

HABITAT 76

UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE

ON HUMAN SETTLEMENTS

VANCOUVER



PORTUGAL

NATIONAL REPORT

DECEMBER 75

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I N T R O D U C T I O N

Facing the problem of the HABITAT in Portugal with an objective that is simultaneously critical and constructive implies a profound exercise in reflection in search of a justification of what the country is at present and a definition of what we want it to be in the future.

Indeed, the HABITAT translates, better than any other mark in the landscape, the inter-penetration of influences of a geographical and historical nature in the forms of organisation of a people. The way the population, down through time, has adjusted the siting and outline of its houses to the imperatives of topography, geology or climate and the conveniences of its work and social relations, reflects vicissitudes, aspirations and essential aspects of the culture of each community.

An understanding of this reality and its insertion into any development scheme imply recourse to sociological data transcending the simple exercises of demographic analysis or of the skills or mobility of labour in the face of employment needs. The reactions of people or social groups to well detected needs or hardly foreseeable appeals, must be taken into account.

A HABITAT policy therefore implies an intensive planning effort and a great preoccupation with the inter-action of the factors capable of determining the future characteristics of Portuguese society. And the latter has been affected in the last few decades by transformations that may be considered radical. Less than a quarter of a century ago, Portugal was still a country that was closed to contacts with the outside world, ruled in an autocratic way, with a primary economy in which agriculture occupied over 50% of the active population and in which the social and cultural structures were quite archaic. It did not take many years to break the trammels of immobility and

to set out, in a speedy and disorderly fashion, on the path of economic growth. Integration in Europe, via EFTA, helped a great deal in this take-off but was countered for some time by the confused appeal resulting from the ties with the African territories, which became openly contentious as from 1961.

Today Portugal is in contact with practically every country in the world, even though her traditional economic ties and the imperatives of geography, history and culture give her a privileged position as a link between the developed regions and the Third World.

Other factors have recently been introduced into this scene, itself the result of the brusque changes to which we have referred: the coming of democracy, with all the disturbances inherent in the search for a balance of power; and the mass arrival of about 400,000 Portuguese settled in Africa until a short time ago.

It cannot be said that, under such circumstances, it is possible to make a significant effort at long term planning. The economy was hit by a crisis, the social structures were shaken and everything was jeopardised. With the drastic reduction in emigrants' remittances, earnings from tourism and even export possibilities, the precarious equilibrium of the balance of payments was broken and the needs of the Portuguese economic structure were laid bare: an agriculture in ruins, an industry unable to compete, inefficient public administration and generalised underemployment. In this disanimating context, resulting from the convergence of a short-term crisis and the inevitable crisis of the transition to a new economic and social system, the HABITAT appears among the sectors requiring the most energetic measures and the heaviest investments. Its political, economic and social implications are multiple; its relations with regional development, pre-planning and the protection and improvement of the environment are close.

For all these reasons, the Portuguese Government devotes special attention to it, seeking to gather together the necessary material and human elements for equating and swiftly solving the problems.

I - HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL DETERMINANTS OF THE TERRITORY

Portugal has been a nation for over eight centuries and occupies about 90,000 sp. Km. of the western part of the Iberian Peninsula. In close communion with other peoples and civilisations easy, giving her history an almost unique oecumenical sense. Perfectly integrated into the small continent which is Iberia, Portugal is under the influence of a climatic boundary that makes it possible to counter-balance Mediterranean dryness by the amenity of the Atlantic influence. First of all, it can be seen that this confrontation creates the fundamental dualism of the land that is Portugal: in it, the Mediterranean world dies in the west and the dominion of the Atlantic begins to be sketched out — a factor that marks average Europe so deeply. This fact would be enough to bring variety to the small area that Portugal occupies. But orography and facts of civilisation connected with the long stay of colonising peoples such as the Romans and Arabs have contributed, in a highly special way, to accentuating it. In the northeast, the broad valleys with their level bottoms favour an intensive agriculture leading to the division of the land and high population densities along the coast. The south is dominated by large farms served by technical means made feasible by the dominant plains. With a small population concentrated in little towns and on latifundia, the Alentejo as always appealed, during the peak season, to the manpower of other areas, contributing heavily to the seasonal mobilisation of thousands of workers coming from poor mountainous areas.

Breaking the simplicity of this contrast, it is also possible to distinguish, to the north of the Tagus, an interior plateau area — Trás-os-Montes — which is a prolongation of the arid features of the south and is clearly the opposite of the coastal strip with its temperate and humid climate; and to the south of the Tagus, a seaboard of the Mediterranean type, with excellent tourist possibilities and a good aptitude for a specialised kind of

agriculture — the Algarve.

The greatest obstacles to connections between the north and the south are the valleys of the largest rivers in the Peninsula, the Douro and the Tagus, as well as a chain of mountains that separates the two hydrographic basins and extends into Spain. It was precisely at the mouths of these rivers that the two largest cities in the country arose and developed — Lisbon, the capital, with about 800,000 inhabitants, and Oporto with 310,000. With the passing of time and as a result of their industrial and harbour activities, they were to become the nuclei of real metropolitan areas that give rise to problems and require treatments that are perfectly distinct from those of the other urban centres.

Based on these two agglomerations, there is a relatively narrow strip along the coast where the concentration of activities, the ease of contacts and the greater availability of the factors of production have led to the adoption of modern standards of living and a modern life-style that are in sharp contrast with those prevailing in the rest of the country. To the south, on the coast of the Algarve, there is also this antagonism between the results of the tourist boom near the sea and the anachronism of the poor inland areas.

These facts could not fail to be reflected in the distribution of the population and in the sharp disequilibrium that marks the urban network (Maps I and I-A). Comparing the coastal districts with the inland ones (Map II), we can easily see from the following Table that the population has been attracted by the former, in large part due to the lack of structures capable of holding them in their native areas.

TABLE I⁽¹⁾

Population Density by District' (1970)

C O A S T A L		I N L A N D	
District	Density	District	Density
Viana do Castelo	119	Vila Real	63
Braga	224	Bragança	28
Oporto ⁽²⁾	451	-	-
Average	265	Average	42
Aveiro	202	Viseu	82
Coimbra	102	Guarda	39
Leiria	108	Castelo Branco	38
Average	130	Average	51
Lisbon ⁽²⁾	303	Santarém	64
Setúbal	92	Portalegre	25
Faro	53	Évora	24
		Beja	20
Average	120	Average	23
Overall average	158	Overall average	39

(1) As can be seen from this table, the population densities decrease as one moves southward, both along the coast and inland. This confirms the contrast, which has already been mentioned, between Atlantic Portugal (north) and Mediter - ranean Portugal (south).

(2) Excluding the population of the cities of Oporto and Lisbon.

The areas with the largest population density are naturally those that, benefitting from easier circulation and a higher index of industrialisation, also possess a more consistent urban network.

Thus while the 67 urban centres of the coastal districts had a total

population of 2,085,000 in 1970, resulting in a rate of urbanisation of nearly 36%, the other 31 centres, scattered over the interior of the country, had the sum total of 300,000 inhabitants, corresponding to a rate of 13%.

This fact allows one to conclude that the largest part of the Portuguese population is scattered among many thousands of small agglomerates (Table II and Map III) which strengthen the essentially rural nature of the landscape which even today marks the occupation of the territory.

TABLE II
Population and Population Agglomerates

AGGLOMERATES		RESIDENT POPULATION	
Classes	Nº	Nº (thousands)	%
Fewer than 100 inhab.	25 560	1 093	13.9
100 - 200 "	6 447	907	11.5
200 - 500 "	4 824	1 485	18.8
500 - 1 000 "	1 384	952	12.0
1 000 - 2 000 "	450	618	7.8
2 000 - 5 000 "	190	564	7.2
5 000 - 10 000 "	53	368	4.7
10 000 - 50 000 "	41	800	10.1
50 000 - 300 000 "	-	-	-
Over 300 000 "	2	1 106	14.0
TOTALS	38 951	7 893 ⁽¹⁾	100.0

(1) To this figure must be added almost 350,000 people resident in dispersed HABITAT (fewer than 5 households).

It is obvious that many of these villages are doomed to disappear, and that the speed of this process will be in line with the strength of the migratory movements and the significance of the agrarian restructuring. In compensation, there will be a strengthening of all those centres that really or potentially possess the minimum conditions for meeting the elementary needs of the populations living in their orbit.

The pre-planning of rural space therefore appears in Portugal as a n indispensable condition for defining a housing policy, because it is the rural areas that feed the flows that congest the coast and swell the waves of emigration. The latter, in terms of HABITAT, introduces a further disturbing element by bringing about the appearance of thousands of dwellings that do not obey any plan except the mere satisfaction of personal objectives.

Frequently these houses are locked up for long periods of time, awaiting the eventual return home of their owners. As is normal in such cases, they stand out in the landscape due to the aberrance of their situation, outline or the building materials used. Poorly inserted into the weak tissue of the depressed areas, these new elements in a dispersed HABITAT constitute another burden rather than a factor capable of dynamising the structures because they lack organisation and an overall plan. Housing only really makes sense when it is understood to be part of a system that takes into account working conditions, communications, socio-economic supporting structures, etc. Due to its significance for the life of communities, housing has an important function in the guidelines to be adopted for regional planning, pre-planning and all measures tending to improve the environment. Some references to what has been done in these sectors in Portugal are therefore justified.

II - DEVELOPMENT LEVELS

Today Portugal is still an underdeveloped country (UN and OECD statistics show her to be one of the most backward countries in Europe), marked by strong spacial and sectoral asymmetries. However, the exploitation of the Overseas territories made it possible to hide this reality for a long time, even though it became worse and worse.

A few years after the last world war, the Government decided to adopt a policy of programmed development and the first six year economic development plan was launched in 1953. It was essentially aimed at revitalising the basic sectors such as the chemical and cement industries, energy (construction of hydroelectric dams) and agriculture (intensification based on the irrigation of propitious areas). The goal of this plan was, above all, to break out of the stage of an essentially agricultural economy by strengthening industrial activity, often with the support of foreign investment. Some poles and industrial areas were notably reinforced (the cases of Barreiro-Seixal, the strip from Lisbon to Vila Franca de Xira and the outskirts of Oporto). This policy was favoured by the forced containment of the prices of raw materials (often coming from the primary sector); the non-existence of constraints of an environmental nature concerning siting (which made it possible to concentrate industrial units near the main cities and ports, Lisbon and Leixões, for example); the possibility of recruiting abundant and cheap but unskilled manpower; and fiscal incentives of various kinds.

As a result of this effort, a significant improvement was achieved in the index of overall productivity (reflected, for example, in Gross National Product Per capita) but, counter-balancing this, there was an aggravation of the spacial asymmetries and social injustices which, due to a long evolution, had marked the Portuguese society and economy for a long time.

The areas farther inland and in the south gradually lost their dynamism, given their lack of activities capable of holding the population and improving their social condition. The coastal strip which extends north from Lisbon benefited greatly from this policy, attracting people, capital and improvements of all kinds and at the same time giving rise to conditions favourable to the appearance of a whole vast range of problems which have affected the densely populated seaboard areas of Europe for a long time.

