

**Poverty Political Discourse and its Effects – Portuguese Hindus
Between Shanty Town and the Social Housing Estate**

Rita d'Ávila Cachado
FCT/CIES-ISCTE
ritacachado@gmail.com

For the last decades social housing policies have been at the centre of debate in many European countries. Although with different immigration backgrounds, some of these countries had to deal with housing problems as a consequence of high proportions of immigration in different times. Especially during the 1990s Portuguese politicians and social scientists were particularly influenced by the French social housing policies experience. Without many useful urban areas to create social housing estates, big cities like Lisbon and Porto have their quota of multiethnic neighbourhoods with high buildings, lack of social workers, lack of associations, and a lot of stereotypes upon their populations. This paper will focus on a Portuguese Hindu community which until recently lived in a so-called shanty townⁱ named Quinta da Vitória. However, a small part of this community was moved to a social housing estate just in front of Quinta da Vitória, the Dr. Alfredo Bensaúde social housing neighbourhood. The main subject at stake in this paper will be the poverty political discourses effects, specifically in that neighbourhood, and in that particular population, the Hindu community; and its main goal is to contribute to poverty culture debates in social sciences.

Introduction: Quinta da Vitória's Outlines

Quinta da Vitória is a so-called shanty town where lives a multi-ethnic populationⁱⁱ which is located next to the East border of Lisbon municipality (therefore belonging to another municipality, Loures) with a recent

extension of a social housing neighbourhood, the Dr. Alfredo Bensaúde neighbourhood. It is also in the border line of its Parish Council, Portela, composed of high buildings for the self denominated upper middle class. Last but not least, in geographic terms, is situated, like other Lisbon's outskirts shanty towns are, on the old trenches of Lisbon's Military Road. As a result, the limits of this neighbourhood may represent a status of margin, or, in other words, of exclusion (Musterd & Ostendorf, 1998: 2).

Quinta da Vitória's neighbourhood's first dwellings were built in the middle 1960s. At the same time as dozens of thousands of Portuguese people migrated especially to France, some thousands migrated to the Portuguese capital. Lisbon's outskirts were settled by thousands of country people, who built their mainly wooden houses. Later, there was a big movement of people from African countries which were formerly Portuguese colonies. Some years after decolonization, in the late 1970's, Portugal saw its population grow as much as half a million. There was a huge outskirts increase, and, consequently, towns became skyscraper cities, which in turn, justified the *Lisbon Metropolitan Area* (AMLⁱⁱⁱ) phrase. At the time, the squatter settlements arose illegally night after night. The Hindu communities that came to these neighbourhoods, arrived especially in the early 1980s, in the context of Mozambican's Civil War aggravation (Bastos and Bastos, 2001). It should be noted that Hindu communities in Portugal migrated firstly from Gujarat (North India) to African East Coast, mostly to Mozambique (once colonized by Portugal) and secondly to Portugal, in the 1980s. The majority of this population had then the Portuguese nationality for historical reasons. Therefore, they did not have immigration constraints until recently. Yet, for that reason, it is difficult to know exactly how many Hindus live in Portugal, since there is no census differentiation of the little represented religions in Portugal as Hinduism is. Nowadays, we are witnessing a third movement of Portuguese Hindu-Gujaratis to the United

Kingdom, their most desirable country to migrate, and following the Hindu-Gujrati diaspora actual trends. In the specific case of Quinta da Vitória's Hindu community, one of the reasons for this is United Kingdom's social policy, including housing policy, with more advantages than the Portuguese ones.

As I have been told in the field, both Hindus and other African populations living at Quinta da Vitória bought the wooden houses from Portuguese dwellers, and improved them through the years, or simply bought small spaces between the houses to built new ones. Hindu families, mostly from carpenters and mason castes, put their knowledge into practice, giving Quinta da Vitória a Gujarati village appearance: the same colours, the same typology (especially interiors), the same language, and the same rituals. Bastos (1990) remarked the same dynamic at Quinta da Holandesa neighbourhood, another shanty town area, in Lisbon's municipality, whose population was relocated in the middle 1990s.

