participation, lacking structured mechanisms for shared responsibility.

This dynamic generates frustration and disillusionment among locally embedded actors, who perceive their participation as instrumentalised: their involvement is frequently used to legitimise pre-established projects or policies, serving as "evidence" of inclusion in project documents or international applications, yet without any meaningful decision-making power.

6.3 The ambivalent role of culture

Culture plays a contradictory role in regeneration. On one hand, it enables reactivation and offers platforms for social engagement; on the other, it is a vehicle of symbolic and economic appropriation. Cases such as Largo Residências in Lisbon and Poblenou in Barcelona [29] illustrate the ambivalent role of artistic practices, which can simultaneously act as forms of resistance to and facilitators of gentrification. This tension was also noted by participants in the workshop, who, on the one hand, emphasised the value of culture as a driving force for locally grounded urban regeneration, while on the other, acknowledged that the subsequent waves of gentrification and elitization may, in fact, be rooted in the very cultural transformations they helped to initiate. In this context, the concept of Intermittent Practices [57] provides a valuable perspective for interpreting such initiatives. These projects promote collaborative urbanism and spatial justice but remain precarious due to short-term leases and lack of institutional guarantees.

A critical issue identified within the research area concerns the ambivalent treatment of industrial memory. While frequently invoked in public discourse as a marker of local identity, it is seldom translated into structured and sustained cultural practices. Increasingly, the aestheticization of industrial heritage serves as a tool for urban marketing, instrumental in shaping the image of a creative, post-industrial city [18]. In this context, memory is selectively curated, simplified, and incorporated into easily communicable narratives, often stripped of its social and conflictual dimensions. As Choay warns [35], this transformation tends to produce a rupture with the continuity and lived experience of memory, favouring instead an immediacy that privileges image and

aesthetic consumption. Such a dynamic fits squarely within the framework outlined by Kearns and Philo [38], who observe that in contemporary processes of "selling places," culture and history are frequently manipulated to attract investment, tourists, and new residents, thereby legitimising regeneration strategies that often obscure underlying social inequalities. This manipulation typically takes the form of a strategic selection of the most marketable historical elements, excluding dissenting voices and trajectories of social conflict. According to the authors, this process, while offering the illusion of continuity with the past, in fact results in the "neutralisation" of critical memories and lived experiences. Consistent with the findings from the workshop, industrial memory thus risks being mobilised rhetorically, serving to justify regeneration projects that engage minimally with the material and immaterial legacies of the territory. Despite the prevailing narrative celebrating the area's productive past, the data collected reveal that artistic practices related to industrial memory remain marginal and fragmented. This suggests a disconnection between the potential for industrial heritage to serve as a source of identity and cultural strategies, which tend to privilege the aesthetics of reuse over processes of meaningful reinterpretation.

6.4 Towards inclusive futures

The future of urban regeneration in Marvila and Beato depends on the capacity to transition from fragmented and market-driven interventions to inclusive and community-centred models. As highlighted throughout the workshop, participants expressed a clear aspiration for a regeneration that does not merely aestheticize the territory or instrumentalise culture as a branding device, but one that actively engages with the memories, needs, and aspirations of local communities.

To prevent a scenario of super-gentrification, as theorised by Lees [26] and echoed by Mendes and Jara [50], urban strategies should adopt a long-term vision grounded in equity, continuity, and co-responsibility. Temporary artistic interventions and intermittent practices, while valuable for activating space and stimulating engagement, cannot alone sustain the inclusive transformation of the territory. Instead, they should be complemented by structural policies, accessible funding mechanisms, and the institutional recognition of grassroots cultural agents as legitimate interlocutors in urban governance. In this sense, the proposal put forward during the workshop is particularly indicative, as it emphasised the importance of mapping and identifying key cultural and social dynamics to better inform regeneration efforts. An inclusive future for Marvila and Beato also requires redistributive justice, both spatial and symbolic. This includes rebalancing investments between the riverfront and the inner neighbourhoods, ensuring that cultural infrastructure and public services are equitably distributed. Equally important is the valorisation of industrial memory not as a consumable image, but as a living heritage that can ground collective identities and serve as a critical tool for countering the erasure of working-class histories. Private-sector-led reconversions of industrial assets often prioritise short-term economic interests, neglecting social dynamics and the historical value of these places. This approach risks compromising the long-term future of the territory.