The contrast between north and south, the flat coastal region and the mountainous interior, industry and agriculture, the large city and the stagnant country, did not fail to get continually worse. Sociologists and economists then appeared and, supported by the analysis of the same phenomena in France, Italy, Argentina and elsewhere, alerted public opinion and the Government to the seriousness of what was going on.

The growing flow of rural people to Lisbon began to raise grave problems for the organic development of the capital and to lend credibility to the theory that its gigantic size was enfeebling the country. The appropriation of urban land, served by unrestrained speculation, over-valued the central areas in detriment to the needs of the majority of the population, who were progressively marginalised. "Shanty-towns" arose everywhere, and hundreds of buildings with good dwelling conditions were condemned to be demolished, to be replaced by new buildings which raised occupational densities to the rupture point for the urban fabric. Thus the construction industry grew vertiginously, always creating more serious problems than those it sought to solve. With the launching of a number of important projects, such as the construction of the bridge over the Tagus and the Lisbon underground, the Margueira shipyards and the Douro dams, the labour market began to lose elasticity, subject, as it was, starting in the Sixties, to the haemorrhage of emigration to several European countries (France, Germany, Holland, etc.) and large-scale mobilisation for the colonial war. The fields were handed over to women and old people while the roughest jobs in the Lisbon area were carried out by tens of thousands of Cape Verdians who were driven out of their islands by a long and intensive drought.

Below one can find some economic data, beginning with the break-down of Gross Domestic Product in 1970 by the various planning regions (Map IV) and

productive sectors (Table III).

TABLE III
Regional and Sectoral Break-down of GDP (millions of escudos)

ECONOMIC SECTORS REGIONS		AGRI- CULTURE	FISH ERIES	I N D U S T R Y		TOTALS	%
				Extractive	Manufacturing		
North	6 583	283	198	14 942	22 006	25.2	
Centre	8 940	439	292	18 444	28 115	32.2	
Lisbon	5 952	435	185	24 024	30 596	35.0	
South	5 204	146	241	1 101	6 692	7.6	
TOTALS	26 679	1303	916	58 511	87 409	100.0	

If the backwardness of the southern region is striking due to the almost total non-existence of manufacturing industries, the asymmetry in the other regions can only be detected by comparing the coastal areas with the inland ones, as defined in Map II. This is what is shown in the following Table, which breaks down the product of the most significant sector — Manufacturing Industry:

TABLE IV
Regional Break-down of the GDP of the Manufacturing Industry
(millions of escudos)

REGIONS		AREAS				TOTALS	
		COAST	%	INTERIOR	%	TOTALS	%
North	14 792	99.0	150	1.0	14 942	25.5	
Centre	14 786	80.0	3 658	20.0	18 444	31.5	
Lisbon	21 394	89.0	2 630	11.0	24 024	41.1	
South	416	38.0	685	62.0	1 101	1.9	
TOTALS	51 388		7 123		58 511	100.0	

Lately it has often been said that Portugal needs to be integrated into European schemes and standards and to define, once and for all, a path and a type for her development. This task only really became possible after the period of decolonisation and the end of the ambiguous situation propitiated by the maintenance of dominion over the African territories.

In order to evaluate Portugal's backwardness in relation to those standards, expressed in terms of the recovery period and investment needs, an inventory of deficits was drawn up in 1970 and an analysis was made of the prospects of solution.

This exercise had the merit of showing, even though in a crude way, the total bill that would have to be paid to transform Portugal into a really European country, placing her at the level of Austria, for example⁽¹⁾. Although the calculated investment — 1,900 thousand million escudos (Annex I)⁽²⁾ was very high, it did not seem to cause as much concern as the structural transformations that should serve as its basis. In terms of agrarian structure, for example, it was considered necessary to carry out a drastic reduction of the number of farms⁽³⁾ and supply them with suitable machinery, electrification and management ability; in turn, rational occupation of the soil would imply adding 2.5 million hectares to forest lands — the same area that would be devoted to modern agriculture.

In the industrial sector, the reconversion would also have to be radical so as to provide a substantial improvement for the crisis-ridden sectors, such as textiles, and the creation of about 650,000 jobs. Half the forecast investment would be channelled to it, reflecting the importance that was attached to its function as the motive force of development. The projected actions should be fitted into a balanced pre-planning scheme and the orientation that was to be given to the policy of the progressive improvement of the environment.

(1) Austria in fact has the same area and population as Portugal.

(2) 60 thousand million dollars.

(3) It is believed that the present number of farms could be reduced to about 1/5 (160,000) employing 360,000 workers (10% of the active population, a third of the present figure).

Of course, hand in hand with the creation of new centres of activity goes the appearance of needs connected with communications, sanitation, the production and transport of energy, the rational use of water resources and especially housing. This aspect will be developed in a separate chapter but its importance as a sector of intervention is so great that it marks, by itself, the state of underdevelopment in which the country still finds itself.

A balanced occupation of the territory will imply the redefinition of the present urban network with the creation of new centres but, very especially, the attribution of a new dimension to those that already exist. The rate of urbanisation is still situated at an excessively low level (about 28%), which presupposes the transfer, at relatively short term, of a large mass of people to the urban areas. The housing shortage that now exists in the country (about 500,000 units) may easily increase three-fold if 50% of the Portuguese population is meanwhile concentrated into urban centres. It is not worth while insisting on the greatness of the task that is facing us in this sector or the responsibility that falls on us in the very concrete definition of the country we want to construct by the end of the century. If the rate of growth of Gross National Product per capita of the Sixties — 6.3% — is maintained, the recovery of the lag in relation to Austria will take about 40 years. For this period to be reduced to a quarter of a century, the rate of growth will have to rise to 9% and the rate of investment will have to attain 30%, if the capital/product coefficient stays at the level of the Sixties — 3.

This was the situation in 1970. At the end, we shall see what it looks like today.

III - MIGRATORY MOVEMENTS

The Portuguese population has always been gifted with extraordinary mobility. This characteristic, coupled with the natural conditions resulting from the eccentric situation of the country, led them, from an early age, to seek better living conditions in other territories when not in other continents. Like most Mediterranean peoples, the Portuguese also saw this necessity changed into a vocation. After the traditional emigration to the Americas⁽¹⁾, the preferential destinations being Brazil, the United States and Canada, an extremely strong movement to the countries of western Europe⁽²⁾, especially France and Germany, took place as from the beginning of the Sixties. In the last 15 years, over a million Portuguese have followed this trail, most of them recruited from the active population connected with the rural areas. When the latter reached the rupture point, the phenomenon spread to the more developed coastal areas, especially affecting the labour supply of the secondary and tertiary sectors.

It is therefore not surprising that in the decade spanning 1961 and 1970 the Portuguese population should have decreased by nearly 115,000⁽³⁾. Besides emigration properly speaking, a contribution to this fact was also made by

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- (1) Between 1866 and 1960, about 1,815,000 Portuguese emigrated. This figure represents 41% of the real population increase that took place in this period.
 - (2) Between 1961 and 1970, 850,000 people emigrated. This corresponds to about 88% of the physiological balance of that decade.
 - (3) Excluding the archipelagos of the Azores and Madeira, where emigration was stronger still.

the movement to the Overseas of about 150,000 young men doing their national service.

This phenomenon had profound repercussions in the whole of Portuguese life and affected HABITAT conditions in the country in various ways. In the first place, there was a heightened degradation of many small villages and houses in the depressed inland areas that were precisely the ones most affected by the migratory wave. Many dwellings became uninhabited and suffered the consequences of their state of abandonment. When the emigrant decided to invest some of his savings in a house he usually did so by building a new one and often avoiding traditional styles and construction materials. He thus sought, exactly in the way of the traditional emigrant, to show his fellow-countrymen the change in his social status. Unfortunately, these houses, generally speaking, did not correspond in comfort to the large investment made in them since they continued to lack electricity, sewers and, often, running water (Maps V to VII). The maison transplanted to the Portuguese highlands came to reflect the lack of the supporting structures that are already generalised in the developed countries of Europe. With regard to this, the data contained in Table V are highly significant. It would therefore seem possible to conclude that the rural HABITAT will not improve with these uncoordinated actions resulting from the love our emigrants have for their native land. On the contrary, there was a loss in the genuineness of the concept and adaptation to natural conditions and there were no effective positive results because the basic work, which was incumbent on the collectivity, was not carried out.

There is another highly important aspect in which the financial capacity of the emigrants intervened in a decisive way — the application of savings in the purchase of housing units for renting purposes. Some of the largest development companies in the outskirts of Lisbon found in the emigrants' capital the greatest support for their rapid expansion. There thus arose agglomerations known as "garden cities" which were perfect urbanistic abortions condemned to the absence of green spaces from the very outset due to the density of construction. The point was even reached where building sites for homes were sold in perfectly illegal conditions, cheating the emigrant workers who wanted to invest their capital in Portugal and thus guarantee their own house for the future.

TABLE V
Lack of Sanitation Infra-structures

Infra-structures	Unserved Population (thousands of inhabitants) as % of Total Population						Approximate Cost of (1) Investments (1) (millions of escudos)
	Coast	%	Interior	%	Continent	%	
Water supply	3 060	72.5	1 816	79.3	4 867	60.0	15 000
Sewerage ...	4 561	78.2	2 133	93.1	6 694	82.4	21 500
Garbage removal ...	3 168	54.3	1 744	76.1	4 912	60.5	1 500
	TOTAL						40 000

(1) These figures would now be much higher; only their relative importance can be of any validity.

All these actions made a heavy contribution to aggravating the town planning problems that have existed in the Lisbon area for a long time, fomenting land speculation and serious offences against correct occupation, above all in the outskirts of the city.

As regards internal movements, oriented almost exclusively from the interior to the coast and very especially to the regions of Lisbon and Oporto, they have become progressively sharper during the last few decades. This is what can be deduced from an analysis of Annex III and the corresponding Maps VIII and IX.

IV - REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND PRE-PLANNING POLICY

The preparation of successive economic development plans starting in 1953 involved various advantages, including that of making it possible to evaluate the amplitude of the regional disequilibria that hindered the harmonious development of the country.

It is not surprising, therefore, that in 1966 (Decree-Law Nº 46,909) the first step was taken towards setting up a regional planning system by creating, for this purpose, organs for overall and sectoral studies.

The 3rd Development Plan, which began in 1968, already expressly provided for a regional development policy (Law Nº 2,133 of 20th December 1967), laying down the following principles which should govern its definition:

- Co-operation of the regional authorities in the various phases of drawing up the plan for their region and, later, in accompanying its execution;
- Consultation of local interests, of both the public and private sectors, in the various planning phases;
- Regional coordination of the local technical services of the various ministries;
- Technical articulation of the regional plans at the national level, rendering them compatible both globally and sectorally.

Decree-Law Nº 48,905, promulgated on 11th March 1969, created the planning regions (North, Centre, Lisbon, South, Azores and Madeira) and the institutions — regional Consultative Committees — that were to represent them in the above mentioned planning tasks.

Their small size (each Committee was made up of only 5 or 6 members) and the inevitable clash of responsibilities with the existing administrative structure made a decisive contribution to preventing the success of this initiative. The administration remained highly centralised while the local governments were kept completely idle and the populations remained wholly outside the decision-making process. There thus occurred an aggravation of the development disequilibria and the lag that so strongly affected the whole interior of the country.

