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UNDERSTANDING THE POST-INDUSTRIAL CITY



BAUHAUS URBAN STUDIES 4
KÖNIGSHAUSEN & NEUMANN

Understanding the Post-Industrial City

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Understanding (Introduction)

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It is obvious that cities have become a profound change sensible. Apparent system of urban multiple transformations at the same time. Not only in developing countries

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The "Welfare" City: from the emerging experiences to the construction of the urban social emancipation. The Lisbon case¹.

Vanessa Duarte de Sousa

Introduction

This text seeks to present an introductory review of the doctoral thesis in progress that aims to portray the emergence of practices of citizen participation as a response to the specific problems of the city. The central argument is that in the various fragments of the city its inhabitants are looking to solve the problems generated in those spaces, though it is often said that the population is barely active or demanding. On the other hand, we sought to demonstrate that these practices should not constitute in themselves a reason for less state intervention, but that they should be looked at as a complement to building a more just city, shared by all those who inhabit it.

At first, we advocate an epistemological and theoretical pluralism in looking at the city. It is recognized that many invisibility policies also have their origin in theoretical invisibility. Moreover, only the presence of multiple perspectives will allow us to capture the diversity of practices regarding those that include different ways of action that we are not accustomed to observe. Following is a discussion of the main discourses about the city today. We intend to capture some of the key rhetoric that mediates the theoretical construct of reading about the city. A city that, overall, seems to demonstrate the multiple meanings of change, of crisis, but also of hope. A city that in many senses has an associated prefix 'post' (postmodern, post-industrial, post-metropolis, etc.) to mark a set of intense visible changes in the transition to the twenty-first century.

In the process of producing insights on the dynamics of participation and involvement of 'urbanites', we discuss the relationship between the city and citizenship. Citizenship built on the recognition of self and other, broader rights of access and ownership of the city. Here is where we begin to design the concept that we disentangle throughout the investigation, the welfare city. It starts with a framework of the sociology of cities to discuss some of the proposals that try to understand the functioning of social relations in the city. It presents a comprehensive model of this city, which marks the centre of a set of dividing lines that accompany the struggle for social emancipation - the abyssal line and North-South line. The development of an analytical proposal for the concept of the welfare city follows. From the social, economical, political and ideological dimensions we try to identify some of the theoretical and empirical questions that will support the future work on that concept.

¹ I would like to give a special thanks to Susana Cabaço for the review of and suggestions to the text.

Finally, we present some preliminary results regarding the diversity of practices of citizen participation emerging in the city of Lisbon, the empirical context where the research process takes place. For that matter, we seek to present evidence of the need for a broader look at these practices, considering that they can vary significantly in form and content, and depending on the concrete spatiality they fit into.

An epistemological and theoretical pluralism in the study of cities

We are no longer surprised by the finding that there is a need for an epistemological and theoretical transition in the analysis of cities and that this depends either on the contexts or the reflections made on them. It is true that other views are emerging, expanding the territorial range that forms the basis for discussion. Nowadays, the sociology of cities looks more cautious regarding the limitations searching for an increase in the content, time and reference space. Fortuna (2006) points out, in this domain, three limitations of conventional urban sociology:

- I) the emphasis attributed to central and socio-economically privileged cities;
- II) an underlining of casuistic features or transferring an extreme generalization of specific features of some cities onto other ones; and
- III) developmental concern about southern cities, without considering their sociological background, and focusing on cities of modernity, the so-called global cities.

We are increasingly challenging the notion of a Eurocentric urban sociology that causes invisibility and annuls the existence of a vast number of cities at a global level. Unsurprisingly, this sociology built its research repertoire referring in a greater extent to a small number of emblematic cities in the analysis undertaken: Manchester, Berlin, Paris, London, Vienna, Chicago, Los Angeles or New York. We argue that this might be seen as a setback of an urban sociology built on the residual experience of some global cities. It's an urban sociology that takes almost exclusively Europe and the United States of America as references.

Moreover, the need to review the subjects of the sociology of cities stems from a number of significant changes. Globally we find that territorial reorganization processes are not limited to the assertion that the world today is mostly urban in its spatial configuration and in the ways of life, and that there is a new set of cities, by their size, which will occupy a central place in the world ranking. It should be noted that the problem of urbanization has long been portrayed in urban sociology². It is in the cities that we witness the global social changes, and it is precisely those that have been invisible in sociological analysis that are em-

² See Castells (1979) and Lefebvre (1991), the last one published in 1968.

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blematic of the way, meaning and content of these changes. Talking about present global capitalism is, in large part, complementary to the analysis of the emergence, development and context of megacities. It is in the South that we can find the most important part of the world's megacities.

But if their visibility today can join their economic and political importance, their invisibility may have had motives of the same order. According to Seabrook (1996), southern cities live the "ghosts of the urban past of the North." If there is a dimension that cannot be overlooked in the South, it will be the presence of the colonial cities and the imperial cities. And these 'ghosts' are undoubtedly a result of colonialism and imperialism and its impact on development patterns of the South. It was a set of practices fueled by rhetoric that gave the city the central role in promoting political, social and economic dynamics of nations and by that there were also recorded restructuring determinants in rural areas. "Arising in times/places of privilege, the European sociological narratives wished that the world across Europe and across America would adopt their diagnosis and urban city model, which was produced in a self-centered way." (Fortuna, 2006: 128).

In the discussion of urban relocation to cities of the South, the Eurocentric hegemony will not be fully overcome. Readings of southern cities from the South itself are emerging, which is a novelty with regard to the importance attributed to them. It does not mean that these readings did not exist before. What happens is that today they achieve a higher level of theoretical legitimacy, and an externalization across borders where they are produced, which had not been accomplished before. This can be explained by global communication flows that characterize our societies but also justify the paradigm shift that is being noted in various scientific fields.

