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Teresa Sá
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Architecture and the Social Sciences

Inter- and Multidisciplinary Approaches between Society and Space

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Introduction

This book contributes to current debates on the relationship between architecture and social sciences, with its excellent commentary on interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary teaching, research and practices in architecture and urbanism. Additionally, this book 'gives voice' to projects and recent socio-territorial interventions, focusing on inter and multidisciplinary approaches between society and space.

With authors from a cross section of disciplines, the articles in this anthology offer a coherent review of recent projects and socio-territorial interventions, supporting the view that the work of architects, planners and other professionals in the production and consumption of the built environment involves interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary processes. The dimension and role of *interdisciplinarity* relates to the context of the specific interventions, along with the project's scope and its framework for potential action. However, as a discipline and a professional activity, architecture and the work of architects have consolidated a role in history with their own specific rules and social functions, which both inform approaches and shape conditions for knowledge and practice. Depending on a specific country's traditions and cultures, the work of architects combines and overlaps with the work of urban planners and their education and practices (Davoudi 2010; Kunzmann and Koll-Schretzenmayr 2015). This overlap extends to other disciplines and areas of knowledge, particularly with social sciences and its focus on territorial and urban changes. Contexts, however, have changed, being shaped by dynamics in the growth of cities, patterns of urbanization and social mobility and in the regulation and provision of public space and infrastructures. The concept of spatiality has also changed, with new ways of thinking about the relationship of space with place as the basis for action (RTPI 2001). However, the ways and means that multi and interdisciplinary methods and processes are applied in design and urban interventions depend on the perception and understanding that society, professionals and politicians have of the changes taking place, and the reasons and modes for addressing them.

Thus, the relevant changes concerning the preoccupations of this book can be conceptualized in different ways, as identified in the chapters' diverse research

topics and contexts for action. On the basis of emergent debates and reflections advanced in the works of authors such as Graham and Marvin (2001), Harvey (2000, 2008), Healey (1997, 2007), Merrifield (2014), Brenner and Schmid (2015), the following four shifts can be referred to.

Firstly, there are the changes derived from processes in economic globalization. This has ramifications upon the role of cities and urban and city networks at different geographical scales—world, national and regional—and on their geographies of uneven development. Urbanization has become a 'planetary' trend (Brenner and Schmid 2015), as have the functional relationship between economic development and changes in land use and urban development. As a result, location costs, land values and property markets became decisive elements in the capitalist accumulation process determining the conditions for the growth of cities and their competitiveness, with implications for local urban development and territorial cohesion.

Secondly, and related to the previous shift, new urban realities have emerged, resulting from changes in the forms of urban occupation and expansion, under different patterns with different qualities, in extended forms of urbanization found in both the urban peripheries, and urban regions. Conventional administrative and geographical frontiers have become blurred, promoting new urban centers and urban hierarchies but also conditions for suburbanization and suburbanism(s), for metapolisation processes (Ascher 1995) and megacities combining segregation, diversity and hierarchies between spaces of flows and spaces of places (Castells 1996). These new urban landscapes have signified new forms of organization and the decentralization of services and urban functions and infrastructures, with uneven outcomes in terms of urban and social mobility and social and spatial fragmentation and segregation.

Thirdly, there are the consequences of societal changes, with differentiated perspectives for social development. On the one hand, capitalist development and globalization processes promote uneven development and increased social inequalities and patterns of spatial discrimination. On the other hand, civil society, local communities and residents and neighborhood associations are now major actors and players in the production and consumption of the built environment, as well as in urban processes as a "collective project in which the potentials generated through urbanization are appropriated and contested" (Brenner and Schmid 2015: 176).

Fourthly and most important for the thesis of this book, the above changes have influenced and were influenced by new forms of urban regulation and new roles for the state. This can be analyzed from different perspectives. Changes in the political economy of the building industry and urban infrastructures, framed by the imperative for increasing and fast investment returns, have promoted new regulation models relying on privatization and public–private partnerships. However, in terms of the role of the state, the collapse of the comprehensive planning ideal built upon a successful articulation between public investment programs and a system of income redistribution overseen by the state, has forced the creation of alternative governance models and opened new perspectives for collective action. Changes in

the modes of state regulation creating the conditions for the major contribution of social movements are not, however, a simple task, as state functions reflect the tensions between spaces of 'politics' and 'policies' (Healey 1997) associated with differentiated spatial and territorial interests (national, regional and local). The differentiation between the two levels highlights the separation between the regulatory power of planning systems and politics (the role of structure) and the practices and conditions for the representation of interests in urban governance (the role of agency). Thus, the changing relations between the two levels and the respective territorial forms of representation and management are critical issues for promoting collaborative and participative processes in urban planning.

These four levels of changes raise a series of challenges for promoting integrative action and an interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary approach, when intervening in the production and consumption of the built environment. These can relate to three key areas in addressing the effectiveness of design, planning and policy and is the predominant concern of the different contributions in this book: first, the role of space and scale where action takes place; second, the type of design, planning approach and vision; and third, the planning and governance process reflecting the role of agency and a place-based approach[1].

The first area refers to the role of space as the outcome of social processes (Lefebvre 1991) and relates to the scales for intervention guaranteeing conditions for democratic representation and community participation. For this purpose, scale is seen not as size (census) and level (local, regional, national) but as a relational element that includes space, place and environment embodying the social relations of empowerment (Marston 2000). The scale question emerges primarily as a result of the changing role of the state as the main development regulator associated with administrative boundaries and conditions for development control. The interaction between the micro, meso and global scales also leads to the complexity and diversity of actors, social practices and representations. The imperative for more flexible and collaborative processes required in order to overcome market uncertainties raises the question of the relevance of traditional zoning and planning codes and presses for a more interpretive approach for integrating space and place as the object of intervention (Davoudi 2012), and for promoting horizontal coordination and conditions for action and programming through collaboration. Thus, a focus on place-based approaches for responding to local and community development agendas becomes a requirement that has to be evaluated on site and through practice.

The second area relates to the question of the appropriate type of design and planning approach and vision. Historically, plan making is associated with the idea of a vision, as an instrument for urban regulation and as a design strategy for intervention. These refer, respectively, to concerns related to societal change, to

[1]This approach was further developed in Cabral, J. (2016) "The Inclusive City as the New Urban Question and the Challenges for Urban Policies and Planning" in Marina, O. & Armando, A. (ed.) *Inclusive/exclusive city*, Skopje: City of Skopje.

development control and to economic feasibility. The concerns related to development control linked with the idea of a planning vision for societal changes through participatory processes are, however, associated with a more place-based planning perspective and attitude. These changes do not develop overnight. The institutional history and concept of planning and plan making has a tradition of development control and national planning systems that is grounded on a positivist approach that still maintains a strong influence today (Davoudi 2012). Thus, in a scenario dominated by the financialisation of space for which new forms of cooperation and compromises between the local agents and the local state are needed, the challenges for an adequate type of design and intervention model refer to the capacity for articulating imperatives of flexibility and programming for guaranteeing the social role of land and the ecology of territories.

The third area takes us to the concrete local conditions represented by the role of agency as part of the governance model and the design and planning processes that are adopted. These are determinant for guaranteeing community access to the relevant information and to the decision making process to ensure that enabling processes (rather than controlling) are undertaken. The conditions for the functioning of inclusive and participatory processes are not, however, guaranteed from the outset. They have to be constructed over time, through conflict resolution and consensus building. They are also dependent on the way appropriate evidence is collected and gathered, alongside the capacity for achieving results. Design of the planning process and the collection of the appropriate evidence necessary for understanding trends, defining options, for generating alternatives and motivating and involving stakeholders, requires a suitable governance system and institutional environment, a matter whose success is deep-rooted in the local planning culture and traditions. Thus, what is at stake is the capacity of institutional and non-institutional actors to demonstrate competence through place-based governance models, in order to prevent urban and community fragmentation and unregulated urbanization, that is facilitated by neoliberal state reforms and by the financialisation of space.

The book's anthology contributes to the current debate regarding these issues, and these articles are organized into three parts. The first group of articles constitutes the prelude; the second is primarily centered on conceptual debates, while the third group is based on case studies and projects for illustrating the arguments. All the articles reflect, at different levels, the critical preoccupation of the use of interdisciplinary approaches, tools and methods for research and practice and for producing and understanding alternative and inclusive urban spaces and societies. They also highlight the tensions and conflicts shaped by dominant narratives, images and regulations for making room and space for innovation geared by inter and multidisciplinary processes and practices.

The different chapters also represent different contributions and experiences from academics and professionals and these reflect concerns expressed about changes occurring in diverse territorial and social environments along with the importance of research methods and instruments for action. In terms of the three key areas referred to earlier, the importance of scale and space are illustrated by the

role of global cities, and cases presenting public spaces as the arena of the 'collective' and of alternative practices (as in the production of space in the periphery of Lisbon), the role of communication technologies for discussing urban interventions (as in the case of the Porta Nuova Project en Milan) and the rational of the architecture solutions and urban forms (as in the Roma camps in the city of Rome). Regarding the second area—the vision, design and planning approach—this is exemplified by the adoption and the contribution of different approaches (sociological perspectives for the study of social housing in Porto and the study of vernacular popular architecture from different perspectives), the role of different narratives (as in evaluating the IBA project in Hamburg) and of interdisciplinary approaches for promoting sustainable urban planning (the sustainability agenda in the curricula of academic programs). In terms of the third area—the role of agency and of the planning process—that is illustrated by the cases of interdisciplinary cooperation in housing projects in Portugal, as seen in the experiences of community collaboration and participation found in peri-urban territories in Lisbon, and in the interdisciplinary approaches for housing the poor in the city of São Tomé in the west coast of Africa.

The book's 'prelude' has a striking essayistic character, with two contributions by Saskia Sassen and Marc Augé, and these set the scene for the issues addressed by the subsequent chapters. Both contributions reflect upon, from different perspectives, the impacts of globalization. Saskia Sassen stresses the opportunities created by global cities, as 'strategic frontier zones' for the integration of differentiated groups and interests and as spaces for political struggles and claims, making interdisciplinarity an imperative for exploring the potential of urban capabilities through mixing space and people in urban settings. One challenge consists in the making of open cities, repositioning the power relations and the rights/duties of immigrants and indigenous/citizens.

Marc Augé addresses the challenges and issues for contemporary thought, when our understanding of the role of art (and hence of architecture) is shattered by different forms of relating to history and by perceiving the world within which we intervene as a coherent system. He thus argues for the imperative of taking into account (by artists and 'observers of society and politicians') contextual approaches with a sense of time and a historical consciousness for building a real contemporaneity.

The four chapters in the book's part two refer to critical issues in the dialogue between social sciences and architecture, exploring developments in the attempts to integrate different disciplines and methodological approaches in education, research and practice. Thus, in Chap. 3 Fernando Bagulho sets the agenda by exploring the frontiers as well as the shared fields between art and social sciences epitomized by the social role of space in architectural practices and discourses. The author calls for architects to be more aware of the social reality and the spaces of power and social relations where their work and architecture takes place.

In Chap. 4, authors Manuela Mendes and Teresa Sá discuss the dilemmas and tensions in the *interdisciplinarity* (and *trans-disciplinarity*) between architecture and the social sciences in architects training and practices. The chapter explores the

origins and developments in the role of space expressed by forms and models of production and appropriation by the communities and inserting these into the practices and training of architects. These developments are explained by historical movements and traditions and are illustrated by examples of cooperation in urban programs in Portugal. The case studies provide encouragement for a more integrated and interdisciplinary approach among professional and stakeholders fashioning the built environment.

In Chap. 5, the article by Marta Prista looks at the contrasting concepts and methods used by anthropologists and architects and the room for convergence and integration through *interdisciplinarity* for widening the scope for action and for political uses. This is illustrated through studies in vernacular architecture and three case studies situated in Portugal, (highlighting the different cultural understandings and approaches, making contributions and drawing lessons for disciplinary integration).

In Chap. 6, articles by Luis Balula and João Seixas identify the critical components for creating a convergence between social sciences and urban and architecture professionals, through the integration of the sustainability agenda in the curricula of academic programs, with a focus on the built environment. The findings are the result of a research project that crosses the sustainability concepts and principles with a sample of top 10 world academic programs. The conclusions stressed the importance of *interdisciplinary* and systemic approaches for promoting sustainable urban planning and development in the curricula bridging "the ontological gap between the design of 'space' and the complex dynamics of 'place'".

Finally in Chap. 7, the article by Márcio Valença, explores the idea of *public space* as the arena of the 'collective' and a metaphor for the exercise of democracy and empowerment, by reviewing David Harvey's utopian thoughts about social justice and the future of cities. The analysis also focuses on the effects of globalization and presents a critical and comprehensive reading of David Harvey's works on contemporary capitalist society and urban development. The work of David Harvey is characterized by the constant search for the contradictions of the capitalist accumulation system and their implications for future societies and for taking appropriate action. The case of public space, historically an institutional and physical infrastructure, can be seen as the arena for action for 'alternative, relational space and place', for social justice and for effectively reclaiming 'the right to the city'.

In Part III the seven chapters focus on critical perspectives on the relations between architecture, politics and social change in urban territories illustrated by case studies and projects. In Chap. 8, Virgilio Borges Pereira brings to the discussion a sociological perspective, focusing on the relations between society and space. Taking as starting point the social space, the author follows the sociological analysis model of Pierre Bourdieu mobilizing a socio-demographic survey and an ethnographic work carried out in the field. The article highlights the importance of nonlinear readings of social housing contexts, by demonstrating the relevance of the relational perspective of social reality and space to study 'the effects of place' resulting from the implementation of social housing in the city of Porto, in northern Portugal.

In Chap. 9, Frank Eckardt investigates the IBA urban program, with a focus on the intervention in Hamburg evaluating its effectiveness under two contrasting perspectives: as an urban regeneration and inclusionary project and as an architectural narrative. The research underlines the complex articulation between political and institutional discourses represented by IBA and the planning objectives for addressing the problems of the local communities, highlighting the contradictions derived from claiming architecture as a 'tool of social policy'.

In Chap. 10, Rossella Salerno brings in Henri Lefebvre and Edward Soja's reflections on the mental and symbolic representations of lived spaces. Their approach is applied to demonstrate the role of communication technologies, the 'immaterial components' such as websites and social media, as tools for representing the development of urban projects and for discussing planning alternatives contributing for public awareness and participation. This is illustrated by the discussion of the Porta Nuova Project in the city of Milan which helped to communicate investors, local government and public opinions on the future of the city.

The articles in Chap. 11 by Isabel Raposo, José Luís Crespo and Joana Lages, and 12 by Joana Lages, share a decisive focus on the role of participative and collaborative processes in peri-urban territories for guaranteeing the 'right to the city' claiming and enforcing better plans and inclusive projects. Both of the texts are a tribute of the work 'The right to the city' by Lefebvre, which analyzes the intersections and tensions between the formal and the informal city. The two texts adopt a participatory methodology based on the belief in emancipatory transformations' effects associated with participation processes and thus analyze alternative practices in the production of space in urban areas with an illegal genesis. The case studies are different, one an urbanization plan and the other a collective community project, but both seek to contribute to an understanding of the planning gains for the community acquired by collective and participatory action. To support the purpose of this book—to assert interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary processes and practices—both papers put forward pertinent methodological and conceptual analysis. Isabel Raposo et al. reflect on the limitations and virtues of participatory processes and their added value for transforming places within a technocratic planning system. Joana Lages applies the concept of spatial justice to analyze the development of a migrant squatter settlement in the periphery of Lisbon for the construction of a common project, and sets out the lessons to be learned from questioning dominant and alternative practices in the production of space.

In Chap. 13, Gaja Maestri and Tomaso Vitale discuss the social and residential segregation promoted by the policies and politics associated with the housing camps for Roma in the city of Rome. They emphasize the conditions of isolation and segregation maintained by forms of management and political mechanisms, for which architectural solutions and urban forms have been instrumental. Four dimensions of the architectural form are addressed, (i) the control of boundaries, (ii) the distribution of objects, (iii) its permanence as a spatial organization, and (iv) its symbolic order and structure. The social effects of the architectural design of the camps for Roma are very severe and deserve a critical and comprehensive analysis, as it segregates Roma persons, produces disempowerment making them

invisible and weakening their social skills for collective action. However, as the authors stress, upgrading the conditions is not the only solution as "the reasons for the architectural stability of the camp, and the persistence of this policy, need be sought in the political and economic relations among institutional and non-institutional actors and their strategies to maintain their dominant position, which in a vicious cycle are enabled through the camps' architecture".

In Chap. 14, Ana Fernandes raises the imperative of interdisciplinary analysis for approaching and dealing with urban policies and projects in complex and fragile urban environments characterized by extreme forms of dependency, which in turn call for integrated actions. In keeping with the book's key theme, she proposes that interdisciplinary approaches and integrated actions in urban planning are a condition for a sustainable intervention. The research and the case study of housing provision and policies for the urban poor in the city of São Tom in the west coast of Africa, provide evidence of the multidimensional and additional challenge required for reducing 'mismatches and misconceptions' and for promoting the long-term dialogue and the articulation of the different agents involved in the development process.

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Part I
Prelude

Chapter 1
Cities Help Us Hack Formal Power Systems

Saskia Sassen

Cities are complex systems. But they are incomplete systems. These features take on urbanized formats that vary enormously across time and place. In this mix of complexity and incompleteness lies the capacity of cities to outlive far more powerful but formal and closed systems: many a city has outlived governments, kings, the leading corporatiosn of an epoch. Herein also lies the possibility of *making*—making the urban, the political, the civic, a history. Thus much of today's dense built-up terrain, such as a vast stretch of high-rise housing, or of office buildings, is not a city. It is simply dense built up terrain. On the other hand, a working slum can have many of the features of a city, and indeed, some are a type of city—poor but deeply urban.

It is also in this mix of incompleteness and complexity that lies the possibility for those who lack power to hack the city. They are thereby able to make a history, a politics, even if they do not get empowered. Thus, current conditions in global cities are creating not only new structurations of power but also operational and rhetorical openings for new types of actors and their projects. That powerlessness can become complex in the city is, in itself, a transversal type of hacking. One way of conceiving of some of this is as instances of urban capabilities.[1]

In this essay I am particularly interested in two features. One is that the global city is a strategic frontier zone that enables those who lack power, those who are disadvantaged, outsiders, and discriminated minorities—even though it decimates the modest middle classes. The disadvantaged and excluded can gain presence in such cities in a way they cannot in neat homogenous provincial cities. In the global city they become present to power and to each other, which may include learning to

[1]I develop this argument in "Does the city have speech?" Public Culture (April 2013); see also *Expulsions* (Harvard University Press 2014).

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negotiating their multiple differences. They can hack power and they can hack their differences of origin, religion, phenotype. The second feature is the strategic importance of the city today for shaping new orders—or, if you will, hacking old orders. As a complex space, the city can bring together multiple very diverse struggles and engender a larger, more encompassing push for a new normative order. It enables people with different passions and obsessions to work together—more precisely, to hack power together.

1.1 Global Cities Are Today's Frontier Zones

The large complex city, especially if global, is a new frontier zone. Actors from different worlds meet there, but there are no clear rules of engagement. Where the historic frontier was in the far stretches of colonial empires, today's frontier zone is in our large messy global cities.

These cities are strategic for global corporate capital. Much of the work of forcing deregulation, privatization, and new fiscal and monetary policies on governments actually took place in the corporate sector of global cities rather than in legislatures and parliaments. Also the corporates hacked the city: that making of new instruments was a way of constructing the equivalent of the old military "fort" of the historic frontier. And corporate actors have been doing this in city after city worldwide to ensure a global operational space of the sort they need. The global city is then also a frontier zone because it is where strategic spaces of power can be hacked.

But they are also strategic for those without power. This signals the possibility of a new type of politics, centered in new types of political actors. That is one instance of what I seek to capture with the concept of urban capabilities. It is not simply a matter of having or not having power: it goes well beyond routinized voting and having to accept corporate utility logics, or the dominance of narratives that strengthen powerful actors. These are new hybrid bases from which to act. One outcome we are seeing in city after city is the making of new kinds of informal politics. For instance, there is a kind of public-making work that can produce disruptive narratives, and make legible the local and the silenced. Work gets done this way: the work of making a new kind of contestatory public that uses urban space as a medium, a tool to hack power.