As from a certain moment, the central planning body introduced a regional aspect into its schemes of action, and this implied carrying out studies on the essential features of pre-planning. These studies made it possible to clarify some of the worst situations, although they were never made public and were very little used by the responsible services. However, the country is now studying and commenting on a radical change of the administrative division that has hitherto existed, while several bodies are working on the definition of the setting and the goals to be attained by the new Portuguese society by the end of this century.

V - ENVIRONMENTAL AND HOUSING POLICIES

In a developing society, environmental problems always arise as a result of the way natural resources and accumulated capital are made use of. They also arise from the distribution and forms the HABITAT takes and the nature of the productive units that support the great majority of the active population. In fact, the way the latter is implanted in the territory gives a very good idea of the areas and levels of concentration of the economic agents and even the nature of the environmental problems they originate. A saturated space, from the urbanistic point of view, is normally associated with problems of traffic congestion, atmospheric pollution, high noise levels and the absence of green spots; on the other hand, in the less densely populated areas we can frequently detect deficient living conditions resulting from the non-existence or insufficiency of the basic social overhead such as sanitation, water supply, etc. Therefore an analysis of the territorial distribution of the population and its recent evolution in Portuguese territory constitutes an indicator of the greatest importance for a preliminary diagnosis of the environmental problems affecting that same territory.

Aware of the fact that only through international co-operation would it be possible to recognise the principles of interdependence and solidarity that should govern the management of a single, limited Earth, Portugal took part in the United Nations Conference on Environment which was held in Stockholm in 1972. With the objective of preparing that participation, a Nacional Committee was set up about a year before. This Committee was an inter-ministerial organ entrusted with the task of drawing up an inventory of environmental problems and of intervening in the definition of the settings and objectives that should govern the preparation of the economic and social development plans.

From then on, the indispensability of coordinating sectoral activities was realised, and this led those responsible for the Administration to accept global models defending the quality of life. It also became quite obvious that the complexity of these models translated the variety to be found in Portugal and, above all, the dualism that so profoundly opposes the urban society installed in a more developed coastal strip to the rural world confined to the interior and marked by the stigmas of poverty and isolation. In environmental terms, Portugal is therefore confronted with the specific problems of developed areas of an urban industrial type and those that, to some degree all over the world, affect the backward areas of an essentially agrarian nature.

Several critical areas of intervention can thus be distinguished and briefly described in the following way:

a - Metropolitan areas of Lisbon and Oporto

These areas present serious town-planning and housing problems (the bairros de lata - shanty-towns - and illegally constructed zones in Lisbon; the ilhas - slums - in Oporto); traffic congestion; atmospheric pollution, resulting from the intensive use of motor vehicles and the existence of many pollution-creating industries; health, due to the bad state of sewers; lack of green spaces; and, at times, an insufficient supply of water (the case of Lisbon), etc.

b - Coastal strip (including the estuaries of the Rivers Tagus and Sado)

The congestion in this area results from the overlapping of the normal activities of a large population and the presence in the summer of many hundreds of thousands of tourists, both Portuguese and foreign. To the pollution caused by the urban centres, harbour activities and industrial nuclei must be added that resulting from the deposit of hydrocarbons on the beaches due to discharges from the oil tankers sailing off the coast. It is in this area that we can find the large shipyards (on the estuaries of the Tagus and Sado), refineries (Lisbon, Oporto and Sines) and steel mill and that it is sought to build the country's first nuclear power station.

c - Rural areas with intensive agriculture

These areas are to be found along the coast and in the alluvial depressions of the main water courses - The Rivers Tagus, Mondego and Sado. They are increasingly affected by pollution arising from the application of pesticides and the existence of industrial plants that do not treat their effluents or do so in a rudimentary way: paper pulp and paper factories, cement and fertilizer plants, textile mills, tanneries, distilleries, oil-presses, etc.

Except as concerns the first named, which also raise problems of atmospheric pollution, the domain most affected in this case is that of water resources. Their conservation fits into an overall policy of the management of those resources, a policy that takes on a primordial importance in pre-planning schemes and, of course, in the implantation and improvement of the HABITAT. On the one hand, there is hard work to be done in the domain of the floods that still affect the valleys of the Tagus and Mondego and, on the other, the computation of the available water resources so that they can be rationally distributed among the domestic and industrial consumers. This problem, in any case, interests practically the whole country and has been under consideration by the National Committee for the Environment for some time now.

d - More backward rural areas

These areas are subject to an accelerated process of depopulation resulting from their intrinsic poverty and the non-existence of urban centres and economic activities capable of attracting those who leave work in the fields. These, in turn, are subject to a process of soil degradation that can only be countered by an agrarian pre-planning policy based on reconversion and the substantial expansion of the forest areas and, in the mountainous regions, of forestry connected with cattle-breeding. Together with the creation of infra-structures and social overhead at all levels, great importance must be attached in these areas to setting up natural parks and reserves and taking all measures capable of countering the process of degradation to which they have been subjected.

To try to answer these and many other problems, the National Committee for the Environment has launched several campaigns through the information media in the last few years aimed at creating the proper mentality among the population and has sought to improve the ability of the State services to intervene in this field. To this end, the present Secretariat of State for the Environment has prepared various legal documents defining the overall principles that should govern environmental policy in Portugal. This action has especially centred on the conservation of soil and vegetation, the creation of parks and reserves and the struggle against pollution.

Among the various tasks that are now being carried out is the preparation of an Atlas of the Environment which it is hoped will constitute an up-to-date repository of existing problems as well as give a prospective and articulated view of the proposed solutions.

Environmental policy is therefore subordinated to an overall anthropocentric concept that takes the future very seriously; on the other hand, it is attributed a character of interdependence and unity that leads Portugal to accompany with great attention all initiatives which, although transcending her own frontiers, are of interest to the well-being of Mankind.

In this context environmental policy is closely connected with the participation of the population within the framework of regional development and pre-planning schemes. Mention has already been made, with regard to the unequal distribution of the population, of the profound spacial disequilibria affecting development levels and leading to the suggestion that advantage should be taken of the industrial and urban expansion of the metropolitan areas in a process of penetration inland through lines of irradiation (the Tagus valley, for example) and the setting up of new centres to relieve congestion. To compensate the excessive power of attraction of those areas (Lisbon and Oporto), investments will have to be concentrated in services and economic activities and in centres having the function of promoting overall equilibrium and the organisation of regional space and at the same time it will be necessary to bring about the integrated development of the agricultural areas with the greatest potentialities (Alentejo Irrigation Plan, the fields along the River Mondego, Cova da Beira, etc.).

The strengthening and organisation of the urban network should take

the following points into consideration in the next few years:

- a - Pre-planning the metropolitan areas of Lisbon and Oporto through the application of the respective urban plans;
- b - Making the main regional and sub-regional centres dynamic;
- c - Setting up urban and industrial development poles in connection with the main centres and in accordance with a certain order of priorities.

In these actions it will be necessary to pay special attention to the process of expansion of the population centres, both the existing ones and those to be set up, through dynamic planning and the adoption of a land policy that favours the creation of green spaces, the suitable siting of industrial complexes, especially when they include plants resulting in a high degree of pollution, and the defence of the best farm land.

To prevent the aggravation of the housing shortage (Annex IV), a joint despatch of the Ministry of Internal Administration and the Secretariat of State for Housing and Town Planning, dated 31st November 1974, created a service known as SAAL.

SAAL — the acronym for the Local Ambulatory Supporting Service — is a Service created by the State in the Housing Development Fund to resolve the situation of people with serious housing problems and who cannot wait for their resolution through the traditional construction programmes.

When a group of neighbours, living in bad housing conditions, request the solution of their housing problem through SAAL, this Service sends one or more of its members to verify whether it is possible for SAAL to intervene.

If the answer is affirmative, a brigade of technicians, paid by the State, is named to work with the population in the solution of its problems.

Through SAAL, the local government expropriates the land necessary for the construction or reconstruction of the houses and grants the use of the land to the population which by this time should already be organised in an Association.

On this land, the local government later carries out social overhead work, i.e., water and electricity supply, sewers, streets, all of which are

paid for by said government.

The projects for the construction of the houses are drawn up by the technical brigade. Part of the money for their construction is given to the Association by the Government (about 40% of the total up to a maximum of Escudos 90,000\$00); the remaining money is obtained by the Association through a loan from the State Savings Bank (repayment period - 20 years ; interest from 2 to 4%) or then is put up by the members from their own resources.

The loan from the State Savings Bank is then reconverted into monthly payments corresponding to a rent as in any other house. This monthly payments is made direct to the Association of all the residents, which is the owner of all the houses and responsible for the loan.

The Building Programme that the Government drew up in the middle of 1975 also includes the following items:

- a - Housing to be built by the Housing Development Fund and local governments;
- b - Low rent housing to be built on a development contract basis by agreement between the Housing Development Fund and private developers who are assured suitable financial cover;
- c - Formation of housing co-operatives, aided by the official services, so as to mobilise private saving for the solution of common problems;
- d - Housing to be constructed by private enterprise on a different basis than the speculative over-valuation of land that was the case until a short time ago.

This mobilisation of efforts is above all concerned with the social dimension of the problem, which requires the articulation of the cost and rent levels of the housing with the employment, incomes and social security policies. But it also raises serious problems as regards financing⁽¹⁾ and

(1) Note once again the very high sums attributed to the sector and mentioned in Annexes I and III.

the coordination of the sector with economic policy, especially in relation to the siting of economic activities, land policy, the geographic distribution of manpower, etc. All this requires an intervention structure that is duly planned for the long term but capable of adjusting to short and medium term situations. The recent creation of a Ministry of Housing and the ever closer articulation between this sector and the organs of global and regional planning and the management of the environment and natural resources, are measures from which the best results are expected.

Mention should also be made of the steps that have been taken within the framework of international technical and scientific co-operation and which have already led to the signing of agreements in this field with Sweden, the United States, Federal Germany and Hungary.

VI - PROSPECTS

The shortages and needs mentioned throughout this report and the tendency for them to get worse constitute one of the greatest concerns of the Portuguese Government and the Services responsible for the HABITAT. The problem has been noticeably aggravated in the last few months with the arrival of several hundred thousand refugees from the African territories. A simple numerical calculation allows us to estimate the number of housing units in existence in 1974 at about 2,400,000, while the deficit would be nearly 530,000. Just to overcome this shortage and create the social overhead and suitable local infra-structures, it is forecast that it will be necessary to invest an amount of approximately 350 thousand million escudos, or 17.5 thousand million a year, for a period of 20 years. If we add to these figures the new needs that will arise during this period (Annex V), the total number of housing units will come to about 1.5 million, corresponding to an approximate investment of 850 thousand million escudos. These figures allow an evaluation, even though a rough one, of the greatness of the effort to be made in this sector.

So great an effort will demand, as has been said, a hard task of planning and definition of objectives as to the rational use of space and natural resources, galvanising the regional and local governments and conjugating all these concerns of a physical and material nature with the objectives to be attained through a policy aimed at the constant improvement of the living conditions of all citizens, regardless of their social status or their place of work and residence.