Ultimately, inclusive regeneration should move beyond consultation towards structured co-creation processes, in which residents are not only heard but empowered as co-producers of urban change. A more inclusive strategy is required, one that integrates

Table 1 Emerging challenges and recommended actions for cultural and artistic initiatives and public authorities in Marvila and Beato

Emerging Challenges	Cultural and Artistic Initiatives	Public Authorities
Fragmentation and competition among cultural actors	• Foster collaborative networks and joint programming • Develop shared communication platforms	• Fund collaborative projects • Support the creation of a local cultural coordination unit or "territorial back-office"
Limited cultural accessibility (physical, economic, social)	• Organise free and inclusive events • Co-create initiatives with local communities	• Improve public transport and urban mobility • Adapt public and cultural infrastructure to universal accessibility standards
Low levels of local participation and perceived instrumentalisation	• Involve residents in the design of cultural projects through co-creation • Respect local rhythms and ensure genuine engagement processes	• Revise funding criteria to prioritise meaningful participation • Establish shared and transparent decision-making processes
Instrumentalisation of industrial memory and territorial branding	• Embed workers' histories and social struggles in artistic practices • Avoid purely aesthetic or depoliticised representations of industrial heritage	• Promote industrial heritage as a socially relevant asset • Implement long-term cultural policies to protect memory sites
Economic precarity and short-term project cycles	• Diversify funding sources • Collaborate on joint funding applications	• Ensure medium- and long-term structural funding • Support project continuity and institutional recognition of grassroots practices
Socio-spatial recomposition	• Contribute to the production of local data and mapping • Monitor the social impacts of cultural interventions	• Regulate access and privatisation of post-industrial spaces • Rebalance investment between riverside and inland neighbourhoods
Lack of integrated governance	• Actively participate in local networks and consultations	• Establish permanent coordination platforms • Recognise the role of cultural actors in urban governance

community traditions and histories into regeneration processes, fosters local engagement, and balances economic and social objectives. By addressing these systemic challenges, Marvila and Beato can develop a sustainable and cohesive cultural identity that supports both local residents and the broader urban context.

Building on these reflections, Table 1 provides a set of strategic recommendations that clarify the distinct roles of cultural and artistic actors, as well as public authorities, in fostering inclusive urban regeneration in the research area. The table summarises the key challenges and the recommended actions that emerged from this study.

7 Conclusions

This study investigated urban regeneration in the post-industrial areas of Marvila and Beato, highlighting challenges and opportunities that have emerged against the profound dualism between cultural potential and economic pressures. The conclusions are framed through the lens of both structuralist and postmodern literature, which together offer a comprehensive reading of the processes observed in these neighbourhoods. The structuralist approach has made it possible to analyse regeneration through the lens of broader economic and political structures, such as the influence of neoliberal policies and the transformation of productive models. Simultaneously, postmodern perspectives have allowed us to consider socio-spatial fragmentation, the plurality of actors, narratives, and practices, and the importance of bottom-up cultural processes. Through this dual perspective, the research captures not only the structural drivers of urban change, but also the diversity of local responses, forms of resistance, and aspirations of communities. In this way, the research highlights the necessity of balancing the structural

dynamics shaping urban regeneration with the agency and cultural practices of local communities.

Grounded in this theoretical framework, the study was conducted as part of the ROCK project with Cultural Agents in Marvila and Beato. The workshop facilitated the analysis of urban transformations, focusing on the ambivalent roles played by culture. Cultural fragmentation and the lack of coordination between public and private actors are obstacles to creating an integrated and sustainable ecosystem. Private-led regeneration contributes to inequalities when it privileges short-term profit and attractiveness at the expense of the needs and aspirations of local communities.

Against this background, cultural initiatives risk being instrumentalised for city branding and property valorisation rather than being integrated into larger strategies. The limited effort to include the voice of local populations adds an additional layer of difficulty that undermines urban regeneration processes by preventing the construction of a shared territorial identity, with backlashes on artistic and cultural initiatives. Approaches that exclude communities tend to generate mistrust towards urban projects, further reducing the possibilities for active participation and undermining local identities.