It also signals the possibility of making a new type of subject, one abundant in cities across time and place, but always somewhat rare: the urban subject that results from hacking the ethnic, religious, racialized, subject. Old Baghdad and Jerusalem, industrializing Chicago and New York, were such cities. This is not to deny or hide the histories and geographies entailed by such specific, often inherited markers. The urban subject is at home with all, whether in Old Baghdad and Jerusalem, industrializing Chicago and New York. A city's sociality can bring out and underline the urbanity of subject and setting, and dilute more essentialist markers. It is often the need for new solidarities (for instance, when cities confront

major challenges) that can bring about this shift. Urban space can hack our essentialisms as it forces us into joint responses, and from there can move us onto the appreciation of an urban subject, rather than more specific individual or group identity. The big, messy, slightly anarchic city enables such shifts. The corporatized city or the office park, does not.

There is yet another type of hacking of long-time orders that is taking place today. It is the hacking of well established larger units, notably nation states, that are beginning to lose the grip on domains where they once had considerable control. This is an important even if partial and not always desirable change. In my larger project I identified a vast proliferation of such partial disassemblings and re-assemblings that arise from the remix of bits of territory, authority, and rights, once all ensconced in *national* institutional frames. In the case of Europe these novel assemblages include those resulting from the formation and ongoing development of the EU, but also those resulting of a variety of cross-city alliances around protecting the environemnt, fighting racism, and other important causes. And they result from sub-national struggles and the desire to make new regulations for self-governance at the level of the neighborhood and the city.

Against the background of a partial disassembling of empires and nation-states, the city emerges as a strategic site for making elements of new partial orders.[2] Where in the past national law might have been *the* law, today subsidiarity and the new strategic role of cities, makes it possible for us to imagine a return to urban law. We see a resurgence of urban law-making, a subject I discuss in depth elsewhere (see *Territory, Authority, Rights*, Chaps. 2 and 6).[3] For instance, in the US, a growing number of cities have passed local laws (ordinances) that make their cities sanctuaries for undocumented immigrants; other cities have passed environmental laws that only hold for the particular cities because they go well beyond national law, or developed currencies for local transactions that only function in those cities.

These are among the features that make cities a space of great complexity and diversity. But today cities confront major conflicts that can reduce that complexity to mere built-up terrain or cement jungle. The urban way of confronting extreme racisms, governmental wars on terror, the future crises of climate change, is to make these challenges occasions to further expand diverse urban capabilities and to expand the meaning of membership. But much government policy and the "needs" of powerful actors go against this mode.

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[2]One synthesizing image we might use to capture these dynamics is the movement from centripetal nation state articulation to a centrifugal multiplication of specialized assemblages, where one of many examples might be the transborder networks of specific types of struggles, enactments, art, and so on.

[3]The emergent landscape I am describing promotes a multiplication of diverse spatiotemporal framings and diverse normative mini-orders, where once the dominant logic was toward producing grand unitary national spatial, temporal, and normative framings (See Saskia Sassen, *Territory, Authority, Rights: From Medieval to Global Assemblages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008 Chaps. 8 and 9).

1.2 Cities and Political Subjectivity: When Powerlessness Becomes Complex

Cities are one of the key sites where new norms and new identities are *made*. They have been such sites at various times and in various places, and under very diverse conditions. This role can become strategic in particular times and places, as is the case today in global cities. Current conditions in these cities are enabling operational and rhetorical openings for new types of political actors which may long have been invisible or without voice. A key element of the argument here is that the localization of strategic components of globalization in these cities means that the disadvantaged can engage globalized corporate power. Further, the growing numbers and diversity of the disadvantaged in these cities takes on a distinctive "presence."

Critical in this process is to recover some of the differences between being powerless and being invisible or impotent. The disadvantaged in global cities can gain "presence" in their engagement with power but also vis-à-vis each other. This is different from the 1950s to the 1970s in the U.S., for instance, when white flight and the significant departure of major corporate headquarters left cities hollowed out and the disadvantaged in a condition of abandonment. Today, the localization of the most powerful global actors in these cities creates a set of objective conditions of engagement. Examples are the struggles against gentrification which encroaches on minority and disadvantaged neighborhoods, which led to growing numbers of homeless beginning in the 1980s and struggles for the rights of the homeless; or demonstrations against police brutalizing minority people.

Elsewhere I have developed the case that while these struggles are highly localized, they actually represent a form of global engagement; their globality is a horizontal, multi-sited recurrence of similar struggles in hundreds of cities worldwide.[4] These struggles are different from the ghetto uprisings of the 1960s, which were short, intense eruptions confined to the ghettos and causing most of the damage in the neighborhoods of the disadvantaged themselves. In these ghetto uprisings there was no engagement with power, but rather more protest against power. In contrast, current conditions in major, especially global, cities are creating operational and rhetorical openings for new types of political actors, including the disadvantaged and those who were once invisible or without voice.

The conditions that today make some cities strategic sites are basically two, and both capture major transformations that are destabilizing older systems organizing territory and politics. One of these is the re-scaling of what are the strategic territories that articulate the new politico-economic system and hence at least some features of power. The other is the partial unbundling or at least weakening of the national as container of social process due to the variety of dynamics encompassed by globalization and digitization. The consequences for cities of these two

[4]See Saskia Sassen, *Territory, Authority, Rights, op. cit:* Chaps. 6 and 8.

conditions are many: What matters here is that cities emerge as strategic sites for major economic processes and for new types of political actors. In this sense, this urban shift is a form of hacking the national state and interstate arrangements of the past century and more.

What is being engendered today in terms of political practices in the global city is quite different from what it might have been in the medieval city of Weber.

In the medieval city we see a set of practices that allowed the burghers to set up systems for owning and protecting property against more powerful actors, such as the king and the church, and to implement various immunities against despots of all sorts. Today's political practices, I would argue, have to do with the production of "presence" by those without power and with a politics that claims rights to the city rather than protection of property. What the two situations share is the notion that through these practices new forms of political subjectivity, i.e. citizenship, are being constituted and that the city is a key site for this type of political work. The city is, in turn, partly constituted through these dynamics. Far more so than a peaceful and harmonious suburb, the contested city is where the civic is getting built. After the long historical phase that saw the ascendance of the national state and the scaling of key economic dynamics at the national level, the city is once again today a scale for strategic economic and political dynamics.

But what happens to these urban capabilities when war goes asymmetric, and when racisms fester in cities where growing numbers become poor and have to struggle for survival? Here follows a brief discussion of two cases that illustrate how cities can enable powerlessness to become complex. In this complexity lies the possibility of making the political, making history. If the city is to survive as a space of complexity and diversity—and not become merely a built-up terrain or cement jungle—it needs capabilities to transform conflict. It will have to find a way to go beyond the fact of conflicts, whether they result from racisms, from governmental wars on terror, or from the future crises of climate change.[5]

This implies the possibility of making new subjectivities and identities. For instance, often it is the urbanity of the subject and of the setting that mark a city, rather than ethnicity, religion, or phenotype. But that marking urbanity of subject and setting do not simply fall from the sky. It often comes out of hard work and painful trajectories. One question is whether it can also come out of the need for new solidarities in cities confronted by major challenges, such as violent racisms or environmental crises.

The acuteness and overwhelming character of the major challenges cities confront today can serve to create conditions where the challenges are bigger and more threatening than a city's internal conflicts and hatreds. This might force us into joint responses and from there onto the emphasis of an urban, rather than individual or group, subject and identity—such as an ethnic or religious subject and identity.

One important instance in the making of norms concerns immigration. What must be emphasized here is the hard work of making open cities and repositioning

[5]See, for example, Marcuse (2002).

the immigrant and the citizen as urban subjects that inevitably, mostly, transcend this difference. In the daily routines of a city the key factors that rule are work, family, school, public transport, and so on, and this holds for both immigrants and citizens. Perhaps the sharpest marking difference in a city is between the rich and the poor, and each of these classes includes both immigrants and citizens.[6] It is when the law and the police enter the picture that the differences of immigrant status versus citizen status become key factors. But most of daily life in the city is not ruled by this differentiation.

Here I address this issue from the perspective of the capacity of urban space to make norms and make subjects that can escape the constraints of dominant power systems—such as the nation-state, the War on Terror, the growing weight of racism. The particular case of immigrant integration in Europe over the centuries, the making of the European Open City, is one window into this complex and historically variable question.

In my reading, both European and Western hemisphere history shows that the challenges of incorporating the "outsider" often became the instruments for developing the civic and, at times, for expanding the rights of the already included. Responding to the claims by the excluded has had the effect of expanding the rights of citizenship. And very often restricting the rights of immigrants has been part of a loss of rights by citizens. This was clearly the case with the Immigration reform act passed by the Clinton Administration in the US, which showed that a Democratic Party legislative victory for an "immigration law" had the effect of taking away rights from immigrants *and* from citizens.[7]

Anti-immigrant sentiment has long been a critical dynamic in Europe's history, one until recently mostly overlooked in standard European histories.[8] Anti-immigrant sentiment and attacks occurred in each of the major immigration phases in all major European countries. No labor-receiving country has a clean record—not Switzerland, with its long admirable history of international neutrality, and not even France, the most open to immigration, refugees, and exiles. For instance, French workers killed Italian workers in the 1800s, having accused them of being the wrong types of Catholics.

Critical is the fact that there were always, as is the case today, individuals, groups, organizations, and politicians who believed in making our societies more inclusive of immigrants. History suggests that those fighting for incorporation succeeded in the long run, even if only partially. Just to focus on the recent past, one quarter of the French have a foreign-born ancestor three generations up, and

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[6]See, for example, Smith and Favell. *The Human Face of Global Mobility: International Highly Skilled Migration in Europe, North America and the Asia-Pacific*. Special Issue of Comparative Urban and Community Research Vol. 8. 2006.

[7]See Sassen, *Territory, Authority, Rights,* Chap. 6; see also Chaps. 4 and 5 for a diversity of other domains besides immigration where this holds.

[8]This section is based on research in two previous works: Saskia Sassen, *Guests and Aliens: Europe's Immigrants, Refugees and Colonists.* New York: New Press, 1999; Saskia Sassen, *A Sociology of Globalization* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2007) Chap. 5.

34% of Viennese are either born abroad or have foreign parents. It took active making to transform the hatreds towards foreigners into the urban civic. But it is also the result of constraints in a large city; for instance, to have a sound public transport system means it is not feasible to check on the status of all users and also have a reasonably fast system. A basic and thin rule needs to be met: Pay your ticket and you are on. That is the making of the civic as a material condition: All those who meet the thin rule—pay the ticket—can use the public bus or train, regardless of whether they are citizens or tourists, good people or not-so-good people, local residents or visitors from another city.

Europe has a barely recognized history of several centuries of internal labor migrations. This is a history that hovers in the penumbra of official European history, dominated by the image of Europe as a continent of emigration, never of immigration. Yet, in the 1700s, when Amsterdam built its polders and cleared its bogs, it brought in workers from northern Germany; when the French developed their vineyards they brought in Spaniards; workers from the Alps were brought into help develop Milan and Turin; as were the Irish when London needed help building water and sewage infrastructure. In the 1800s, when Haussmann rebuilt Paris, he brought in Germans and Belgians; when Sweden decided to become a monarchy and needed some good-looking palaces, they brought in Italian stoneworkers; when Switzerland built the Gothard Tunnel, it brought in Italians; and when Germany built its railroads and steel mills, it brought in Italians and Poles.

At any given time there were multiple significant flows of intra-European migration. All the workers involved were seen as outsiders, as undesirables, as threats to the community, as people that could never belong. The immigrants were mostly from the same broad cultural group, religious group, and phenotype. Yet they were seen as impossible to assimilate. The French hated the Belgian immigrant workers saying they were the wrong type of Catholics, and the Dutch saw the German protestant immigrant workers as the wrong types of Protestants. This is a telling fact. It suggests that it is simply not correct to argue, as is so often done, that today it is more difficult to integrate immigrants because of their different religion, culture and phenotype. When these were similar, anti-immigrant sentiment was as strong as today, and it often lead to physical violence on the immigrant.

Yet all along, significant numbers of immigrants did become part of the community, even if it took two or three generations. They often maintained their distinctiveness, yet were still members of the complex, highly heterogeneous social order of any developed city. At the time of their first arrival, they were treated as outsiders, racialized as different in looks, smells and habits, though they were so often the same phenotype, or general religious or cultural group. They were all Europeans: but the differences were experienced as overwhelming and insurmountable. Elsewhere I have documented the acts of violence, the hatreds we Europeans felt against those who today we experience as one of us.[9]

[9]See Saskia Sassen, *Guests and Aliens, op.cit.*; for a more general discussion, see Arjun Appadurai, *Fear of Small Numbers* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006).

Today the argument against immigration may be focused on questions of race, religion, and culture, and this focus might seem rational—that cultural and religious distance is the reason for the difficulty of incorporation. But in sifting through the historical and current evidence we find only new contents for an old passion: the racializing of the outsider as Other. Today the Other is stereotyped by differences of race, religion, and culture. These are equivalent arguments to those made in the past when migrants were broadly of the same religious, racial, and cultural group. Migration hinges on a move between two worlds, even if within a single region or country, such as East Germans moving to West Germany after 1989, where they were often viewed as a different ethnic group with undesirable traits. What is today's equivalent challenge, one that can force us to go beyond our differences and make what it is that corresponds to that older traditional making of the European civic?

1.3 Conclusion: Where We Stand Now

Here I explored what we might think of as urban capabilities –mixes of space and people in urban settings. It matters to the argument that these capabilities have often been crafted out of struggles that take participants beyond the conflicts and racisms that mark an epoch. It is out of this type of dialectic that came the open urbanity that made European cities historically spaces for the making of expanded citizenship.

One factor feeding these positives was that cities became strategic spaces also for the powerful and their needs for self-representation and projection onto a larger stage. The modest middle classes and the powerful both found in the city a space for their diverse "life projects." Less familiar to this author are the non-European trajectories of the strategic spaces for the powerful and the powerless.

It is impossible to do full justice to all the aspects of this process in such a short essay; here I have limited myself to the basic building blocks of the argument. I focused on some of the acute challenges facing cities as a way of exploring how urban capabilities can alter what originates as hatred and as war. Among these challenges are two that are very different yet capture this capapcity of urban space to hack more powerful systems. One is the spread of asymmetric war and the urbanizing of war it entails. The other is the hard work of making open cities and the repositioning of the immigrant and the citizen as above all urban subjects, rather than essentially different subjects as much of the anti-immigrant and racist commentary does. It is this making of urban subjects that is one of the major capabilities of cities.

More generally, I argued that the last two decades have seen an increasingly *urban* articulation of global logics and struggles, and an escalating use of urban space to make political claims. At the national level we see emerge a landscape marked by a multiplication of diverse spatio-temporal framings and diverse normative mini-orders, where once the dominant logic was toward producing grand unitary national spatial, temporal, and normative framings.

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Chapter 2
Art, Contemporaneity, History

Marc Augé

Contemporary thought poses both a challenge and an essential issue. The challenge is that everything suggests that we are living within a system that is permanently outside history. The essential issue is that the theme of the end of history carries all sorts of violence denying hope for those excluded from our contemporary global system.

We can question what is the idea of time within the context of economic and technological globalization, by making a detour into the question of art and aesthetics. Art and artistic or literary creation pose a question of contemporaneity. In many respects they witness our relationship to time and, more specifically, the simultaneous relation between the past and future that define a form of shared contemporaneity. To answer the question "what it is to be an artist or a creative person today?", one must address several issues which have an anthropological dimension and, in particular, consider the following three questions:

(1) What is "to be with the times"?
(2) What is "our times" today?
(3) Where are the key relationships between our times and the artistic or literary creation?

Michel Leiris in his essay *Le ruban autour du cou d'Olympia* made two contrasting remarks. He noted that, on the one hand, there comes a time in people's lives where they can have a feeling of not completely belonging to the time in which they are still living. This feeling can be especially cruel for the creator, writer or artist who finds that he has nothing to say in his time because it does not mean

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anything to him anymore. But Michel Leiris also notes that it is still difficult to define or identify the specific characteristics of the times in which we live. If one looks to the past, however, we may discover more clearly the elements connected to an artist or a writer in his time. The detail in a painting would be one of those elements that highlight the relevance of an artist in his time and also in his presence or in his survival in the history of art. For here lies the paradox: one must fully belong to his time in order to have a chance of surviving. The details may, therefore, appear in retrospect as a promising sign of historical relevance. The black ribbon around the neck of Olympia, implying luxury in poverty, invokes a passing interest, unprecedented in its time and in the noble art of the portrait, a sentiment which Manet felt for the common people and, more broadly, for the city and the industrial revolution. But Manet was a restless artist, dissatisfied for not being recognised by his contemporaries. It took some time for him to be given recognition in his time. In short, the contemporary artist or author who finds in the works of the past traces of historical relevance and is sensitive to their presence (they still talk speak to him) must find in this experience reasons for hope. Contemporaneity is not the present.

The paradox is that a work is fully contemporary if it is both original and authentic, not merely reproducing what already exists. It is those who innovate and possibly surprise or baffle that, in retrospect, will fully emerge in their time. We need the past and the future to be contemporary.

This also means that art is measured by its ability to build relationships, that is to say what one may call its symbolic capacity. Without an audience or a public, art becomes an act of absolute solitude. It must be social. This symbolic capacity is stated even more when the work is still present in time, although the demand for it is subject to evolve or change. If we disregard the rules of the art market—which, admittedly, is now difficult - one can conclude that in art the law of supply and demand has a reversing trend: the artist's offer takes the form of a questioning (do you understand me?) and public demand takes the form of a request for meaning (have you anything to say?).

In short, the work, today as in the past, is measured by three parameters:

(a) Its inclusion within a specific history, the "internal" history, albeit revolutionary.
(b) Its articulation with the times, its existence in relation to the story's "external" context, even though it only manifests itself remotely.

These first two parameters define the relevance of a work, relevance both in relation to its time, more than for the history of art.

(c) It's symbolic capacity, even if it occurs in a later stage.

This symbolic capability is its ability to link (intellectually, emotionally and socially) with those it encounters. This defines the *presence* of a work.

As for our time, the time in which we have the feeling of living today, it is an accelerated time and this confronts us with three paradoxes in addition to those that we already identified.

The first paradox, already mentioned above is space-time. The measurement of space and time changes. The earth is merely a tiny speck, whose distance to the stars is measured in light-years. However time on earth is such that change is experienced in short periods.

The second paradox is the appearance today of a new space-time that seems to consecrate the continuity of the present, as if the acceleration of time prevents the perception of the movement. Hence the prominence of space in language.

The opposition of the global and the local belong to geography and to strategy. Let us briefly summarise the characteristics of the new space-time in the global economic and political life:

(a) The global issue is situated in the economic and technological globalisation, but also in environmental awareness and social consciousness of those who are concerned with the widening gap between the richest of the rich and the poorest of the poor. Uniformity and inequality go hand in hand.
(b) The flow of images and messages around the world and from one place to another is what we call a cosmotechnology ("*cosmotechnologie*"). At the same time, we observe the code spaces extend its influence across the planet.

These spaces of communication, circulation and consumption, these "non-places", to use a term coined in 1992, are reserved for individual users and do not involve the creation of enduring social relationships. They allow the temporary coexistence of individualities, passengers, bystanders.

(c) In this system, which checkers the land, but does not cover it there is a theory of the end of history postulated by Fukuyama, but anticipated, in a sense, by Lyotard when he talked about the end of "grand narratives". The end of history is not the end of an event-driven history. It is the affirmation of an agreed formula that combines market economy and representative democracy. The theme of the grand narrative is in turn applied to the apparent disappearance of particular myths of origin (cosmogonies specific to a group), reflected in the modernity of the eighteenth century, the universal doomsday myths, visions of the future of humanity, the apparition of the post-modern condition which followed the disillusionment of the twentieth century.

The third paradox, which extends the second, is that the current ideology of the present is that of a world that, if we had an abstract moment of apparent evidence disseminated by the political system and technology in place, it appear to us as what it is: a world in its full historical eruption. Science has never advanced so rapidly. In a few years, the idea that we have of the universe, as well as of man, will have been outdated. On the other hand, history never offered the challenges of a common global history in progress. Without doubt we ultimately live under a changing process of global urbanisation, a change comparable, according to the French

demographer Hervé Le Bras, to the transition from nomadic life to agriculture. And this makes it all the more intolerable the idea that all kinds of inequalities deprive the theme of contemporaneity of any real-time content.