Against this background, there is the support for an epistemological pluralism in the studies of cities. This is not a proposal to ensure only the coexistence of multiple theoretical perspectives, but rather to seek the promotion of a dialogue. As suggested by Taylor (2007: 289): i) the cities have to be considered in their trans-historical and geographical natures; ii) the theories of the city that take it as unique - without working in other cities - are inadequate; and iii) cities have to be studied relationally. With regard to the reality of the North, there is an understanding of the harmful effects of taking their cities as a reference model worldwide. About the reality of the South, it is true that there are social problems that have to be reported - the phenomena of extreme exclusion, unemployment of large masses of the population³, poverty, spatial biases, exacerbated urban growth, etc. The urban social initiatives that occur are interesting and have been taken as examples of emancipation, particularly for the North. There are multiple possibilities for structuring the dialogue, which may benefit from a sociology of cities that should be broad in theoretical approaches that sustain it,

³ Seabrook (2007) uses the term "urbanization as default" to address these new growing processes of cities that are accompanied by lack of work, particularly for more disqualified manpower.

global in covering territories and diverse in the cultural perspectives that are integrated.

New topics are offered for discussion, thanks to a new reality of cities that did not make history in urban sociology. We emphasize, first, the study of megalopolis processes, which is interesting because it allows us to discuss, simultaneously, North and South, highlighting the elements of convergence and differentiation in these processes. Given the visibility and integration of other cities, it not only diversifies the territorial field of reference, so much as it enhances the interest for a multitude of ongoing processes of urbanization. Summing up, today we are facing a sociology of cities that have to deal with realities that are culturally distinct and not always comparable. As Seabrook (1996) underlines, what is similar about them is also what creates the distance between them.

Furthermore, the recognition of the complexity of the urbanization process allows us to see that there is no linearity in these processes. For example, when we examine the changes in rates of urbanization in Africa we have to relativize and contextualize the findings, since it is a quick process, but a relatively new one - which is not the case in Europe. To the same extent that we see megacities growing, we became aware of the significant growth taking place in other types of cities. If it is true that we have to observe the megalopolis process - starting with two megacities in 1950 to 20 in 2010 and 27 in 2025 - it is no less true that the urbanization of the world is not limited to this process. Half the world's urban population will continue, in 2025, living in cities with fewer than 500,000 inhabitants⁴. These and other new themes represent the range of possibilities for dialogue between North and South, discussing in detail the global social changes that are emblematic in the city, and that arise from the city to the world. This is the search for a global narrative, as reported by Fortuna (2006, 144).

Analyzing the practices of citizen participation that emerge in response to specific problems experienced in the city, which is the subject of our research, demands this epistemological and theoretical pluralism. Besides many of the initiatives being influenced by contributions of similar experiences around the world, particularly in Latin America, the complexity and multidimensionality of action requires a broad and diverse look that is not consistent with a sociological exclusivism.

The multiple rhetorics about transformations in the city

Analyzing the trends of territorial reorganization on a global scale, we can mention the fact that we have an increasingly urbanized world, albeit with completely different socio-economic characteristics composing it. On the «stage» of the decision making, cities are central «actors». It is undisputed that the city suffered

⁴ World Urbanization Prospects: The 2007 Revision Population Database. United Nations Population Division.

a series of structural changes, the most noticeable characteristic of the XXI century. The city used: the post-industrial city, the postmodern city, global city, analyzed can be found, especially linked to the processes that occur.

There are obvious difficulties in classifying the morphological changes, such as post-modern city, which is objectionable is that it does not show a dramatic growth of the nation to which it belongs.

Some authors (Giddens, 1984; Warde, 2007). A discontinuity that is entering an era of consequences of more than before" (Giddens, 1984). The argument of using the term, on the other hand, there are a number of restructuring as the case of the 1980s, and, secondly, the most significant sign is "the prefix 'post' in the modern metropolitan forms and patterns, established styles of the metropolis continue to be superimposed on the new urban structures" (Ja & Castells, 2000) modern city.

Thus, the structural changes of the past. The use of the term differentiation in the city of the 60's, the postmodern

⁵ Whereas the definition of a megacity, fact is that among the population

a series of structural changes from the industrial revolution onwards. But the most noticeable changes are noted in the late twentieth century, with continuity in the XXI century. And to portray them there are several terms that have been used: the post-industrial metropolis or city, post-metropolis, post-Fordist city, postmodern city, global city, and metapolis, among others. The variables to be analyzed can be found in each of these expressions. These rhetorics are intrinsically linked to the complexity in designing a reading and linear synthesis of the processes that occur in the cities.

There are obvious controversies about the epistemological point of view of classifying the moment in which we live; they can be seen in the uses of terms such as post-modern, hyper-modern, and super-modern (Dear, 2007: 55). Less objectionable is the term megacity, often used to describe these cities which show a dramatic growth, and they occupy a relatively important position within the nation to which they belong⁵ (Borja & Castells, 2004; Sassen, 1998).

Some authors discuss the changes in denying the existence of a postmodern society, initially identified by Jean-Francois Lyotard (Giddens, 1995, Savage & Warde, 2007). Assuming that the current situation is characterized by discontinuities that mark the course of human history, it is stated that "far from entering an era of postmodernity, we are rather starting a season in which the consequences of modernity are becoming more radicalized and universalized than before" (Giddens, 1995: 2). For this reason, Soja (1995, 2004) presents the argument of using the term Post-metropolis. He recognizes that, on the one hand, there are a number of authors that assume the current dynamics of urban restructuring as the most important since the emergence of cities 6,000 years ago, and, secondly, there are others who argue that this change is the second most significant since the emergence of the industrial city. But he clarifies that "the prefix 'post' marks the transition between what is called, conventionally, the modern metropolis and something significantly different, new postmodern forms and patterns of urban life that are in continuous challenge to the well-established styles of urban analysis" (Soja, 2004: 92). It is said that the modern metropolis continues to exist, but that the new processes of urbanization were superimposed on older, hence generating more complex, urban forms. This is a new urban structure that articulates along with the previous existing forms (Borja & Castells, 2004; Soja, 1995, 2004). The postmodern city coexists with the modern city.