This dual nature of culture-led regeneration is already evident in other areas of Lisbon. As highlighted in existing research, cases such as the LX Factory and Largo do Intendente illustrate how cultural initiatives can simultaneously foster local empowerment and involuntarily contribute to exclusionary processes. In both instances, early cultural interventions, often emerging organically from communities or grassroots actors, helped breathe new life into underused or abandoned spaces. Over time, however, these initiatives were gradually subsumed into broader urban branding strategies, which leveraged their symbolic value while paving the way for property speculation and increasing social exclusivity. These trajectories reveal how, even when rooted in participatory intentions, cultural projects can be co-opted by market dynamics that contribute to gentrification.

To address these critical issues, we argue that the development of a long-term vision is needed to ensure the continuity of cultural initiatives and the coordination between local actors, public institutions, and private organisations. The active involvement of residents in decision-making is crucial to strengthening the sense of belonging and reducing exclusionary processes. Mapping and valorisation strategies that respect the historical identity of places and counteract their commodification are equally essential. Moreover, ensuring the equitable distribution of investments between the inner areas and the riverside can help reduce socio-spatial inequalities. One of the most distinctive contributions of this study lies in its bottom-up perspective, which foregrounds the voices and practices of cultural actors actively working within the territory. By focusing on their experiences, this research reconstructs the transformation of the area through the complex and heterogeneous perspectives of artists, cultural associations, and creative professionals. These actors reveal not only the opportunities and constraints they encounter, but also the diversity of relationships they build with local communities and with the urban space. This approach complements studies that relate urban transformation processes to their socio-spatial effects and the role of institutions in shaping these dynamics, by highlighting how cultural agents can act as key interlocutors and producers of territorial meaning, whose work both reflects and influences the evolving urban fabric.

In this context, the example of Marvila and Beato offers valuable insight into wider translocal patterns shaping urban regeneration in post-industrial Europe today.

This trajectory echoes developments observed in Barcelona, specifically in Poblenou, where culture-driven regeneration under the 22@Barcelona programme eventually displaced the artistic communities that had helped revitalise the area. A similar pattern unfolded in the London Docklands, where top-down redevelopment strategies prioritised global capital flows at the expense of long-standing working-class populations. These comparative examples reinforce the idea that the instrumentalisation of culture tends to initiate early stages of gentrification. Even in more structured experiences, such as Turin, the lack of intersectoral cooperation and administrative coherence has limited the sustainability of urban regeneration policies. While this study can inform more inclusive urban strategies, it is essential to recognise that each urban context has its own specificities. This requires careful attention to local contexts and the active engagement of cultural and community actors who experience the dynamics at play and suffer the consequences.

In conclusion, urban regeneration in Marvila and Beato showcases the delicate balance between different urban development models that prioritise, at times, economic growth, social inclusion, and cultural heritage valorisation. The international relevance of this case lies not only in the problems it illustrates, but also in its potential to inspire more democratic and community-anchored regeneration models across Europe. An integrated and participatory approach to urban regeneration can help build a sustainable future for these territories, promoting inclusive urban transformations.

Data availability
The datasets generated during the current study are available from the corresponding author on reasonable request.

Declarations

Ethical statement
The ethical protocol was approved by the Instituto de Ciências Sociais (University of Lisbon) in accordance with the guidelines and regulations of Horizon 2020 (European Commission). All procedures, including the informed consent process, were conducted in strict adherence to the ethical standards outlined in these protocols, ensuring full compliance with institutional policies and principles. Additionally, the research involved non-invasive procedures and the collection of non-sensitive data through the voluntary participation of individuals in interviews and focus groups.

Consent to participate
Participants were fully informed about the objectives, methodologies, and their rights before providing informed consent to participate in the study. Informed consent was documented through signed forms, ensuring voluntary participation with the option to withdraw at any time without repercussions. Confidentiality and anonymity were strictly maintained, with personal data anonymised to prevent identification. The data collected was used exclusively for research purposes, including scientific publications and official reports.

Consent for publication
All participants provided their informed consent for the publication of anonymized data and statements included in this manuscript.

Competing interests
The authors declare no competing interests.