The improvement of the human environment through the harmonious development of the residential centres together with all the socio-economic supporting structures (places of work, transports, schools, health centres, green spaces, recreation areas, etc.) requires a broad and prospective definition of

the standards towards which Portuguese society should tend in the coming decades.

Since the breaking point has almost been reached as regards the population decline in the depressed areas, an attempt must be made to stop the internal movements to the more densely industrialised and urbanised areas so as to limit the serious disadjustments to which the latter have been subjected in recent decades. Ways must also be found to counter, at all cost, the aggravation of the employment problems, including the underemployment and productivity indexes of most existing occupations; to improve the state of health of the population and its educational and cultural level; to give a greater ability to act to the public sector, which seems to be simultaneously swollen and anachronistic, etc.

To achieve these objectives, which are essential for the definition of a housing policy, it is necessary to promote the rapid and balanced growth of production, improve the employment conditions of the active population, enhance the population from the educational, cultural and professional points of view, divide incomes more equitably and, finally, set out deliberately to correct the regional asymmetries of development and standards of living.

The phase of rapid transformation to which Portuguese society is subject can be considered propitious to the effective attainment of these objectives if, by chance, it becomes possible to associate the social achievements with a real improvement in its economic status. With the crumbling of the whole obsolete legacy of half a century, there is now a tendency for a reanimation of local and regional life, including a reformulation of the administrative division of the country so as to decentralise the decision-making capacity in an effective way. By increasing the participation of the people in the solution of the environmental problems that concern them (including housing), a decisive contribution is being made to interest the whole population in the definition of its own destiny; and this undertaking will not fail to mobilise a perfectly unsuspected sum of energies. One of the most suitable channels for tuning in to the will and ability of the people in this field is made up of the freely elected local governments, supported in the urban centres by neighbourhood committees that effectively represent the population. Up to a short time ago, these local governments, especially on the municipal level, did not possess the means to intervene or the ability to mobilise the means. Acting as mere agencies

of the central power, they often limited themselves to carrying out orders. Today the situation is beginning to change, as the municipal managers become aware of their powers (which are real and very wide), while the State is preparing to give them a wide hearing in the regional development structures that are under study. Stress should also be given, in support of this new orientation, to the substantial strengthening of municipal finances that took place recently when this sector was attributed the sum of about four thousand million escudos.

Another highly significant indication that progress is deliberately being made in this field was given by the Ministry of Internal Administration when it released for public discussion a proposed revision of the administrative structure of the country, which jeopardises the present division into districts (Map X). This measure is very courageous and meets a long-felt need of adjusting the administrative division to Portuguese realities and the measures on which regional development should be based. One of the most important of these concerns the equilibrium of the urban network, satisfying the large population of the areas that have hitherto been condemned to poverty and oblivion by creating a more acceptable framework of life and work for them and providing a suitable reply to their legitimate aspirations.

This process also comprises the decisions to draw up urbanisation plans for the medium sized centres, duly equipped so that they can serve the people who reside in them and those who live and work in a rural environment in their area of influence. In large part, this redefinition of the urban network has already been studied in terms that would lead to an equilibrium in an acceptable period of time. It is an essential factor for rebalancing the motive forces of development and supporting the basic outlines of the scenery that will constitute the background of Portuguese life at the end of this century.

From the planning of the urban network it is easy to turn our attentions to the considerations that will govern the daily life of the people at that time or, to put it another way, the very objective premises of an environment policy such as mentioned at another point in this report. The huge effort that has been planned and is to be carried out in the field of housing and urbanism cannot ignore those premises. In certain cases, it will be taken even beyond mere readjustments in the urban heritage created over a

long history. It will not be enough to build new neighbourhoods by the side of towns that remind us of the Middle Ages, so as to multiply their powers of attraction and influence over the regions that have traditionally been connected with them. It will be necessary to go even farther and define a national and regional strategy for the creation of new urban centres.

This need arose some years ago when the building of a large industrial and harbour complex in the Sines area was studied and begun. The location was chosen to take advantage of exceptional conditions for the construction of a deep water port capable of receiving oil tankers and ore ships of large tonnage, but was faced with the existence of a very old and picturesque fishing town. So as to preserve this town, as far as possible, from the radical changes to which it would be subjected if it were transformed into the old part of a new city with 90,000 inhabitants, and considering the environmental determinants of a rational localisation in relation to the harbour and industrial nucleus⁽¹⁾, it was decided to build a new centre capable of corresponding to the needs caused by the creation of many jobs and of playing a fundamental organising function for the whole Alentejan region in which Sines is set. The rate of construction that has been forecast is about 2,000 housing units a year until a maximum of 25,000 has been reached.

But this example, mentioned as a specific initiative, can only be repeated in very special cases such as the eventual construction of a new international airport in the moorland on the left bank of the Tagus some 50 Km from Lisbon. This would be a service conceived on a large scale, but closely connected with the Lisbon metropolitan area and justifying the construction of a new centre.

Besides these cases of concentrated intervention, it may be said that the greatest effort should be made by the State through its organs (among which the outstanding is the HOUSING DEVELOPMENT FUND) in close association with the local governments, housing co-operatives and neighbourhood committees

(1) To safeguard an environment propitious to the life of the new community, the Bureau of the Sines Area, which is the body responsible for the undertaking, has provided for the creation of a park with about 5,600 hectares of arborised land between the future city and the industrial complex.

of the slum areas and shanty-towns. In a programme with a clearly social stamp, the essential objective is to enlarge the financing ability of the State in benefit of the lowest income classes and to favour the construction of housing with rents that are accessible for most workers.

With a view to starting the large-scale action that is indispensable for making up the enormous deficit mentioned above and defining a social housing policy, a National Committee was recently set up and entrusted with fixing the characteristics of the dwelling units to be built within the scope of the Housing Programme to be carried out in the next few years in accordance with the goals referred to in Annex V.

In investment terms, 1975 may be considered a year of transition; in spite of the hard work carried out in this sector the established programme could not be fully complied with. It is expected that 1976 will mark the beginning of the recovery phase, since the Government, on drawing up the General State Budget, considered Housing to be one of the sectors with the highest priority. To better serve the activities under way, the General Regulations of Urban Buildings, in force since 1951, were also revised and brought up to date.

Accepting that there are good conditions for intervention and the revitalisation of the sector, there remains the solution of the question, which is certainly difficult, of knowing how to articulate these measures with the fundamental objectives of pre-planning. And the planning should include on two levels: the structuring of the urban network with a view to its equilibrium; and an adequate land policy.

In relation to the former, work is being carried out on the overall definition of an urban network capable of serving as the foundations of a HABITAT policy and, through this, promoting the progressive improvement of the quality of life of the Portuguese people. It must be decided how and where to install, in an urban milieu, a number of citizens that will come to about 3 million and who will inevitably tend to seek in the towns the supporting social structures to which they feel they have a right.

This drastic change in the traditional conditions of the Portuguese HABITAT will translate an option that is as realistic as (and, in any case, less violent than) that which led over one million Portuguese to leave their country in search of better living conditions. We must therefore be prepared

to find a suitable reply. And it should not be thought that, for the purpose, it will be enough to prolong in time the over-simple town-planning schemes adopted before the Revolution. A land law must be applied, providing for the expropriation of land considered more appropriate for new buildings and attributing it a social value, either through the responsible public services or the local governments. The new HABITAT should make the urban fabric rural without becoming a competitor of agriculture for the use of the best farmland. Many of the houses and small villages that are now scattered all over the country could possibly be used as secondary residences, taking advantage of the isolation and excellent location of many of them.

In this phase of micro-pre-planning of the landscape, it will be necessary to take into account the experience of teams made up of experts in various subjects and the fundamental data of territorial pre-planning. The challenge which is faced today in this field of the HABITAT lies much more in distributing well than in constructing a great deal; it lies much more in making rational use of the landscape and natural resources than in handling bulldozers and cement mixers. This fact will have to be constantly remembered by all those who are made responsible for the construction of a new country on the heavy and at times distorted legacy of a nation that is more than eight centuries old.

For once in our lifetime, we must know how to INVENT our own destiny, accepting the CHALLENGE presented to us by the HABITAT.

ANNEXES

A N N E X I

Investments to be made, by productive sectors
(thousand million escudos)

I - Agricultural development	100.0	
Afforestation	8.5	
River control	2.5	
Infra-structures in rural areas (electrification, water, sewers, refuse)	62.0	
Fisheries	5.0	
Mineral resources	<u>12.0</u>	190.0
II - Industry		975.0
III - Housing	317.0	
Energy	45.0	
Communications:		
. roads and railways	95.0	
. ports and airports	40.0	
. merchant navy	40.0	
. aviation	20.0	
. telecommunications	28.0	
Tourism	15.0	
Health	100.0	
Education	<u>35.0</u>	<u>735.0</u>
		1,900.0

A N N E X I I

Percentage change in the size of the
population in recent decades

	1951/60	1961/70
CONTINENTAL PORTUGAL	+ 5	- 1
<u>Coast</u>		
Viana do Castelo	+ 0.3	- 9
Braga	+ 10	+ 4
Oporto	+ 13	+ 10
Aveiro	+ 9	+ 5
Coimbra	+ 4	- 9
Leiria	+ 3	- 4
Lisbon	+ 14	+ 16
Setúbal	+ 16	+ 24
Faro	- 4	- 14
<u>Interior</u>		
Vila Real	+ 1	- 18
Bragança	+ 2	- 23
Viseu	- 2	- 14
Guarda	- 9	- 22
Castelo Branco	- 3	- 19
Santarém	+ 2	- 6
Portalegre	- 7	- 21
Évora	- 2	- 18
Beja	- 6	- 25

A N N E X I I I

Investments to be made in the construction and urban equipment
sector to overcome the housing shortage .

S P E C I F I C A T I O N	U N I T S	UNIT COST (escudos)	TOTAL VALUE (escudos)
Housing { Construction	531,000	350,000	185,850,000,000
	531,000	50,000	26,550,000,000
Units of equipment ⁽¹⁾	6,000,000	10,000	60,000,000,000
Basic social equipment and structures	531,000	144,000	74,000,000,000

T O T A L 346,740,000,000

(1) To be used to equip most of existing
housing.

A N N E X I V

Housing Conditions ⁽¹⁾

1975

AREAS	TOTAL NO OF FAMILIES	NUMBER OF FAMILIES LIVING IN:						TOTAL NO OF BLADY HOUSED FAMILIES	%
		Lodgings other than houses	%	Sub-let rooms	%	Over- -crowded housing	%		
Coast	1,557,600	30,565	1.9	55,840	3.6	385,270	24.7	471,675	30.2
Interior	676,415	4,175	0.6	10,335	1.5	167,075	24.7	181,585	26.8
Continent	2,234,015	34,740	1.6	66,175	3.0	552,345	24.7	653,260	29.4

(1) Taken from the report: Estimate of the number of families living in bad housing conditions (Continent and Islands), Housing Development Fund, October 1975.