Thus, the study of new urban forms requires a particular attention to the past. The use of the prefix "post" means, therefore, the recognition of a greater differentiation in cities today compared with the elements that characterize the city of the 60's, and not the sense of societal breakdown that Giddens reads in the postmodern author. When Soja (2004) talks about the six discourses on

⁵ Whereas the population criterion, while important, is not decisive. For the description of a megacity, factors are taken into consideration related to a non-proportional distribution among the population, employment and output to the nation (Sassen, 1998: 48).

post-metropolis, he does so for the systematization of the different processes of urban restructuring in terms of causes of changes, consequences and solutions that have been found.

The post-Fordist or post-industrial city

When talking about "flexcity" Soja (Ibid.) depicts the relationship between the processes of urbanization and industrialization, which translates into a set of changes in the political economy of urbanization. The restructuring for the post-Fordist model is responsible for a number of changes, either in terms of economic structure, increasingly based on services, or by the production process, where flexibility becomes the central concept.

Carl Honoré, for example, emphasizes the temporal dimension of all these changes, calling this era "turbo-capitalism." Taking a journalistic approach (almost sociological) about the changes in terms of lifestyles, he underlines the many consequences of a fast life, which the author calls the "orgy of acceleration" (Honoré, 2004). All the post-Fordist model requires is the spatial concentration of human resources, not necessarily being attached to an enterprise, that are easily deployed in terms of projects that companies want to execute (Borja & Castells, 2004). The post-Fordist regime is characterized by the prevalence of a specific mode of regulation, which shows the retreat of the Welfare State, resulting in the polarization of incomes and the emergence of so-called 'homeless capital' (Wolch and Dear in Dear, 2007: 63.) For Davis (quoted in Savage & Warde, 2007: 76), postmodernism is the architectural product of the political regime of *laissez-faire*.

The postmodern city is essentially considered as a site of consumption, while the city of Chicago was considered for its industrial production. Here Savage and Warde (2007: 77) question the distinction that is being postulated by postmodernists, since the modern city was also considered for its side of consumption. Moreover, the postmodern city is also understood as the post-industrial city (Salgueiro, 1998). In this line of thought, the stress is on the importance of technological change and the economic structure visible from the 60's of last century. Although these views are not consensual, the metropolis now includes not only differences in how the physical space of the city will be redesigned, but also in social organization.

But there are peculiarities in the urbanization process, the result of this new production model. First, there is the continuing urbanization of the countries already very urbanized - the Northwest. All other countries and South Asia show exacerbated growth of the urban population. Mike Davis (2006) gives some examples of these dynamics: India has, according to the latest census conducted, 35 cities with over 1 million inhabitants, the city of Lagos had about 300,000 inhabitants in 1950, rising to 12.5 million today.

All these changes lead to the growth of already overcrowded Europe by an average of 10% in 2017 but in 2017 the world of economic and social changes in the field of social sciences is increasingly scarce resulting in human atrophy, waning quality of life."

The cosmopolis or the metropolis

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All these changes lead us to ask the decisive questions: Will there be no limits to the growth of the urban population? What is the carrying capacity of these already overcrowded spaces? The latest projections indicate a population loss in Europe by an average of 0.1% per year until 2017, although the African continent will continue to grow, around 2% per year. The pace of growth will slow, but in 2017 the world will have 7 billion people. We don't merely speak of issues of economic and environmental sustainability, as has indeed been suggested, but of the field of sociability and "living together". Knowing that the soil is an increasingly scarce resource in these cities, we run serious risks of creating spatial human atrophy, where being a metro-citizen may mean going through an "irritating way of life."

The cosmopolis or the global city

The "cosmopolis," in turn, refers to the process of globalization of cities and the existence of a new hierarchy of global cities. The concept of global city in Borja and Castells is complementary to the cosmopolis that Soja refers to:

The city is a global network of urban nodes of different levels and with different functions that extends across the globe and acts as the nerve center of the new economy, in an interactive system of variable geometry to which companies and cities should constantly adapt."(Borja & Castells, 2004: 43)

Almost all elements presented as being the "key to success" of a global city, although known for their volatility, which Borja and Castells did point out in their book *Local and Global*, have completely collapsed. In this work, the authors highlight the importance of some elements such as an international airport, luxury hotels, corporate finance and consulting, local infrastructure that could support for foreign investors, etc. (Ibid.: 37). The current international scenario shows that where local economies are globalized, they demonstrate their vulnerabilities more easily. We are facing a "snowball effect", where parts of the globalized activities that erode drag along several complementary activities - the clusters that characterize the post-Fordism production model - and a whole bunch of countries that had prominent roles in the global scenario due to these activities. But the whole metropolitan scenario occurs in very restricted stages.

A limited number of cities host the major financial markets and major companies specialized in providing services (Sassen, 1998: 44).

The actual research on cities has been restricted to very few of these. Now what Saskia Sassen adds is that this entire production model is being fueled by issues of power and global control. Hence, if there are cities that focus on specific

types of activities that lead the global economy, this will be the result of demand for that power. As she states,

The fundamental dynamic that explains the role played by large cities in the world economy is the fact that they concentrate on infrastructure and services that produce the necessary conditions to exercise overall supervision (Ibid: 100).

The multi-center city and the social-spatial hybridism

As empirical consequences of the restructuring processes, Soja (2004) refers to the emergence of the "*exopolis*", i.e. the growth of external cities, other manifestations of extreme urbanization of suburbs, along with the reconstruction of urban centers. This is a simultaneous transformation of post-metropolis into interior-exterior and exterior-interior. Given these changes he considers it no longer possible to use the traditional labels of suburban, non-urban or exurban. The post-metropolis has a spatial configuration that is not at all comparable to the modern city.

It is what Lefebvre identified as a process of 'implosion-explosion' in the city. On the one hand, the city extends to the point of generating the megalopolis. Second, the urban concentrations become gigantic. The city centers deteriorate, along with a parallel process of peripheral urban growth. In the centers there may be a double process: Frequently they are neglected to the point of being appropriated by the poor, creating new ghettos, and also becoming places of power for more affluent groups who wish to maintain their positions in the center of city (1991: 10-11). Urban life is understood as central to the development of society as a whole. This is a city that has experienced three distinct periods: 1st period - industrialization destroys truth and its conscience; 2nd period - expansion of urbanization, where the company becomes dependent on the city as the economic reality itself; 3rd period - demand to reconstruct the centrality of cities, replacing the old centralities with new centers of decision making (Ibid.: 21).