References
1. Brito-Henriques E, Cavaco C, Labastida M. Ruínas e Terrenos vagos: explorações, Reflexões e especulações. Lisboa: ULisboa - Centro de Estudos Geográficos; 2019.
2. Secchi B. La Città dei Ricchi e La Città dei poveri. Bari: Laterza; 2013.
3. Roberts P, Sykes H. Urban regeneration: a handbook. Trowbridge: SAGE; 2000.
4. Jones PI, Evans J. Urban regeneration in the UK. Trowbridge: SAGE; 2008.
5. Di Felice M. Paisagens pós-urbanas: o Fim Da experiência urbana e as formas comunicativas do habitar. São Paulo: Annablume; 2009.
6. Barata Salgueiro T. Oportunidades e Transformação Na Cidade Centro. Finisterra. 2006;41:9–32. https://doi.org/10.18055/finis1460.
7. Clay PL. Neighborhood renewal: Middle-class resettlement and incumbent upgrading in American neighborhoods. Lanham: Lexington Books; 1979.
8. Rose D. Rethinking gentrification: beyond the uneven development of Marxist urban theory. Environ Plann D Soc Space. 1984;2:47–74. https://doi.org/10.1068/d020047.
9. Mendes L. (2013) Da gentrificação marginal Enquanto movimento urbano crítico: evidências empíricas de Um Bairro histórico de lisboa, Bairro Alto. Revista Iberoamericana De Urbanismo 29–46. https://raco.cat/index.php/RIURB/article/view/305864
10. Estevens A, Cocola-Gant A, Calvo DM, Matos F. As artes e a cultura Nas práticas hegemónicas e alternativas Na Cidade de lisboa. O Caso do Largo do Intendente. Forum Sociol. 2019. https://doi.org/10.4000/sociologico.7826.
11. Cordeiro JML. O património industrial Em portugal. Situação Em 2007 e perspectivas de futuro. Arqueologia Industrial. 2007;III:41–50.
12. Malheiros J, Carvalho R, Mendes L. Etnicização residencial e nobilitação urbana marginal: processo de Ajustamento Ou prática emancipatória Num Bairro do Centro histórico de lisboa?? Sociologia. Revista da Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto; 2012. pp. 97–128.
13. Folgado D, Custódio J. Caminho do oriente: Guia do Patromónio industrial. Lisboa: Horizonte; 1999.
14. Barata Salgueiro T. Das Mudanças territoriais às Da gestão. Algumas Notas. Finisterra. 1999;34:153–60.
15. Nunes MC, Poggemann T, Pomesano L. Encontro com agentes culturais de Marvila e do Beato. Lisboa: Instituto de Ciências Sociais da Universidade de Lisboa; 2020.
16. Furbey R. Urban 'regeneration': reflections on a metaphor. Crit Soc Policy. 1999;19:419–45. https://doi.org/10.1177/026101839901900401.
17. Moura D, Guerra I, Seixas J, Freitas MJ. A revitalização urbana: contributos Para a Definição de Um conceito operativo. CIDADES; 2006. https://doi.org/10.7749/citiescommunitiesterritories.dez2016.012-13.art01. Comunidades e Territórios.
18. Estevens A. A Cidade neoliberal: conflito e Arte Em Lisboa e Em Barcelona. Lisboa: Deriva; 2017.
19. Castells M. The rise of the network society. The information age economy, society. and culture. Singapore: Blackwel; 1996.
20. Harvey D. La Crisi Della Modernità. Milano: Il Saggiatore; 2010.
21. Soja EW. Geografias Pós-Modernas A Reafirmação do Espaço Na Teoria social crítica. Rio de Janeiro: Jorge Zahar Editor; 2013.
