

ID 1741 | IMMIGRANTS AS AGENTS OF URBAN TRANSFORMATION: TESTING NEW TYPOLOGIES AND NEW BRIDGES BETWEEN CONCEPTS AND EMPIRICISM

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ABSTRACT: The paper reflects on migrations and discusses how the role of immigrants in cities can be assessed. In a complex context of migrations and urban transformations I explore the relationship between these two components. Is the role of immigrants in urban spaces analysed by policy makers? Is the diversity of migrants and foreigners considered on urban planning and housing policies? What categories of immigrants do government agencies and supranational institutions contemplate? Do the variables considered when categorizing immigrants express the complex reality of migration? These are some of the questions that guided the reflections presented here. Being an exploratory work I will not seek to answer these questions but rather to critically discuss their pertinence. In the Portuguese context this discussion is relevant due to territorial imbalances and inconsistencies, affordable housing shortages and enhancing discourses on the value of the contribution immigrants make. When studying immigrants and foreigners who enter and remain in Portugal, it is clear, that the new and overlapping situations do not fit the traditional categories of immigration and tourism. Thus I propose a set of categories more adjusted to these circumstances considering immigrants and foreigners in the cities, their housing needs and specificities. Methodologically, the research consisted of a literature review and was carried out employing analysis of several laws and documents focusing conditions for entry and to stay on Portugal and the right to housing. The paper is divided into four sections. Section one gives a brief overview of the migrations complexities and some problems and challenges arising from this situation. Particular attention is paid to the migration studies and to the impacts of migration flows in cities. Throughout the section two I discuss the concept of immigrant and the way this one is operationalized in legal and administrative categories. This analysis confirms that traditional categories of migrants weren't broadened by the inclusion of the effects of migrations in the urban spaces. Recognizing this gap, in section three I propose a new approach who consider the impacts of immigrants and foreigners in the city, especially in its housing component. For the drawing of this exploratory typology I considered the situation in the Portugal, namely in the city of Lisbon. Conclusions are outlined in the last section.

1 THE COMPLEXITIES OF MIGRATIONS IN CITIES

Migrations are embedded in a globalized system, urbanized and framed by the interdependence between mobility of people, information and objects (Sheller & Urry, 2006). In an increasingly vast relational network of places, cities are particularly important (Sassen, 1991) and countries lose prominence. Consequently, the issues of social cohesion, sustainable development and migrations are becoming increasingly relevant to local authorities and communities. The migrations are a phenomenon eminently urban and the spatial inclusion of migrants in the city is a topic of interest, in the current context of globalization, urban complexification (exponential urban growth, fragmentation, gentrification), increasing mobility, diversification of migratory flows (King, 2010) and transnational practices (Vertovec, 2010).

Although the large diversity of migratory experiences appears as a striking feature nowadays, this is not unprecedented. In Europe, before the 19th century, diverse migratory movements were reported, determined by labour, religious, political, study and leisure reasons (Fassmann, 2009). The currently mentioned complexity of migrations is due not only to the diversity but also to the intensity of movements, covering an extensive combination of reasons of migration, travelled distance, fragmentation of movements (King, 2010; Sheller & Urry, 2006). The ease of mobility and communication, the new systems of economic and social organization allows and encourages new migratory modalities disregarded in traditional visions of migration associated with simples and permanent movements from one place to another (King, 2010). Nowadays there are sharp new and flexible mobility patterns, including migrations led by temporary workers, international students, artists and retirees, as well as hybrid situations between tourism and migration, namely residential tourism, which is becoming more popular, being no longer an

exclusive of the elites. Within this scope there is a need for innovative approaches, who allows to operationalize new concepts. These intentions should, go hand in hand with strategies to capture and analyse data related with these realities. More details on this are given in the work of a remarkable number of international organizations and scholars (Fassmann, Reeger, & Sievers, 2009; GCIM, 2005; Lemaitre, Liebig, Thoreau, & Fron, 2007; Ruhs, 2005; OECD Secretariat, 2015).