A N N E X V

Number of housing units to be built in the next 20 years

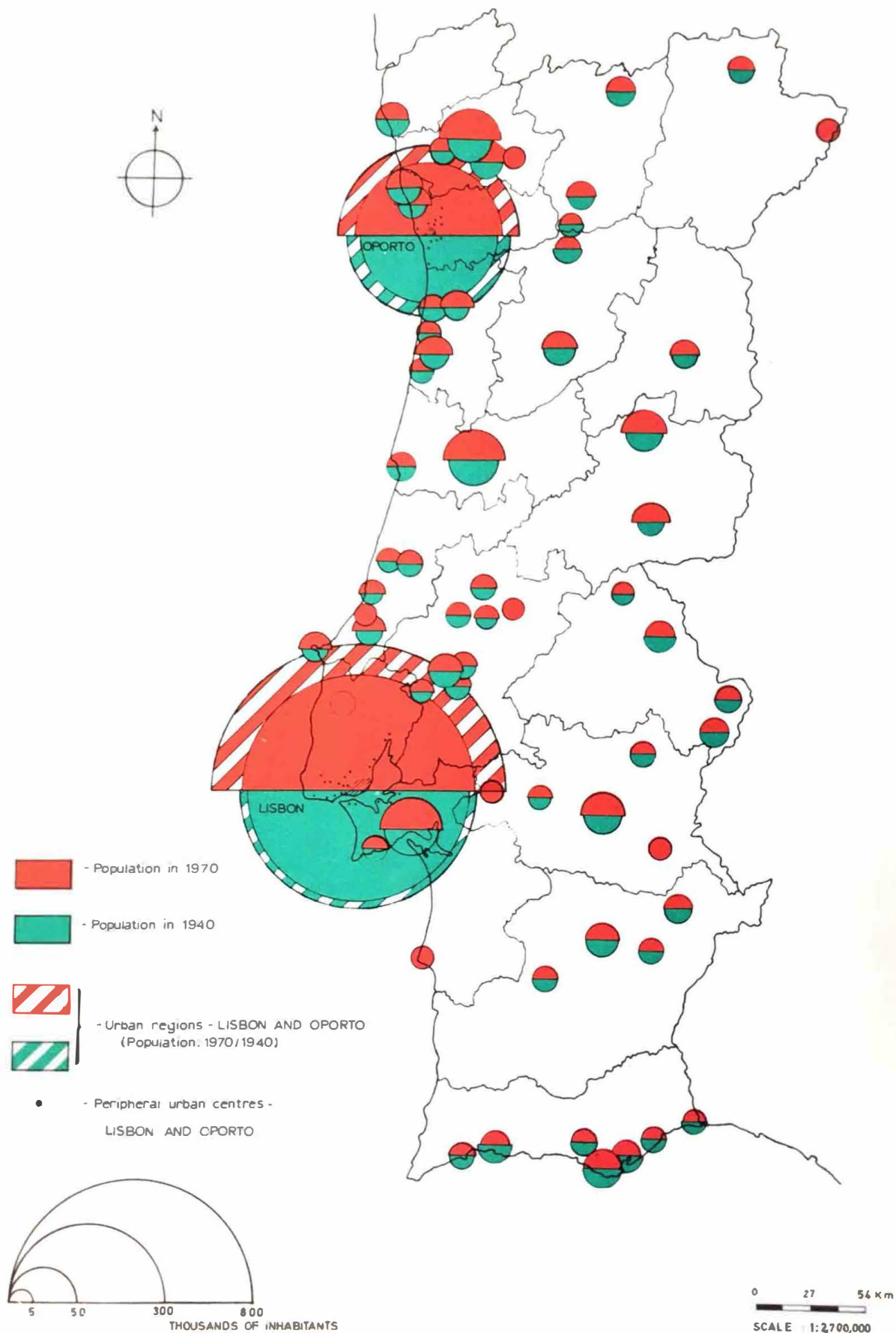
YEAR	(1) To make up the present shortage	(2) Annual replac- ment	(3) Replac- ment of aging units	(4) Unrented units	(5) Construction volume (1+2+3+4)	(6) Total stock (5+7-3)
1974	-	-	-	-	-	2,400,000 ⁽⁷⁾
75	26,550	30,000	11,054	928	68,532	2,457,478
76	26,550	30,500	11,315	943	69,308	2,515,471
77	26,550	31,000	11,579	959	70,088	2,573,980
78	26,550	31,500	11,844	974	70,868	2,633,004
79	26,550	32,000	12,112	990	71,652	2,692,544
80	26,550	32,500	12,382	1,005	72,437	2,752,599
81	26,550	33,000	12,655	1,021	73,226	2,813,170
82	26,550	33,500	12,929	1,036	74,015	2,874,256
83	26,550	34,000	13,207	1,052	74,809	2,935,858
84	26,550	34,500	13,486	1,067	75,603	2,997,975
85	26,550	35,000	13,768	1,082	76,400	3,060,607
86	26,550	35,500	14,052	1,098	77,200	3,123,755
87	26,550	36,000	14,338	1,113	78,001	3,187,418
88	26,550	36,500	14,627	1,129	78,806	3,251,597
89	26,550	37,000	14,918	1,144	79,612	3,316,291
90	26,550	37,500	15,212	1,160	80,422	3,381,501
91	26,550	38,000	15,507	1,175	81,232	3,447,226
92	26,550	38,500	15,805	1,191	82,046	3,513,467
93	26,550	39,000	16,106	1,206	82,862	3,580,223
94	26,550	39,500	16,408	1,222	83,680	3,647,495
	531,000	695,000	273,304	21,495	1,520,799	-

