

Also thinking about the changes built collectively and individually, Borja (2005) proposes the conquered city not as subject but as objective. But the city only conquers if it is conquered. He conceives the central hypothesis that city, public space and citizenship are interdependent. Citizenship is seen as an achievement, like the city that is never fully complete and that is never final. Citizenship develops not only through physical integration, but also symbolically. It presupposes reciprocity – it is not enough to feel like a citizen, it is necessary to be known collectively as such. For Borja, the right of citizenship acquires a centrality.

The welfare city as a new socio-economic and democratic experimentalism is the example of the struggle for rights and the will to build another urban life, which aims for the decommodification of everyday life, seeking interculturalism, and which encourages neighborly relations that transform citizenship as a starting point for collective living.

Practices for participation in the city of Lisbon

Although these are exploratory results, we can say with some certainty that the city of Lisbon is being built with many participation dynamics that differ greatly in form and content. In terms of form we can underline the most traditional way of involvement such as voluntary groups or social institutions that still have an important role in mobilizing citizens. Associations also reveal a central role in the pursuit of a "better" city, although we find a trend, in its participants' attitudes, to pass from the logic of "partnership" to "patronage".

As a result of the complexity and cultural diversity that the city encompasses, other forms emerge. Informal grassroots groups are emerging and work based on different forms of participation. Some organize concrete actions in the city, others are more concerned with the accountability of the local government, others have joint deliberations over the city in specific forums such as blogs or presence in social networks, such as 'Facebook'; some are characterized by a mix of these different modalities.

There are community groups that are revitalizing themselves based on experiences in the 90's in social housing neighborhoods and take shape in several places throughout the city. These are groups that intersect the look of the institutions with the citizens who wish to have an active voice on the city. Here people discuss the specific territorial problems and demand their legal resolution.

In terms of content, we can say that the forms of participation are as diverse as the city is different in terms of spatial, social or economic organization. There are forms of participation in which some seek to fight urban poverty and urban social exclusion, others seek to increase the quality of life, improving accessibility and transport in the city, others still strive for the promotion of interculturalism and the mixing of different social groups. There are still those who fight against crime and insecurity, by improving the social image of the neighbor-

hoods and the right of priority is the elderly, for Immigrants, drug addicts. In a broader sense, we say that a cohesive city for all,

Overall we can say that the right to the city as port on the recent World CH urban social movements them, now represent a t longer the traditional str result of concerted colle not by the mere claim as claim the diminishing ro citizens, even if they rep do not conform to exist der for many of these c others claim for a more out the legitimacy of a their role.

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of participation are as diverse as the economic organization. There are those who fight urban poverty and urban life, improving accessibility and the promotion of interculturalism. There are still those who fight for the social image of the neighbor-

hoods and the right of access to housing, among many others. If for some the priority is the elderly, for others it may be the unemployed or those living alone. Immigrants, drug addicts and prostitutes are also other targets addressed. But in a broader sense, we say that there is a wide range of initiatives that seek a dignified and cohesive city for all, regardless of a particular social group.

Overall we can say that there is a broad emphasis on the demand to the right to the city as portrayed by Lefebvre (1991) and Borja (2005) and similarly on the recent World Charter of Rights to the City. What characterized the new urban social movements in search of decent housing conditions or the right to the city, now represent a tiny fraction of new participatory practices. There are no longer the traditional street movements. These are movements that appear as the result of concerted collective action that arise by solving concrete problems and not by the mere claim against the government. As previously argued, it is not to claim the diminishing role of the state, but to recognize the evidence that some citizens, even if they represent a small part of the whole that makes up the city, do not conform to existing problems faced in everyday life. One remark is in order for many of these cases: the government emerges as a partner in action and others claim for a more participatory and responsive democracy without ruling out the legitimacy of action by those elected and without wanting to replace their role.

Another relevant fact is that these initiatives do not emerge necessarily from the most vulnerable social groups, unlike what Lefebvre (1991) and Touraine (1996) claim. Rather, there seems to be a collective recognition of the many divisions generated by the city, which are addressed by citizens' initiatives. In Lisbon, we see movements driven by both residents of social housing as well as market housing. It is obvious that the type of claims differs depending on the concrete spatiality in which these take form.

But the range of movements within the space refers to the reflection on its emergence related to urban planning. Indeed, in all cases included in our research, there remains a latent tension with the space and in particular the way it is designed, constructed and maintained. In historic districts in these movements emerge the problems of revitalization and interculturalism. In neighborhoods built on a logic of social mixing emerges the will to aggregate their social middle class with the weakest social classes. In newer neighborhoods, predominantly middle class, demand for improved accessibility, collective equipment or environmental sustainability emerge with greater urgency. In the social housing neighborhoods tensions remain between different ethnic groups, social and spatial distance with the outside, social problems regarding school and professional integration, but the responses of citizen mobilization seek, albeit still modestly, support in their resolution. We will give a few concrete examples that can support our argument regarding these practices of citizen participation.