The impacts of immigration in the production and appropriation of urban space are least discussed than in other areas (economic, political, demographic, cultural). Despite this it is recognized that changes in migratory dynamics have repercussions in the urban space. In this regard note the existence of a literature that highlights the role of immigrants from the global South in the process of development and reinvention of western cities (Davis, 2001; Ford, Klevisser, & Carli, 2008), examines the relation between migrants and urban landscape (Gésero, 2014) and their effects in the housing market (Malheiros, 2001; Teixeira, 2015).

2 WHO IS AN IMMIGRANT?

Human mobility is a fundamental component of the economy and international migration. As a result migration plays an important role at local, national, regional and global levels and the management of migratory flows is a key issue not only in national political agendas, but also for supranational institutions. Certainly a set of phenomena in the context of migration is not controlled by governments, such as the entry of undocumented migrants, asylum seekers and the formation of new ethnic communities (Bertossi, 2008; Castles, 2004) and there are disconnections between migration policies and their results, between political discourses and laws and regulations Castles (2004). But even so, policies should not be underestimated. The States have the formal political right to control their borders, to decide who may and may not cross its borders and under which circumstances. Furthermore, as Ley (2010:8) points, states can play an active role in globalization, in particular by strengthening some imbalances in migratory movements As will be seen migration policies tend to be selective, namely through programmes and legislation that attracts welcomed people, creating special entry and stay conditions. For some individuals borders may be insurmountable barriers and for other mere places of passage.

Countries and companies seek human resources to improve their competitiveness and this is done in multiple ways. Correspondingly border control tends to differentiate those interested in entering. Some immigrants work on tasks that nationals are reluctant to do. The group of economic migrants is often devalued unless they are highly educated and have relevant skills for the host country while others are valued and engaged in high-value activities, such as immigrants and foreigners recognized as potential investors and promoters of economic development in the host country (GCIM, 2005).

Countries categorize immigrants legally and administratively by differentiating groups of individuals that can remain in national territory, for a predetermined period of time, defining the conditions that they must fulfil in order to have the right to remain there. As will be seen, this type of categorization is mainly linked to the connection of the immigrant with the work and length of stay, and these two dimensions are related to each other (OECD Secretariat, 2015). At the same time it must be noted several efforts to standardize statistics on migration (Lemaitre et al., 2007) and more recently to explore data on temporary migration (OECD Secretariat, 2015; Vargas-Silva, 2016). Despite the attempts, no universal uniform definitions of the concept of immigrant, standards for the regulation of statistics and methods of gathering statistics on international migration have been achieved. The debates around the concept of immigrant and its operationalization are complex. Note the diversity of criteria considered, namely nationality, country of birth, length and motive of stay (ONU, 2002:10).

There are clear limitations associated with concepts and statistical data undermining a real picture of the migration and comparative analyses (Bose, 2012; Fassmann et al., 2009; Skeldon, 2012). The conceptualization of immigrant categories is supported by different sets of scales, distinct interests of nation-states, supra-national institutions and intergovernmental organizations.

The national statistics who describe international migration are closely related to the country's history and migrations in the country (Fassmann et al., 2009:17). Nevertheless there are evolutions taking place. In this dynamic reality the "classical" understanding of immigration associated to a movement in space with a minimum time of permanence in the destination has been successively rethought. It should be noted that the duration of the stay has changed rapidly and is now possible to recognize as a (temporary) immigrant

a person who stays in a host country for three months, something that would be unthinkable in the early twentieth century. The overlapping between migration, mobility and tourism makes it difficult to categorize groups present in the city even accepting that categories will always be a simplification of reality.

The complexity of mobility and migration is only partially considered within the legal and administrative. The categorization of immigrants is essentially delineated considering their positioning in relation to the labour market. Obtaining a residence permit/visa is essentially related to work, study or mixed situations (work and other reasons). Thus the type of visa granted and the entry and exit status of the country is closely related to the type of access to the labour market. Given this scenario, the level of education and skills is a distinguishing factor among migrants, something easily explained in a context of global competitiveness, in which countries and cities seek to raise resources (labour supply, capital).