MAPS

EVOLUTION OF THE URBAN CENTRES

OVER 5,000 INHABITANTS

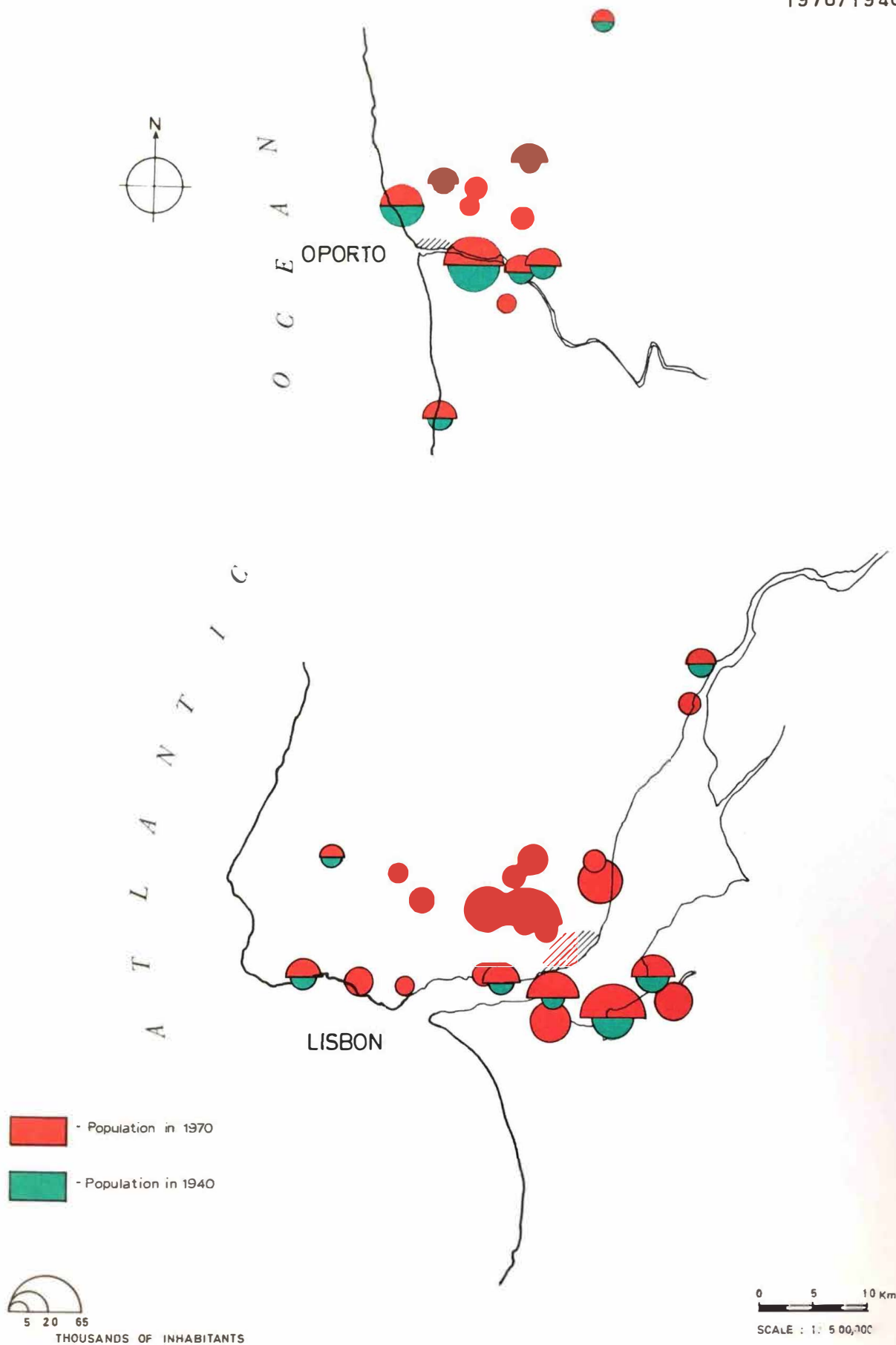
1970/1940



URBAN REGIONS OF LISBON AND OPORTO

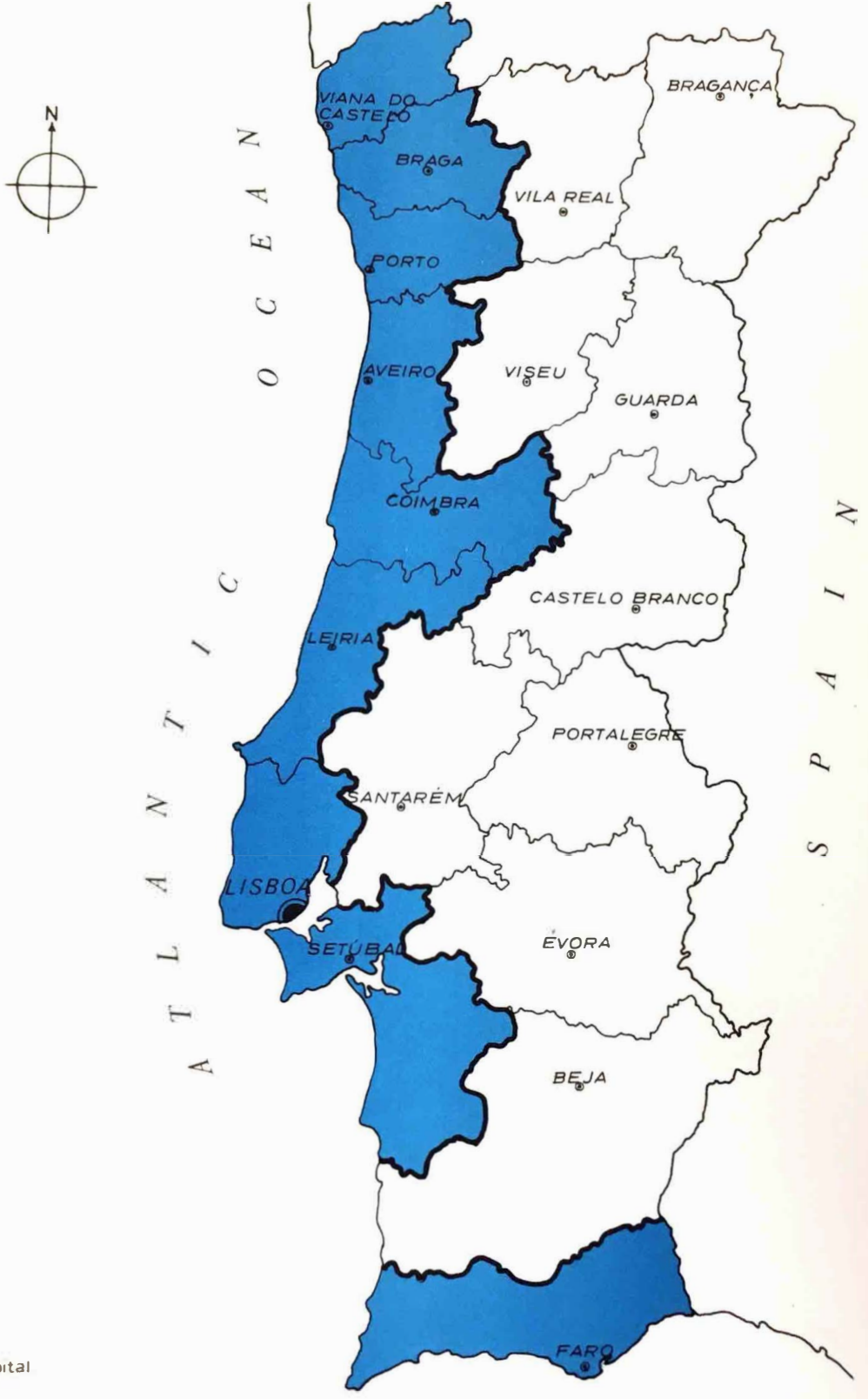
EVOLUTION OF THE PERIPHERAL URBAN CENTRES

1970/1940



PORTUGAL

COASTAL AND INLAND DISTRICTS



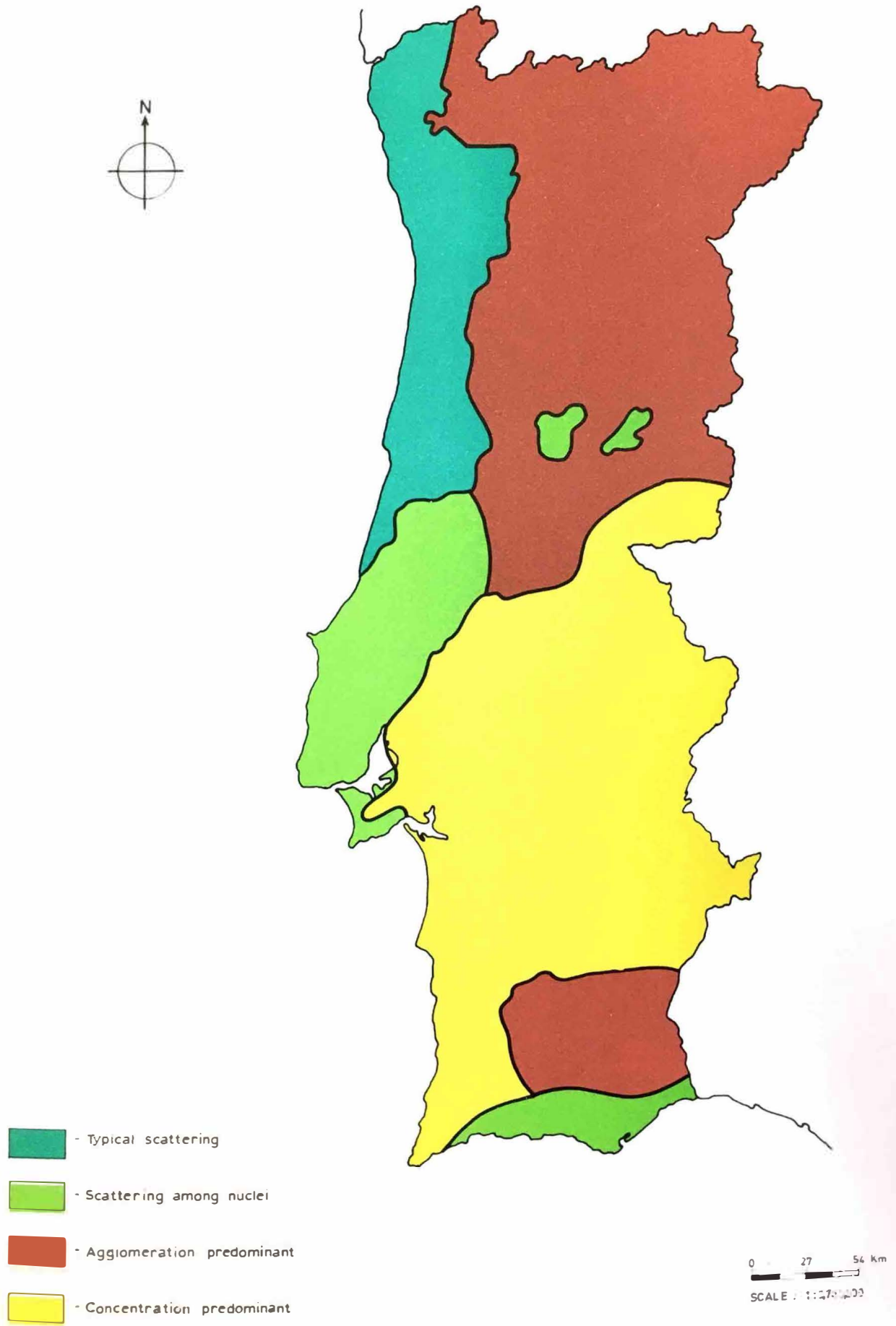
● - District capital

● - National capital

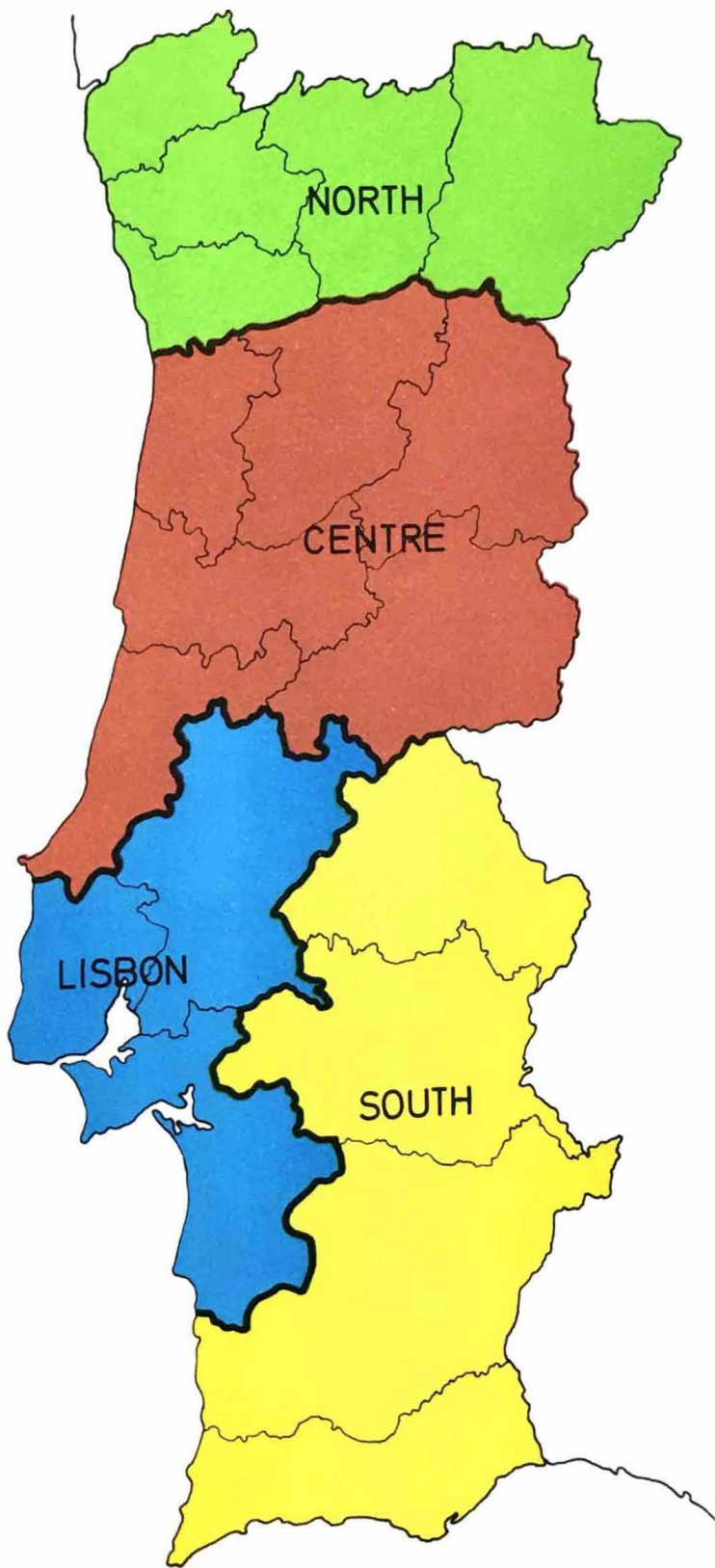
■ - COASTAL Districts


0 27 54 Km
SCALE : 1 : 2,700,000

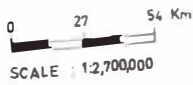