The first Hindu temple in Portugal, Jai Ambe Mandir, was built on the main street of Quinta da Vitória's shanty town in 1983. Back then, all Hindu families in the neighbourhood contributed with working hours and construction materials such as bricks to build up the temple. In the early 1980s the Hindu communities in Great Lisbon could also pray and make religious rituals in a rented house in Sapadores, close to Lisbon's downtown. Beyond that, some Catholic churches and local associations rented their communal spaces to Hindu celebrations, such as marriages, which require large spaces. It should be also noted the importance of domestic temples in the Hindu diaspora, but the temple as a space to perform several kinds of communal devotions is important for the whole community. Jai Ambe temple at Quinta da Vitória served all Hindu Portuguese Community for their main calendar rituals for almost 15 years.

The Radha-Krsna Temple at Lumiar, Lisbon, opened only in 1998, and provides its services mostly to the lohana caste (whose population lives in Santo António dos Cavaleiros, Loures, and is spread in several Great Lisbon other Councils). The Shiva Temple, at Santo António dos Cavaleiros, Loures, opened its doors in 2002, and serves the local Hindu community (probably the biggest Hindu community^{iv} in Portugal). So the Jai Ambe Temple has a historical meaning for the whole community, though especially at Quinta da Vitória.

To close Quinta da Vitória's presentation, I must also note that it is a neighbourhood in permanent shifting. Since its first wooden houses, through the first bricks, the temple construction, the opening and closing of magazines and bars, and since 2002, with the new social housing estate in front of it and its authorized shops, Quinta da Vitória is always changing. Given that I witnessed Quinta da Vitória's last eight years, I would underline the permanent changing, particularly housing changes. In fieldwork, people had told me about their experience of shifting from a house to a different one. This means that when families either grew ou got smaller, the whole family or a part of it would prefferently live in another house, bigger or smaller, following the respective needs. This example gives an idea of the changes in the ways of living and inhabiting the spaces, conferring a permanent dynamic in the neighbourhood, which does not exclude the external influences^v, such as the socio-political context.

Social Housing and Fighting Against Poverty Programs

In February 1993, an expertise study regarding housing problems in Portugal (a *White Book*) determines the need for five hundred thousand new social houses concerning those living in the so-called shanty towns (Ferreira, 1993). Before that, there were some social housing policies in Portugal, but mainly before the big immigration movement in the 1970s^{vi}.

During the late 1970s and early 1980s, shanty towns grew pacifically in number and in size. The absence of social housing policies back then made the authorities shut their eyes towards the neighbourhood's daily increase. However, in the early 1990s, the closeness to the main Lisbon roads and to the Airport, as Quinta da Vitória and some other neighbourhoods are located, began to embarrass not only politicians but the whole society. Back then, the media spoke of a 'bad visiting-card' for tourists. A few months after Ferreira's *white book* in 1993, the government announces a new law, in order to end shanty towns around big Portuguese cities, namely Lisbon and Porto. So, the government legislates for a social housing policy ruling the Slum Relocation Programme (PER). Quoting from the law introducing text: "To end up with the shanties, an open wound in our social tissue, and the consequent relocation of those living there, requires conditions that can manage the entire extinction of shanty towns". And, later in the same text: "This decision is a natural outcome of the Fight Against Poverty National Programme, started by the Government in 1991, under which there are about a hundred projects in progress all over the national territory"^{vii}.

As legislators say, the Slum Relocation Programme (PER – Programa Especial de Realojamento) appears as the outcome of an already ongoing policy against poverty. This statement represents, somehow, the link between poverty and shanty towns, or at least means that the populations who lived there were thought as poor and as a whole. Nonetheless, the attention now given to these neighbourhoods was new to their inhabitants. Right before the PER law, Loures municipality ordered a survey about all shanty towns in its territory. Taking Quinta da Vitória as an example, in 1992, each household was visited by surveyors. Students and new-graduated sociologists and geographers made short interviews, asking for everybody's name, ID, date of birth, and occupation. This survey was made by the Centre of Territorial Studies (Centro de Estudos Territoriais – CET), who made the

same questionnaire form to other shanty towns in the municipality of Loures, signifying a unique systematic work about shanty town dwellers. After that, for instance, each social worker at Quinta da Vitória used a different form for the same kind of data needs, which turned any attempt of a systematized neighbourhood database into a headache.