If migration policies are to be framed in an integrated view, considering the economic and social perspectives of the phenomenon and the impact that migrations will have on the host society in multiple dimensions, the repercussions of the migrant presence in the urban space must also be considered. And finally these aspects should be considered in urban planning. Immigrants can make undeniable contributions to urban dynamics, particularly through an influx of young people, growing number of births and attenuation of aging, provision of new products and services, job creation, revitalization and animation of declining areas, production of new urban landscapes, cosmopolitanism and diversity of religions and cultural offerings.

The segmentation of migrations and the debates surrounding new categories of immigrants have diversified and become more and more widespread. There are an increasing number of studies who focuses international students, sun seekers, residential tourism, and lifestyle migrants. But while there is an impressive debate about the diverse migratory segments, becomes difficult to present a global view of the migrations, as already stated by Castles (2010) who argue the need for an interdisciplinary study of migrations, connecting migration processes to societal changes. Following the previous point, considering the desirable interdisciplinary and comprehensive vision of migration and the purposes of the present paper it is relevant to discuss the legal and administrative categories of migrants and the variables that characterize them, something not sufficiently critically discussed (Fassmann et al., 2009; Janoschka & Haas, 2014) but which reflects power relations and the drivers of migration policies. Despite all complexity in migration the variables to be considered in the categorization of immigrants have not changed significantly, being essentially based on the economic dimension.

It would be possible and useful to express the impacts of immigrants and foreign in the territory through the legal categories, towards a more comprehensive role of the immigrants as agents of urban transformations?

3 IMMIGRANTS AS AGENTS OF URBAN TRANSFORMATION

Migrants, foreigners and city users relate in multiple ways to the urban space. They contribute to modify the image of the neighbourhoods and of the cities, when they invest, live, or are present in the urban space. The following describes some of the most meaningful ways this groups impact the cities in its urban dimension. Next, I turn to the Portuguese context. To shed light on the research topic I confront the migration and urban situation, the positioning of immigrants in the housing market and the policies that can reinforce the role of immigrants as agents of transformation of the urban space. With this in mind, I present an exploratory framework how allows to confront migration and urban dimensions through typologies. In this frame it is listed a wide group agents and not only “traditional” immigrants, for the already mentioned overlapping between immigrants, foreigners, tourists.

3.1 INTRICATE INTERRELATIONS BETWEEN MIGRANTS AND URBAN SPACE

Among the new phenomena contributing to the study of the relationship between migration and city production are the new contexts of super diversity (Hall, 2015), the lifestyle migration, residential tourism, the foreign investment in the real estate market (Bernardos, Martínez-Rigol, Frago, & Carreras, 2014) and the increasing number of international students and skilled workers.

The term "lifestyle migration" (Benson & O'Reilly, 2009; Janoschka & Haas, 2014) is associated with privileged forms of mobility, which do not occur primarily due to economic reasons or safety issues, unlike migrant workers, refugees, asylum seekers. The lifestyle migration refers to leisure-oriented mobilities that are conceived as the spatial mobility of affluent people of all ages who move between places, that have the potential to provide a better quality of life, and it covers retirement migration, leisure migration, second home ownership and seasonal migration (Benson & O'Reilly, 2009). The migratory movements associated to these realities can modify urban spaces, promote the real estate business and eventually foster changes in the community life of the destination neighbourhoods (Janoschka, 2010). Foreign groups are encouraged by some states to enter and invest in the country, namely through the purchase of property (Ley, 2010; Sumption & Hooper, 2014). The investment in residential tourism, the development of second homes, the short-term use of housing for tourism purposes and the promotion of housing directed to foreigners induces questions about some consequences of these situations like socio-spatial changes, changes in the housing market, gentrification, empty buildings during a large part of the year, real estate speculation, etc.