MAJOR TYPES OF POPULATION DISTRIBUTION



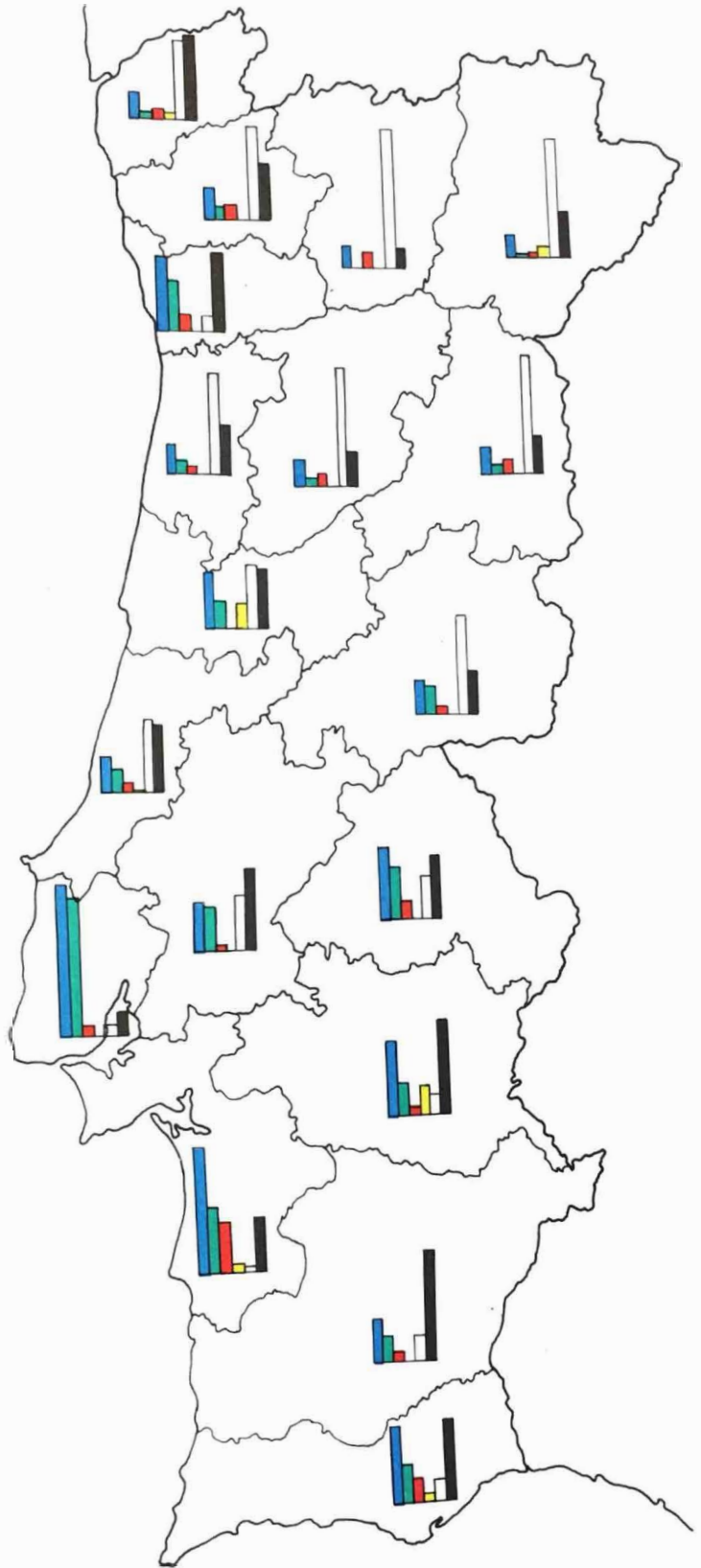
PRESENT REGIONAL DIVISION



 - Present




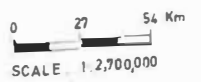
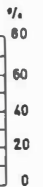
WATER SUPPLY - 1970



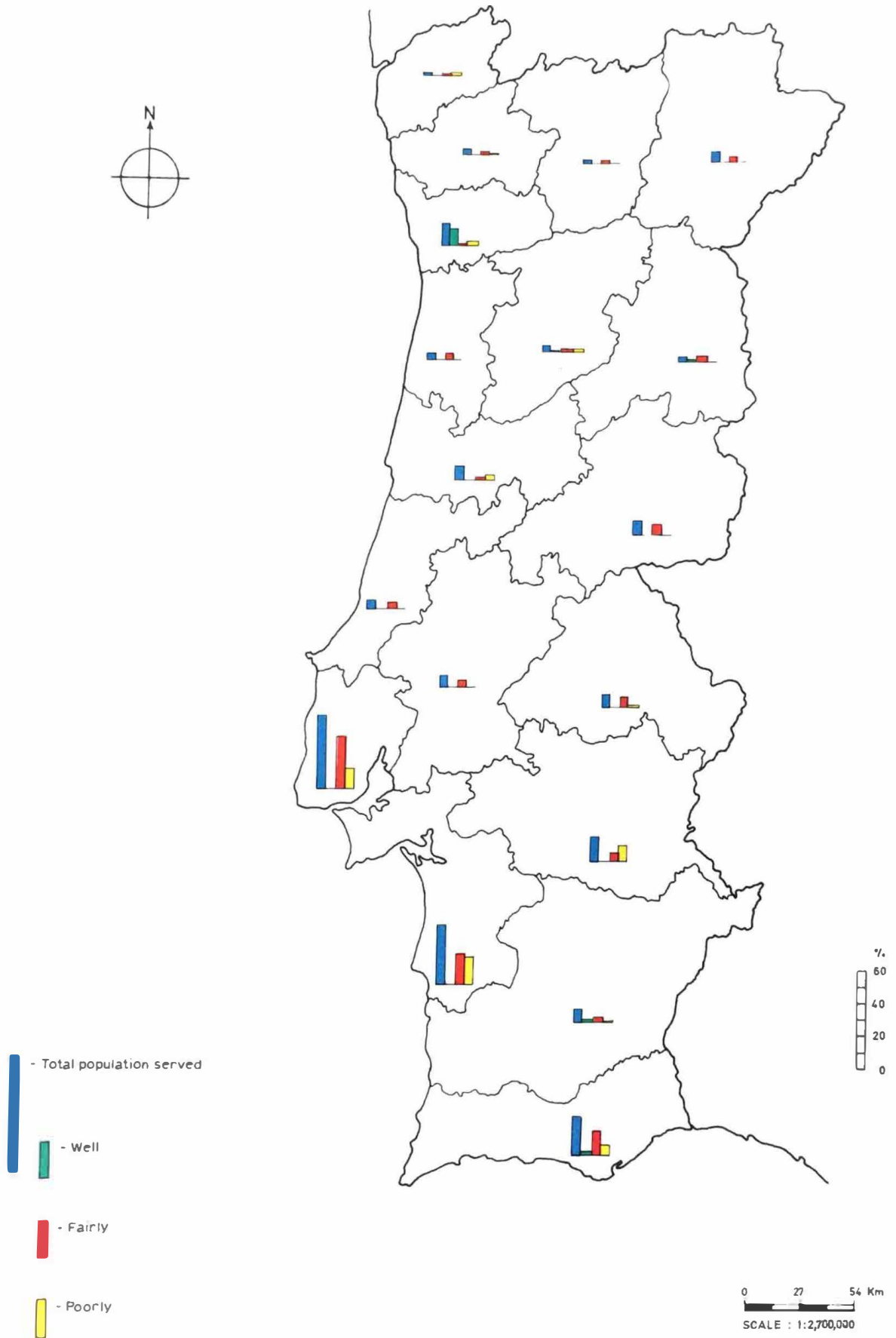
-  - Total population with domestic water supply
-  - In good conditions
-  - In fair conditions
-  - In bad conditions

 - Population with access to water from public fountains

 - Population without domestic water supply and without access to public fountains