But after the 1992's survey, there was a big gap of *paying attention* to the neighbourhood from the Council authorities and even from other institutions. Since the survey in the early 1990s, which was the first time that large social political attention was given to the shanty town, and the first State hold social projects in the late 1990s, according to informants, the presence of social workers was almost none. After 1992's survey, some social workers came into the neighbourhood, in the context of Fight Against Poverty projects, but above all between 1999 and 2001. In fact, Fight Against Poverty projects at Quinta da Vitória happened only at the same time as the first municipality efforts towards the relocation process, which began in 2000. So, between 1992 and 1999, only two *social solidarity* institutions had put their projects into practice, especially the local church project, which gave food and provided Portuguese classes for foreigners. It should be also noted that the legal electric net was only provided by the Loures City Council to Quinta da Vitória and some other shanty towns in the Summer of 1999, which reflects, to some extent, the neglect of this kind of neighbourhoods. Before that, the whole population depended on the high prices demanded by the electricity draggers, since the streaks of light were extended from the nearest legal buildings, posing a serious danger of accidents and actually resulting into injuries and deaths from time to time. The Fight Against Poverty projects, and their social goals, underlined the shanty town's population needs. Although Quinta da Vitória's dwellings were actually in need of relocation, the dwellers were not equally poor. Shanty town dwellers were thought to be all poor because of their housing

needs, so their poverty was in fact underlined, which in turn, somehow, victimized them. Consequently, Hindu and other populations from Quinta da Vitória realized not only their real poverty status, which they had, obviously, already acknowledged, but also their poverty *appearance* for the host society and its policy makers.

After few Fight Against Poverty projects, few social workers and their fieldwork based projects grew scarce. Since 2002, only social workers occupied with the relocation process are still at the scene, and they spend their time mostly in their bureaucratic tasks. The social workers with whom I spoke to, say nearly the same as Bonetti wrote fourteen years ago in a Portuguese social science Journal. Back then, the author said that social workers in the field do not have a real support from their superiors (Bonetti, 1994:20). But Bonetti remarked another issue not mentioned by social workers at informal interviews, but observable year after year in the field, which is that this absence of social workers in the field is somehow linked to the awkward relationship between them and the population at stake. The sociologist said that when social workers can not manage the adequate answers to social problems, they hide behind bureaucratic rules and avoid direct contact in order to protect themselves. Occasionally they really fear the inhabitants, says Bonetti, especially when their behaviour does not follow the dominant rules (Bonetti 1994:21).

Nowadays, we can easily say that the population was somewhat soaked up in a political and social discourse of poverty, and, at the same time, almost nobody was speaking with the real people in the field. With so many gaps of their presence in the fieldwork, social workers did not acknowledge the population poverty degree; they just assumed that they were poor for years. Year after year, the political and social discourse insisted that every people would be soon relocated in a social housing

estate, reproducing systematically the idea of *houses being given*. So the inhabitants of shanty towns began to live with an everlasting hope of getting a house and, at the same time (at least for the Hindu community) *embodying* their poverty. As I said before, the neighbourhood is inhabited mostly by Hindus from traditionally carpenter and mason castes, but nowadays there are many families which were able to endeavor their little business in a magazine or store, inside and outside the neighbourhood. Comparatively to other ethnic populations living in Quinta da Vitória, Hindus are the wealthiest in the neighbourhood.

Finally, when we look to the case of Quinta da Vitória, whose inhabitants did not get any attention from the State and its institutions until the end of the 1980s, the population began to be seen as a society victims group (in the sense of Bauman 2002: 343). Slowly, it is the population itself that gets used to that bias. Therefore, even the relocation process from *shack* dwellings to so-called *proper* dwellings became not only the authorities goal; it also became the population prime goal. In a neighbourhood like Quinta da Vitória, where a great part of the dwellings would hardly be called shack dwellings (despite the lack of infrastructures, they were built with know how), the hypothesis of the neighbourhood renewal was never projected by Loures City Council. These individuals *realized* their victim status (Agier 2002a: 322) and, we shall say, they did not give up of it for as long as they could wait.