Spatial distribution patterns, socio-spatial segregation, housing trajectories and housing preferences are classic themes of the social sciences being object of diverse approaches that allow to reflect on housing provision, social mechanisms and actions of agents. Ethnic issues are also addressed in these themes. The presence of immigrants in peripheral and devalued areas tend to question situations of social exclusion and even conflict and presence of violence through the ethnic dimension (Malheiros et al., 2007) and refer to the expulsion, relocation, involvement or empowerment of ethnic minorities living in those areas (Kempen & Dekker, 2006).

In the context of the central areas the dynamics occur under the watchful eye of political decision makers, scholars, and society in general. Here the immigrant presence is contextualized in a discourse of diversity and interculturality as a distinctive element and promoter of a neighbourhood or city, making it potentially more attractive (Loukaitou-Sideris & Soureli, 2012; Shaw & Bagwell, 2012). In these scenarios, the improvement of the urban space may even enhance gentrification and socio-ethnic transformation, resulting in a threat to ethnic diversity, intercultural practices and inclusive urban spaces, with detrimental effects on the most disadvantaged communities (Mendes, 2012). Moreover the increase in housing costs may affect the future installation of low-income immigrants and force the departure of those who live there. The right to the city, for the resident or for the present (Darling, 2016), is exposed in these situations, being discussed by academics and citizen groups. As will be seen, this is a problem that has been intensified in Portugal, for example in Lisbon, due to the intensification of tourism, the rise in the price of housing and the increasing supply of real estate for temporary inhabitants (Mendes, 2017).

Access to housing, conditions and location of immigrants' residence express the integration of these communities into the host countries. Housing is a human basic need, has a social dimension and additionally it has a territorial and economic content. Consequently, reflections on housing and immigration allows a multilevel understanding of immigrant integration, structural aspects (migration dynamics, urban policies, etc.), local contexts (socio-spatial structures, local level programs and measures, characteristics of the housing supply) as well as the characteristics of the families and individuals in question (economic situation, cultural preferences, relevance of contact networks, etc.). Housing is an economic and social asset and is a platform for accessing the city, living space, with an active role in building interactions and access to social rights. For all this, is justified a closer look at housing issues in the present study.

3.2 THE PORTUGUESE CASE

The study of immigration in Portugal is relatively recent. After the 1974 revolution and subsequent independence of the former colonies in Africa, the number of immigrants increased significantly but immigration only becomes a hot topic from the late eighties and nineties of the last century, due to the growth and diversification of immigration flows, associated to the entry of Portugal into the European Union, which gave rise to economic development. The strong social and economic impact of the presence of the new populations in the country and the lower visibility given to emigration in these decades it also acted in immigration valorisation (Baganha & Gois, 1999; Malheiros, 2011).

More recently, the noticeable decrease in immigration¹ coupled with the growing emigration volume has modified the picture. One could think that the new context has potentially made the analysis of the flows of foreigners arriving in Portugal and immigration potentially less relevant but the issue of immigration remains significant for Portuguese society. There is a maintenance of a stock of immigrants (including foreigners and recent naturalized), and new dynamics: significant reduction of inflows, consolidation of the immigrant presence associated with situations of family reunification, emergence of new Asian groups such as those from China, Bangladesh or Nepal, discourses and strategies for attracting international students, skilled worker, immigrant investor as those covered by the residence permit for investment activity (ARI) and by the tax regime of the non-habitual residents (NHR regime).

Additionally the benefits of the presence of immigrants to Portuguese society have been evidenced expressing contributions on the demography, diversity and cultural and economic dynamics of the country (Oliveira, 2014; Peixoto, Craveiro, Malheiros, & Oliveira, 2017; Rosa, Seabra, & Santos, 2003). The effects of migrations on population decline, even leads to discuss the relevance of the notion of “migration replacement”, understanding that the aging of the population can be counteracted by a certain volume of immigrants.