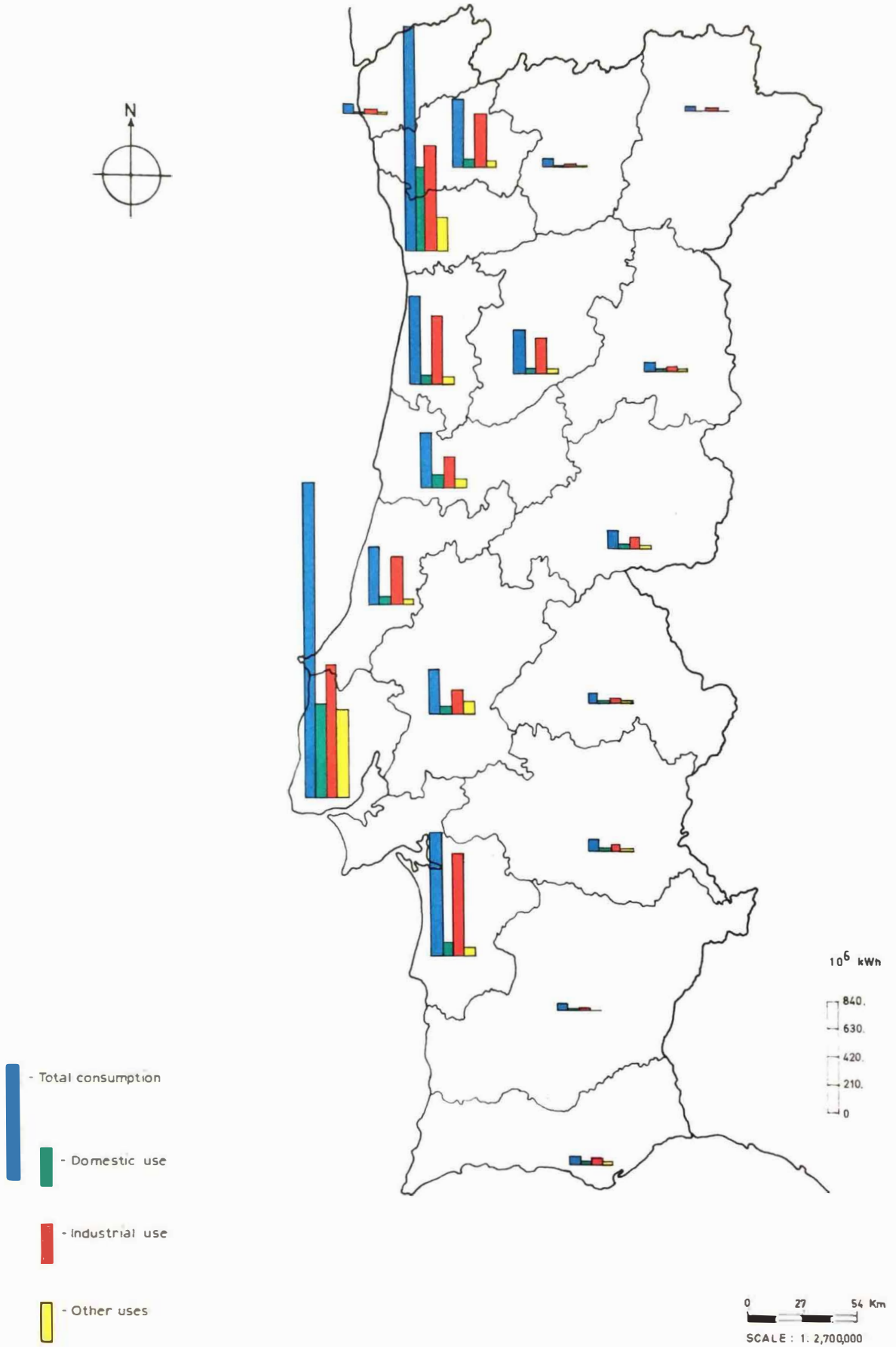
SEWAGE AND GARBAGE REMOVAL SYSTEMS 1970



ELECTRIC ENERGY

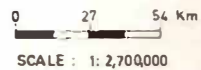
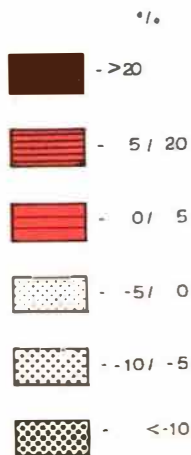
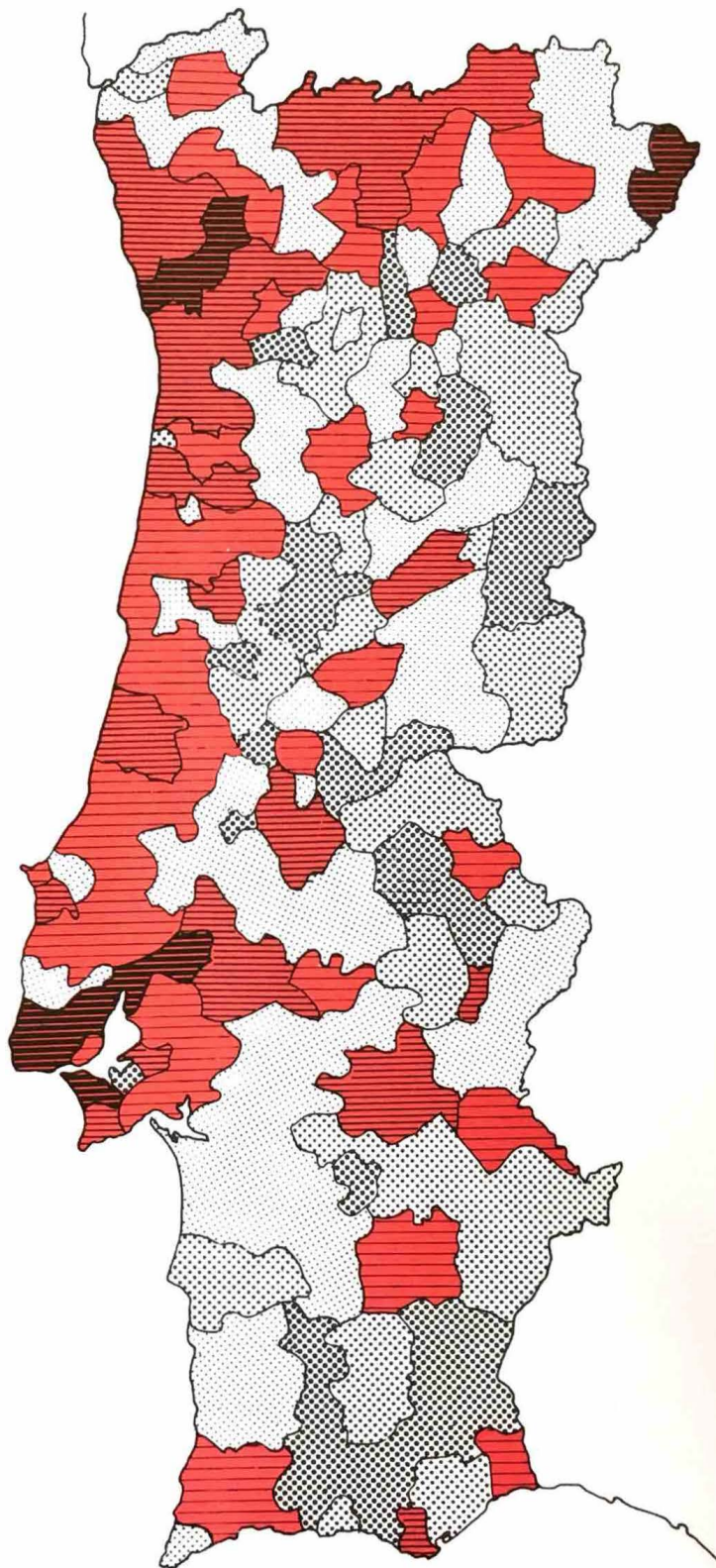
BREAK-DOWN OF CONSUMPTION IN 1974

(BY SECTORS)



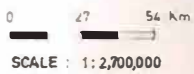
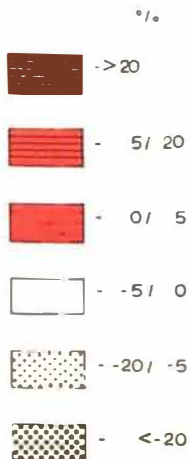
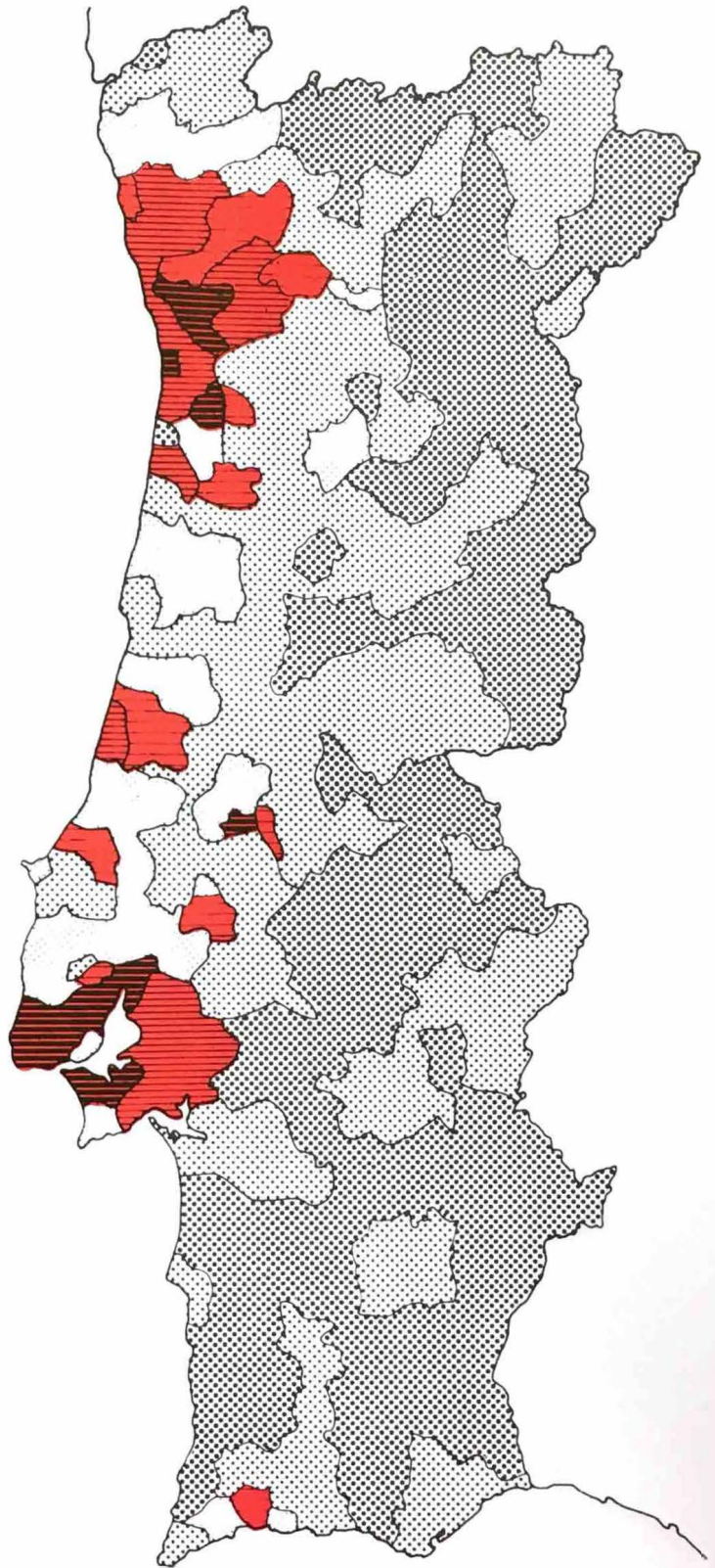
POPULATION CHANGES

(1950 - 1960)

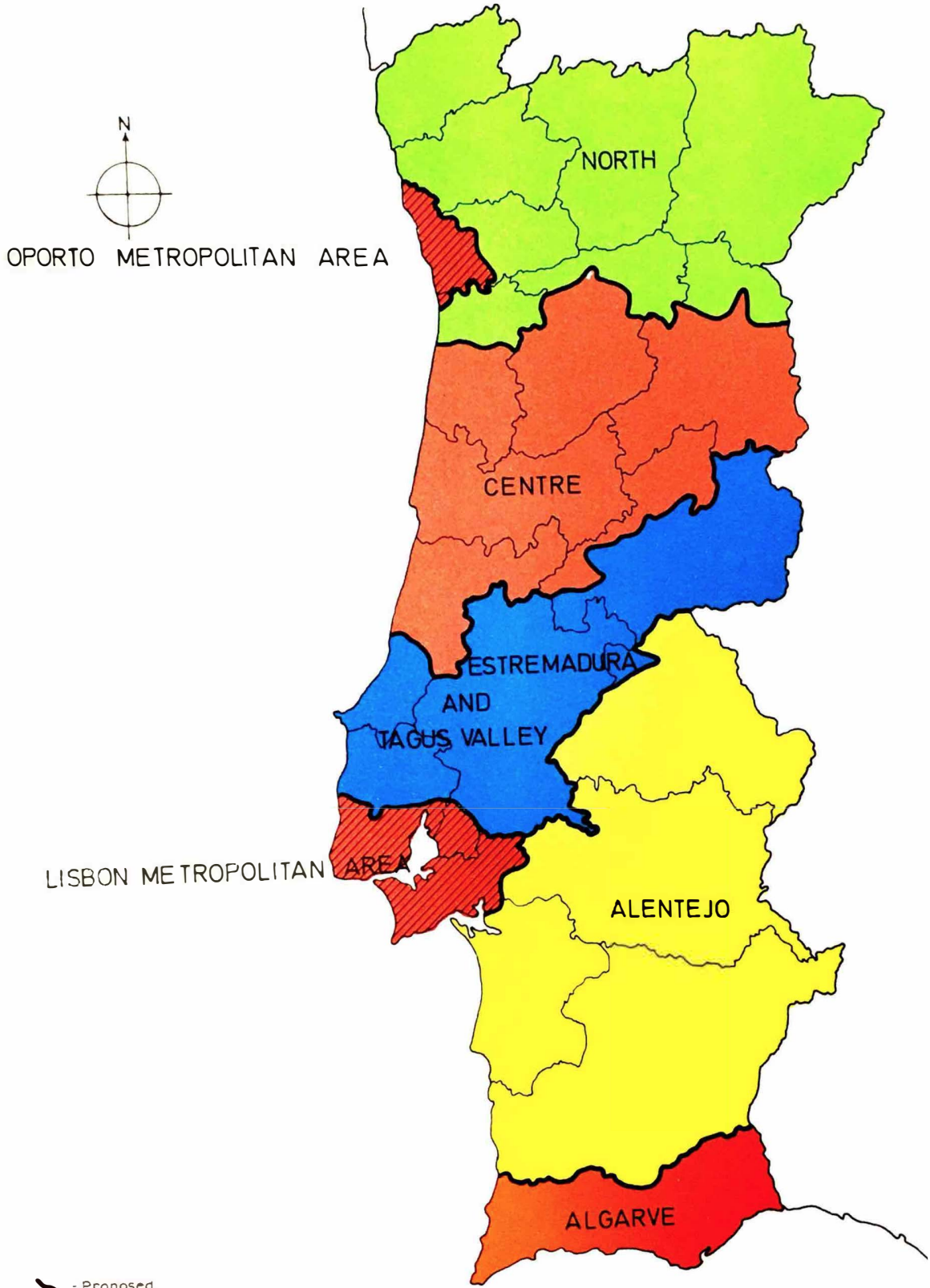


POPULATION CHANGES

(1960 - 1970)



REGIONAL DIVISION UNDER STUDY



Oporto METROPOLITAN AREA

LISBON METROPOLITAN AREA

- Proposed

0 27 54 Km
SCALE : 1:2,700,000

This report was drawn up by the National Committee for the Environment and by the Housing Development Fund, under the orientation of the national coordinator for the HABITAT, Engineer José CORREIA DA CUNHA.