Another possible name is "the city with multiple centers", characteristic of Los Angeles, as opposed to the city of Chicago that grows around its "central business district." The assumptions of Burgess's concentric model are not realized at all in the post-metropolis, figured here in Los Angeles (Dear, 2007; Kleniewski, 2007). For example, the outskirts of large metropolitan areas are characterized by the concentration of advanced services and the emergence of what became known as edge cities (Borja & Castells, 2004; Dear, 2007). These are spaces that, if traditionally peripheral, gained a new centrality and a new attribute in the context in which they operate. There are factors that are not necessarily "rational" and that may change the urban form, escaping the ability to advance modeling and unilinear prediction.

A fragmented city

The emergence of new inequities and polarities." Aware of the emergence of the post-metropolis, Simmel and Wirth said that the city must be tolerant and learn to live with its contradictions. The post-metropolis reveals the contradictions that are not what they were.

This existence of multiple centers in Los Angeles is an example — enclaves with strong identities — that is not possible to read contemporaneously (quoted in Savage & Ward, 2004). The geography of centrality and marginality in the new inequalities is not completely understood. The post-metropolis reveals dualisms. The post-metropolis reveals such as the working poor, the children of the poor, the children of the poor (done by their children), the children of the poor (comes a predominantly urban inequality is, moreover, shared). The city is characterized by great inequalities between classes — phenomenon that today is increasingly fragmented (Borja & Castells, 2004).

There is little evidence of the phenomenon of gentrification in different social groups in different parts of reality when its former reality is replaced. When spatial interactions are not a design flaw but as a deliberate strategy (Davis, 2007: 272).

Two trends that contrast with the visible in the geography of the city. On the one hand, there is a growing concentration of power at the transnational level. There are what one might call "edge cities" that go beyond everything that there are cities in the national urban hierarchy system. Moreover, cities that were peripheral or semi-peripheral become peripheral or semi-peripheral (Sen, 1998: 72)

A fragmented city

The emergence of new inequalities and new social biases Soja (2004) calls "metro-polarity." Aware of the cultural miscegenation that occurs there, Wirth recognized the city as a "mosaic of social worlds" (2001: 55). It should be added that Simmel and Wirth said that one of the characteristics of the urban citizen was to be tolerant and learn to live with difference. But the real life of the post-metropolis reveals the paradoxes and complexities in the structure of social relations that are not what they seem.

This existence of multiple cultures with a different spatial fragmentation – Los Angeles is an example – is also called a "heteropolis": the town is a cluster of enclaves with strong identities (Dear, 2007: 60). Patrick Wright states that it is possible to read contemporary social change from the 'scrutiny of our ruins' (quoted in Savage & Warde, 2007: 78). Sassen (1998) maintains that a new geography of centrality and marginality has been created. Understanding the stage of new inequalities is not compatible with traditional ways of understanding social dualisms. The post-metropolis brings with it new social and spatial categories such as the working poor, new orphans in the city (the elderly who are abandoned by their children), the ghettos and hyperghettos, etc. Indeed, poverty becomes a predominantly urban phenomenon. The argument about the increase in inequality is, moreover, shared by many authors. It is claimed that the current city is characterized by greater polarization of incomes, greater spatial division between classes - phenomena spread across the metropolis as a whole. The city today is increasingly fragmented and geographically dispersed (Kleniewski, 2007; Borja & Castells, 2004).

There is little evidence that social segregation is decreasing and the phenomenon of gentrification reveals the tendency of cities to host people from different social groups in different spaces. The social mix in the city is only one reality when its former residents do not leave it (Savage & Warde, 2007: 76). When spatial interactions begin to exist, the fortress effect emerges not as a design flaw but as a deliberate socio-spatial strategy, generating spatial apartheid (Davis, 2007: 272).

Two trends that contribute to new forms of inequality between cities are visible in the geography and characteristics of urban systems. On the one hand, there is a growing linkage between international cities. This is evident at the transnational, regional and global levels. In some instances there are what one might call geographies of articulation or hierarchies that go beyond everything and that operate on more than one level. This means that there are cities such as Paris or London, which belong to a system or national urban hierarchy, a transnational European system and a global system. Moreover, cities and regions outside of those hierarchies tend to become peripheral or even more remote than they have been so far. (Sassen, 1998: 72)

If Borja and Castells (2004) assumed there is a fragmentation of places and integration of spaces of flows, we would say that the present scenario leads to the formulation that the latter are also showing clear signs of vulnerability and that the solution for the "metropolis crisis" may involve the integration of places. It is the tight integration of these spaces of flows, which the authors already claimed to be the cause of existing social fragmentation, which is generating, at present, the entire collapse of the global financial and economic system as we know it in the past two decades. Only time will help clarify if this is futurism or realism.

The linear evolutionism was usurped by a non-linear and chaotic process, characterized by phenomena and pathological organizations (Dear, 2007). Mike Davis (2006) is in the group of authors underlining the more dramatic side of the polarization: the process of the slum on a global scale. He shows that the growth of slums in the southern hemisphere outshines the dynamics of urban growth. Using the results of the work *The Challenge of Slums*, published by the United Nations, Davis notes that there were globally more than 200,000 slums with a population ranging from a few hundred to 4 million inhabitants (eg. Neza/Chalco/Izta in Mexico City). According to other World Bank projections, Davis says that in 2035 poverty will be concentrated in the slums and half of urban growth in poor countries will be explained by the population explosion in the slums.

[...] The cities of the future, instead of being built out of glass and steel, as was anticipated by earlier generations of urbanists, will be built largely of brick, straw, recycled plastic, cement blocks and scrap wood. Instead of cities of light shining towards heaven, much of the twenty-first century urban world settles in squalor, surrounded by pollution, excrement and decay. In fact, the billion people who live in post-modern urban slums may even look with envy at the ruins of the sturdy mud homes of Catal Hüyük in Anatolia, built at the dawn of urban life 9000 years ago." (Ibid: 29)

This analysis reflects the spirit of denouncing the new sociology of cities, highlighting the unequal conditions of access to the city. The analysis of socio-spatial segregation processes has been present in sociology, but the complex ways in which these inequalities are structured and the geographical spaces that serve as a reference introduce new variables that are being explored. If the city offers opportunities for inclusion, it also creates mechanisms of high-spatial exclusion, of which the slums are its most expressive. As Pochmann et al say, the cities of today are composed of «islands of inclusion» surrounded by «an angry sea of exclusion» (2004: 151).