By contrast repercussions of migrations in the urban space are less mentioned despite the contributions of immigrants in the configuration of the urban landscape (Gésero, 2014). The spatial expression of migrations within the Portuguese territory must take into account the evolution and characteristics of migratory flows, but also the process of urban growth, the characteristics of the housing stock, the principles of spatial planning, housing and urban policies.

The urban development in Portugal is characterized by a rapid urban growth at the end of the 20th century, not accompanied by desirable spatial planning measures. The inability to regulate urbanization which was replaced by an absence of action in the face of the complex urban patterns originated (combinations of urban sprawl, fragmentation) (Portas, 2011). In addition the housing in Portugal is also a problem. Notwithstanding the housing and urbanism rights enshrined in the Constitution of the Portuguese Republic (CRP) there was an absence of housing policies and the inability of the State to regulate Real Estate activity which significantly contributed to the persistence of housing lack (Ferreira, 1987; Nunes, 2011; Serra, 2002).

Recently affected by the economic crisis, the housing market undergoes transformations, confirming as perceived tendencies, the commodification and privatization of the housing sector. These processes were facilitated by a reinforcement of the discourses of valorisation of the urban rehabilitation and of the rental market framed by new legal acts which generates profits for property owners and investors, namely through “touristification” and gentrification² of the central and historical urban areas.

Another trend is the reduction of state intervention in housing. The social housing stock, despite little significant in quantitative terms, it was decisive for the improvement of the quality of life of many families living in precarious conditions in the last decades of the 20th century. There was an investment decrease in this sector namely in the maintenance and management of the existing neighbourhoods, and a shrinkage of the housing public promotion, starting from the from the early years of the new millennium, when the construction cycle associated with the Special Rehabilitation Program (PER) closed (IHRU, 2015).

In addition to the changes associated with the housing supply and the functioning of the market, the economic crisis had strong impacts on the access and maintenance of housing by many families, mainly the most vulnerable ones. Notwithstanding the prices for housing continue to be high, with a low number of affordable housing (in the private and public sector). The immigrant population, mainly non-EU immigrants shares these difficulties and adds to these, associated to their overrepresentation in unfavourable

¹ The Portuguese Immigration and borders service (SEF) accounts 445262 foreigners in 2010, 395195 in 2014 and 3388731 in 2015. According to the Ministry of Justice and the Portuguese National Statistical Institute (INE) a part of this decrease is explained by naturalizations.

² Gentrification is the process of social recomposition of the population in a given territory, as a result of the urban transformations that occurred in that territory, namely through renovation and urban regeneration operations. The improvements in the built environment and the social and economic revaluation of the area increase the economic value of housing and commercial spaces, making them inaccessible to the low-income population. As a result, there is a gradual replacement of the poorest residents by groups of higher socio-economic status. For a detailed review on this topic see Smith (1996) and Rodrigues (2008).

employment situations, situations of discrimination, difficulties and inequalities in access to credit, restrictions and constraints on access to public housing and other social supports and less access to information (Fonseca & Malheiros, 2013; Malheiros & Fonseca, 2011).

On the other hand, must not be forgotten, the financialization of the real estate sector in which the foreign investment is also present. The housing market, facing with the stagnation in construction and in the acquisition of own house, relied on new strategies based on urban regeneration and dynamization of the rental market, the luxury market, of the temporary and shortterm use of housing for tourism purposes. In this context, foreign investment seems to have had positive repercussions on market growth, not being negligible the advantages attributed to investors by the Portuguese government through ARI and NHR regime as well strategies to raise tourism and for attracting students and skilled workers.

Immigrants in Portugal have different profiles, as a result of the dates of entry into the country, nationality, socioeconomic characteristics and legal status. In turn, this diversity results in different positions in the Portuguese housing market. In a simplified way there is a duality in the access to housing by immigrants based on their economic capacity and investment interest in the housing sector. Some are in an advantageous position and can access higher levels of the real estate market, namely luxury segments. This group tends to appreciate spaces with qualified architecture and urbanism, in well-equipped areas and with socially prestigious status, and many times cultural and historical values associated. These areas, if only accessible to the classes with greater economic power, promote auto-segregation. This type of demand is especially profitable for the real estate sector by allowing a higher profit margin.