The first relates to the 'Community Store' located in Alta de Lisboa, a neighborhood that has a free sale and social housing. It is an initiative resulting

from a broad partnership between a movement of citizens of the neighborhood and other institutions. It seeks to undertake trade in goods and services using the system of credit accumulation. It was created in response to the most vulnerable families in the neighborhood, trying to get them involved in trade and avoiding the traditional intervention based only on social assistance. With some campaigns they had a considerable base of available goods (clothing, footwear, accessories, decorative items, games for children, among others) that people can access without having to spend money. Those who have no goods to trade can provide services – like volunteering to support the Store and other areas. Here the return value is intrinsically associated with the use value. In the same space different social groups intersect and construct a space of sharing and solidarity.

Another example regards the experience of Community Groups in Carnide (the largest parish in the municipality of Lisbon). There are currently three groups corresponding to different areas of the parish, two of which were in operation for nearly 20 years. These groups consist of local grassroots organizations and are also open to the community of neighborhoods represented in each group. The main objective is to promote collective discussion of the problems of the area and to make efforts for their resolution. A recent example can be given from experience in the Community Group of the Padre Cruz neighborhood. From the collective mobilization that emanated from discussions within this group, they have created the conditions for which its representatives could participate actively in the process of urban intervention that is under study for the neighborhood. The citizens demanded the presence of the municipality in the discussion of all interventions that would be developed there, in order to have the most effective response to their interests. This is a case in which one tries to avoid future tensions with the space those referred to before.

Finally, to give an account of another spatial reality of the city, we would highlight the intervention of the Association "Renovar a Mouraria", created by residents of one of the most ancient and characteristic districts of Lisbon. Over the years the neighborhood became more degraded and subsequently a negative image emerged, associated with drugs, crime and prostitution. More recently it has been largely appropriated by immigrant groups (with a great presence of communities from China, Pakistan, India and also the African continent - Cape Verde, Guinea Bissau, Guinea Conakry, Angola) without establishing links between these and the Portuguese community that still resides in the neighborhood. Given the need to strengthen the local identity of that space, traditionally associated as the birthplace of fado, their facilitators have been involved in the creation of multiple cultural offerings. We can underline the initiative of "Ar-raial" developed during the month of June, when the Festival of Popular Saints in Lisbon occurs. Here they seek to mobilize citizens in the neighborhood to participate actively in building the party, which is considered as the main source of financing for the activities of the association. There is the goal of mixing dif-

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ferent social groups and the demand for an appropriation of space in the neighborhood by people who do not live there.

Obviously this is just an introductory presentation of the experiments, but it serves to illustrate the diversity of practices of citizen participation that seek to respond to the practical problems that emerge in the city. Moreover, the hybrid forms and content are very illustrative of the need for an epistemological and theoretical pluralism that must mediate our approach to these objects, and we hope to achieve those goals throughout the development of the research work.

Conclusion

We will then reflect on how these citizens' practices can bring about change in public policy in the city. These are not generalized - we will just find them in some corners of our cities - but they are fed by models of collective experience in equity and cohesion. This is an alternative proposal to conquer the city and gradually gain new forms of regulation of the whole society. There are a number of issues that guide the work to be developed, namely:

- Given the individualism that characterizes cities, what is driving the emerging innovative experiments that clearly demonstrate the demand for a collective sense of life? We can, thus, ask: aren't those the ingredients that feed the richness and diversity of urban cultures?
- In arguing about the lack of citizens in public life, how does one explain the emergence of new forms of social participation?
- How does one look for new social experiments that are emerging, which have as their motto change in various spectrums of society?

It is arguable that even in a context of weakening of social ties, but also of sedimentation of extensive interpersonal networks, the ability for individuals to self-organize can lead to the construction of new forms of mutual assistance, and new social networks in the cities. We will not have, therefore, the city, but the multiple cultures that may intersect in a permanent redrawing of the city. As Fortuna says: "*from the reconceptualization of the city space as fragmented and disputed*" emerges the recognition that "*only in the crossing of different discursive fields and intellectual traditions can the city find itself in the fullness of its versatility and multivocality*" (2001: 4).

In their diversity, cities are considered to include consensus and conflict, as well as emerging individualistic logics along with ways of building collective action.

Thanks to its multiculturalism and its multispatiality, the city reveals itself as a stage of complex social relationships that form the basis for their creative ability and innovation. At the social level, it is in the cities that we see the flowering of a multiplicity of experimenting that seeks to promote social cohesion and also to recreate social ties.

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An analysis of urban The issue of spatial

Ana Esteves

Introduction to the top

The changes that have transformed contemporary urban landscapes that stand in marked contrast to the "vision" of the latter has led to a re-evaluation of what urban space is and how it is being appropriated, experienced and managed. It is important to reflect upon some of the dynamics of this process.

This research project aims to explore the ways in which the increase in social inequality is "producing" the city, and the ways in which, in turn, the city is "producing" social inequality. With social change in mind, research, it is argued that the re-appropriation of urban space is a process that has become made manifest in spatial forms. One way as to increase social equity is through non-conflictual social

Context: Contempo

The political and economic changes of the last 20 years or so, as regards the control over the urban space, have been characterised as a s

¹ The concept of social justice in its urban dimension is analysed from a specific perspective, possibly the foremost of which is the basis of social relations.

² Neoliberalism is a regulatory framework associated with the rise of Reagan in the United States.