22. López-Morales E. Gentrification in the global south. City. 2015;19:564–73. https://doi.org/10.1080/13604813.2015.1051746.
23. Hamnett C. Advanced introduction to gentrification. Edward Elgar; 2021.
24. Davidson M, Lees L. New-Build 'gentrification' and london's riverside renaissance. Environ Plan A. 2005;37:1165–90. https://doi.org/10.1068/a3739.
25. Harvey D. Rebel cities. From the right to the City to the right to the urban revolution. York: Verso; 2012.
26. Lees L. Super-gentrification: the case of Brooklyn Heights, New York City. Urban Stud. 2003;40:2487–509. https://doi.org/10.1080/0042098032000136174.
27. Loures L. Post-industrial landscapes as drivers for urban redevelopment: public versus expert perspectives towards the benefits and barriers of the reuse of post-industrial sites in urban areas. Habitat Int. 2015;45:72–81. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.habitatint.2014.06.028.
28. Florida R. (2019) The Rise of the Creative Class, 5th ed. Hachette UK.
29. Casellas A, Jutgla ED, Pallares-Barbera M. Artists, cultural gentrification and public policy. Urbani Izziv. 2012;23:S104–14. https://doi.org/10.5379/urbani-izziv-en-2012-23-supplement-1-010.
30. Guillamón IM. (2003) ¿Del Manchester Catalán al Soho barcelonés?? La renovación Del Barrio Del poble Nou En Barcelona y La cuestión de La Vivienda. Scripta Nova - Revista Electrónica De Geografía Y Ciencias Sociales VII:1–16. http://www.ub.es/geocrit/sn/sn-146(137).htm
31. Piasek G, Garcia-Almirall P. Vulnerated urban areas under regeneration: strategies to prevent neighborhood expulsion in Barcelona or how to improve without expelling? Urban Sci. 2024;8:118. https://doi.org/10.3390/urbansci8030118.
32. Ley D. Artists, aestheticisation and the field of gentrification. Urban Stud. 2003;40:2527–44. https://doi.org/10.1080/0042098032000136192.
33. Heilbrun J, Gray CM. The economics of Art and culture. Cambridge University Press; 2001.
34. Dansero E, Vanolo A. Geografie dei paesaggi industriali in italia: riflessioni e casi studio a Confronto. Milano: FrancoAngeli; 2006.
35. Choay F. As Questões do património: antologia Para Um combate. Lisboa: Edições 70; 2018.
36. Governa F, Rossignolo C, Saccomani S. Turin: urban regeneration in a post-industrial city. JURR. 2009;3:20. https://doi.org/10.69554/EBRH8466.
37. Kern L. Gentrification is inevitable and other Lies. Croydon: Verso; 2022.
38. Philo C, Kearns G. Culture, history, capital: A critical introduction to the selling of places. Selling places: the City as cultural capital, past and present. Pergamon; 1993. pp. 1–32.
39. Landry C. The creative city: A toolkit for urban innovators. 2nd ed. Sterling: Earthscan; 2008.
40. Smith N. The new urban frontier: gentrification and the revanchist City. Taylor & Francis; 2005.
41. Gehl J. Cities for people. ISLAND; 2010.
42. Tapada-Berteli T. Urban regeneration and citizen's City making, lessons learned from a South-European perspective. In: Ray, Perrault, editors. Urban regeneration. Methods, implementation and management. New York: Nova Sicence; 2022.
43. Perrault R. Urban regeneration: methods, implementation and management. New York: Nova Science; 2022.