The others, the vast majority of immigrants are in less qualified segments of the labour market that places them at the level of the lower and middle-low social classes, and therefore in a vulnerable position to access housing. In this case they develop housing strategies towards the lower segments of the market, not only formal but also informal. This duality is confirmed through the situation of foreigners in the Lisbon housing stock (Malheiros & Fonseca, 2011; Ramos et al., 2015).

In the Portuguese context, there is no depth debate regarding the impacts of the Residence Visa for the investors and the implementation of favourable tax regimes for non-habitual residents. Although these are explored in individual projects (Loureiro, 2016; Mesquita, 2014; Quintela, 2014) the discussion has not been wide-ranging, especially with regard to the consequences of these at local and national level. This paper addresses the theme because the benefits deriving from these programs tend to be associated with investments in the real estate market. Other strategies for attracting foreigners should also be followed up, such as those targeted to international students and tourists, groups that have been growing as indicated by Alves (2015) and INE (2015).

Immigrant investor programs are strategies for attracting foreign investment. According to the political choice of the countries in which they are applied, it grants right of residence, citizenship or tax benefits to investors, professionals qualified (foreigners or even national citizens). The beneficiaries of these programmes choose to do it in countries with attractive social, economic, political and security conditions (Loureiro, 2016; Sumption & Hooper, 2014). Within a competitive context of demand for resources and capital the Portuguese government had implemented the residence permit for investment (ARI) in 2012, under the Law 29/2012 of 9 August. The program provides a valid residency permit in Portugal (Golden Visa) in exchange of capital investment made through: a) the purchase of real estate; b) investment in funds or c) creation of jobs. The acquisition of real estate is the most significant investment in this program (see Table 1) considering either the number of residence permits (94% of total residence permits were obtained through the acquisition of real estate) or the value of the investments (90% of the investment was made in real estate).

The tax regime of the non-habitual resident is implemented in Portugal in 2009 and is aimed at foreign or Portuguese citizens who have been abroad and wish to live in Portugal. The objective of the programme, according to information available, on the Portuguese finance website¹, is to attract non-resident professionals qualified in high value-added activities, intellectual property, industrial know-how and beneficiaries of pensions abroad.

¹http://info.portaldasfinancas.gov.pt/NR/rdonlyres/83762009-3DC2-47FC-ABBE-35EFE35E8865/0/IRS_RNH_PT.pdf

To understand the purposes, impact of these programmes and its target in the real estate sector it is important to remember that these supports are instituted in a time of economic crisis, which has had high impacts, especially in the real estate sector. According to Quintela (2014:76) the Real Estate Mediating Professionals and Companies Association (APEMIP) revealed that investments made under the scopes of ARI and NHR, including investments from national emigrants had increase real estate sales since June 2013.

Types of investment	Number of Resident Permit		Investment	
	N°	%	Eur	%
Acquisition of property	4712	94,18	2.772.806.471,60	90,1
Transfer of funds	284	5,68	305.696.704,02	9,9
Job creation	7	0,14	---	0,0
Total	5003	100,00	3.078.503.175,62	100,0

Table 1 – Resident Permit for investment Activities (ARI) – 8/10/2012 to 30/11/2016

* Considering family unification the total number of resident permits is 13133.