Reviewing Poverty Culture and Poverty Discourse

Although there is some critical material about poverty culture in the Portuguese social thought, poverty political discourses do not get the same attention. Regarding early 1990s Portuguese social housing needs and the respective government concerns, Isabel Guerra said that poverty in Portugal

and the programs against it became the political principal pledge (Guerra, 1994:12), which means that poverty would be the main issue at stake for further government administrations. She says this in a special volume of *Society and Territory Journal* (Revista *Sociedade e Território*), where Freitas, in a distinguished way, refers to political discussions about poor neighbourhoods. Freitas says that those discussions tend to generalize the shanty towns and social housing estates inhabitants in poverty stereotypes and she adds that this type of debates tend to transform these populations in intervention social cleanliness subjects (Freitas, 1994: 27). To some extent, the author is saying that such policies while using the word *cleanliness* are actually old fashioned because they remind us of *hygienist* urban social policies in the turn of the 19th to the 20th century.

Regardless, it is easy to put the blame on politicians. In fact, typical poverty discourses are not only political but also scientific. Eames and Goode (1977) recognize that Chicago's School ethnographic studies tended to analyze the poorest populations and its urban areas. Though, the first neighbourhood studies were concerned with refusing negative biases over poor neighbourhoods (Eames e Goode, 1977: 11). On the contrary, these neighbourhoods would be portrayed as an idyllic rural to urban *continuum*, which in turn involved the bias of the so-called rural culture reproduction in the cities. Although authors acknowledge this kind of bias upon the neighbourhoods, they do not tell us much about its consequences. Agier, in turn, openly criticizes all the academic work that nourished a poverty culture discourse (Agier, 1999: 58). According to the author, the *poor person* identity evokes the *ghetto* spirit, its geographic segregation, and the marginal thought about it, which, as a last result, builds a whole bias over specific populations and specific sites until the present. The author also refers that the external discourse over specific neighbourhoods works as a rhetoric, which produces its own neighbourhood, editing prejudice images

over it (idem: 71-2), and eliminating any possibility of understanding the *real* neighbourhood. Fernandes (1998) agrees with this idea. The author writes over how the *normative* citizen makes this external construction over specific neighbourhoods: the normative citizen avoids going to the acknowledged *danger sites*; and more than that, he only perceives them through media images (Fernandes, 1998: 122-3).

Some neighbourhood case studies point out poverty culture discourse's effects. The most detected effect is a kind of a *resignation* towards one's own poverty. Let me give a typical example. Working in Rio de Janeiro's *favelas*, Brazil, Drummond (1981) points that over the years the *favela*'s population gets used to their daily poverty, perpetuating it. Outside the *favelas*, official political discourses reinforce this type of discourse. The author argues that, contrarily to Marxists hopes, the only outcome from poverty consciousness is a resignation over poverty (Drummond, 1981: 93-4). In other words, Drummond is stating that people gets tired of non-accomplished social political promises over them and they would not have enough strength to resist. So, in this and some other cases, weariness beats any chance of resistance.

Back to Quinta da Vitória, how was the Slum Relocation Programme followed? After the census in the early 1990s, it was only in 2000 that the Relocation Program began to see the light in Quinta da Vitória neighbourhood. The municipality of Loures and the principal state housing institution involved in the Program (which is the IGAPHE - Instituto de Gestão e Alienação do Património Habitacional do Estado, which belongs to the National Housing Institute) made a formal agreement between them in 1995, but, since the municipality of Loures had a bigger number of shanty towns to look upon than that of human resources involved, namely social workers, some neighbourhoods would have to wait a long time for the

relocation. There were some shanty towns with no conditions at all, so Quinta da Vitória was not the worst. In the year 2000, the start up of the Local Intervention Bureau (GIL) redirected the population hopes towards getting a social housing dwelling. The Local Intervention Bureau of Quinta da Vitória's had, then, the great task of making a housing file for each household: the main source for beginning this file was the survey made in the neighbourhood in 1992. Therefore, people who came later than this date would not have the right to relocation, exception made, of course, for new births and marriages, that is, saving the natural growing of a family. Each housing file implied that the responsible social worker demanded each family to present their documents, namely ID card, national health card, the taxes payment proof, the voter card, the school frequency evidence by each family's children, and, for the adults who did not work, the proof that they were looking for a job or, especially for the case of Hindu women, a written statement saying that, although they could work, they prefer to work only at home, which was called a 'housewife statement'. Finally, those with income from informal economies, should write a statement saying how much they got per month from their occupations.