If the relationships of artistic creation in the times that we live are so difficult to understand today, it is precisely because time is accelerating and at the same time is slipping away. The recovery of a temporal language by a spatial language alongside with the primacy of the code which prescribes behaviors, over the symbolic, which builds relationships, and have frontal effects on the conditions for creativity. The world around the artist and the times in which he lives do not fail to take mediated forms - images, events, messages - which are themselves effects and reflect the engine of the global system. This system has in itself its own ideology; it works as a modus operandi and literally screen the reality that it replaces. The discomfort or malaise of the artists in relation to this situation is also ours own, or rather, they tend to redouble our own and sometimes we wonder not about its relevance in relation to time, but on the nature and the meaning of his presence: what do it tell us?

Hence the sense that we have that the great artists of our time are architects. By embracing their time, they draw pictures and symbols. The most famous of them build singularities in the four corners of the world, creating artworks in a twofold sense: they are singular works, signed, marked with the seal of a personal style, and they are also works that, beyond their local presence, are designed as "planetary curiosities" suitable to attract the global tourist flow. The global colour has replaced local colour.

Meanwhile, world architecture, in its most significant works, seems to allude to a still absent global society. It offers brilliant fragments of a fragmented utopia of a transparent society that does not yet exist for now. It conveys the illusion of present ideology and expresses the triumph of the system of the global network. At the same time, it draws on an utopia pointing to a future which may never happen, but remains in the realm of the possible.

In this sense, the relationship to time expressed by the great contemporary urban architecture reproduces but reversing the relationship with time expressed in the spectacle of ruins. Ruins accumulate too much history to express a story. This is not the history they show us. What we perceive is rather the inability to imagine what they represented to those who did not see them when they were not ruins They don't tell us history but time, pure time.

When we contemplate the Mayan pyramids in the rainforest of Mexico or Guatemala or the temples of Angkor emerging from the Cambodian forest, we have a unique spectacle which shows no history: the ruins are built on ruins and they return to nature when they are abandoned by man. When we view these ruins, we perceive the inability to grasp the story, concrete, dated and lived. Given that, this impossibility is noticeable. The aesthetic perception of pure time is the perception of an absence and a lack.

The lack of comprehension of loss of time is inherent in the aesthetic apprehension of the original work. That is why copies are acknowledged as being disappointing: they are a lack of a lack. And we know quite well that a painter who today would paint like Rubens or like some other classical painter would be of no

interest to anyone while the works of Rubens and the greatest classical painters are still perceived as current and relevant.

But what is true of the past may be true of the future. Pure time is either past (even if it is not history) or future (even if it is foreign to foresight or planning). The perception of pure time is the perception of a void that structures the present and points towards the past or the future. It is at home in a play at the Acropolis just as it is in the Bilbao museum. The Acropolis and the Bilbao museum have an allusive existence, a strong presence of indefinable pertinence.

Artists and writers today may be condemned to seek the beauty of "non-places", discovering it while resisting the apparent, actual evidence. By doing so, they find the enigmatic character of objects, things disconnected from any modus operantis, by staging and taking the media as an object who would like to take as mediations refusing the simulacrum, and mimesis.

Mallarme requested that one proceeds with the words "allusive, never direct." For him the apparent hermetic poem reminds us of Alain Badiou in his *Petit manuel d'inesthétique* (Seuil 1998), due to the momentary obliqueness used to describe an unattainable presence because it is beyond the object. Mallarmé said that the poem is transferable to the current workings of art, with its intent of being irreducible to functional, historicist or ethnological exegesis. When African religions arise and are exposed alongside with religious altars, one perceives in the object what resists as its image and its use. According to Mallarmé the process is one in which objects are made separate from their meaning and their history. The "*Mallarmenised* désobjectivisation", manifests a "pure" time, to the extent that these objects are expelled from history, they are not reducible to any story that would report.

The hermetic nature of art today takes the objective facts of the context in order to disprove it. It was always been the case, but today art confronts the flood of images with its confusion between reality and fiction, the event defined by its coverage by media, the regime of liberalism, which allows it to become a market product, assigning it to a museum or simply ignoring it. Measuring the relevance and presence of examples from the past and the expectation of the future is thus made more difficult by the acceleration of history.

Contemporary art is always threatened by the recovery of global consumption. The organisation of artistic life through Foundations, Biennials and Forums, draws an art market that has all the appearances of the global free market. This situation highlights the contrary need for distancing art, which resists being absorbed by the dominant culture (Dubuffet, in his pamphlet, *Asphyxiante Culture*, published by Éditions de Minuit, wrote in the early 80s that the first duty of the artist was to escape culture). But it also highlights the difficulty of this desirable "distancing." Yves Michaud, in *L'art à l'état gazeux*, states that the aesthetic has replaced art, that great art is dead, that contemporary art is a globalist experience like mass tourism, that there is no longer artwork with aura, contemplation, but instead it is fashion. Attitudes have replaced the work: events, meetings, performances and installations are nothing more than a reduplication of context. In other words, the context would constitute the content of art. Art would have thus retained a certain relevance

(compared to the period), but it would have lost all presence, all symbolic capacity, escaping the obvious image as a new form of hermetic.

This interpretation is probably too harsh or too pessimistic; but it has merit in highlighting the fact that, in art as elsewhere, the context was shattered and it is urgent today to rethink the terms of relevance by reviving the link between internal and external history between the history of the subject matter and contextual history. Art has difficulty in mobilizing the attention of a vast public relying on some observations upon which can be continued to base on its existence: the image is not reality; the reality of the image is not the actual thing. History continues, the internal history which connects the art to its past and the contextual history which questions its future. For this is the new challenge posed to contemporary art: resist "phagocytosis" through context. One can assume that social sciences and literature, directly or indirectly, are facing the same challenges and have, like art, the urgent task of taking into account the context itself if they want to escape the alienation that threatens them.

In other words, it is for the artists, but also the observers of society and politicians, to find the sense of time, and in addition a historic consciousness, to build a real contemporaneity. For better and for worse, art, society and history are bound together.

Part II
Possible Dialogue Between Social Sciences and Architecture

Chapter 3
If It's Space, It's Social

Fernando Bagulho

First the body. No. First the place. No. First both. Now either. Now the other. Sick of the either try the other. Sick of it back sick of the either. So on. Somehow on. Till sick of both. Throw up and go. Where neither. Till sick of there. Throw up and back. The body again. Where none. The place again. Where none. Try again. Fail again. Better again. Or better worse. Fail worse again. Still worse again. Till sick for good. Throw up for good. Go for good. Where neither for good. Good and all (Beckett 1983) (Fig. 3.1).

Ever since the allegory of the cave we have wondered about the boundary between the inner and outer universe, about the nature, depth and thickness of the border that separates these interconnected and interdependent worlds. Is it "as thick as a blade" as Beckett (1983) said, asking us if the body is its hyphen and measure? Is it the body/place dichotomy that allows us to form the space of consciousness and is the body the unit of measurement that unites place and consciousness? And what place does the collective unconscious (transpersonal), the myth, reported by Jung, occupy in this system of our inner and outer worlds? Either to lead us to take a step forward, or towards nowhere—but certainly worth the effort—the question is raised.

Let us take the body and try to imagine a different path of evolution for the human species, in which each individual came to be armed with a second skin, a protective shell. It could have been like a snail's or tortoise's, its function to keep the body temperature within those certain parameters that allow us to better withstand the weather's hostility and aggression. It would then be every man for himself, as group cooperation would not be required, either for making clothes (which form our second skin), or for the creation of living spaces as protection from the weather and the threat of wild animals (caves with fire at the entrance, wooden

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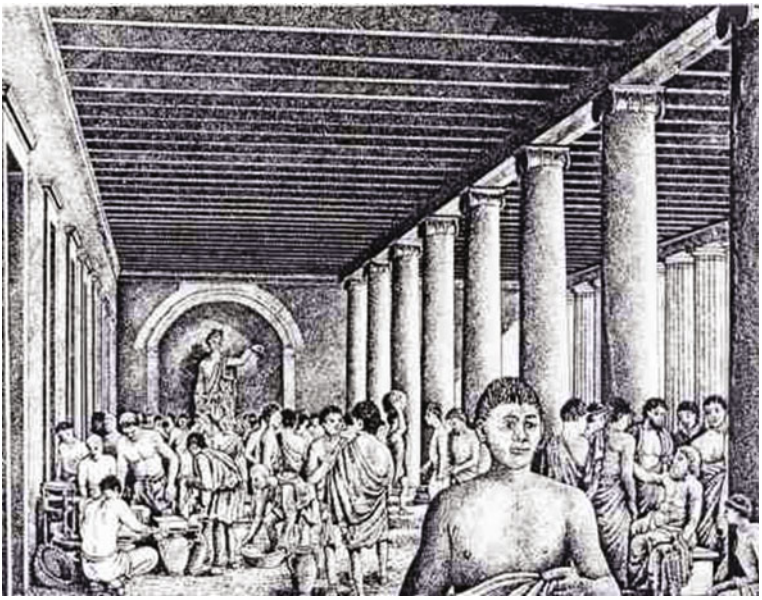

Fig. 3.1 *The buildings of Ancient Greece. Source* Leacroft (1966)

huts and campfires or stone houses with fireplaces), which form our third skin, as it is certain that without the weather's aggressiveness there would be no architecture.

Let us not linger on the imaginary, for what interests us is the fact that we can speculate on social relations and try to understand how the fragility of our individual resistance to the outside world came to condition the evolution of the human species. Sociability prevailed, through the path of selection, due to the requirement for cooperation between individuals as a collective armour for survival, imposing itself over individual skills developed to the extreme.

By requiring cooperation between individuals to ensure the survival of the group and of the species, nature has come to encourage the development of communication between individuals and the creation of languages. These languages have come to affirm the various human cultures that, in turn, develop ways of recording their collective memory, creating the history of each culture.

In all of them, the most advanced and sophisticated forms of artistic expression correspond exactly to the closing of a cycle. This cycle makes us return, metaphorically, to the "shell" of individual expression that, curiously, seems to contradict the "collective" line of the species' evolution by developing individual strategies for affirmation and expression of artistic values, neither resorting to, nor needing cooperation with the collective. This apparently contradictory state results from the fact that art constitutes a pillar of the transpersonal and collective consciousness of the group that produces it (or from which it emanates, or rather, that which the individual that produced it is part of) and that is the basis for the formation of myth. Myth is a necessity as strong as clothing or architecture that

keeps a community alive, prosperous and happy (of course excluding the extreme limits of survival, because from these only fire, water, or stone, can save us). There will still be those who doubt all this and come to include conviction, that is, myth, in the set of forces that the species can tap into when it comes to survival. Poetically, we can say that the species, not being endowed with either bark or shell that enables the individual to stand alone and by itself against the weather, forced him to trade individuality for cooperation in the social group.

With the evolution of human societies to more sophisticated forms of group relations, creative ways of collective expression, of collective art, have been developing and a level has been reached where each individual can return to their shell of individuality, the "/", where creativity blooms and overflows into the outside social environment. Reflecting on Architecture and Sociology, we look for shared ground, common to these two branches of knowledge; such a ground, among others, could be space. Architecture measures, works and interprets space in a way close to the poetic knowledge of art, while Sociology, in the scope of social sciences, treads the path of scientific knowledge.

Underlying this reflection is the question of how architects can create urban facts that aren't simply objects. In Architecture, slowly and without us realizing it, the principle by which the transparent veil of ideas and concepts (which populate our inner world) floats, suspended, over the reality of urban and architectural artifacts produced, took over the discourse on the city, space and architecture, subordinating the importance of the social universe, the relations of sociability, which leads to the production of these artefacts.

This attempt to "set foot" in the same analytic territory, by a branch of art, Architecture (integrated in the so-called visual arts, but also, along with music, an abstract and non-representational form of art), and another, a branch of science, Sociology (integrated in the Social Sciences) triggers the question of how different sensitivities, art or science, architects and sociologists, evaluate and interpret the same reality, in this case space, which is in itself whole, a unit.

Is this entity, object of analysis, a part, a slice of reality, forming a higher order unit, independent of viewpoints or methodologies, or is it a creation of the spirit that emanates from this conglomeration of approaches? In any case, we shall only understand it after the circumnavigation of the various analysis paths, whose difficult and un-connecting nature may yet smite us with some turbulence.

Science manipulates things but refuses to dwell in them, Merleau Ponty (1964) wrote in *L'Oeil et l'Esprit*. Although the architect's job is to manipulate things (objects) and inhabit them, in contemporary modernity, and for some reason of unknown origin, the architect's aesthetic enchantment for the thing itself inhibits the participation of others in the dwelling of the thing, originally thought and inhabited by the architect creator. This position withered the meaning of both the project and the architect's work, and, albeit dominant and widespread, does not seem to have a future. Simply flipping through an architecture magazine confirms that the photograph of the deserted place became the current cliché in the presentation and disclosure of a piece of architectural work. Both places and works are all presented in a refined and clean way, in an almost perfect interplay of matter, light

and shadow, without the disturbance of people's lives entering the picture. Only the image of the object is a mythical and desired value. The mythical value of the image overrides the value of the object in itself, for the image is autonomous and travels, spreading and disseminating the myth.

Fernando Pessoa, Álvaro Siza and Eduardo Souto de Moura are "compagnons de route". It will be said that, in them, the poetics of word and space find its maximum and universal exponent, and this isn't only sensible to those who are out of our cultural scope. One can represent those who are insensitive to the myth through the voice of the Cape Verdean woman from Old Town, as she snaps that "if Siza likes thatched roofs, why doesn't he use them in his own house?" In this sentence, simple and ingenuous, the whole set of issues raised by the architectural project in the architect's relationship with objects and with others is enclosed, given that the other exists and has the right to dislike thatched roofs, even without being an asthmatic.

To visit the Prussian State Library in Berlin, a work by architect Hans Scharoun, embodies the opposite experience to this current trend of interpretation of architecture. There, one feels as if at the centre of a world of inhabited sites, in a magical place. We are surrounded by a multitude of different people, who are nonetheless like us, doing the exact same thing, interacting with memory through the written universe. This comfort of greater physical proximity preserves our intellectual intimacy. For those who do not have the opportunity to visit the library, try to experience it through Wim Wenders's eyes in the 1987 film "Wings of Desire". The film features a library full of people and life in much the same way as European medieval painting depicted Gothic cathedrals after their construction. Both film and painting depict a life centred on that universe's privileged inhabited place, be it the library or the cathedral.

My passion for this work is all the greater when I think that, at the time of this building's design and construction, there were none of the computer means that one has today in the editing world. The building has been accommodating all the paraphernalia of monitors and magic boxes with the same ease as if they were books. Everything seems to have been designed to be exactly as it is today, although none of this existed in the 1950s, when this design dates from. Pure magic.

To conform rigorously dimensioned spaces, to be its first inhabitant—despite this being a mental inhabitancy of an imagined space, and thus an imaginary one,—is the architect's work. This creation, strictly dimensioned in the architect's mind, is still a mere creation of the spirit, lacking any relation to reality outside the mediation of imagination and drawing. A drawing of an architectural idea is a kind of tablature, such as a written musical record, here in a spatial written language. Music and architecture turn to annotation scores, the musical and the spatial, which, although of varying garments and degrees of abstraction, are both tablatures, one of sound, one of space.

Is this a point of convergence/divergence, mergence/splitting between art and science, the need to involve the body, to offer the body to things, it being understood that "without a body there is no space" (The painter offers his body, said Paul Valery (1960))?

From personal experience, designing the Emergency Department of a hospital specializing in trauma and complying with best practices recommended by Alvar Aalto, I was carried on a stretcher from the ambulance to the observation and intensive care ward. I asked the stretcher-pushers to comply with all the procedures a stretcher carrying an injured person goes through, all the way through the hospital. Lying belly up, being pushed through the hospital maze, I completely lost the sense of body and, stripped of body, the sense of space. The fact of my consciousness, contrary to what happens with most of the victims, not only didn't improve the feeling of absence of the body and loss of the sense of space, but seemed to potentiate it. Moving through those hallways with eyes fixed on the ceiling, lights dazzling me as they passed above my head, as I was in full possession of my cognitive functions, seemed to distance me further from the state of consciousness that tried to keep me alert.

This only worsened the state of absence and abandonment that ran through my body. I was a mere stretcher moving in the void, for I had no body and there was no space.

Years later I recalled this experience as I saw a Monty Python trailer, shot with the camera on a stretcher and pointed at the ceiling. The lights come and go as the stretcher moves down the hall to the sound of loose casters. The knock against the doors that return to their resting position to the sound of chirping metal springs creates a representation of light and sound in a total absence of body, lost in endless time and space, as the trailer plays continuously as a carousel.

After this experience, we re-equated the design of the whole system of spatial references, colour and lighting of all the galleries and corridors used for the circulation of victims. We created an environment that conveyed a sense of security to the patient on a stretcher, belly up and looking at the ceiling. In the acoustic plan, concerning the level of noise and musicality of the space, we created an atmosphere of great tranquility, bearing in mind that one's hearing is the last sense to disconnect from the world and the first to wake up.

In spatial terms, transitioning from social and public to the most intimate and private, to be able to enjoy greater intimacy, we have two possible paths. One is to put distance between the individual and the group, pushing them apart. Another, alternatively, is to interpose between them an obstacle, raising a wall between them. We can then say that a wall corresponds to a compression of distance.

Corbusier (1995) claimed Architecture to be the correct, wise and magnificent play of forms under the influence of light. We can say that this game is played through distance compression operations that separate us from each other, interposing walls, screens or their remains, which are architectural elements such as roofs, facades, stairs, voids, openings and so many others. We mention architectural elements and not building elements because the former will be part of the architecture of any landscape or territory organized by man, as simple as it may be.

We can think, for example, of a hedge or a row of trees on either side of a path, forming a kind of stoa in a succession of frames that enclose the space as we walk along the path. As the porticoes formed by the trees turn the path's boundaries into lines converging at the horizon, perpendicularly to our motion, views are gradually

opened. This spatial arrangement empowers a direct relationship with the landscape to each side, successively opening and closing it as we make our way onwards. The stoa embodies a kind of film in which, through our movement, the various scenes unfold, some being closed as others are opened.

This spatial prodigy, permitting the closing and opening of space through its primary architectural elements (either porticoes or trees), allows us to compress and expand distances between people, valid not only for the stoics in the forum of classic antiquity, but for all of us.

The stoa maintains permanent visual contact with all those within its confines, but, through movement, a function of time, opens and closes visual contact with those outside it. We can say that its space/time structure allows for a permanent fruition of a social landscape while simultaneously, moving along the stoa's axis reveals the nearby lateral landscape. This lateral landscape is gradually opened as we traverse the porticoes, prodigious spatial mechanisms which can determine the diversified performance of relational space. Movies can also relay this situation through the camera's successive transposition of walls, as it shifts through the backstage.

In much the same way as Literature and Philosophy position themselves in the gap between reality and language to transform our means of perception and comprehension, Architecture, by way of focusing our attention on less known domains of our experience, roots itself in the void between what is real and what is imaginary, in a place where the spark that connects both inner and outer worlds, the worlds of fiction and of facts, can arc.

In an article published in the Magazine Littéraire, Mai 11, Sauvagnargues (2011) said that generally, we represent reality as if the transparent veil of ideas floats underneath things. The relation between reality and words is not like this at all, being more resembling of a filter or membrane that picks from reality the information more likely to make the language in which we live 'sing'.

I'll recall Mallarme's quote that a poem is not made of ideas, but words, uttered before a poet who was lamenting his inability to write a poem, despite his abundance of ideas. Architecture, similarly, isn't made of ideas, but of facts, of architectural artefacts, such as the stoa described above and as so many other concepts which populate Architecture's means of expression and language throughout time, organizing the forms and spaces that from them emanate, granting there are things that precede design, such as ethics, even more so than aesthetics.

Those thoughts that precede design, that precede the rationalization of architectural discourse, do not function as a more or less tangible mantle floating above the architectural facts. This mantle appears in a certain type of discourse that displays architecture as an idea resolution algorithm, although this is not how things work. As in Literature, this world of ideas acts as a filter which is permeable, through osmosis, to certain pieces of information capable of making the inhabited space "sing", and less permeable, or even impervious, to those not strong enough to become architectural facts (the "more" classics refer to), which should however be organized in an effective, just and balanced system which responds to the issues concerning the use of architecture.

On this issue, an extraordinary weight of responsibility is placed upon Architecture, as it is forced, in every work and in the nature of said work, to keep the bridge between poetic and scientific discourse alive and functioning. The existence of architectural facts is dependent on matter, and matter is subject to the laws of physics, disregard for which is imprudent in any work, as simple as it may be.