Source: adapted from statistical map, available in http://www.sef.pt/documentos/56/Mapa_ARI_PT_abril17.pdf

These kinds of programmes are controversial in different ways. These policies are characterized as a way of “selling visas and citizenship” (Sumption & Hooper, 2014) and as a mechanism to transform a country in a tax haven for foreigners (Mesquita, 2014), illustrating distinct response by the State to immigrants, according with their resources. Moreover is hard to reach a consensus on whether these programmes are promoting migration or investments. Within the framework of the ARI it is required to the beneficiary a minimum time of physical/residential time stay in the territory but this period of time is limited to seven days in the first year of the benefit¹. The contradiction increases when some measures concern with procedures related with ARI are set out in the Strategic Plan for Migration (measure 76). Within the NHR Regime and according to the Portuguese tax law, the so-called NHR will have to stay in Portugal for more than 183 days, followed or interpolated or have a dwelling, under conditions, who proves the intention to maintain and occupy the dwelling as habitual residence (Mesquita, 2014:7). This condition occurs along with doubts related to how effectively control the length of the stay in the country.

Moreover the economic benefits of this kind of programme to the country aren't clear (Loureiro, 2016:18). As Sumption and Hoop (2014) have highlighted there may be some shortterm benefits such as job creation, rising house prices, and increased tax revenues, but in the long run these programs could lead to stagnation in the housing market.

3.3 A TYPOLOGICAL PROPOSAL

Considering what has been described, I propose a typology of immigrants and foreigners to explore their impacts and relations in the housing sector. In this exploratory framework I considered the housing dimension, although the ambition to present a wider framework who allows a more comprehensive perspective of the immigration and processes of urban transformation (spatial, demographic, economic, social and cultural). For now our main point is to warn about in the use of traditional categories of immigrants when studying both migration and cities. Taking into account the various urban uses, housing is one of the most significant allowing a set of analyses, as already mentioned. At this stage of the research is possible to easily explore, quantitative data from secondary source who considerer both nationality and housing, namely collected through census. For a broader analysis of the role of immigrants in urban space, would be required intensive fieldwork on immigrant entrepreneurship and urban experiences of diverse ethnic groups.

The typological proposal was performed considering two situations in confrontation: the most significant entries of foreigners and immigrants in the country and the known impacts they have on the housing market (see table 2). I started by categorizing immigrants and foreigners presents in the city having resorted to traditional variables linked to migration like the motive to entry, the duration of stay, the education level. Thought the various combinations of variables are specified some groups of immigrants and foreigners. The purpose to enter the country and the length of stay is seen as motivation factor to

¹ Dispatch no. 1661-A/2013 de 28 January 2013

invest more or less in the housing, If the the immigrant is coming alone or with family or if there is an expectation of family reunification can also be established as to deal with. For international students and tourists the choice of a place to stay probably is more related with the presence of amenities, historical and cultural status of the neighbourhood than for long-term workers. Finally the level of education and the immigrant status is indicative of the purchasing power that a given group has, a determining factor for the demand of housing.

To describe the impacts of foreigners and immigrants in the housing market has been incorporated their housing preferences. The short term labour market migrants as well as students will probable access an accommodation in the rental market. Situations of homeownership are more likely to happen for long term migrants and other beneficiaries of the aforementioned programs. Many of the beneficiaries of these programs have acquired a home, either on a permanent basis to remain in the territory or as a form of monetization of capital, namely through lease or subsequent sale of propriety.

By contrast social and institutional support is fundamental, for some of the people entering the country, namely asylum seekers, refugees, not only for the housing component but also for other needs. However the public support does not answer to the housing problems of many immigrants in disadvantaged situations. There are many restrictions and constraints on access to public housing and a very limited number of accommodations. For the groups of foreigners who declare a short stay in the country, like tourists and visitors their needs tend to be fulfil by the offer of short-term rental markets (like the one promoted by Airbnb) or tourist accommodations. I include this last group in this framework because a first visit to the city can be one first step in a migration experience and the presence of tourists and visitors can is a driver of change in the real estate (Gant, 2015).

Through this framework it is possible to identify clear relations between mobilities and the housing market as wells as pointing implicitly new settlements patterns and urban transformations. At a later stage this relations could be further developed considered the geography of the studied groups, the type of location area (holiday regions, historical centre, elite zones, renewed areas, etc) and also the preferential socio-spatial locations (whether groups want to be closer to similar groups in social and/or ethnic terms).