Exploring Davis leads us to the dark side of the city, one which few believe because we don't visualize it, don't feel it. Behind this town, there are millions of people living in poverty and it will be the city that will have to, by itself, answer all problems. *Planet of Slums* leads us to think for a moment that the city of fair-

ness, solidarity, and harmful consequences on environmental issues. In the metropolitan region for this reason, the process of well known environmental habitats, for example, consequences resulting from the capacity of resources to

We can summarize the process guided by a population that is diverse in its natural environment h

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In his last two discourses, he answers that have been one shows the trend of course regards the «c whole discussion of the metropolis is transformed know can be given as a balance and social control richest and the poorest mechanisms of private security to an increased fragmentation (Borja, 2005).

Some argue that the metropolis process and urban es about the new forms the mechanisms of social conflicted with crime and city, where the polis is

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is a non-linear and chaotic process, as Mike Dear (2007) shows. Mike Dear (2007) shows the more dramatic side of the process on a global scale. He shows that the growth of cities follows the dynamics of urban growth. Mike Dear's *Slums*, published by the United Nations, shows more than 200,000 slums with a population of up to 4 million inhabitants (e.g. according to other World Bank projections, 80% of the population is concentrated in the slums and half of the population is affected by the population explosion in

are built out of glass and steel, as modern urbanists, will be built largely of bricks and scrap wood. Instead of the clean lines of the twenty-first century, the cities are filled with pollution, excrement and noise. Mike Dear's post-modern urban slums may be described as "mud homes of Catal Hüyük 10,000 years ago." (Ibid: 29)

concerning the new sociology of cities, the focus is on the city. The analysis of socio-spatial processes in sociology, but the complex interplay of social and geographical spaces that are being explored. If the city is seen as a mechanism of high-spatial exclusion, as Pochmann et al say, the city is a "mechanism of exclusion" surrounded by "an angry

of the city, one which few believe in. In this town, there are millions of people that will have to, by itself, answer for a moment that the city of fair-

ness, solidarity, and cohesion will remain a utopia. A reading of the most harmful consequences of the process of urban restructuring extends to environmental issues. Dear (2007) states that if human habitation throughout the metropolitan region is possible, this is due to the manipulation of nature. For this reason, the process of metropolitan development carries with it serious, very well known environmental problems, such as pollution and loss of natural habitats, for example. Honoré (2004) argues that the environmental consequences resulting from consumption is much greater than the spare capacity of resources that are used.

We can summarize the «postmodern urbanism prototype» as this: it is a process guided by a global restructuring permeated by networks, where populations are diverse and are all contained in carceral cities, and where the natural environment has been erased (Dear, 2007: 64).

The city of illusions and the privatization of public spaces

In his last two discourses on the post-metropolis, Soja (2004) emphasizes the answers that have been given to the urban restructuring processes underway. If one shows the trend of social crisis, the other points to the utopia. His fifth discourse regards the «carceral archipelago». He retrieves this terminology and the whole discussion of the work from Mike Davis in *The City of Quartz*. The post-metropolis is transformed into a fortress, where the gated communities that we know can be given as examples. It remains united by carceral technologies of violence and social control. As a result of an increasingly visible gap between the richest and the poorest, a society is emerging that protects itself through mechanisms of private security, fearing those who are devoid of resources, which leads to an increased fragmentation and appears as the privatized city's public spaces (Borja, 2005).

Some argue that there is a relationship between increased crime, the megapolopolis process and uncontrolled urban growth. In this sense, an analysis emerges about the new forms of spatial segregation linked to forms of privatization of the mechanisms of self-protection against this new city designed as unsafe, afflicted with crime and disorder. It is the emergence of the carceral city or prison city, where the polis is replaced by the police (Soja, 1995, 2004, 2006)

Residential areas with gated neighborhoods [gated communities], in which no one can enter except by express invitation, which have armed guards twenty-four hours a day and closed circuit television, are a reversed reflection, a mirror of involuntary ghettos where the outcasts, the refractory and recent immigrants were pushed. They are voluntary ghettos that arise to defend our own security and keep outsiders at bay, with the exclusive company of people of the same species (Bauman, 2005: 81).

In *Fortress LA*, Davis (2007) states that one of the manifestations of economic restructuring in the polarization between rich and poor is reflected in their physical separation within the city. He assumes that the agents responsible for the territory are those that lead to create an image of insecurity, and allow the emergence of a social apartheid. This, in turn, leads to the reduction of opportunities for a democratic mixing that was, in the past, one of the prime movers of the city.

He criticizes the post-liberalism in the city of Los Angeles, characterized by the defense of luxury lifestyles in addition to the repression in space and movement undertaken by an 'armed response', which he considers to be the master narrative of the 90's. To Davis, the silence of urban theory on the city's militarization is strange. He writes that Richard Nixon's projections from 1969 have been confirmed: "We live in fortress cities divided between 'fortified cells' of an abundant society and 'spaces of terror' where the police battle the criminalized poor." (Ibid., 2007: 268).

Part of the security mechanisms, presumes Davis, relates less to defense and more to the element of social prestige. He assumes that we have a new class struggle in the built environment. From the centrality of the contradictions evident in the areas of production, which consolidated the Marxist view of inequalities, we go for assigning greater weight to the contradictions emerging in the areas of socialization and consumption, which fall under the neo-Marxism of Davis. In the last discourse on the post-metropolis, Soja (2004) refers to the emergence of *simcities*. Everyday life is increasingly marked by hyper-reality and the simulacrum. It is a place where the simulations of a supposed real world attract and activate our urban imagination and infiltrate our daily lives. Although he refers at the very imaginary scenarios produced by Hollywood and Disneyland, it is certain that other references could be included here. Michael Dear (2007: 61) states that Los Angeles remains one of the flagship cities of the American dream, known by the spirit of experimentation, risk and hope. The metaphorical usage that is attributed to a "theme park" refers to the emergence of multiple architectures in the city, places he considers that don't have spatiality and reveal mere simulation. For Dear, Disneyland is only an archetype of a city characterized by lack of connectivity among its inhabitants and a sense of community.