Architecture, concerning itself with the measurement and expression of space, for which it has developed and maintained a closer relationship with the "doing" rather than the "knowing", occupies a privileged position for the reinstatement of collective knowledge in the field of intimacy, that up to the 19th century bridged poetic and scientific discourse, which had been abandoned by the 20th century.

Michel Foucault, in the conference made in the Cercle d'Études Architecturales, on the 14th of March 1967, published in the magazine *Architecture, Mouvement, Continuité*, nº 5, October 1984, pp. 46–49, titled "The spaces other", which I translated in full and distributed among the architecture students, said: "We live in a time of simultaneity and juxtaposition, of the near and the far, of the side by side and the dispersed. It is my belief that we have reached a point where our experience of the world will be less one in which a great life develops in time and more one in which a net interconnects various points, crisscrossing its own threads. It can even be said that some of the conflicts that breathe life into the ideological controversies of today take place between those who piously hold themselves as heirs of time and those who stubbornly consider themselves occupants of space."

As it happens in Architecture with form and space, in writing text there are also iconographic, symbolic and rhetorical resources that are more than a verbal structure, or a series thereof, a dialogue that is established with the reader and its accentuation imposes its voice, the shifting patterns and lasting images left in the reader's memory.

Borges mentions the transformations the city of Buenos Aires underwent during his absence between the end of his childhood and his return from Europe as a young adult, in a poem where he states that the street is a wound in the sky. Antes eras cielo y hoy sos puras fachadas (Grau 1997).

In the same way, architecture is more than a formal and spatial structure, or a series thereof, which, while building the city, makes use of iconographic, symbolic and rhetorical resources; it is the dialogue established with the urbanite, the city dwelling citizen, the accentuation that imposes that dialogue, the shifting patterns and lasting images it leaves in their memory.

On this topic of memory and of the lasting images in it imprinted, I am certain an exceptional responsibility rests upon the architect, his work a kind of prime number that integrates the language of city creation and composition, creating unique and indivisible pieces (not masterpieces in the sense of first among peers), which introduce this character of uniqueness and indivisibility in the language of the city, in much the same way prime numbers behave in a numerical sequence.

Who decides how we build and spatially treat the city today? If we poetically consider a street as a wound in the sky, then who has the power to maim and scar the sky? The historical city functions as a palimpsest. Its growth and transformation

are achieved through the erasing and building of the new over the preceding old, loaded with all the theoretical and practical questions this kind of intervention carries; however, the sense of community has become in itself a value, a pre-existence in relation with the architect's intervention.

The new city, as the historical, is also born of the need to house a set of activities developing in a given territory, but the sense of community is not yet present and must be birthed and nursed by the physical structure, the new city's body. Operations such as those we have been witnessing throughout the world, the destruction of communities via their transplantation to new towering homes, where the sense of community cannot develop nor survive, seems to be the worst path and the most likely to lead to catastrophe. Many cities are following this particular path, ignoring, or striving to ignore, the fundamental nature of the sense of community, of which one may even say is seminal for the harmonious relationship between a people and a place. That value is irreplaceable and will have to be kept at all costs through the expansion into new urban areas.

Let us also not forget that the nature of architecture surpasses the mere function that results from the need to solve a problem through a built structure. The nature of Architecture is more encompassing and involves qualities that are beyond the resolution of problems facing the design. A good architectural solution should not only demonstrate its ability to solve the problems it seeks to address, but should also prove itself capable of developing around it a universe of other, "parasitic" activities, as unexpectedly as naturally generated by the new architecture. While not clairvoyant, it can be said that Architecture roams a realm where anticipated knowledge of things is required.

Is it this realm that led the ancient to consult with the oracle before laying the first stone, or the Chinese to evaluate the *feng shui* before designing a building? Let us not forget that, in the symbolic plane, we apply in writing all the constructive language that flows from the cooperating practice of edifice in our habitat (we use the notion of constructing a phrase, not phrasing a construction, which demonstrates which came first in our species' evolution). First we divided abilities and skills by cooperating in the construction of our habitat. From it and other forms of cooperation was born the need to develop ever more complex and perfected forms of language, whose inscription into a collective memory led to writing, an individual practice that, in turn, drew from logic and the mental algorithm created by the act of building, born from a collective practice of society.

Public space in the great cities is bowed to the event seeking advertising logic we designate as mass tourism. Rogelio López Cuenca (an artist from Malaga) said, in an interview for El País (2011) that "the creation of all of the public space in the great cities isn't more than a permanent interruption, though the logic of advertising that has invaded creative work (because it brings dynamics). Because the logic of cultural tourism is to attract at all costs. They constantly attract through events which use the same logic as commercial advertising, that of interrupting with something marvellous, extraordinary, something unpredictable. What is there left to do? Precisely the opposite, to search for the underground line buried in that pile of interruptions that managed to convert cities into rootless spectacles with no history,

in which all there is what is happening in the moment." Let us search then in each place, each town, each village, each city, for the underground line that lies under the pile of interruptions, making it then necessary to help the communities reflect on themselves and their past, reinstating, for example, the traditional Shrovetide, or other vernacular, albeit pagan, celebrations, stemming the tide of tropical Carnivals that have invaded the country, opposed only by the harsh winter weather.

I stand by the urgency of focusing our efforts on the production of knowledge, not on its cataloguing, and I find the replacement of critical discourse and manifestos for a binary language, a kind of a yes/no machine language, having its lowest expression in the like/dislike, all the more devoid of signature, worrying. If this is indeed the path of the future, I propose a return to the forest, whence the company of thinkers is to be had, as Zarathustra says.

Without reality there is no utopia, Huyssen (2008) reminds us regarding the situation we live in nowadays, in which everything is a simulator, replacing the real with the virtual "all of this process of virtualization of the world, of politics and economics, has led to a reality which has ceased to exist. I'm not referring to all utopian process being a process of change of reality, but only to that if there is no reality, there can be no utopia."

There is a maxim, propelled by the Russian constructivists in the beginning of the 20th century which claims that *form is a charge of dynamite placed on the everyday commonplace*. The trouble with metaphor, with all metaphors, is that the literal, the real, can overcome them, and with today's globalization of violence aimed at the public space we can state that space is a potentially explosive charge on our commonplace quotidian.

The last century witnessed the birth of terms like "crime against humanity", in which the word "humanity" is used in its broad and abstract sense, that is, that of all the peoples of Earth. Nowadays, the target of this new kind of crime against space, the space of sociability, is the fulcrum of communal life, our sense of community. This new type of crime against humanity is aimed at the specific sentiment of humanity present in all of us and in each of us in particular. The target is my humanity, my spirituality, my free thought, which is precisely the centre of what distinguishes and unites us all. We can (we should) have distinct thoughts on everything around us, just as we all run to aid an imprudent child, or to help an elderly citizen undertake some everyday task in the public space. This comes from a feeling of humanity which unites us, our common and individual heritage that belongs to our shell that exists after all, not in a calcified and tangible way, but in a transpersonal and immaterial way.

We took the path from Samuel Beckett's question of the prevalence of either the body or the place and we have come to a point in civilization where the body (of people illuminated by an overwhelming faith) self-destructs in order to nullify space (that of a public nature, of a sociability collective). A marketplace in Iraq, a football field in Pakistan or a subway station or airport in Brussels are (common) places of slaughter in a war against the public space, as if the outer world space were the origin of all the evils that plague the inner world, and particularly, the faith of the enlightened, true crusaders in this war. To a concept, an idea of Good (the shell of

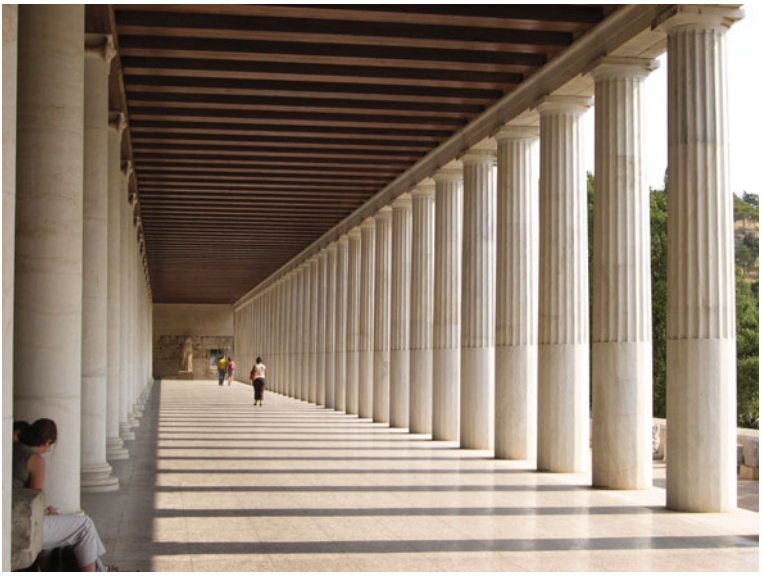

Fig. 3.2 Stoa of Attalos. *Source* Stoa of Attalos @ aretestock.deviantart.com, consulted on 01-04-2016

the self, purified through faith), one opposes another, an idea of Evil (the public space, the impure place shared by all mankind). All of this sounds irrational and absurd, as if the species' evolution had strayed onto a cul-de-sac by imposing cooperation among beings as armor to withstand and overcome the fragilities of the individual self.

I fear there will be those who now come forth to stand by a return to a snail or tortoise like existence, housing our individualities and claims to the divine within a hard shell. I think the solution resides in space, rather than in the body. Only our love for space can save us, and not through technical security systems of surveillance, but through making it a privileged place in our lives. One must rebuild the stoa within the place of citizenship. We must all be stoics in the fight for our renewed citizenship (Fig. 3.2).

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Chapter 4
Interdisciplinary Relations Between Social Sciences and Architecture: Tensions, Ambiguities and Complementarities

Maria Manuela Mendes and Teresa Sá

4.1 The Anthropological Nature of Architecture: The Relationship Between Social and Spatial Organisation

One of the questions that arise again and again when we talk about the space-society relationship is society's independence from and/or dependence on space. This question has indelibly marked the dialogue between sociology (and other social sciences) and architecture.

If we look at the idea put forward by Freitag (2004), we must remember that the anthropological dimension is intrinsic in architecture and this is the starting point for our discussion. As the classical criteria that normally define architecture, construction (the technical aspect), utility (the functional side) and beauty (the aesthetical part) are not enough to define it. Architecture is not only a technical or functional response to a series of empirical needs of the members of a society, but the construction of a human space in essence, "The original purpose of architecture is the construction of socialised space for use by man (…) It is the practice of space of culture and rules within nature, where society itself takes visible form" (Freitag 2004, p. 17). The development of modern science has resulted in a clear separation between knowledge of nature and knowledge of society, meaning that the anthropocentric vision of the world has been lost. According to Freitag (2004), it is exactly this decentralisation of nature in relation to the social world that expresses the whole paradox of modern architecture and urbanism "in that they are supposed

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to be 'functional', 'objective', 'scientific' or 'appropriate', in terms of purely technical and rational appropriateness." (Freitag 2004, p. 21). We are therefore trying to analyse the social world by bringing the logic underlying the pure sciences to the fore, and increasingly focusing our analysis on scientific, objective and positive space as opposed to socio-symbolic space.

The importance of socio-symbolic space in the way societies are organised has been reappearing in recent times, following ethnological studies of ancient societies conducted in the early 20th century. Let us take a brief look at the works of Lévi-Strauss in Amazonia and Marc Augé in Africa. One of Lévi-Strauss's most emblematic studies was his analysis of the Bororos[1] Indians, in which he clearly showed the close relationship between a certain physical organisation of space and their social organisation in Kejara village. Indeed, the Salesian missionaries soon realised this relationship when they replaced the layout of village huts in a circle around the "men's house" by one where the huts were set out in parallel rows. This change in the village's layout resulted in the natives losing their sense of tradition and it became easier to convert them to Catholicism and the new values of the western world (Lévi-Strauss 1955). In ancient societies, culture and nature form a whole, and spatial organisation results from a certain vision of the world.

Marc Augé's concept of an "anthropological place" (Sá 2014) is of crucial interest to this discussion and is associated with ancient societies as an "identifying, relational and historical place" (Augé [1992], 2005). These societies have a kind of spatial totalitarianism, which can only be understood from an analysis of the space. Space is laden with symbolism in which each gesture, word or silence has a meaning that is simultaneously perceived by individuals and the whole community. It is a highly coercive but also deeply calming space. "My experience of Africa is first and foremost an experience of space. It helped me realise that I was moving in a symbolic world in which many elements were escaping me, though they made sense to my interlocutors. We could say that they made social sense" (Augé 2006, p. 46). But in spite of the importance of the organisation of space in these ancient societies, Augé distances himself from the idea that there is a direct relationship between spatial and social organisation in them. The conclusion that he draws from what he learned in Africa is that there are no pure spaces disconnected from the social world. The theory of space in ancient society is both total and partial. The "theory" of space is at the same time total (there is no neutral space) and partial (it does not function and has no social efficacy except in relation to other "theories"—of people, events and mediation) (Augé 2006, p. 48).

In contemporary western societies, the relationship between architecture and social life is not linear, or even mechanistic or deterministic. It is formed between architectural forms and social abilities to inhabit them (Paquot 1996). This theory that rejects the idea that there is an automatic, unequivocal link between space and social life stems from the outlooks of Lefebvre, Remy and Voyé among others.

[1]Lévi-Strauss wrote one of his first articles in 1936, and he reformulated and completed his thinking on indigenous peoples in Brazil throughout his work.

In *La Production de l'Espace*, Lefebvre ([1974], 2000) upholds that space is undoubtedly social, i.e. it is a social product in that space contains relations of production and reproduction of a given society. Based on the dialectic relationship (subject-space), it is possible to detect spatial practices, representations of space and spaces of representation.

Remy and Voyé (1974) felt that there was no automatic relationship between spatial structure and ways of life. This position diverges from that of the Chicago School and the Modern Movement, for example, in that they believed that material conditions of accommodation and urban facilities would almost automatically change society's moral and cultural conditions. Homes "for the largest number" and public promotion of projects and modernistic aesthetics proposed a new concept of life for the working classes. The space and its infrastructures were expected to change the behavior of their users for the better. Remy and Voyé (1974) do not deny the importance of space but they also do not reify it, saying that it is both an autonomous and a determinate element. On the one hand, space has its own effects that are not the result of other elements, with which they are interconnected. On the other hand, space is still determined, i.e. it can be interpreted in articulation with other structures (cultural models and social structure) not within a given social formation.

From this complex, interlocking web of relationships, spatial structure can generate two types of effect; (i) structural or political power, generally associated with the production and appropriation of decisive resources needed for practices or (ii) cultural, as effects of awareness, linked to cultural models and the personality system (ways in which individuals get emotionally involved, assert their identity and forge their project for the space). The effects of space should be interpreted on the basis of the number of social actors present, as their social and cultural position may result in antagonistic social behaviour over the same space. Even in a social organisation based on the same cultural model, there may be different effects depending on the social belonging of the groups. In this context, there are obviously social actors who have more opportunities than others and may engage in different behaviours and use different strategies.

These authors uphold that two types of concept can emerge, that of the appropriation of the space and that of the production of the space. The former stimulates individualisation. The idea of appropriation is an existing social recourse, linked to power, economic interests and planning policies. The latter has to do with the way in which each individual perceives the space and the projects that normally has built around it. Even in this setting, social players are conditioned by the proponents of the appropriation concept. The same spatial structure can be valued by one group and rejected by another, depending on their basic cultural model. A cultural model is the interpretation of a given spatial disposition. It provides a guiding image and entails a moral assessment. According to Remy and Voyé (1974) cultural models and social organisation are organised on the basis of their relationship with space. The different components of the urban phenomenon thus have different effects

depending on the cultural model and social structure. The cultural models that are part of the inhabitants' daily practices are also reflected in their language and practical skills (Raymond 1984).

4.2 Architecture and Social Sciences: Paving the Way to Interdisciplinarity

4.2.1 In France

In the second half of the 20th century, especially in the 1960s and 70s, France underwent an extraordinary multidisciplinary experience between the social sciences and architecture (Segaud 2010). The social sciences' approach sprang from criticism of the Modern Movement wich "bible" was the Athens Charter and its master was Le Corbusier. By criticising the architecture of industrial capitalist society that was spreading to the "underdeveloped" countries with no consideration for their settings, the social sciences were also criticising this capitalist society, which was too programmed, rationalised and bureaucratic and where the inhabitants or citizens had no voice.

The social sciences' approach to space would reflect or accompany new questions posed by the architects themselves, critics of the Modern Movement. According to Pinson (1993), they arose at two different important moments: the *Architecture Without Architects* exhibition (at the New York Museum of Modern Art from 9 November 1964 to 7 February 1965) and the release of the first work by Robert Venturi, *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture,* (1966). Pinson (1993) upholds that the exhibition represented a breakaway from the modern movement, as it defended the opening of architecture to a number of disciplines, such as history, sociology and anthropology, in which the ideas of culture and social context were central aspects, on the one hand, while, on the other hand, in the logical sequence of the first opening, if you like, the opening of an ethnocentric vision, drawing attention to positive aspects of so-called "minor architecture", vernacular architecture. This defence of vernacular architecture necessarily involves the importance given to each culture and the idea that architecture has an anthropological dimension and does not respond only to the three usual dimensions "construction, functionality and beauty" (Pinson 1993; Freitag 2004).

The movement that emerged from this link between architecture and the social sciences, which sprang from criticism of the Modern Movement and the context of May '68, allowed social science subjects to be included in the curricula of architecture courses in France. Segaud (2010) states that this experience was not easy. Social science lecturers found it difficult to choose contents that met the needs of urbanists and architects, who were somewhat suspicious of the utility of some

them.[2] At the time, sociologists were trying to work out what might be of interest to architects and how they could contribute to the practical exercises of architects. It was therefore necessary to transcend disciplinary boundaries and create a common terminology. Segaud believed that it was habitat and everyday life that anchored this cooperation.

The experience of social scientists and architects working together was based on a theory resulting from the assumed importance of the social and cultural context in the drafting of architectural designs, which meant devising new observation methods and new concepts (appropriation, habitation, customs, etc.). It is a question of thinking of a space from an ethnographic point of view. "To do this, everyday actions, social representations in a social and cultural context were given a scientific meaning" (Segaud 2010, p. 30). Henri Lefebvre's thinking, with a strong philosophical and sociological component, was very important in the development of these ideas. In 1947, he published the first volume of the book *Critique de la vie quotidienne,*[3] which transformed everyday life, something banal and of no scientific interest, into something scientific.

One of the many multidisciplinary works produced during this period was an experiment based on a double pedagogical concern, the meeting of theoretical and practical knowledge (Hoddé and Deboulet 2007). It was an architectural intervention in Mahdia, a medium-sized town in Tunisia, involving French and Tunisian teachers and students.[4] In the first three years, they gathered information about the relationship between socio-spatial structures and types of home. This information was analysed from the point of view of the inhabitants themselves. The students then found an abandoned house in the middle of the Medina that was known to all the locals and obviously ready to be demolished. The team suggested to the local authorities that they could restore it as a form of active teaching using compatible, locally reusable materials. This was a group of students from different courses, including cinema, history, architecture and sociology, who were going to spend their summer vacation working on the "Laboratory House". New dynamics were created between local residents, students from different countries and project leaders sparking a real discussion on the new functions of the Laboratory House, such as materials and ancient techniques to be used in restoring it, etc. Hoddé and Deboulet stated, "the ability to listen is the element that forms the axis of teaching put into practice" (2007, p. 179). This teaching was going to call in into question some preconceptions on the importance of experts, while highlighting the efficacy of a joint exercise in reflexivity.

[2]In spite of this problem, in certain schools in France in the late 1970s, there was a small group of architects who, after graduating from architectural school, wrote theses on sociology, anthropology or history (degrees in architecture and Ph.Ds in social sciences) (Segaud 2010).

[3]Henri Lefebvre published the second volume in 1962 and the third in 1981.

[4]The experiment began in 1977 involving cooperation between the Nantes National School of Architecture (EAN) the Tunis National School of Architecture and Urban Planning (ENAU).

The question that remains after these fruitful years in France in the 1960s and 1970s,[5] when an attempt was made to conjugate the social and spatial in joint work involving different areas of knowledge, is why at the beginning of the 21st century, are we still experiencing so many difficulties, suspicions and fears when thinking together about the appropriation of space by all of us, the inhabitants.