There are many social implications in the production of these family files: on the one hand, systematic misunderstandings in the institutional encounter, especially in family meetings at the local intervention bureau, due to language and cultural differences. The compulsory demand to show and copy the documents, and all the statements described above, provoked a reaction from some families, sometimes with distrust: *why they'd want so many things?* This sentence, often repeated in the field, reflects a feeling of surveillance from the municipality over Quinta da Vitória dwellers. On the other hand, social workers began to feel that the population was, in some way, trying to misinform them about their incomes. At so-called 'domiciliary visits', social workers were going to their houses; they saw, for

instance, big TV sets, kitchen modern equipments, and sometimes big cars parked. Although this last fact was, in fact, very rare, the visibility of these cases provoked the generalization made by some social workers of cases of eccentric consumption instead of the expected saving money for solve their housing problems. Thus, social workers found a distortion between family formal declared incomes (mostly low) and types of consumption (sometimes high). The specificity of the Hindu community in this issue is that Hindu families saw more of the social workers attention being focused on them than on other ethnic communities in Quinta da Vitória because they travel quite a lot to the other poles of their diaspora and mother land: India, Mozambique and United Kingdom. Social workers may have two sources of suspicion: (1) the high number of cases of family natural growth through marriage, probably linked to immigration strategies, and (2) the number of diasporas voyages mainly to the United Kingdom, which in turn holds the suspicion of a successful housing solution alternative in that country. Thus, besides any guessing temptation over different types of goals, both from social workers or Quinta da Vitória's Hindu population, my only hypothesis here is that social workers of GIL gave more attention to Hindu families than they did to other communities, and question their really need of a social house.

Hence, there is an over-surveillance effort in this scenery. As Lewis and Watson (2000) note, reviewing Foucault's theoretical contributions, in assistance situations privacy disappears. People who require social assistance (such as getting a social house as in the case in analysis) are permanently watched over and systematically called to inform about their lives. Just as the populations in the core of the social housing debates, the social housing policies are necessarily contradictory and complex (Lewis and Watson, 2000: 68). And this seems to be what happened with Hindu families at the relocation process in Quinta da Vitória. They were called to

inform about their lives, both through all the different documents demands and meetings at the bureau. The contradiction in this case is that these families are expected to be poor and rich at the same time. They are expected to be poor, because the main goal of the relocation programme law is primarily to overcome housing problems for those – poor – living in shanty towns. And their inhabitants are expected, or *suspected*, of their wealthy way of living. Because, because when dealing with families, social workers notice that some of them do not mirror poor families and their respectively expected ways of consumption. This contradiction, ultimately, reproduces the concept of poverty culture because of its limited cause-effect way of thinking: shanty town dweller *means* poor, and the economic capacity of travel *means* not poor and, thus, not worthy of being part of the relocation process. Regardless, this is not only *fault* of social workers implicated in the process. We should not forget, as previously I mentioned on this essay, that social scientists have a responsibility over poverty culture reproduction. So we should pay attention, for instance, to post-structuralism in this particular domain, in order to avoid generalizing about human behaviours; the world must be seen through their specific, local, forms. Therefore, we need to pay more attention to local contexts specificities (Abu-Lughod, 1991) and to identify, locally, social policies effects. That means that we should not attain ourselves to the field at a superficial or limited glance. Though this is clear for anthropologists and other social scientists, sometimes it is not so clear to social workers, who need to accomplish too much different tasks, in and, mostly, outside the field.

Final remarks: How to get out from a Poverty Culture Discourse?

A way of getting out from the vicious circle between poverty culture and the political discourse over poverty itself is to study how specific populations find their own way out. In other words, we can study how they achieve their goals despite their utmost difficulties related especially to cultural

differences and to not understandable bureaucratic procedures. The efforts of Hindu families at Quinta da Vitória in the early 2000s to maintain their right to get a social housing dwelling were made through their own victimization which, in turn, was embodied through some social policies towards them. This is particularly meaningful when we think about social housing demands made by Quinta da Vitória's inhabitants. All the waiting time, the households unsuccessful hopes, and even some group resignation, all these issues have another side, another focus to look at. Until recently, the neighbourhood had no formal association to fight for their housing rights, but at recent demolitions (2006), there was an embryo of a residents' association, supported by a social movement which fights for the Housing Right, following the Portuguese Constitution. This specific item was developed elsewhere (Cachado, 2007), but the main issue is that this embryo of a residents' association represents something different than informal isolated strategies concerning housing rights.