All the rhetoric about cities that has been designed as a territorial marketing strategy will be part of this simulation scenario that the author identifies as a characteristic of the post-metropolis. The new "urban lexicon" can be translated into a projected imaginary, without being, however, necessarily performed. As an example of architecture we can look to the "capsular" city of Kurokawa (1999). He argues that all spaces will be caps and individuals may enjoy greater freedom of movement and then they will see the realization of individuality in a diverse society. Despite the author's claim about the return of space determining social relations, it is certain that he produces a complete break with traditional ways of living in society, arguing that the city's spiritual home is in human soli-

arity, seen as one of heaven will be lived in the city, which is present of the daily life in the pe

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parity, seen as one of the stages of society he calls «technetronic». The new heaven will be lived in a 'metapolis'. This is a very optimistic view about life in the city, which is presented clearly in the field of projection and covers very little of the daily life in the post-metropolis.

The discourse of crisis on the city appears as inevitable, given the objective indicators that allow us to visualize its fragmented extension, its hedged heterogeneity, its weakened globalization. When Soja (2004) identifies the «carceral archipelagos» and the simulacrum of the cities as the solutions that have been found through the process of urban restructuring, it once again cements a vision of social polarization. However, cities are the most innovative spaces, and here we are not using rhetoric to serve the collective imagination, but as a way of classifying a type of action that is developed by the citizens of towns/cities, more or less organized, and that can manifest itself as the search for the emancipation of people in this fragmented space. These are other solutions that demonstrate the need to enlarge the negativistic view explored by Edward Soja. The city has been looked at as a place of permanent crisis and fear, the privatization of public space, and then socialization. But more than a crisis of the city, the challenge is suggested of "making the city" (Borja, 2005: 32).

These are consequences of a hegemonic model that shows clear signs of weakening. In parallel, resistance mechanisms are being kept that reveal other possible ways of living in the city. These are counter-hegemonic modes, which will not have the pretension of a universal answer to all problems, but will recreate and reinvent the answers depending on the specific needs of the people and of each place. In this context we want to envision a mode of those emergencies that we can call the 'welfare city'. We refer to the field of urban practices⁶ designed to give direct answers to the listed problems.

City and citizenship: The construction of a Welfare City

In earlier and dichotomous discussions on the type of relations prevailing in the city, individualism, the prevalence of secondary contacts and the weakness of social ties were characteristic. It was as if the «farm» itself represents a privileged space for the operation of the welfare society and the city has clearly distanced itself from the characteristic of social support for those living there. In fact, urban studies have shown the difficulties involving «community» in the city. As Fortuna (2006) says, there is a dual representation in the analysis of the city: i) the city is understood as having a liberating function and is built against social control in the community, and ii) the city is seen as a break with the «good» pre-urban community with strong ties and interactions, reading the city as being anti-community. Life in cities is marked by a number of paradoxes: cities seem to

⁶ These are practices that have a spatial dimension more comprehensive than the cities. However, it is our aim to determine what their specificity is in these contexts.

weaken social bonds between individuals at the same extent that they increase sociability networks. Just like the discussion of weaknesses in participation for the construction of collective action, new forms of demand and social organization emerge in parallel.

One element that emerges in contemporary sociological theory refers to the individualism that characterizes the social and economic relations. Philippe Corcuff stated that «individualism is an increasingly stronger contradiction of neo-capitalism» (2008: 214). Simmel (2001) and Wirth (2001) emphasized the diversity and proliferation of social relations in cities. However, if for the first author, emotion is evident in the experience of the city, the second is interested in the criteria that differentiate urban from rural.

In the man of the city, Simmel (2001) highlighted the characteristics of independence, individuality, mental reservation, intellectualism, a spirit of calculation, a «blasé» attitude, indifference to the other, cosmopolitanism. Wirth (2001) seeks to identify the criteria for a city, namely: size, density, heterogeneity. Based on these criteria he explores the characteristics of urban living. He highlights the tolerance of difference, the weakening of the bonds of solidarity that ensured the unity of the traditional society, the existence of secondary contacts more than primary ones and the loss of a sense of belonging. As part of an understanding of urban solidarity, it will be interesting to see how it can generate strong and supportive exchanges from these same secondary contacts.

In this sense there appears to be a paradox of living in the city for Wirth: if there is individuality, citizenship can be lost. Recognizing the material satisfaction of Americans against a set of indicators of quality of life (in Boggs, 2001; Durlauf, 2002), in «Bowling Alone» Robert Putnam also said that our society is characterized by an erosion of social capital, i.e. by the collapse of networks among individuals who would be fundamental to the community, collective action and democratic participation. However, Granovetter (1973), in a distinct way, notes that the weak ties produce alienation, and argues that weakened bonds are essential to the opportunities and the integration of individuals into communities. Singly (2006) also produces a discussion of the bonds generated by individualism. There are similarities in the perspectives of Granovetter and Singly: individualism creates individual opportunities and modern individuals and does not deprive them of their freedom to engender a strong social bond.

Other authors analyzed in a different way the fragmentation of social ties in modern cities. Borja and Castells (2004) state that in this context of globalization there is the power of a new spatial logic in which the spaces of flows dominate the spaces of places. It is not just information flows but also flows of people, goods, services, etc. But if the spaces of flows are integrated on a global scale, the spaces of places, where the daily lives of individuals occur, emerge increasingly fragmented. We will say that the current scenario leads to the formulation that the spaces of flows are also giving clear signs of vulnerability and that the solution of the «metropolis crisis» must pass through the integration of plac-

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Wirth also states calculating and utilitarian relationship replaces social relations. For this author, (2001) states, the capitalist system and, partly, the wage-based society

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es. If one accepts that the individual cannot perceive the city as a whole and that it also fails to grasp its place as a whole, as Wirth also states, what is living in the city effectively? If this life is limited spatially, why not consider the existence of strong networks of sociability in those spaces in which the individual builds its own city? Why not consider that it is in these spaces that citizens look for places, where people face the difficulties of everyday life, but also claim collective responses to local problems? Why not consider that it is in these segmented places, these fragments of the city, that citizen participation is used to face this city in crisis?