4.2.2 In Portugal

In the 1960s, the architects Pedro Vieira de Almeida and especially Nuno Portas were concerned with delving further into the practice (and not so much the teaching) of architecture from a multidisciplinary perspective in Portugal. Pedro Vieira de Almeida (1964, p. 238) stated that, as an activity that was deeply rooted in sociology, architecture responded to and proposed new formulations of man's needs, behaviours and aspirations. It was important for designs to make an effort to get a command of theory and build syntheses based on the input received.

While it is true that in the 1950s and 60s, the Athens Charter constituted the main theoretic guidelines in Portugal, it is also true that there was a group of architects (Nuno Teotónio Pereira, Nuno Portas, Francisco Silva Dias and António Freitas, among others) who rejected the idea of a home as a *machine à habiter*, and endeavoured to adjust the ideas of the modern movement to a social and economic reality in which the construction of dwellings should be adapted to a certain way of living. These ideas were expressed in the journal *Arquitectura,* in which a number of new contributors with new ideas appeared in 1957. The journal addressed subjects like social housing, the sociology of housing and urban sociology.

In the wake of this multidisciplinary approach, in 1960, Nuno Portas organised a colloquy of the National Union of Architects. The French sociologist Chombart de Lauwe was invited (Duarte 2013). Portas worked in the Construction and Housing Division of the National Civil Engineering Laboratory (LNEC) from 1962 to 1974, where he conducted research into architecture. Initially he was highly influenced by sociology, due to his contacts with Lefebvre and Chombart de Lauwe, among others, and his collaboration with Sedas Nunes, one of the founders of Portuguese sociology. A number of studies and instruments were drawn up, such as a "Pilot Survey of Family Housing Needs". The survey's main purpose was to discover, represent and predict housing trends in a certain part of the population (Rodrigues de Carvalho 2012, p. 81). Basically, the idea was to find out more about the people's standards of living, how they lived, i.e. "(…) to try and understand how people behaved in the space and how the space responded to people" (Rodrigues de Carvalho 2012, p. 131). These results were transposed into social housing projects

[5]Especially after 1974, Portugal also had interesting experiences of articulation between the social sciences and architecture and urban planning, some of which are mentioned in this article.

and programmes. For the first time, Portugal had a research unit that was capable of performing research of architectural and social interest.

In the 1950s and 60s, there were two institutions that had a huge influence on Portuguese society in terms of urban issues. These were Caixas de Previdência (health insurance schemes, with the later creation of the Federação das Caixas de Previdência) and the National Civil Engineering Laboratory, where the architects Nuno Teotónio Pereira and Nuno Portas played an important role, respectively. Both were critics of the Salazar regime, had plenty of initiative and were surrounded by excellent professionals. They most certainly had a huge influence on the changes that occurred in solving the housing problems not only of poorer strata of the population but also of the emerging middle class whose housing problem was also real.

How can one explain how, during the Salazar dictatorship when Portugal was closing itself off from the outside world, it was possible to find a movement with state institutions themselves that went against the regime and presented architectural designs that kept up with what was being done abroad while maintaining a specificity that reflected our culture, history and identity? In spite of considerable constraints imposed by the dictatorship that kept the country isolated from the outside world and deeply marked by social and economic inequality, it was possible to create a civil service governed by the idea of "public service". The main concern was not to create a "great work of architecture" a photo of which would shine in a national or even an international magazine, it was, as Teotónio Pereira said, to "put the user first, work for his wellbeing and provide the best conditions of space and use" (Pereira 2013, p. 174).

The importance that the social sciences[6] were acquiring for architecture in Portugal is in a way linked to the redefinition of the architect's professional status. According to architect Francisco Silva Dias,[7] the 1957 reform of the architecture course was based on criticism of the idea that had prevailed until then that an architect was a demiurge, a great artist. The reform, on the other hand, upheld architecture as an area of knowledge and action that was based on multidisciplinary thought. At university, this proximity between architecture and social sciences came later. Mendes (2011)[8] stated that what was at stake in curricular reforms in the architecture courses was the definition of the architect's professional status and social role. The new social, economic and political setting that appeared after the Second World War made it necessary to rethink the architect's professional role. In Portugal, there was always a strict demarcation between the Lisbon and Porto schools of architecture. The Porto school was close to a cultural and anthropological vision of architecture, where the influence of Professor Jorge Dias was felt, while

[6]Before 1974, teaching and research in sociology were prevented from developing by the authoritarian political system (Costa 1992).

[7]Oral presentation at the Lisbon University Faculty of Architecture, Seminar *Arquitectura e Sociedade,* on 26 May 2011.

[8]Oral presentation at the Lisbon University Faculty of Architecture, Seminar *Arquitectura e Sociedade,* on 26 May 2011.

the Lisbon school was more politicised and accepted interdisciplinarity by introducing the 1957 syllabus with social sciences, geography and economics.

According to Mendes (2011) to the end of the 1960s, at Lisbon School, geographers began to work in architecture studios (such as that of Conceição e Silva), collaborating with the architects from a multidisciplinary point of view. This was a time when the importance of teaching geography to architecture students was recognised. There was an experimental dialogue between the teaching of geography, economics and architectural skills. This multidisciplinary teaching experiment at the Lisbon Technical University, Superior School of Fine Arts (nowadays, Faculty of Architecture, Lisbon University) was later replaced by the idea of interdisciplinary teaching. It was enshrined by a reform in 1976, which introduced urban planning as a subject in which geography played a vital role especially in the preparation of urbanistic architects.

This interdisciplinary model continued until the 1990s, when the syllabus was revised again with a view to broadening the architect's social and professional role. In this revision, social sciences' involvement in the training of architects developed even further and the Department of Social Sciences (later section of social sciences and territory) was consolidated. Teaching was marked by the breakdown of teaching units, especially in social sciences and humanities, as a result of teaching staff's research. The architectural project was also isolated from other areas of knowledge.

In the early 2000s it was normal to find subjects such as Urban Sociology and Spatial Anthropology in degree courses in architecture and urban planning. This greater recognition of the contribution of social sciences to the training of architects sprang largely from the need to expand their social and professional role. It was, however, also due to the need for the work of architects to comply with Directive 2005/36/EC of the European Parliament and Council[9]when it lays down that an architects' training must ensure an understanding of their role in society, in particular in preparing briefs that take social factors into account.

Some changes have occurred since then (due to the Bologna Declaration), however, and the classical training given in architecture and urban planning courses tends to be further monodisciplinary. There has been a trend in recent years towards pushing complementary subjects such as social sciences and others to one side and continuing to guide students towards the worship of impactful, architectural works and not preparing them for didactical, practical, experimental and interdisciplinary briefs.

Relations between disciplines are never neutral. More than anything, they are relationships of power and each one's ethnocentric vision normally tends to prevail (Signorelli and Caniglia 2007). This discipline ethnocentrism is reinforced by hyper-specialisation and over-compartmentalisation of subjects.

[9]Law 9/2009 of 4 March transposed into Portuguese Law Directive 2005/36/CE of the Parliament and of the Council of 7 September on professional qualifications.

Caniglia and Signorelli (2007) recount an important interdisciplinary didactic experiment between anthropology and urban planning at Università degli Studi di Napoli in 1997. This experimental seminar relied on interdisciplinary teaching in that it was designed to prepare anthropologists, sociologists and urban planners who were aware of each others' skills on a particular issue (shared definition phases, identification of problems and fieldwork). They concluded that interdisciplinarity was founded on a specific work method and that was important to share and implement systematically. Transdisciplinarity[10] was more difficult, as it went beyond traditional borders based on a different, more systemic and holistic, way of viewing the world.[11]

Although this dialogue began in Portugal decades ago, it is still tenuous, as is collaboration, especially in education. Participative urban planning and architecture are still fragile in theoretic, pedagogical and methodological terms. One of the most consistent experiences of cooperation between architects and sociologists was the SAAL process, which was an example of shared local democracy, architecture and science. More recently, the BIP/ZIP programme shows similar features although with only local effects.

4.3 Interdisciplinary Collaboration Between Sociology, Anthropology, Architecture and Urban Planning in Portugal: SAAL and BIP/ZIP

4.3.1 SAAL (Local Ambulatory Support Service)

SAAL operations began as part of the revolutionary process triggered in Portugal by the coup of 25 April 1974.[12] Its main aim was to solve the housing problem, one of the most serious in Portuguese society. "In the 1960s, only 19% of homes had fixed showers or baths; only 29% had indoor running water; only 38% were

[10]The Charter of Transdisciplinarity (UNESCO 1994) states that the keystone of Transdisciplinarity is the semantic and practical unification of the meanings that traverse and lie beyond different disciplines. It presupposes an open-minded rationality by re-examining the concepts of `definition' and `objectivity'. The transdisciplinary vision is resolutely open insofar as it goes beyond the field of the exact sciences and demands their dialogue and their reconciliation with the humanities and the social sciences as well as with art, literature, poetry and spiritual experience. In comparison with interdisciplinarity and multidisciplinarity, transdisciplinarity is multireferential and multidimensional. See https://blogmanamani.files.wordpress.com/2013/08/carta-da-transdisciplinaridade.pdf), accessed on 20/3/2016.

[11]For Petts and Susan (2008, p. 597) "disciplinary practices must evolve to match the complexity of the issue facing today's scientific community". For Pinson (2007, p. 311), for architecture to be autonomous, it needs transdisciplinarity.

[12]The coup on 25 April 1974 resulted from a social movement headed by a group of army captains who overthrew the Estado Novo dictatorship in Portugal.

connected to a public sewage system; only 41% had electricity and only 42% had indoor sanitation." (Barreto and Preto 1996, p. 56).

The previous regime was aware of the problem but regarded it as a social inevitability and not a structural element of Portuguese society. It proposed social housing involving the construction of inexpensive and prefabricated homes,[13] but was unable to meet the population's needs, "less than 10% of this social housing attracted around 90% of the population, while attempts were made to unload the other 90%, from the free market, onto just under 10% of the wealthier classes or those able to pay much more" (Dias 2013, p. 16). It was during the revolutionary process, which was against the old regime, that the SAAL process emerged.

Due to these housing problems in the main urban areas, following profound political changes in Portuguese society (the 25 April coup and the change to democracy) an Ordinance of 6 August 1974 from the Secretariat of State for Housing and Urban Planning, headed by Arquiteto Nuno Portas, set up the SAAL. It was a pilot project and its main aims were:

(i) *Local residents' participation in the construction of their homes*—the process began in response to a request from residents' organisations, who said that people were entitled to stay where they were already living. The local residents were invited to participate in dialogue with the members of Local Support Brigades.[14]
(ii) *Administrative decentralisation*—the SAAL was based on local power, i.e. residents organised into "residents' committees" or "housing cooperatives" and municipal councils. Funding for building homes was given directly to associations.
(iii) *Incorporation of residents' own resources*—local inhabitants had to use their own resources in the form of funding, assisted self-construction and organisation of the population.

The programme was difficult to implement as it was innovative in form and content and defended disadvantaged people's right to housing. It meant having to struggle against a bureaucratic, conservative public administration.

In the face of this reality, there was a will in the streets, workplaces and schools to change Portuguese society and give more rights to the poor and vulnerable. The SAAL, which represented the people at the bottom of the social hierarchy, was being set up at the same time as the welfare state. It was not only an initiative for solving the housing problem but also a political movement.

The SAAL's action in Lisbon and Porto focused mainly on two situations. In Lisbon, shanty towns were springing up, some of them very large, as a result of growing industrialisation that had attracted many people away from the

[13]One aspect that was completely ignored in the construction of these homes was accessibility, as poor families moved out of the city centres to isolated areas on the periphery, which was not enough to solve the problem.

[14]The technical brigades were led by architects and consisted of interdisciplinary teams that worked with the local people with the aim of building new homes.

countryside. In Porto, there were the "islands" (ilhas), precarious housing that had grown inside the blocks of the old city. In both cases, the SAAL brigades were very important in handling and working with these populations. The idea was for the projects to be participative and negotiated (Nunes 2014).

The SAAL process was based on three key ideas: defence of a multidisciplinary approach, an anthropological concept of architecture and criticism of capitalist society. It involved multidisciplinary Local Support Brigades that included experts in different fields: architects, designers, engineers, sociologists and social workers, among others. According to Ferreira (1975) these brigades had an ambiguous task that would characterise their operations. They tried to distance themselves from the authorities, though the local people regarded them as official. This made their mediation particularly difficult at a time of great turmoil and political instability.

The anthropological nature of architecture was a concept present in the minds of the SAAL project's mentors (Nuno Portas, Nuno Teotónio Pereira[15]), who upheld that an architectural plan should be discussed and thought over with the people who were going to use it. The architect's know-how should be joined by the local people's empirical knowledge in terms of construction (many inhabitants in the shanty towns worked in construction and knew "how to do things") and in terms of social practices, which meant a certain way of life and a culture associated with values and daily practices.

Criticism of capitalist society lent the SAAL process a highly political dimension, involving the emancipation of workers and demands for more disadvantaged groups to have the right to a home in the city. The inhabitants themselves in residents' committees were the ones who "controlled" the whole process.

Two aspects should be mentionated that showed this critical, revolutionary attitude typical of the SAAL process: the methods used and the issue of land-ownership.

On the subject of the methods used, Teotónio Pereira stated in a document on 24 July 1974 that it left a number of solutions open, as he was aware that "it would be experimental evolution itself that determined the methodologies and strategies and most likely assessed the results. In a process like this, that was supposed to be so correlated with social practices, it was necessary not to discard the desired possibility of these same practices forming the fields of action" (Bandeirinha 2007, p. 118). Later, Portas (1986) said that initial lack of definition in the SAAL project resulted from the need to provide rapid responses not only due to the ongoing revolutionary process but also because the project was being designed by people themselves. Many legal documents emerged to solve the problems that arose from the process and were discussed with the local inhabitants, which meant constantly doing and redoing things. Nuno Portas said that it was a process that depended on its recipients, its targets, and not the state.

[15]On 24 July 1974 Teotónio Pereira submitted the first document defining the goals, scope of action and modus operandi of the SAAL to the FFH.

The second aspect was a problem that was perhaps more difficult to solve, that of land ownership. One of the key ideas of the SAAL was that the residents should legally take over the land on which they had built illegally. Even back in 1975, this land was centrally located and quite valuable. This called into question the right to private ownership. According to Ferreira (1975), there was a conflict between two ideologies, a contradiction between a historical party commitment (having to do with the so-called bourgeois legality) and the positions of certain political and military instances (which asserted military legitimacy).

The SAAL was a bottom-up initiative, in which the process ran the project and each phase took off on the basis of the results of the previous one. Planning was done step by step. It called into question the idea of top-down planning, in which a rational process would be followed to share out the land and people would be assigned to places whose rational functionality did not take the population's experiences and memories into account. In the SAAL process, homes were not built for abstract "poor people", but for these people in particular. Although the experiment was very short (August 1974–October 1976) it called into question the traditional relationship between architect and client or between planner and residents. It defended a different form of intervention in which the inhabitants played a crucial role. Since 1976, this architectural and planning experiment has spurred the interest and curiosity of "specialists and specialised institutions in a number of countries (Italy, Spain, Denmark, Sweden, Germany, France and Japan, among others), expressed in architecture and urban planning journals, field trips, exhibitions, invitations to SAAL members to take part in international courses, seminars and conferences" (Pereira 2014, p. 29).

Although it only lasted two years, "when it was closed down, the SAAL involved more than 150 operations in a number of municipalities, especially in the metropolitan areas of Lisbon and Porto, where most of the substandard housing was located. Over 40,000 poor families belonging to 14 economic housing cooperatives, 16 residents' committees and 128 residents' associations were receiving support from 118 SAAL technical brigades. It was assisting in the construction of 2259 dwellings and it expected to start another 5741 by March 1977, based on the work done" (Pereira 2014, p. 29).

Between 1974 and '76, there was a SAAL operation in Bela Vista "island" in Porto but its rehabilitation plans were never completed. Laboratório de Habitação Básica e Social/IMAGO undertook a rehabilitation programme in Bela Vista resulting from the work of a transdisciplinary research team.[16] It looked for a brief

[16]The programme is being implemented in Bela Vista by Laboratório de Habitação Básica e Social/IMAGO with the support of Porto Municipal Council. It is currently in the rehousing phase and the first restoration work will begin on 15 September 2015. The team consists of specialists from different areas. For example Fernando Matos Rodrigues is an anthropologist, director of Laboratório de Habitação Básica e Social and in charge of coordinating the housing and participation programme at Bela Vista, while António Jorge Cerejeira Fontes is an architect and the main coordinator of architecture at Laboratório de Habitação Básica e Social and the coordinator and designer of the Bela Vista renewal plans.

that would make it possible to restore all the homes and all the communal areas on the basis of its inhabitants' aspirations and expectations. It was an experimental urban renewal project with the residents' participation and an example of participative architecture along the lines of the SAAL for other "islands" (Rodrigues et al. 2015).

4.3.2 The BIP/ZIP Programme

BIP/ZIP—Lisbon's Priority Neighbourhoods and Areas of Intervention Programme was first announced as a municipal public policy tool and one of the goals of Lisbon City Council's local housing programme, which was approved in 2009.

It has been in place since 2011, and its aim is to promote small local initiatives that foster activities and projects in priority neighbourhoods and areas of intervention that can "provide responses to social and urban emergencies (…) as challenges to the whole community's wellbeing".[17] The programme is open in terms of partnerships and issues, which include promoting citizenship, skills and entrepreneurship, prevention and inclusion, restoration and renewal of spaces and improvement of living conditions in neighbourhoods.[18] Its philosophy is based on local partnerships with parish councils, local associations and NGOs, in order to help improve social cohesion in the municipality.

The programme's fundamental aim is to foster an attitude of active citizenship that helps integrate these areas into the city. In other words, it is designed to promote a capacity for self-organisation of residents and different players in the areas, so that they can use dialogue to improve their living conditions and the quality of their homes. The principles and methods of the BIP/ZIP Programme have aspects in common with an initiative called "Restoration and Urban Reinsertion of Critical Neighbourhoods".[19] Instead of a "critical neighbourhood", the BIP/ZIP Programme preferred the concept of a "priority neighbourhood" (BIP),[20] i.e. those forgotten by municipal governments (Oliveira 2013).[21]

The BIP/ZIP Programme's organisation and participation are less bureaucratic, more bottom-up. It provides faster responses and focuses on preventing the social and territorial gap from widening via proximity polices, in close cooperation with the site and in the response to emergency situations.

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[17]See http://habitacao.cm-lisboa.pt/ (accessed in September 2013).

[18]Ibid.

[19]See Council of Ministers Resolution 143/2005 of 7 September.

[20]Later it included not only priority neighbourhoods but also priority areas (ZIP).

[21]An additional instrument in the programme is the Bip Zip Roadmap, which was devised by cross-referencing social and spatial variables. The roadmap sets out 67 priority neighbourhoods. A neighbourhood is considered a priority if an analysis of socioeconomic, urban and environmental variables identifies a "social and territorial gap" (Oliveira 2013, p. 74). Four types were established: Augis, historical, municipal and others or combinations thereof.

The BIP-ZIP Programme's projects are annual. This short duration has its advantages as it makes the programme flexible and less bureaucratic, contrasting with the usual bureaucracy and red tape associated with long-term plans (Folgado et al. forthcoming). This short term may also have disadvantages, due to delays in the transfer of funds by the managing body, which hinders implementation. The time needed for initiatives is often underestimated and there are limitations on the follow-up provided by Lisbon City Council (CML). The partners seem to lack systematic channels and strategies for sharing opinions and have problems with project monitoring.

Another of the advantages of this programme is its openness to bodies that may be promoters or formal partners in applications. This includes not only public bodies but also civil society organisations and interdisciplinary teams, which may have multiplying effects. After projects are approved, they may involve collaboration from other formal or informal, public, private or civil society organisations that work towards the goals. This shows the flexibility and institutional scope of the programme.

More and more local communities have applied the programme. In 2011, 33 out of 80 applications were approved, in 2012, 28 out of 106, in 2013, 52 out of 108, in 2014, 39 out of 146 and in 2015, 36 out of 109. The criteria for assessing applications include: local residents' participation in the design, development and assessment of projects (30 points), the pertinence and complementarity of actions to be taken in projects as an appropriate response to the problems in each BIP/ZIP found during the preparation of the Bip Zip Roadmap (20 points), contribution to local development and greater social and territorial cohesion (20 points), sustainability, i.e. a commitment from the promoters and partners to ensure the continuity of the initiative after programme funding ends (20 points), innovative initiatives (10 points): (*i*) making individuals less vulnerable, (*ii*) the targets which play an active role in undertaking and assessing projects; (*iii*) creative use of existing endogenous and exogenous resources to BIP/ZIP.