Long term ethnography and its methodologies, which can either be applied by anthropologists or other social scientists, are a useful way to understand housing problems in Lisbon's outskirts. Beyond the massive relocation goal, the Slum Relocation Programme had other aims, such as defending citizenship, or promoting several social integration solutions. The main government's concern towards irregular settled populations in the early 1990s was to come to an end with social exclusion through social housing policies. Although there is some critical work over social housing policies effects over people, namely about residential satisfaction, there is very little work about everyday practices, especially about shanty towns daily life, which should be clarified. Since almost shanty towns which are involved in the relocation programme no longer exist, there is a urge to make this specific ethnography. Quinta da Vitória's Hindu population develops its own *adjustment strategies* not only towards the host society (since their

arrival in the early 1980s), but also towards social policies applied in the neighbourhood. And the analysis of these strategies are a way of getting out from a poverty political discourse. The theoretical use of *adjustment strategies* phrase is used here according to resistance strategies developed by Scott, 1985^{viii}.

One way of understanding those strategies is of course to observe them, in ethnographic fieldwork. In fact, the field researchers^{ix} are systematically called to read a letter, to go with people to the social security bureau, to health centres, hospitals, and even to court. All these requested little helps reflects the realization of the fact that, by themselves, this little actions would have a limited effect. For instance, it is very important to understand properly a letter from the municipality. Another way of understanding these adjustment strategies is listening to what social workers say about their work. Social workers sometimes speak of an unusual sympathy from specific individuals in family bureau meetings and their big efforts to get specific attention from social workers at their work places in respect to their relocation processes. And they also let escape their suspicions of the fact that Hindu families might have a housing alternative in other countries, especially in the United Kingdom. Finally, for understanding these strategies we could also note a great number of *begging* letters in order to accelerate their relocation process found in the family files, which will be one of the issues developed in my PhD thesis.

Until recently, most Portuguese sociologic and anthropologic analysis of the actual role of social housing policies were focused either on social housing satisfaction degrees or in social housing estates advantages and disadvantages comparatively to those at the irregular settlements. Although those were important researches in the sense that they provided a wide range of information about those neighbourhoods and their inhabitants, the

research models were not really challenged at all. Therefore, the analysis of daily practices in the institutional encounter, for instance, or the observation of population efforts to attain their goals, may be an outburst from poverty culture discourse reproduction, because that way, we are focused not on the victims practices but on the individual as agent practices. Further, we need to develop agency at least in Portuguese urban studies, which is not an easy task in cases when there are no formal residents' association, as at Quinta da Vitória's Hindu community example. However, as I wrote before, in the context of very recent demolitions (Summer of 2006), there are signs of a small interethnic movement in the neighbourhood towards the fight for housing rights enhanced by a formal association (the Housing Right Group of the Immigration Solidarity Association (DAH-SOLIM)^x. Yet, to observe this religious group, its rituals and their daily life in the neighbourhood, as much as their journeys, provides a better intersection between academic proposals and localised social work when studying housing questions.

References

- ABU-LUGHOD, Lila (1991) "Writing Against Culture". *Recapturing Anthropology*, School of American Research Press, 137-162.
- AGIER, Michel. (1999) *L'Invention de la ville. Banlieus, townships, invasions et favelas*, Amsterdam, Editions des Archives Contemporains.
- AGIER, Michel (2002a) "Between war and city. Towards an urban anthropology of refugee camps", *Ethnography* vol 3(3), 317-41.
- BAPTISTA, L. V. (1999) *Cidade e Habitação Social. O Estado Novo e o programa das casas económicas em Lisboa*, Oeiras, Celta Editora.

BASTOS, Susana Trovão Pereira (1990) *A Comunidade Hindu da Quinta da Holandesa. Um estudo antropológico sobre a organização sócio-espacial da casa*, Lisboa, LNEC.

BASTOS, S.T.P. & BASTOS, J.G.P. (2001) *De Moçambique a Portugal. Reinterpretações identitárias do Hinduísmo em viagem*, Lisboa: Fundação Oriente.