The discussion about the possibility of building a welfare city is inseparable from reflections on the role attributed to the economy. In fact, the size of the formal economy, the discussion about the value of «money», the centrality of paid work as a means of structuring a minimally decent survival, are dimensions that have more importance in cities. "The fundamental fact is that you need more money in the city than on the farm. First, because very rarely the peasant is led to buy things for which he needs money" (Le Goff, 1998: 36). Even Simmel (2001) stated that the city was the place of the monetary economy, identifying a parallel between money and relational rationality. The city has an impersonal productive relationship, and almost eliminates the family economy and direct exchanges. "The money takes the place of all the diversity of things and subjects all qualitative differences to the criterion of 'how much'" (Simmel, 2001 : 35).

Wirth also states that the social relations in the city are dominated by a calculating and utilitarian attitude. He goes further in saying that the monetary relationship replaces social relations, i.e., there is a commoditization of social relations. For this author, all human needs have commercialized answers. As Castel (2001) states, the commoditization of goods and services is a result of the capitalist system and, particularly, of the process of the further division of labor and the wage-based society that has been created.

More precisely, we cannot speak of the welfare city, but of fragments of the city where the providential mode of regulation takes place. In this city people seek solidarity in ways of life, draw up alternative non-markets or those with a market nature although there is profit redistribution between the workers. If we look at the welfare city under the various proposals of Santos, we would say, first, that all the struggles for social emancipation fit in, understood as resistant to all forms of power (2000). However, this can prove how well differentiated Northern or Southern societies are. Here we prefer to use a more precise form that distinguishes the South in the North and South, and North in the North and South. Although different, in general, the processes of segregation, hyper-exclusion and poverty are shared in the South (either in the South or in the North). The conditions for inclusion, wealth, and domination are all present in the entire North (both in the North and in the South).

These dividing lines of processes of domination and exploitation accompany one another, which Santos calls the abyssal line (2009), which cuts across the

two worlds: the North and South, distinguishing different tensions. In the first case, the author identifies the tension between regulation and emancipation that links metropolitan societies, and in the second case, the tension between appropriation and violence that can be found in the colonial territories. If this is a proposal that allows us to analyze the large divisions on a global scale, the process is more complex when it comes to work on smaller scales, especially in the case study of a city, a neighborhood or a building.

What we think is that within the welfare city, there enters these conflicting dimensions of the division of knowledge/recognition of the other, which intersect with the different modes of regulation despite geographical contexts and knowledge that we take as a reference. And if in some cases the city can be built as an alternative to the dominant economic model, on the other side it is designed as a means of survival and resistance for subsistence.

Adapting the concepts of postmodern opposition and post-colonial opposition developed by Santos (2006), we could say that this welfare city can be drawn up in the sense of a city's post-colonial opposition. Although utopian, it is a city that looks for social emancipation and the struggle of breaking with that abyssal line. Anyway, there are no changes without utopias, and the objectified possible paths show that these can be reached. Is this the emergence of an effective new metropolis, which values the social bonds between individuals and that, step by step, commoditizes part of the trade that permeates the social relations that occur there?

Moreover, other proposals ask for a change of attitude and understanding of the city with the purpose of structuring new policies to improve the urban condition. A good example is the contribution of Ebenezer Howard (1999) with his plan for a garden city and the design of a city that should be grounded in sedentary neighborhood ties and practices that would encourage everyday sociability. He begins with a reflection on the social ties and recognition of a relational urban crisis to analyze the construction of urban utopias that seek to rebuild these ties.

The discussion about the right to the city is reworked, but no longer focusing on the right to housing. This is a discussion fueled by the recognition of the crisis of citadinity (Ascher, 1998). The city is analyzed in the broadest sense of citizenship⁷, discussing the many different rights, of which access to housing is only one element. The discussion is about the possibilities of access to public space, the right to decent mobility and transport, the right to employment, the right to health care and education, the right to security, the right to basic public services (water, electricity, sanitation), the right to culture and leisure, etc. The amplification of the discussion of these rights makes the city spaces of reference to public policy and its numerous possible experiments.

⁷ See the World Charter on the Right to the City [Americas Social Forum, Quito, July 2004; World Urban Forum, Barcelona, September 2004; World Social Forum, Porto Alegre, January 2005]. By 2002 the Charter Human Rights in the City was built (Freitag, 2002).

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The analytical dimensions of the Welfare City

When we argue about the emergence of the welfare city, we are not defending it as dominant, structured or consolidated. What we say is that in the city, where the inequalities are striking, we find forms of social emancipation designed by citizen groups to protect a group against its risks. But it is a protection that is drawn from the collective for that collective. Because there isn't only one theory that supports reflection on this emerging field, we consider it possible to read the welfare city from four distinct, but complementary, analytical dimensions, namely: economic, social, political and ideological.

One urban social economy

In terms of the economic dimension, some of these alternative forms fall within the broader approach that is called for a solidarity economy. Here stand the whole solidarity trades in the city, not based on principles of economic speculation, and which is the struggle against the growing trend of commercialization of goods and services, which is worked on by Robert Castel in «Metamorphoses of the Social Question» (2001). According to Lefebvre, the city became the great laboratory of man, and it is here that the author seeks to develop his reading of the right to the city as a condition for the promotion of greater humanism and democratic renewal. He argues that the city is not merely a consequence of the industrialization process, but is its purpose (1991:141). The city can be seen in its use value, i.e. as a work that is appropriated for its residents, and its exchange value, in which the city is seen as a product geared for money, trade and exchange. It is the city that shows the stark contrasts between rich and poor, powerful and oppressed, but at the same time it does not erase a sense of community or a sense of links between citizens (Ibid: 4-5).