A brief analysis of approved applications shows that local neighbourhood associations were the most important promoters between 2012 and 2015, peaking at 73% in 2015. They were followed by local authorities, although their presence decreased in recent years. The purposes of the projects varied slightly over the period. Some of the most prominent were entrepreneurship and the improvement of skills, the improvement of living conditions in the neighbourhood and inclusion and prevention, the latter being the most salient in 2015. The programme's innovation factors include the fact that the promoters and partners are responsible for designing, carrying out and assessing the project and rendering accounts and the fact that promoters and partners are obliged to ensure that initiatives undertaken during the period continue afterwards, as part of a proximity policy. Roseta referred to "the potential transformer of the so-called 'BIP-ZIP energy'" and a kind of

"emergent urban planning" or "grassroots planning" that we consider innovative and increasingly necessary (Pereira 2013, p. 14).[22]

The BIP-ZIP Roadmap is included in Lisbon's Municipal Master Plan and represents the council's 10-year commitment to undertake programmes and measures that make the BIP-ZIP neighbourhoods like any other, where their residents have the same rights: proper housing, access to public transports, clean streets, good communal areas, schools, health services, cultural facilities, safety and security, better quality of life in short.

An example of participative architecture has been undertaken by Ateliermob. As part of the BIP/ZIP Programme, it carried out work in the PRODAC Norte neighbourhood in Marvila, Lisbon. It was built by local inhabitants around 40 years ago and housed around 600 families who had been demanding ownership of their homes for a long time. In addition to work in communal spaces, Ateliermob began licensing processes for 72 of the 88 self-built homes, so that they would not only be legalised but also that their residents could gain full ownership.

4.4 Final Remarks

In a world of manufactured uncertainties (Beck 1992) marked by a liquefied social life (Bauman 2001), the unpredictability of social life (Giddens et al. 1997), transience, volatility and tight political and financial restrictions, cities are also experiencing change and transition. In the face of the fragmentation of theoretic terminology and analysis (Fortuna and Proença 2009), there is the need once again to reformulate and innovate analytical and conceptual instruments, which requires continuous reflexibility and growing interdisciplinary cooperation.

Although this dialogue is essential, it also poses a challenge to teachers and researchers working at this crossroads between architecture and the social sciences. The dialogue is also up against the strong influence of the fine arts on architecture, corporativism, the difficulty in recognising "complementary or connected" subjects and the limitations arising from the Bologna process, which has placed the social sciences on the sidelines in the syllabus of future architects.

A forum for dialogue, understanding and circulation among different types of know-how can be created in an agenda of interdisciplinary activities involving three axes: research, teaching and planning. Planning in particular needs greater participation from the social sciences, but this would obviously entail recognition and sharing that architects may not be prepared to accept and greater openness on the part of the social sciences in the search for concrete answers to the needs of projects.

As stated by Signorelli and Caniglia (2007), it is important to teach with architecture, i.e. not jointly or in parallel. It is necessary to create a forum for

[22]Current President of the Municipal Assembly of Lisbon municipality.

dialogue, circulation of different types of know-how and critical comparison of diverse knowledge, due to the need to prepare and train students on how to look at and understand what they are seeing rather than jumping in head first and drafting plans and briefs. Pinson (2007) upholds that democracy encourages architects to include knowledge and know-how about society in their works, such as the residents' "skills", and to think with them and not for them. Appropriation is interrelated to the inhabitant's skills, which are expressed in words or acts of appropriation that reconfigure their practice in the space.

Basically, participative architecture involving residents, political decision-makers, architects, sociologists and other specialists is not a threat to expert knowledge or political decisions but rather a form of participative, grassroots democracy.

Last but not least, interdisciplinarity and collaboration will help develop a holistic outlook by connecting several subjects. This will respond to the increase in complexity in the world, which entails a change from reductive perspectives of analysis (Max-Neef 2005) that have so far dominated the training and higher education landscapes in architecture and urban planning.

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Chapter 5
Architects and Anthropologists: Rapprochements and Estrangements in the Study of Vernacular Architecture

Marta Lalanda Prista

5.1 Studies on Vernacular Architecture: Three Case Studies

Throughout the twentieth-century, architects, historians, other social scientists, and amateurs, shared an interest in vernacular architecture that built it up as a subject of scientific research.[1] In Portugal, the topic was considered to have been the most productive dialogue between the often apart architects and anthropologists (Leal 2011). This interest varied in scope and time, evincing how categories of culture are construed by contextualised processes of communication of meanings that involve intellectuals, powers, and social structures, in the naturalisation of social distinctions through cultural constructions (Storey 2003). Three major moments in the intellectual and political construction of vernacular architecture are consensually pointed out by literature.

The first studies on vernacular architecture date back to the last decades of the nineteenth-century (Oliver 2006) and expose modernity's interest in the rural world as a repository of cultural authenticity that confirms nation-building processes (Lowenthal 1985). Understood as material folk culture, vernacular architecture was scrutinised as a product of the peasant's social life and a model for their social reproduction (Lawrence and Low 1990). In Portugal, threats on the nation's integrity, like the British Ultimatum and the monarchy crisis (1890–1910), reinforced an ethno-genealogical debate on national identity that searched for the nation's antiquity and originality in the authenticity of folk culture (Cabral 1991).

[1]The term vernacular will be used throughout the text accordingly to Vellinga's (2011) conceptualisation.

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Within these debates, national culture was objectified in folk architecture through the selection, oblivion and enhancement of particular features construed as signs of *Portugueseness* (Leal 2000).

After Second World War, the nationalistic use of folk culture gave way to a scientific approach to vernacular settlings. The new political and social order, along with the emerging criticism of modernism's alienation from place, aroused the interest in primitive societies among architects, geographers and anthropologists (Lawrence and Low 1990). Fascinated by the nexus between material culture and symbolic meaning, they explained architectural form in social organisation, and provided diffusionist explanations for its variations in time and space. Distinct interests guided different approaches, though. The Portuguese case is illustrative: geographers classified regional landscapes (Ribeiro 1945); architects contested the objectification of folk architecture (SNA 1961); anthropologists inquired rural architectures as technologies of production (Oliveira and Galhano 1992); and agronomists examined the national productive capability in rural dwellings' conditions (Basto 1943). Notwithstanding, they all contributed to the constitution of a field of vernacular architecture studies in Portugal. Worldwide, this came to be known by the publication of three groundbreaking works that advocated the historiography of vernacular architecture (Oliver 1969), proposed a holistic approach to the topic (Rapoport 1969), and defended its lessons to architectural design (Rudofsky 1964).

When the *cultural turn* of the 1970/1980 mitigated the boundaries between natural and social worlds in a *parliament of things* that recognised the agency of objects-actants and subjects-actants (Latour 1993), scholars drove away from a positivist epistemology towards the understanding of culture as interpretation (Geertz 1973). The time-space compression of postmodernity evinced the need to revise modernist dogmas. Its dichotomised view on culture was deconstructed, namely by anthropologists and architects who acknowledged the authenticity of hybrid cultures (Canclini 1995) and commercial vernaculars (Venturi et al. 1972).

In Portugal, this shift was simultaneous to the democratisation of the regime (1974) and the internal diffusion of international thoughts and practices. Architects seized the opportunity to diverge in conceptual frameworks and professional paths, from urban planning to the academia, from social architectures to postmodern aesthetics (Portas and Mendes 1991). Anthropologists put to practice a sociological project concerned with particular groups, quotidian lifestyles, and social conflicts (Cabral 1991), leaving behind the picturesque material culture and national identity (Leal 2006). In this political and intellectual context, the socioeconomic and territorial impacts of deruralisation once more gathered scholars around the field of vernacular studies. In Portugal, one particular phenomenon focused their attention: the emigrant house (Brandão 1984; Dias 1992; Silvano 1990).

At the core of debates on heritage and planning, the emigrant house in the rural space was a ground to reassess vernacular architecture in light of postmodern epistemologies and new local-global configurations. Hybrid forms of culture and

interdisciplinary approaches became research paradigms to account for the intertwined worlds of nature, things and people, and their mutual constitution. It was in this context that three in-depth research were carried out, though only later published in *Arquitectura Popular dos Açores* (Caldas 2000), *Arquitectura Popular da Madeira* (Mestre 2001) and *Casas de sonhos: emigrantes construtores no Norte de Portugal* (Villanova et al. 1995).[2] Through these case studies, this chapter examines the rapprochements and estrangements of architecture and anthropology in the study of Portuguese vernacular architecture. It looks into the published materials of *Azores*, *Madeira* and *Casas de sonhos* in light of the interviews conducted with several of its authors[3] in order to assess their reinvention of the vernacular, their dialogues and back-turns, and their interdisciplinary propositions and accomplishments. Particular attention will be paid to architects and architecture due to their prominent role in the ulterior development of this field of research. Recalling that categories of culture are political and intellectual constructions that mobilise institutional and individual agencies in particular historical contexts, interdisciplinarity will be further examined taking into account the praxis, the subjects and the politics of anthropology and architecture.

The choice of *Azores*, *Madeira* and *Casas de sonhos* to construe the argument of this chapter lied in three features that enable their brief presentation. In first place, these works account for the continuities and disruptions that marked the 1980s epistemological shifts in the Portuguese study of vernacular architecture, and set its multidirectional course afterwards. *Azores* indented to survey vernacular architecture following on the 1950s venture (SNA 1961), by focusing on the rural dwellings' internal organisation, though pondering its erudite and urban interpenetrations (Caldas 2000). *Madeira* resulted from a professed passion for the rural life that aimed the heritagisation of vernacular architecture, but addressed its protection in both past and present terms (Mestre 2001). And *Casas de sonhos* spatialised the postmodern time-space compression in new architectural forms in the rural space that intertwined local and global scales, rural and urban references, traditional and modern values, social and political interests, despite considering them to be repertoires of the vernacular habitat (Villanova et al. 1995).

In second place, *Azores*, *Madeira* and *Casas de sonhos* subscribed an interdisciplinary approach to vernacular architecture which differences in structure, grounds and fulfilment are confirming of interdisciplinarity's multiple conceptualisations. Put forward by the Portuguese Architects Association, *Azores* was an

[2]For clarity of reading, these research and publications will be addressed only as *Azores*, *Madeira* and *Casas de sonhos* throughout the chapter.

[3]Victor Mestre, 10 September 2012 and 16 April 2013 (Azores and Madeira); João Vieira Caldas, 24 October 2012 and 8 July 2013 (Azores); António Freitas Leal, 27 May 2013 (Azores); Cristina Santinho, 4 June 2013 (Azores); José Manuel Fernandes, 12 June 2013 (Azores); Jorge Mesquita, 22 July 2013 (Azores); Isabel Raposo, 9 October 2013 (Casas de sonhos); Ana Tostões, 22 May 2015 (Azores).

institutional venture that set off with fieldwork teams composed of architects and anthropologists, despite the latter having left the teams afterwards (Caldas 2000).[4] *Casas de sonhos* resulted from a research project on migration carried out by social scientists that called in an research-architect to emplace the debates on transnationalism and hybridity in architectural forms (Villanova et al. 1995).[5] Quite differently, *Madeira* was the work of one-single architect who built up experience in *Azores* and seized the opportunity to extend it while working on Funchal Master Plan, and in the scope of a Master's thesis. His lack of formal training precluded him to assume the role of an anthropologist. Still, recognising an ethnographic intention, the author inherently acknowledged its interdisciplinary basis (Mestre 2001).

Finally, in third place, *Azores*, *Madeira* and *Casas de sonhos* evince how the reassessment of cultural categories and the nature of its approaches interplay with the uses of culture by particular interests. When *Azores* and *Madeira* borrowed the 1950s survey name, for instance, the intention to complete a previous work that missed out the archipelagos was clear. But, however implicitly, it also manifested a political and intellectual use of first survey's symbolic capital, aesthetically and ethically built by the history of Portuguese architecture (Prista 2015). This resumption is extolled by the two major protagonists of the first survey that prefaced *Madeira* as a step forward in the study of vernacular architecture. Furthermore, both *Madeira* and *Azores* are considered a rescuing of the past for present and future purposes by the authors and the institutional or critical introductions to the published works, namely concerning applied research, heritage protection, and planning.

Altogether, *Azores*, *Madeira* and *Casas de sonhos* thus unveil a turning point in the Portuguese studies on vernacular architecture that simultaneously reassessed its conceptualisation, reframed its study under interdisciplinarity, and reinforced the bonds between an intellectual construction and a professional praxis. Whether this led to a merging of modernist dichotomies, a scientific integration of disciplines, or an applied science, however, can only be gauged by looking into the subjects and frameworks of the three research, its purposes and uses, and the effectiveness of mutually constitutive dialogues between architects and anthropologists.

5.2 Research Subjects and Conceptual Frameworks

Analysing Portuguese ethnographies on popular culture, Leal (2011) pointed out the liaisons and similarities between architects and anthropologists studying vernacular architecture. According to the author, neither architects nor anthropologists

[4]The research was initiated by a team composed of six architects and two anthropologists. The second team assembled seven architects exclusively.

[5]The initial team included one anthropologist and an anthropology-sensitive sociologist.

ever defined it, conceiving it implicitly through their choice of illustrations. In the 1950s, the vernacular was depicted by positive and negative features (e.g. traditional and not urban) that excluded uncomfortable hybrid situations. These hybridy was later at the core of the 1980s reassessment of culture. Indeed, in a postmodern and post-rural world, architects and anthropologists found the vernacular to no longer be exclusively rural or anonymous. Leal's argument is that, despite growing apart, architecture and anthropology followed analogous lines of thought regarding vernacular architecture. Differently, though, in the 1980s, the dialogues between architects and anthropologists were subsequent in the design of research projects. For certain, *Azores* and *Casas de sonhos*' multidisciplinary teams, even *Madeira*'s ethno-architectural subtext, may be seen as constituted and constituent of such dialogues. A closer look does however reveal differences between their research subjects and conceptual frameworks. Only comprehending this distance is it possible to assess the plausibility of disciplinary integration beyond an all-embracing attitude towards the field of vernacular architecture.

From the start, borrowing linguistics' term for non-written local languages, the 1980s use of vernacular to refer to architecture as a native dialect (Oliver 2006) and post-industrial non-erudite built forms (Vellinga 2011), is acknowledged by the authors of *Azores*, *Madeira* and *Casas de sonhos* as an Anglicism resulting from the need to scientifically name a particular phenomenon, and eruditise the discourse on an ordinary practice.[6] Generally speaking, though not consensually, the two ideas pour out in the use of the term vernacular until today (Brown and Maudlin 2012).[7] This might explain why scholars keep on using other descriptive terms to refer to vernacular architecture. Regional, traditional, rural, popular, spontaneous, anonymous, primitive, are quoted as synonyms dependent on the scope and time of discourse (Hourigan 2015). But when *Azores* claims to have surveyed rural vernacular architecture taking into account its fluid boundaries; when *Madeira* nominates the rural house as the paradigm of traditional architectures which are only apparently spontaneous; and when *Casas de sonhos* presents the new vernacular habitat as not exclusively informed by rural practices and populations; those synonyms seem more like depicting features.

Notwithstanding, and despite its ambivalent meaning, vernacular is always used to refer to architectures excluded from architectural history. Ambivalence is, in fact, what instils its constant reassessment and thus enables the continuity of the research field (Upton 2007). Two persisting features are noteworthy in *Azores*, *Madeira* and *Casas de sonhos*. First, vernacular architecture is conceived regionally, as in from one specific social, natural and physical space. *Madeira* puts it as a sort of genetics. This is a longstanding romantic understanding of vernacular architecture built to meet physical, social and cultural needs located in time and space (Oliver 1997),

[6]The Portuguese word *popular* simultaneously stands for the English words vernacular, folk, popular, well-known or notorious.

[7]Acknowledging the double sense of Oliver and Vellinga's conceptions of vernacular, the interviewed authors distinguish them using the terms *vernacular* and *popular*, but not always in the same correspondence.

which recalls the works of previous architects and anthropologists in Portugal. It holds on to an identity subtext that places a *naturalised* culture in the rural matrix and strengthens an ethno-genealogic construction of the nation (Leal 2000). Indeed, *Azores*, *Madeira* and *Casas de sonhos* not only admit their focus on rurality, as their authors recall the sense of untouched landscape given by the first visit to the islands, confess a fascination for primitive dwellings, or counterwork the prejudiced discourse on migration's destructive impacts on vernacular landscapes without challenging local building forms and techniques as traditional.

Although *Azores*, *Madeira* and *Casas de sonhos* are far from reproducing static conceptions of vernacular architecture, their account for the intertwining of traditional and modern values and features, popular and erudite representations and practices, is not devoid of limitations. In *Azores* and *Madeira*, hybridity arises as a cultural assimilation resulting from the historical migration flows to the archipelagos. Vernacular transformations are thus a consequence of a longstanding process that created a particular synthesis in response to the local physical, social and cultural needs. Even in *Casas de sonhos*, where traditional and modern technologies and forms intermingle, vernacular architecture is depicted as the local repertoire spontaneously added to the modern building to provide spaces for rural lifestyle activities. This historical or confrontational hybridity, though an important step forwards, seems to still fall short in face of a hybrid culture that overcame the idea of an original quality in tradition and accepted the authenticity of a democratised taste (Venturi et al. 1972; Canclini 1995).

A second feature commonly attributed to vernacular architecture is particularly useful to the present argument: the spontaneous nature of its design by individuals with no formal knowledge who employ local materials and make use of local building traditions (Oliver 1997). Defiant, *Azores*, *Madeira* and *Casas de sonhos* not only acknowledge the intertwining of erudite and popular inputs into the vernacular, as they mitigate the anonymity of its builders by widening the range of social actors implicated in the process, and including craftsmen and kinsmen. Erudite backgrounds are still excluded though, maintaining vernacular architecture outside architecture per se, like most research on the topic (Brown and Maudlin 2012). *Casas de sonhos* goes a little further with the individualisation of social actors, by biographing the owners and accounting for the relatives and hired technicians that interfered with the design and building process. Still, the timeline of dwelling forms presented contrastingly depicts manor-houses, rural houses and emigrant houses, re-establishing a erudite-popular apartness. This becomes clear when the emigrant house is said to be the result of contradictory practices; urban influences being considered interferencial, and traditional features a permanence of rural habitus.

Notwithstanding, *Azores*, *Madeira* and *Casas de sonhos* contributed significantly to a new understanding of vernacular culture through their reasoning of its architectural expressions. Such contributions evince different approaches to the topic, though, and these are reflected in the structure of the published books. In *Azores* and *Madeira*, the natural contexts frame the description of human settlements and economic activities per region, explaining the architectural types,

materials, techniques, and its variations. These are schematised in typological maps, and prototypes and exceptions are described in detail through drawings and texts subsidiary to the photographic survey. Differently, *Casas de sonhos* develops the subject through the lens of social practices and actors. A polyphonic approach to the emigrant house is provided by the review of public opinion's criticism, economic contexts, professional and family networks, and rural social classes' structures. In other words, *Azores* and *Madeira* are space structured, manifesting a prime interest in architectural repertoires; and *Casas de sonhos* is socially construed, displaying the configurations of social practices in a local-global world through material culture.

Moving on from structure to contents, the differences between the research subject of *Azores* and *Madeira*, and *Casas de sonhos* are accentuated. In fact, introductory and conclusive chapters are enlightening of how interdisciplinarity did not override disciplinary frameworks and interests. *Azores* stresses the positivist character of a survey based on typologies to build up knowledge on vernacular architecture. A similar subtext emerges in *Madeira*, but its proposition of a vernacular heritage suggests the search for knowledge to be praxis-oriented. Differently, *Casas de sonhos* opens up with considerations on the transformations of vernacular habitats to conclude that culture is a process and not an object. Once more, the subject of the three research seems only materially alike, and their conceptual and methodological frameworks confirm it.