Categories of immigrants and foreigners				Impacts in housing market -				
Motive for entry	Duration of stay*	Migrants education and status	Categories (examples)	Home ownership		Rent Market	Social and institutional support (social housing)	Informal market
				Investment	Occupied dwelling			
Labour related	Short-term	Predominantly high	Intra-company transferees; Posted workers, Managers, Researchers, Professors and other key personnel professionals, Job seekers			XXX		
		Mixed or undefined	Accompanying family members of temporary workers			XXX		XXX
		Predominantly low	Seasonal workers (agricultural activities or others) or other workers			XXX		XXX
	Long-term	Predominantly high	Highly skilled workers		XXX	XXX		
		Mixed or undefined	Family reunification		XXX	XXX	XXX	XXX
		Predominantly low	Low skilled workers			XXX	XXX	XXX
Study related or Mixed labour and other purposes	Short-term	Predominantly high	Students, Trainees, Youth programme			XXX		
		Mixed or undefined	Working holiday makers			XXX		
		Predominantly low	An-pair			XXX		
Investment/ retirement	Very short-term to long term	Predominantly high	Residence permit for investment activities	XXX	XXX			
	Short-term to long-term	Predominantly high	Non Habitual Residents	XXX	XXX			
Humanitary categories	Uncertainty	---	Asylum seekers, medical treatment, refugees				XXX	
Others	Very short to short-term	---	Tourists, travellers, visitors			XXX		

* Long-term stays are last more than 1 year; Short-term more than 3 months; and less than 1 year and very short-term less than 3 months

Table 2 – Immigrants and foreigners and impacts on the housing market

4 FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

Immigrants and foreigners contribute to change in the urban dynamics to which it made an active contribution the impacts of these groups in the housing sector. In Portugal, despite the small number of immigrants, there is an increasingly diverse real estate market and rental market, especially targeted to foreign investors and lifestyle migrants, confirming a trend, already announced by Sumption and Hooper (2014). At the same time difficulties in accessing housing by the most disadvantaged groups, including labour immigrants, persist. It is argued that these aspects should be considered not only in the context of migration but also in the context of urban planning and spatial planning, under an interdisciplinary and comprehensive vision. So the implementation of measures for the management of migration flows, the impacts of the entry and stay of foreigners and immigrants in the territory must be considered and reflected in spatial planning strategies. However migration policies are still very much anchored to economical dimensions of migrations associated with labour, despite the discourses that praise interdisciplinary approaches of migration - a complex phenomenon of contemporary societies with social, economic and political implications. Thus we defend that should be given greater prominence to the diversity of migrants and foreigners and their role in urban spaces This can be done through a confrontation between the management of the entry, presence, exit and status of foreigners and the territorial planning policies, in which we include the housing policies. There are several limitations in this paper, part of them related with the exploratory nature (preparatory and preliminary) of the approach intended to be developed in the future. The discussion has focused on housing sector, not being possible to explore data about impacts of immigrants in other dimensions. Further data collection is required to achieve that objective, namely through mixed methods. It should also be noted that the study and analysis of the situation in Portugal, with specificities, must be framed in the European and international context. Notwithstanding, the time and data restrictions, it was possible to confirm the need to develop approaches that deepen the role of immigrants as agents of urban space transformation, where it is considered that migration policies are not negligible. Broadly, this paper has underlined the importance of discussing and reflecting migrations in an unconventional way and in different fields of study. The Portuguese case has made possible to outline diverse situations that deserve further development, namely the strategies, disguised as immigrant recruitment programs to attract immigrants, which clearly support the real estate sector.

In view of the debate here sustained, it is evident the relevance of an interdisciplinary view. The categorization of immigrants and foreigners present in the country and about to enter, considering their relations with the urban space could be an interesting starting point to deepen these issues in an empirical study, and to influence public policies in the medium and long term.

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