The city has a dual role: it is a place of consumption and a consumption of place. There the exchange value is intensified, but the use value remains, even if residual. However, Lefebvre assumes that there is supremacy of the exchange value over the use and use value and that the industrial city almost nullifies the latter (Ibid.: 12-13). In the author's opinion there is a theoretical and practical crisis of the city. Although the capitalist economy is dominant, we cannot just refer to one economy, but economies, which do not end in the field of social economy. If the capitalist market is power, the solidarity economy shows capacity for empowering its participants. It represents the change in dominant power relations looking for a democratic market (Lisboa, 2004: 303-304).

The city as the «stage» of a new welfare society

At the social level, these are new forms that look for the sedimentation of urban social networks, and are also examples of collective action to combat situations

of greater social vulnerability. Against the Less Social State new forms of welfare society in the city are being recreated and invented, which translates into a new model of social regulation. In the 80s, Santos said about his concept of welfare society, that he aimed at identifying non-market exchanges of goods and services that supported the promotion of welfare and social protection that in developed countries are guaranteed by the State (1995: i). This is the resumption of the functions that are being left to the State's responsibility, recovering practices that existed before the advent of the State (Hespanha, in Cattani et al, 2009).

The discussion of the welfare society reflects the search for alternatives for a welfare state in collapse (Nunes, 1995: 5). And cities are examples of the best and the worst of social worlds. There we identify the major social and spatial segregation. The welfare society reflects a concept that is recovered as a post-modern phenomenon, but may have different contextual expressions. But according to Nunes, there remain two problems. First, we cannot replace the welfare state with the welfare society. Second, the welfare society is characterized by tension between its humanizing potential and its potential to generate exclusions (1995: 6-7).

These tensions felt in the welfare society are extended and amplified in the city. In a context that intensifies the individualism in everyday social relations, the welfare city, in its fragmented formulation and expression, does not resolve by itself the whole problem of poverty and social exclusion. Its emancipatory potential has no equivalent in a universalizing potential that, theoretically, should be left as a social responsibility of the State. As an alternative, its emergence should not be an argument for a «Less-State» that only solves the extreme situations of greater social vulnerability and serves only to police the economy.

A brand new urban social movement

At the political level, the emerging practices of participation in the city can be regarded as new social movements that reflect forms of democratic expansion (Martins, 2008; Laniado, 2008). Here we understand the welfare city as a new social movement that denounces the new forms of oppression, in parallel with the reporting of the theories and movements of liberation, as advocated by Santos (1996). This is: "Thinking of a city for its «inverse», is to reconsider and revise the place of the original agreement, to redeem the city space for the full exercise of the composition of *óikos* and *nomos*, an economy of relations that are articulated in space and time," which is suggested by Lopes (2003: 269) about the Landless Movement and which fits in the broader sense of the understanding of this city that we propose here.

This new movement we seek to portray here, along with others, calls for a new social structure. It is based on the recognition of a general social crisis, in which citizens are increasingly distant from society and alienated due to a capitalist condition that materialized and commodified much of its life - even social

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the working class take
of urban reform (ibid:

l State new forms of welfare which translates into a new about his concept of welfare changes of goods and services protection that in developed this is the resumption of the sibility, recovering practices a, in Cattani et al, 2009).

the search for alternatives for a ies are examples of the best the major social and spatial that is recovered as a post-textual expressions. But ac- t, we cannot replace the wel- re society is characterized by ential to generate exclusions

extended and amplified in the in everyday social relations, expression, does not resolve exclusion. Its emancipatory potential that, theoretically,

As an alternative, its emer- that only solves the extreme nly to police the economy.

participation in the city can be ns of democratic expansion and the welfare city as a new oppression, in parallel with ration, as advocated by San- tise», is to reconsider and re- he city space for the full ex- onomy of relations that are Lopes (2003: 269) about the ense of the understanding of

along with others, calls for a of a general social crisis, in and alienated due to a capi- much of its life - even social

values that one might believe are immune to this process, such as solidarity, love, the gift. We cannot look for these new urban social movements so naively. As Borja (2005: 30-31) puts it, the residents or civic movements can contain within themselves the best and worst features of people. If in some cases they may claim urban social justice, others can be overlapped in excluding and non-solidarity logics, as is the case of racist or xenophobic movements. Therefore, the deepening of proximity governments is proposed, which articulates the deliberative with participatory democracy, with identity and feelings of belonging against the background of anonymity and inaccessibility of the processes of globalization, and which stands up to frigidity in the market and proceduralism election.

If at the urban level the issue of housing and access to housing remains on the agenda, new claims are emerging. There was a transformation in the course of the social movements because of changes in the socio-economic context. Urban movements are extended to the struggle for proximity production and for alternative livelihoods, working to create a break with the modes of production, (re) distribution and consumption imposed by the dominant neo-liberal capitalist model. Now they are focused on the defense of the plurality of rights and widening the sense of living the city. The new urban movements encompass both the discussion of access to the city, as well as the fight against urban violence and the mobilization for participation in the government of the city (Gohn, 2003: 31).

The reinvention of social emancipation

The view of the welfare city implies an ideological dimension evidenced in the struggle for social emancipation and in some cases, for the reinvention of social emancipation (Santos, 2000), where practices are developed on both sides of the abyssal line (Santos, 2009) and intersecting legal and illegal dimensions from which the city is built. Regardless of the analytical angle, the welfare city is constructed from multiple experimenting repertoires that claim for new cultural and social values. It calls for new rights to live «the» and «in the» city. As opposed to resignation, calls for change. In contrast to the dominant thinking that creates invisibility, this city is built on the struggle for visibility, the rupture with the abyssal line.

Lefebvre calls for an urban reform that has to be revolutionary, “not by force of circumstance, but against established things.” It must have social support and political forces to become active, so it must rely on the working class, the only one able to end its segregation. The science of the city will play the role of critical and theoretical foundation. It is a science of change, which is not limited to analyzing phenomena, but is a complement to other social forces - where the working class takes the leading role - and should be able to structure the way of urban reform (ibid: 111-112).