Azores, *Madeira* and *Casas de sonhos* start off from a common ground of reference works: previous surveys, local ethnographies, historical approaches. Other quotations, however, stress a theoretical deviation. In *Azores*, literature on human geography is called upon to authorise the emphasis on architectural series and types, in opposition to the density and subjectivity of ethnographic research. On the contrary, ethnography is at the basis of *Madeira*'s methodological construct, legitimating the tradition that upholds the proposition of a vernacular heritage. Literature on restoration and rehabilitation are called in, but Heritage Studies' acknowledgment of the construed nature of the past (Lowenthal 1985) is disregarded. Indeed, a conceptual corpus can only be found in *Casas de sonhos*. Mainstream authors like Bourdieu or De Certeau consubstantiate perspectives on spatial phenomenon. Moreover, grounded on Lefebvre's (1991) production of space, the research convokes its contemporary anthropology conceptual and methodological debates in the reasoning of a deterritorialised culture and the suggestion of multi-sited ethnographies to study global social practices.

These theoretical distances explain distinct methodological constructs. Despite the survey being a cross-cutting instrument, different scales of inquisition translate distinct modalities of knowledge. *Azores* and *Madeira* make use of an extensive survey to cover the archipelagos and systematise the findings by representativeness and exceptionality. Looking for the imbricate factors behind the social production of space, *Casas de sonhos* was the result of an intensive survey on a contextualised phenomenon. However, while *Azores* relies on the positivist understanding of the survey that modernist urbanists construed to scientificise research in planning (Dehaene 2002), and used a typological analysis that is far incorporated by

architectural theory as a disciplinary instrument (Pereira 2012); in *Madeira*, the survey was carried out densely, from the building techniques to the house's furnishing layout. The latter's results are nevertheless closer to the 1950s' ethnography than to the thick description of its contemporary symbolic anthropology (Geertz 1973). According to *Azores*' authors, the disciplinary character of the survey justified the renouncement of anthropologists in *Azores*' team. The thick descriptions in *Madeira*, on the other hand, speak for the ethnographic inclination of its author. Either case, the purpose was the understanding of space and form, but nor lifestyles beyond the technologies of building traditions.

While *Azores* and *Madeira* books develop the argument over materiality, *Casas de sonhos*' architectural survey succeed the social inquiry. First, the emigrants are profiled according to the relationship between economic and social mobility, and their dwelling preferences. Then the building processes are described in terms of economic investment, means of land acquisition, labour activities, kinship and gender determinants, legal and illegal operations, intervening social actors. Only afterwards are the architectural elements presented. Instead of a typologically scheme, however, *Casas de sonhos* individualises the repertoire. Each house is identified by its owner; each physical intervention is located in time, space and agent. Architectural elements are depicted by pictures and drawings, but detailed information on choices and meanings is anchored in interviews. Emphasis is put on the meanings behind the social production of space, evincing the purpose of studying an economic, social and cultural phenomenon, but not necessarily building up knowledge on a particular kind of architecture.

Summarising, the theoretical and methodological frameworks of *Azores*, *Madeira* and *Casas de sonhos* may make interchangeable use of literature and tools from architecture and the social sciences, anthropology in particular. Notwithstanding, each one of these research follows a disciplinary line of reasoning: *Azores* confirming the scientific character of architectural research in the reassessment of vernacular architecture; *Madeira* culturalising architectural knowledge in the heritagisation of the vernacular; and *Casas de sonhos* reclaiming architecture as a subject of anthropology in the study of contemporary culture.

5.3 Purposes and Uses of Vernacular Studies

While architects and anthropologists' common interest in vernacular architecture justified a interdisciplinary approach the topic in the 1980s; it also created a field of jurisdictional disputes between two disciplines claiming to hold the authority to rule on the subject. Indeed, the 1980s geopolitical reconfigurations, the postmodern cultural turn, and developments in information and communication technologies, resulted in a *memory boom* (Misztal 2003) that extended the understanding of the past to vernacular, rural, and fragmented cultures (Lowenthal 1998). In the course, it also denaturalised the past's construction, denationalised its production, democratised its consumption, and deprofessionalised its narration outside the

realm of history (Gillis 1994). New cultural intermediaries gained prominence in the process, making use of their active role in the creation and communication of goods and ideas, in the symbolic production of values and meanings (Bovone 1997). In this sense, architects and anthropologists were acknowledged to hold the symbolic power to enunciate culture and its categories; the first vindicating architecture as culture beyond its erudite production; the others understanding architecture as a material form of the cultural processes that are at the core of anthropological research.

In their reinvention of vernacular architecture, architects and anthropologists selected, bypassed and enhanced its particular features accordingly to their contemporary needs and intelligibility. What *Azores*, *Madeira* and *Casas de sonhos* evince it that the latter mirrored the two discipline's distinct epistemological configurations and professional praxis. From the start, *Azores* and *Madeira* assumed to be concerned with filling the gap in knowledge on the archipelagos' architectures, while *Casas de sonhos* intended to critically revise the biased understanding of a particular materiality by looking into the social processes that produced it. So, *Azores* and *Madeira* can be seen as landscapes of memory that fixate its objectified and dimensional features (Kuchler 1993), while *Casas de sonhos* recalls landscape to be a cultural process where the quotidian foreground and the potential background interplay (Hirsch 1995). Representations of vernacular architecture as culture, though once comparable, seem less in tune by the 1980s.

Until the 1974 revolution, the bonds between folk culture and national identity were structuring of Portuguese anthropology. Afterwards, though, the confrontation of folk and popular and mass culture, along with the new ways of inquiring rurality arriving from abroad, made anthropologists aware that modernisation was not a matter of urban proximity, and identities were also moulded by issues of class, neighbourhood, politics and gender (Leal 2006). The emphasis shifted from the picturesque past towards the quotidian lifestyles, from the national to the local and transnational, from the objectification of culture to the construed nature of authenticity and the fragmented character of identity, understood as a process of becoming rather than being (Hall 1996). Following, *Casas de sonhos* presents the emigrant house as the result of cumulative experiences in time and space. When it deconstructs territorialised categories of culture, examines power relationships and social agencies, and gives voice to social actors, *Casas de sonhos* reclaims anthropology's authority on issues of culture in its present terms.

Notwithstanding, a territorialised culture perseveres in *Azores* and *Madeira*, and to some extent in *Casa de sonhos*, when the longstanding building traditions that ensure the authenticity of vernacular architecture is not challenged. This idea of *pastness* is explicit in *Azores* and *Madeira*. An identity subtext is reinforced when comparisons to Portuguese mainland construe a sense of common building traditions that locates Azores and Madeira within the nation. Even in *Casas de sonhos*, it is implicit when the collation of traditional and modern elements of construction decontextualises vernacular forms, materials or techniques, and does not elaborate on contemporary rural lifestyle. Either case, like generally observed, vernacular architecture is considered to be by, for and from an Other, reasserting the social

distance between the modern, urban and erudite background of the researchers, and the traditional, rural or lay subjects of research (Brown and Maudlin 2012). This opposition reinforces the apartness of two architectural fields and confirms there are social schemes behind cultural constructions (Storey 2003). It is widely implicit that architects-architecture has a history and a theory, exhibiting an artistic sense and an erudite taste; and people-architecture has a tradition and a trivial purpose, unveiling the authenticity and vulgarity of vernacular culture in its double meaning (Vellinga 2011).

Paradoxically, then, vernacular architecture provides a twofold validation of architecture per se. Considering a profession is legitimated by its members' possession of a particular corpus of abstract knowledge that guarantees their right to exclusively put it into practice (Abbott 1988), research on vernacular architecture provided a knowledge and a jurisdiction for Portuguese architects. This was a leverage in the 1980s. After striving for a professional empowering away from the archaeologists, artists and engineers throughout the twentieth-century (Ribeiro 2002), architects saw their authority recognised with the ratification of their professional association (1978, 1988) and university level education (1979). The scientific character built upon *Azores* and *Madeira* in particular, thus came as a confirmation of architects' propriety on architecture, which moreover related their expertise to a socially and politically sanctioned field of culture.

Not surprisingly, *Azores*, *Madeira* and *Casas de sonhos* acquired prominence also because they are thought to have resumed and consolidated a researching tradition on architecture in Portugal, inaugurated by the 1950s survey (Tostões 2012; Toussaint 2009). One author of *Azores* called it an informal research centre. Notwithstanding, other interests in the study of vernacular architecture are widely acknowledged (Oliver 2006) and admitted in *Azores*, *Madeira* and *Casas de sonhos*. Learning to inform architectural design and heritage protection (Mestre 2001), expanding applied research to architecture (Caldas 2000), or adequating public policies to contemporary phenomena (Villanova et al. 1995), are a few examples.

These lessons resume the post-war interest in the vernacular as an inspiration for modern architects (Heynen 2008). However, not all vernaculars are equally valued. Disregarding the prejudices behind the positive and negative reading of regionalist approaches (Agarez and Mota 2012), the authors and personalities that prefaced *Azores* and *Madeira* exclude hybrid architectures like the emigrant house from the potential learning to design practice. They are nevertheless considered of value for public policies. But while *Casas de sonhos* lays emphasis on the need to articulate the phenomenon with migration policies, housing, and planning; *Azores* and *Madeira* point out the threat it consists to the heritagisation of the vernacular. They therefore enact the paradoxical nature of heritage rehabilitation, celebrating a continuity that essentialises the vernacular and reinforces modernity's interruption of its course, in disregard to what Vellinga (2007) calls the inventiveness of tradition.

5.4 Interdisciplinarity Sensibilities

In their rapprochements and estrangements, architects and anthropologists involved in *Azores*, *Madeira* and *Casas de sonhos* revised categories of culture, refounded a field of research, and produced knowledge within and for their praxis. The question is whether their works resulted from and in an interdisciplinary practice. Counterpoising a modern shredded vision of the world, interdisciplinarity became an almost mandatory approach in the 1980s. Initially proposed in the scope of educational claims for more holistic approaches to reality, interdisciplinary studies grew as the academic response to the complex nature of contemporary phenomenon, leading to the opening of university courses and the creation of associations (Newell 2012). Postmodern fascination with otherness and cultural relativism combined with an accepted concept of culture as an ongoing process, empowering anthropology, and bringing forward other disciplines' interest in ethnography as its epitome. Not coincidentally, Ávila (2010) proposed anthropology's epistemic configuration at the basis of an interdisciplinary *sociohuman sciences*. The holistic approach that most authors propose should guide vernacular architecture studies comes in a similar way (Asquit and Vellinga 2006).

However, in the efforts to overcome the limitations of disciplinary research, interdisciplinarity bumped into its epistemic barriers, styles of though, methodological and conceptual specificities, even the quest for disciplinary hegemonies (Jacobs and Frickel 2009). Scholars studying vernacular architecture also recognise the challenges and difficulties of interdisciplinarity in the need to locally adapt frameworks of research (García-Esparza 2012), in the scientific deviation of concepts and terms (Oliver 2006), and in the emphasis put on specific features by particular disciplines (Vellinga 2011). *Azores*, *Madeira* and *Casas de sonhos* show, furthermore, that circumstantiality must also be attended to. In these research, architecture and anthropology were put into a dialogue by personal relationships and professional paths, and this had implications in the way interdisciplinarity was later addressed. Altogether, the three case studies illustrate how negotiations between interdisciplinarity and disciplinary interests result in different modalities of interaction, and this latter's tensions and alignments inform the outcomes and the paths of vernacular architecture studies in Portugal.

Despite the term interdisciplinarity having been normalised (Chettiparamb 2007), a tripartite scheme is widely accepted among scholars to differentiate disciplinary monologues combined by the same research (multidisciplinarity), dialogical approaches to new subjects of research that call for integrated conceptual and methodological apparatus (interdisciplinarity), and the epistemological challenge of conceptualising new forms of researching within sciences, society and arts (transdisciplinarity). At first sight, *Casas de sonhos*' division of tasks suggests a multidisciplinary research; *Azores* initial project could be considered an interdisciplinary experiment; and *Madeira* author's ethnographic incursion is slightly suggestive of a transdisciplinary undertaking. However, in its broad sense, interdisciplinarity is a process of integration. Its fulfilment is in the practices of research

and the incorporation of reciprocal learning; not in the findings themselves (Strathern 2005). Despite the lack of space to examine *Azores*, *Madeira* and *Casas de sonhos* authors' professional paths, some observations are suggestive of the need to mitigate their disciplinary integrations.

The case of *Azores* is particularly expressive. The initial teams of architects and anthropologists were reassembled with architects exclusively after the first fieldwork campaign having fell short on results. Authors exculpate it in a methodological misguidance, the disregard for ethnographic rhythms, and the discrepant backgrounds of licensed architects and under-graduate anthropologists. However, they also acknowledge the interdisciplinary venture to have been circumstantially grounded. They recall how, in the Portuguese post-revolution economic crisis and political orthodoxy, postmodernism became a non-moral anti-dogma that defied modernist meta-narratives and extolled multiplicity, subjectivism and symbolism. Vernacular architecture resurfaced as a field of experimentation within which culturalist approaches could be tested. The assertion of typological schemes based on spatial-functional structures as an architectural analysis only came to confirm the disciplinary construct behind the survey. Of course, human geography is recognised influential, just like *Azores* authors' later research summon the historical sciences to outline the approach to the field (Fernandes 1996; Caldas 2007). In both cases, though, contributions from other disciplinary frameworks are understood to be inherent of architecture by researchers who agree on its conceptualisation as a polysemic meta-discipline, defined throughout history in-between art, technique and society (Toussaint 2009).

Reversely, in *Madeira*, one author made use of architecture and anthropology's tools, taking upon himself the task of interdisciplinarity. Despite the author having alerted to his lack of formal training, he explicitly assumed an ethnographic approach to vernacular architecture inspired by the 1950s anthropologists, illustrating it in his participation in rural activities, conversations with artisans, or collection of carpentry tools. However, the author never distinguished the subjects of inquiry from the subjects he learned from, understanding ethnography as a qualitative research based on the encounters between researchers and their subjects, but disregarding anthropology as an ontological commitment and critical retrospective assessment of its own practices (Ingold 2014). Differently framed, the architect in *Casas de sonhos* followed a similar methodological approach, but took a step forward in the interpretation of meanings diachronically and synchronically produced by sociospatial practices. Grounded on Lefebvre's (1991) idea of conceived-lived-represented space, her analysis was evidently informed by the work carried out by the sociologist and the anthropologist that initiated the research. The distinct authorship of *Casas de sonhos*' chapters reinforces the task division that was disciplinarily construed when, in face of a duplication of topics, the team chose to repeat subjects throughout the chapters due to its distinct perspectives. Still, as her subsequent research show (Raposo 1995), the architect in *Casas de sonhos* looks into the vernacular as the spatialisation of contemporary social practices, leaving behind other architects' propensity to explain vernacular

materiality in past social and labour organisation, namely the author of *Madeira* (Mestre 2012).

The problem with interdisciplinarity is that it simultaneously designates a theory and a method, adjectivises the approaches and the findings of a research. It is now reclaimed everywhere, becoming an end in itself (Mitchell and Dyck 2014). Although its scientific benefits are unquestionable, the fact is that interdisciplinarity often ends up reinforcing the illusion that disciplinary knowledge is somehow natural, providing arguments for disciplinary demands for scientific hegemony, as was the case of *Azores*. Similarly to what happens with the conceptualisation of vernacular, debates on interdisciplinarity define, contest and update it in different contexts. Also alike, the term seems to have stopped being problematic; a wide range of possible interpretations and interactions being accepted as natural interdisciplinary sensibilities, including in the field of vernacular studies (Correia et al. 2014).

In the field of architecture, the different lines of reasoning set in the 1980s were continued. The idea of cultural authenticity as pre-industrial still persists, for instance in regional surveys that aestheticise the subject and place it in the past (Fernandes 2008). Its identity subtext is further clear in the reasoning of a historical vernacularism, as it was argued by Caldas (1999), that moves away from hybridity, transcending styles and periods of Portuguese architecture. Unintentionally, anthropologists provide additional arguments to this traditionalisation of vernacular when, for example, their research focus on the disappearing social dimensions of traditional techniques and materials (Prista 2014). These have been resumed by studies oriented towards architectural praxis when the 1990s *ecological turn* found a repository of lessons for sustainable and bioclimatic designs in vernacular architecture (Jorge 2005). Research on more hybrid architectures also continued to be analysed as a category of cultural confrontations (Cardoso 2008). Notwithstanding, evolving debates on authenticity that acknowledge the invented nature of tradition in Hobsbwan's terms (1983) renewed the reasoning of hybrid architectures as simultaneously vernacular and erudite, equating the directions of popular-intellectual appropriations in new research like Tavares' (2008). Whilst this line of argument is not prevailing, it still demonstrates that the social bias behind cultural categories is being challenged by the understanding of all materiality as authentic cultural expressions of its time and space. Architects' ontological security, guaranteed by the homologation of their Order (1998), and the fostering of a research tradition, might have been contributing factors (Prista 2015).

Paradoxically, if debates on interdisciplinarity led to the reinforcement of disciplinary claims, they also generated new disciplinary configurations by creating new fields of scientific interest. Tourism Studies was an example. Alike, the lack of specific methods and theories to address vernacular architecture was acknowledged to be its weakness and strength, for it provided the sense of absence and need that justified its proposition as a discipline of its own (Oliver 1997). Simultaneously, the renewed attention to vernacular architecture led to its historiography by authors like Lawrence and Low (1990). Research on Sibyl Moholy-Nagy's didactic survey on American vernacular (Heynen 2008) or Rudofsky's illustrated essay on vernacular as the way towards a resistance to assimilation (Scott 1998), for example, now

enable present research to reflexively think its contribution to the reinvention of cultural categories. Furthermore, research on the erudite uses of vernacular architecture by design practice placed the subject within the history of architecture itself, namely in Portugal, where the topic is considered groundbreaking in the development of modern architecture (Tostões 1997).

Interdisciplinary sensibilities are not confined to architectural research. Among historians, the vernacular was included in Art History as an marginal, though no longer eccentric, subject (Groth 1999); and Social History proposed alternative interpretations of architecture as a set of translation processes in space and time (Whyte 2006). Even Cultural Geography, which influence from Cultural Studies had led its scholars to neglect the study of spatial matrixes, has returned to the field of architecture with non-representational approaches that highlight its dialogical nature as a product, a practice, and a performance (Lees 2001). It is worth noting that architecture is no longer a pretext to study particular historical or cultural phenomenon, as it happened with the emigrant house, namely in *Casas de sonhos*. Architecture became itself a research subject of humanities.

Such *subjectification* of architecture is further developed in the field of anthropology. Leaving behind the understanding of space as a mirror of social organisation and cultural representations, Anthropology of Space reconceptualised culture in spatialised forms (Low and Lawrence-Zuniga 2003). The study of the house as a social unit that integrates materiality and subjects stepped beyond located meaning in several research that analyse the spatial and temporal dimensions of political, economic, social and cultural resources involved their lives (Gillespie 2000). Modern architecture too was thematised by research like Buchli's (2000) that focused on the way its materiality construed, was construed, and transformed, by political and cultural processes. Even architects themselves were at the core of an ethnographic study (Yaneva 2009) that used the Actor-Network Theory to understand the process of design practice. A significant push was given by Material Culture Studies, and its understanding of materiality as the form of cultural processes that are constituted and constituent of mutual implications between objects and subjects (Tilley et al. 2006). It was following that Vellinga's (2007) proposed vernacular architecture as the inventiveness of tradition and brought this latter to the present of human and materiality's agencies.

All considered, *Azores*, *Madeira* and *Casas de sonhos* disclose how interdisciplinarity has been differently thought and put to practice in the study of vernacular architecture. Looking into their approaches to the subject, their conceptual and methodological frameworks, and their similar and different findings, the obstacles and accomplishments of an interdisciplinary venture come to light. Namely, a disciplinary subtext emerges from the purposes and uses of vernacular architecture studies. Authors themselves retrospectively acknowledge their personal bias and interests, despite the successes. Altogether, the three case studies contributed to the continuities and disruptions that developed this field of research in Portugal. They also account for the rapprochements and estrangements of architects and social scientists, anthropologists in particular, on the topic. However, despite sharing a subject of research and mutually appropriating theoretical and methodological tools,

architects and anthropologists differently understand the object of their attention in the frame of architecture and anthropology's core subjects and epistemologies. This seems to be an unsurpassable obstacle that by no means threatens one discipline sensibility to the other, but undermines the possibility of disciplinary integration.