BAUMAN, Zigmund (2002) “In the lowly nowhere villes of liquid modernity. Comments on and around Agier”, *Ethnography* vol 3(3), 343-9.

BONETTI, Michel (1994) “Revalorisation des Quartiers en Crise: de la Réhabilitation à la Gestion Urbaine Intégrée », *Sociedade e Território 20 - As pessoas não são coisas que se ponham em gavetas*, 17-25.

CACHADO, Rita Ávila (2005) “Um bairro em vias de realojamento: estratégias de resistência e de adaptação aos processos burocráticos”. *Politica cultural: iniciativas de las administraciones, respuestas de los administrados*. X Congreso de Antropologia, Sevilla; Fundación El Monte, FAAEE, AAA, 121-36.

CACHADO, Rita Ávila (2007), “Esboço de luta em espaços de excepção: o caso dos Hindus da Quinta da Vitória”, *First International Conference of Young Urban Researchers*, Lisboa, CIES-ISCTE
(<http://conferencias.iscte.pt/viewabstract.php?id=57&cf=3>).

DRUMMOND, Didier (1981) *Architectes des favelas*, Bordas, Paris.

EAMES, Edwin & GOODE, Judith G. (1977) *Anthropology of the city. An introduction to urban anthropology*, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, Prentice-Hall.

FERNANDES, Luís (1998) *O sítio das drogas. Etnografia das drogas numa periferia urbana*, Lisboa, Editorial Notícias.

FERREIRA, António Fonseca (coord) (1993) *Livro Branco sobre a Política da Habitação em Portugal*, Versão preliminar, Encontro Nacional de Habitação, Lisboa.

FREITAS, Maria João (1994) “Os paradoxos do Realojamento”, *Sociedade e Território* 20, Afrontamento, Lisboa, 26-34.

GUERRA, Isabel (1994) “As pessoas não são coisas que se ponham em gavetas”, *Sociedade e Território* 20 - *As pessoas não são coisas que se ponham em gavetas*, 11-16.

LEWIS, Gail & CLARKE, John (ed) (2000) *Rethinking Social Policy*, London, Thousand Oaks, New Dehli, Sage.

LOURENÇO, Inês Margarida de Castro Barbosa (2003) *Reflexões Antropológicas em Contexto Pós-Colonial. A comunidade Hindu de Santo António dos Cavaleiros*, Dissertação de Mestrado em Antropologia: Colonialismo e Pós-Colonialismo, Lisboa, ISCTE.

LOURENÇO, Inês (2007) “Género e diáspora em Portugal: a comunidade Hindu de Santo António dos Cavaleiros”, *Oriente* 17, Lisboa, Fundação Oriente, 41-59.

MUSTERD, S. and OSTENDORF, W. (1998) “Segregationans social participation in a welfare state”. *Urban Segregation and the Welfare State. Inequality and exclusion in western cities*. London and New York, Routledge, 191-205.

SCOTT, James (1985) *Weapons of the Weak. Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*, Westford, Yale University Press.

ⁱ The alternative designation would be slum, but in Portugal this term is far from its social reality since slum is typically related to specific old areas in cities (overcrowded and with lack of infrastructures) and not for *self building* in illegal areas (as shanty towns are); the correspondent French term *biddonville* is closer to Portuguese situation. About slum see, e.g. Gans, 1968: 188-193.

ⁱⁱ Following 1992's Census, following born countries: 47% Hindu families; 51% african families (9.6% cape-verdian, 6.5% santomean, 3.2% guinean, 2.9% angolan); 29% portuguese families.

ⁱⁱⁱ Cf. Baptista, 1999: 37-39.

^{iv} I. Lourenço (PhD student in Anthropology at ISCTE, Lisbon) is studying this community and especially religion in diaspora. See, e.g., Lourenço, 2003; 2007.

^v This dynamic and its social.political context is the main subject of my PhD Thesis research

^{vi} Cf. Baptista, 1999.

^{vii} Translated from DL 163/93 de 7 de Maio, DR, I Série – A nº 106 07/05/1993: 2381.

^{viii} See references.

^{ix} Especially myself and Inês Lourenço (referred before. See note 4).

^x See also Cachado, 2007.