44. Ferrão J. A indústria Em portugal: estruturas produtivas e sociais Em contextos Regionais diversificados. Finisterra. 1988;XXIII:29–54.
45. Barata Salgueiro T. Cidade pós-moderna: Espaço fragmentado. Rev Territ. 1998;4:39–53.
46. Brito-Henriques E. Novos desafios E Orientações Das políticas culturais: tendências Nas democracias desenvolvidas. Finisterra. 2002;XXXVII:61–80.
47. Silva MRe. (2019) Para Onde a indústria Os levou: Crescimento urbano de Marvila e Beato a partir de 1835. Cadernos Do Arquivo Municipal 117–40.
48. Gaspar J. Da Lisboa oriental. O oceano, o Tejo e o Mar Da palha. Três entradas Para explicar Lisboa. In: Trigueiros L, Sat C, Oliveira C, Ferreira M, editors. Lisbon expo 98: projects. Lisboa: Blau; 1996.
49. Jesus DSVD. Mar próximo, Cidade distante: economia criativa e Regeneração urbana Em Lisboa e Rio de Janeiro. Rev Grifos. 2018;26:125. https://doi.org/10.22295/grifos.v26i43.3884.
50. Mendes L, Jara A. Supergentrificação e Capitalismo financeirizado: as novas Fronteiras do espaço-capital Na Colina de santana, Lisboa. Cad Metrop. 2018;20:769–96. https://doi.org/10.1590/2236-9996.2018-4307.
51. Mendes L. Gentrificação turística Em lisboa: neoliberalismo, Financeirização e urbanismo austeritário Em tempos de pós-crise capitalista 2008–2009. Cad Metrop. 2017;19:479–512. https://doi.org/10.1590/2236-9996.2017-3906.
52. CML. Lisboa: economia criativa. Lisboa: Lisbon City Council; 2013.
53. Costa P, Oliveira A, Magalhães A, de Sousa FA, Teixeira G, Guerra P, et al. Estratégias Para a cultura Da Cidade de Lisboa 2017. Lisboa: Câmara Municipal de Lisboa; 2018.
54. Somekh N, Cardoso TL. Reconversão de áreas industriais e Inclusão social? O Caso Da LX factory, Lisboa. Oculum Ensaios. 2021;18:1. https://doi.org/10.24220/2318-0919v18e2021a4720.
55. Lonnervall S, Sundell M. Hub criativo do Beato-For whom by whom? Master in urban planning and environment. School of Architecture and the Built Environment; 2018.
56. Teixeira Lopes J. (2010) Da cultura como locomotiva da cidade-empresa a um conceito alternativo de democracia cultural. In: Santos M de LL dos, Pais JM, editors Novos Trilhos Culturais Práticas e Políticas. pp 51–62.
57. Ochoa R, Allegri A. (2022) Mapping Intermittent Practices in Lisbon. In: Human Factors in Architecture, Sustainable Urban Planning and Infrastructure. pp 197–204.
58. (2024) Conferência sobre Terceiros Lugares em Portugal. Lisboa https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ksn87ghIeaM
59. Silva MRe. Pátios e Vilas Da Zona Ribeirinha oriental: materialidade, memória e recuperação urbana. ISCTE_IUL: Mestrado; 2013.
60. Pomesano L, Falanga R. Marvila: Um território Em Transformação. In: Chaves H, Inês V, editors. Gingar Na cidade. Bicicleta, participação e Transformação do território. Lisboa: Livraria Tigre de Papel; 2024.
61. do Amaral PB. (2016) A segunda gentrificação de Lisboa. Esquerda.net.
62. Poggemann T. Access to culture and cultural participation in the ROCK intervention area in lisbon. Policy report. Lisboa: Instituto de Ciências Sociais da Universidade de Lisboa; 2020.
63. Lopes RV. (2021) Pontes entre margens: a cultura na Área Metropolitana de Lisboa. Doctoral dissertation, ISCTE-IUL.
64. Campos R. Poder local, Arte urbana e festivalização Da cultura. Revista Crítica De Ciências Sociais. 2021;53–76. https://doi.org/10.4000/rccs.12000.
65. Pomesano L, Falanga R. Cartography of industrial heritage. Transformation and future of dismissed industries in the Eastern zone of Lisbon. Archit Struct Constr. 2025;5:1–16. https://doi.org/10.1007/s44150-024-00124-0.
66. Pomesano L. O papel Da cultura Em estratégias urbanas inclusivas. Perspetivas e práticas Na Zona Oriental de Lisboa. Mais do Que casas. Livro de Atas. Porto: Faculdade de Arquitectura da Universidade do Porto; 2025. p. 353–61.
67. Yagci E, Nunes da Silva F. The future of post-industrial landscapes in East lisbon: the Braço de Prata neighbourhood. Sustain (Switzerland). 2021;13:1–25. https://doi.org/10.3390/su13084461.
68. Schieffer A, Gyllenpalm B, Isaacs D. The world café: Part one. World Bus Acad. 2004;18:9.
69. Löhr K, Weinhardt M, Sieber S. The world café as a participatory method for collecting qualitative data. Int J Qual Methods. 2020;19:1609406920916976. https://doi.org/10.1177/1609406920916976.
70. Bargna L. Gli Usi sociali e politici dell'arte contemporanea Fra pratiche Di partecipazione e Di Resistenza. ANTROPOLOGIA XI. 2011;75–106. https://doi.org/10.14672/ada2011169%25p.
71. Martins JC. Tangible cultural heritage re-appropriation towards a new urban centrality. A critical crossroad in semi-peripheral Eastern riverside Lisbon. GEOGRAPHY, ENVIRONMENT, SUSTAINABILITY. 2020;13:139–46. https://doi.org/10.24057/2071-9388-2020-58.

Publisher's note