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Chapter 6
Contemporary City and Plural Knowledge: Reframing Urban Planning

Luis Balula and João Seixas

6.1 Urbanization: The Sustainability Imperatives

Urbanization has been, and continues to be, one of the main drivers of economic growth. Cities are "hubs for ideas, commerce, culture, science, productivity, social development and much more" and "have enabled people to advance socially and economically" (UN Habitat 2015[1]). However, major concerns arise from the dis-economies and externalities of urban agglomerations, most of which are linked either to rapid urbanization (e.g. in Asia) and informality (e.g. in Africa and Latin America), and to the dispersed model of urban growth that cities have predominantly followed since the 1950s, as is the case in most European and American cities. The negative impacts of urbanization are felt both within cities (e.g. decaying or gentrified city centres, road congestion, pollution, high energy consumption, spatial segregation and social exclusion) and in the surrounding rural, post-rural and natural areas (e.g. loss of agricultural land, depletion of natural resources and ecosystem services, intensification of the urban-rural divide). This adds to a vast range of new challenges that cities are experiencing, from new forms of territorial inequalities to growing time-space modularity possibilities brought in by the combination of technological, transportation and cultural changes. It is thus

[1]UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDG 11: Make Cities Inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable), in: http://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/cities/, accessed 4 April 2016.

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imperative to re-interpret and clarify the new meanings of urban life and urbanization dynamics for guiding urban development towards a more sustainable and territorially cohesive path.

A common understanding of sustainability and the recognition of the need for sustainable urban development started to coalesce in the wake of the celebrated report "Our Common Future", published in 1987 by the UN World Commission on Environment and Development. The report's conclusions and goals were further advanced in the Rio de Janeiro Earth Summit (UN Conference on Environment and Development) of 1992, which established the Local Agenda 21 plan, a framework intended to embed sustainability across diverse planning sectors and policy areas at city level. These two major events of global impact laid the groundwork for numerous initiatives geared towards urban sustainability. The Aalborg Charter of 1994, and later on the Aalborg Commitments of 2004, helped establish a consensus among cities and towns towards sustainability, and thousands of Local Agenda 21 processes have been developed across Europe. Underpinning this consensus, a Covenant of Mayors, first assembled in 2008 and counting today with more than 6500 signatory cities and local governments is committed to an integrated approach to urban sustainability through climate and energy policies, in order to meet the 2020 climate goals for Europe.[2] Another influential network of local and metropolitan governments dedicated to sustainable development is ICLEI—Local Governments for Sustainability. Founded in 1990, it includes today over 1000 cities, towns and metropolises committed to make their cities and regions "sustainable, low-carbon, resilient, ecomobile, biodiverse, resource-efficient and productive, healthy and happy, with a green economy and smart infrastructure" (ICLEI 2016).[3] All these initiatives and networks aim at bringing together cities and their multiple stakeholders in the search for sustainable development paths. They have raised global awareness of the challenges faced by cities and contributed to build a common understanding of sustainability and sustainable urban development.

Making cities "inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable" is also one of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) endorsed by the UN General Assembly in September 2015.[4] Even though all the 17 SDGs have more or less direct implications for human settlements, Goal 11 includes a set of objectives, to be met by 2030, directly targeted to cities and urban areas. According to the document, the key issues at stake with regard to sustainable cities and communities are:

- Affordable housing and basic services
- Transport systems more reliant on public transport
- Participatory urban planning and management
- Inclusive urbanization
- Air quality

[2]See: http://www.covenantofmayors.eu/index_en.html, accessed 4 April 2016.

[3]See: http://www.iclei.org/, accessed 4 April 2016.

[4]See: http://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/sustainable-development-goals/, accessed 4 April 2016.

- Waste management
- Accessible and inclusive green and public spaces
- Improved linkages between urban, peri-urban and rural areas
- Integrated policies and plans
- Resource efficiency
- Mitigation and adaptation to climate change
- Resilience to disasters
- Sustainable and resilient buildings using local materials.

Along with these key issues, many other SDGs, such as those related to poverty, food security, biodiversity, energy, and infrastructures, for example, are strongly related to cities and urban areas, shaping and being shaped by their environmental, economic, social, as well as spatial/territorial character. As Batty (2013) recently proposed—continuing a fundamental debate brought in by famous thinkers such as Jacobs (1961) or Castells (1989)—cities must be understood not just in terms of artefacts—and their complex relationships—but as systems built more like organisms. This suggests the configuration of a new science for cities, with major implications for urbanism, urban planning and design, as well as for urban theory and research (Scott and Storper 2014).

Urban sustainability as envisioned for contemporary cities, thus, must cover multiple, interrelated and interdependent themes and fields for action. It encompasses the values of environmental quality, economic dynamism and social justice, and requires the application, in practice, of such values to the built environment in areas such as transportation, land use, urban form, architecture and building construction practices (Wheeler and Beatley 2009). It is also equated with places and territories that are resilient to climate change because they are more compact and connected, better integrated and socially inclusive (UN Habitat 2014). Sustainable urban planning and development (SUPD), therefore, requires specific skills and knowledge on a wide diversity of interrelated topics. Urban planning professionals need to be able to consider "a multiplicity of contentious viewpoints" and cannot be confined to single paradigms (Beard and Basolo 2011, p. 234). They need to acquire and develop an interdisciplinary, integrative framework of knowledge for action in order to understand and regulate the environmental, social, economic and ethical impacts of territorial plans and projects, from conception to implementation and future maintenance.

Given the extreme complexity of contemporary urban dynamics, both the political-administrative system and academia strive—and often fail—to interpret correctly and respond adequately to the fast pace of urban change. A cognitive environment shaped by uncertainty and crisis makes planning and policymaking even more complex, while the lack of an integrative knowledge of the city tends to restrain or distort political action. Given the multiple challenges—in such diverse and transversal dimensions as the habitat, mobility and accessibility, consumption and citizenship, among others—cities need to be interpreted, planned and managed with an intrinsic capacity for diversity, complexity and interdisciplinarity. Beyond —not against—the approaches and methods of the various traditional academic

disciplines that deal with the city (urbanism and planning, architecture and engineering, urban geography and urban sociology) interdisciplinary integration and a deeper connection with practice are required to build a more plural and comprehensive knowledge of the 'urban' and to address the sustainability challenges that lie ahead. In this chapter we try to answer the question of how these requirements towards SUPD are being met at higher education academic programs dealing with architecture and the built environment.

6.2 Integrative Approaches: Embedding Sustainability in Urban Planning Education

More than a decade ago, the United Nations declaration of the Decade of Education for Sustainable Development (DESD, 2004–2014) advocated the need for universities to embed sustainability in all learning areas across the curriculum (UNESCO 2014). Over the decade, notions of sustainability and sustainable development have been increasingly institutionalized and incorporated into the curricula of higher education institutions (Dyment et al. 2015) and many universities worldwide have adapted their programs so as to integrate sustainability concepts into the curricula. Urban planning was not an exception. Under the wide umbrella of Sustainable Development, many architecture and planning departments have sought to combine spatial/territorial planning with the sustainability-related themes and concerns advanced by the social sciences. However, education for sustainability is still lacking a consistent interdisciplinary conceptual framework (Jabareen 2012) and a coherent curriculum for SUPD remains a challenge.

While disciplines such as urban planning, urban design, urbanism and architecture, traditionally more focused on physical planning and design, have been progressively engaging with policy and social science topics, the social sciences seem to be increasingly committed to spatial questions. The recent "spatial turn" in the social sciences (Warf and Arias 2008) attests the recognition of the active role of space in social and economic processes. Formerly treated as a consequence of a-spatial social and economic dynamics, space has been increasingly problematized both as socially constructed and as an active agent of change. Under the wide conceptual perspective of "space", topical issues such as place and placeness, spatial justice, locality, landscape and mapping, sense of place and identity in places, among others, entered a variety of analytical fields. Hence, we are arguably witnessing a tendency towards the coalescence of social concerns with spatial concerns in the academic field.

There is still, however, an enduring tension between physical design/spatial planning and social sciences/public policy orientations in academic education and research on the built environment. Responding to an increasing complexity of social, spatial and governance trends in a globalized society, the focus on urban sustainability has extended the traditional concerns of urban planning—as

previously taught in conventional programs in architecture, planning and urban design—from physical design and spatial planning to policy and social science topics (Dimitrova, 2014). However, during the last decade of the 20th century there has been a resurgence of design in a number of schools (UN Habitat 2009). As implied by Senbel (2012) literacy in urban design is necessary for understanding the spatial implications of policy decisions. On the other hand, architects and planners must continue to respond to societal challenges and expectations and cope with "complexity, uncertainty, change, other disciplines, people, environmental limits, whole life costs and trade-offs" (Cruickshank and Fenner 2012, p. 249). Ultimately, this shifting focus between design and policy attests the importance of integrating both physical design and social science/policy perspectives in order to effectively incorporate sustainability into city planning processes and decisions.

Professional urban practitioners need to master a set of skills and capabilities, which are crucial for promoting SUPD. As detailed in the following sections, these are multiple and diverse in kind. According to UN Habitat (2009), the skills required to embed sustainability in the urban planning curricula may be essentially grouped into three broad categories: analytical, technical, and communication/negotiation. There are considerable differences in the relative weight given to these different skills in the curricula of architecture and urban planning schools worldwide,[5] which relates mostly to the schools' orientation in terms of design and/or policy approaches, as noted above. Despite such differences, however, urban planning is by nature a normative field of knowledge "concerned with how the world should be" (Beard and Basolo 2011, p. 239), therefore architects and urban planners everywhere have a professional responsibility in addressing complexity, being capable to consider a multiplicity of contentious viewpoints, and acknowledge the implication of their actions in the real world. As emphasized by Jabareen (2012) an interdisciplinary conceptual framework is critical for embedding sustainability in the educational system. With respect to higher education towards SUPD, it is now consensual that urban complexity cannot be understood from the perspective of a single discipline (e.g. Trencher et al. 2014; Beard and Basolo 2011; Krieger 2009; Friedmann 2008). Urban planning, like sustainability, is intrinsically interdisciplinary. Interdisciplinarity in urban planning and management is a necessary response to complexity, change and uncertainty about a set of closely interrelated social and spatial interactions. In order to answer to new and old challenges, academic programs dealing with the built environment need to promote a comprehensive understanding of contemporary urban processes and urbanization dynamics, to connect academic research to practice and to foster inter-professional collaboration (Rohweder and Virtanen 2009). Accordingly, as we argue in this chapter, SUPD offers a privileged framework for the development of stronger ties and a collaborative effort between the social sciences and the design sciences with a

[5]For example, while schools in Asia tend to value more analytical and technical skills, in Latin America the emphasis is on technical skills, while in Europe there is a wide diversity of curriculum content, according to diverse national approaches (UN Habitat 2009).

spatial or territorial component. An interdisciplinary curriculum in SUPD should be tailored so as to mix the key themes of the social sciences (with a focus on policy and sustainable *development*) with the 'core urban' themes of the spatial planning field (with a focus on the territory and sustainable *physical urbanization*).

Interdisciplinarity, however, faces many obstacles and most of the so-called interdisciplinary academic programs in urban planning are, in fact, no more than multi-disciplinary. Traditional disciplines are entrenched academic and corporatist territories (Mitrany and Stokols 2005) with resilient disciplinary boundaries and discreet epistemologies, methods and discourses, subscribing particular world-views, tools, exempla, concepts, and theories (Feng 2012). Moreover, research across disciplines seldom satisfies the criteria and standards of each of the disciplines involved (Mitrany and Stokols 2005) and there is a stigma of legitimacy, associated with the risk of superficiality/generality (Bursztyn and Drummond 2014). In sum, a long-established compartmentalization of expertise and knowledge do not facilitate the understanding of urban-related "social problems" (Campbell 2012). Both urban planning and sustainability, however, are inherently interdisciplinary, thus calling for integrative approaches, systemic thinking and cross-sector collaboration (Rohweder and Virtanen 2009). Despite all the challenges, achieving some degree of interdisciplinarity in urban planning education is crucial to help future professionals devise more efficient, inclusive and integrated urban policies and plans, guided by the principles of sustainable development.

6.3 Urban Planning Education Towards SUPD: Enabling Factors

Besides the fundamental aspect of interdisciplinarity, explained in the previous section, the literature identifies essentially four other major factors that are critical to enable and advance higher education in SUPD. These relate to achieving a proper mix of theory and practice, encouraging participatory processes, endorsing ethical values, and promoting an international/global perspective. Each one of these aspects is briefly explained below and summarized in Table 6.1.

Mixing theory and practice: a common source of debate in academic education and the built environment is the ideal curriculum in terms of balance between the theory and practice components. Academics tend to overemphasize the abstract, while practicing professionals tend to emphasize the instrumental (Edwards and Bates 2011). The need to translate knowledge and analysis into action, however, requires merging the concerns of theory and practice (Campbell 2012). A proper mix of the two is needed in order to combine critical reflection, phenomenological experience, and procedural knowledge (Geppert and Verhage 2008) and is essential to develop future urban professionals' ability to engage effectively in real world urban dynamics.

Table 6.1 Enabling factors, challenges and signs of progress in education for SUPD

Enabling factors	Major challenges	Signs of progress
Interdisciplinarity	• Resilient disciplinary boundaries; discreet epistemologies, methods and discourses	• Evidence suggests that cross-sector university partnerships for urban sustainability are increasingly common worldwide and these partnerships have the potential to link place-specific issues to regional and global concerns
Integration of theory and practice	• Academics emphasize theory; practicing professionals put a stronger focus on practice	• Merging theory and practice is pursued in many planning schools through 'project-based learning', including hands-on studios and workshops, field trips, community projects and real life problem-solving planning experiences
Participatory processes	• Growing number of stakeholders and diverse interests involved in governance and planning processes	• On a global level, participatory planning is covered by a growing number of planning schools
Ethical values	• Emerging ethical issues related to social and environmental justice are a politically charged and contested territory	• A new ethical relationship between people and the environment, inherent to the concept of sustainability, is already patent in the curricula of most schools
International/global perspective	• Gap between traditional approaches, shaped by theories and practice of the 'global North' and the conditions of urban life on a growing number of world cities	• New urban perspectives from the 'global South' are being taught at some schools, providing an important basis for a conceptual shift in planning theory and practice

Adapted from: Bina et al. (2015)

Encouraging participatory processes: another core principle of SUPD is the promotion of participatory processes and deliberative approaches with citizens and territorial stakeholders, in order to achieve equity and social/spatial justice in urban planning decisions. Advocacy planning (Davidoff 1965), deliberative and participatory planning (Forester 1999), along with social learning (Bandura 1971) became the keystones upon which many planning schools have developed their curricula and the basis for current bottom-up theories and initiatives of civic engagement in governance strategies and planning processes (Healey 1997). Endorsing collaborative urban planning through team work, contact with real life settings and local community projects is therefore indispensable to an education towards SUPD.

Endorsing ethical values: The need to critically engage with contemporary urban issues (Silkes 2014) and increasingly complex social and spatial interactions, also

requires dealing with emerging ethical issues related to social and environmental justice, formerly neglected by canonical urbanism (Dimitrova 2014). Ethical values and critical reasoning are inseparable from the principles of sustainable development. As stated by Du et al. (2013) "critical reflection" and "values clarification" have become core components of education for sustainability. Hence, education for SUPD requires a clear engagement with the normative foundations of planning (Holmberg et al. 2008) through a curricula that promotes awareness of ethical values, such as social and economic equity and environmental responsibility. *Promoting an international/global perspective*: closely related to the last point above is the need for acknowledging the problematic conditions of urban life in many world cities (including poverty, informality and socio-spatial inequality) mostly, but not only, in the global South (Watson 2009). While urban sustainability is local in nature, growing regional and global interdependencies must be considered (Vojnovic 2014) in order to understand the dynamics shaping 21st century cities. Therefore, SUPD requires alternative theoretical frameworks with a geographical focus on the local-global nexus, as counterpart to more traditional approaches to planning—mostly shaped by planning theories originated in the global North.

Table 6.1 summarizes the major enabling factors, challenges and signs of progress to date in higher education for SUPD identified in the literature. In the following section, these factors are integrated in a wider framework of key educational skills required to embed sustainability in the urban planning curricula (see Table 6.3). This analytical framework is then used to identify the dominant types of skills in a selection of top urban planning schools, as described in the next section.

6.4 Empirical Evidence: Skills and Themes/Fields for Action in SUPD

In order to investigate how the cross-disciplinary hybridization between the social sciences and the spatial planning field is being performed in higher education academic programs dealing with architecture and the built environment, we examined 10 post-graduate (Master level) programs, selected from the offerings of the 12 top World Universities in Architecture and the Built Environment, according to the QS World University Rankings by Subject 2015.[6] Table 6.2 lists the selected programs—covering the areas of architecture, urban design, urbanism and city planning—in the world top 12 universities (4 in the USA, 4 in Europe and 4 in Asia). We had, however, to drop two of the programs (of the Zurich Institute of Technology and the University of Tokyo) because there was not enough information available for conducting our analysis. Although the selection of programs

[6]The QS World University Rankings rate the world's top universities based on academic reputation, employer reputation and research impact. See: http://www.topuniversities.com/.

Table 6.2 The 12 top world universities for architecture and the built environment

Ranking	University	Program title	Country
1.	Massachusetts Institute of Technology	Master in city planning	USA
2.	University College London	Master in urban development planning	United Kingdom
3.	Delft University of Technology	M.Sc. architecture, urbanism and building sciences—track: urbanism	Netherlands
4.	University of California, Berkeley	Master of city planning	USA
5.	Harvard University	Master in urban planning and design	USA
6.	National University of Singapore	Master of architecture—specialization in urban design	Singapore
7.	Zurich Federal Institute of Technology	Master in architecture	Switzerland Insufficient information
8.	Tsinghua University	Master in architecture	China
9.	University of Cambridge	M.Phil. in architecture and urban design	United Kingdom
10.	University of Tokyo	Master in architecture and urban design	Japan Insufficient information
11.	Columbia University	Master in urban planning	USA
12.	Hong Kong Polytechnic University	Master of design—specialization in urban environments design	China

Source QS World University Rankings by Subject (2015)

does not stand for a fully representative sample, given the academic reputation and research impact of the chosen examples we considered it adequate for the scope of the analysis.

For an evaluation of the selected programs, we conducted a netnography (Kozinets 2010) drawing on the information available on the programs' websites, namely the stated objectives and the descriptions of each program, as well as the structure and content of the core and elective courses.[7] These data allowed us to assess both the types of skills and the themes/fields for action in SUPD that are topical today in the top world programs in Architecture and the Built Environment and reflect the linkages between social sciences' concerns and the spatial planning field. Building on the literature (Campbell 2012; Rohweder and Virtanen 2009; UN Habitat 2009; Holmberg et al. 2008, among others) and on the analysis of our sample, we identified the key educational skills required for the promotion of SUPD in higher education, which were organized under the three categories suggested by UN Habitat (2009): analytical, technical, and communication/negotiation. We have

[7]This task was conducted in February/March 2016 and the analyses convey the information available in the programs' websites at that time.

Table 6.3 Key educational skills for promoting SUPD

Skills	Ranking
Analytical	
Integration of theory and practice	9
International/global perspective	9
Systemic thinking (holistic and integrative)	9
Knowledge of history of planning/urbanism (movements and theories)	8
Methods (quantitative; qualitative; spatial analysis)	8
Multi-scalar approaches (neighborhood, city and regional scales)	7
Interdisciplinarity	6
Visual literacy/aesthetical sensibility	3
Technical	
Spatial planning instruments (territorial plans and projects)	8
Management and strategic planning/urban futures	6
Design-applied technologies (e.g. GIS, CAD)	4
Engineering and construction methods (e.g. green building; self-construction)	3
Communication/negotiation	
Field work/contact with real life settings and local communities	9
Team work	9
Direct international experience	6
Participatory/deliberative approaches	2
Ethics and critical reasoning	
Normative nature of planning	8
Environmental responsibility	7
Theoretical and critical reflection/reflexive practice	7
Social justice and responsibility (e.g. gender issues; multiculturalism; poverty)	5
Spatial justice	3

Categories adapted from: Bina et al. (2015)

also added to this analytical template a fourth category—ethics and critical reasoning—which emerged as a significant skills-related dimension, both in the literature and in the netnography.

Table 6.3 lists the main types of skill identified in each category, ranked by their prevalence in the selected programs, taken as a whole (for example, *integration of theory and practice*, an analytical skill, is mentioned in the descriptions of 9 out of 10 programs). Despite considerable differences between programs,[8] this analysis allows an overview of the skills that are most and less favoured in a significant cluster of top world programs dealing with the built environment.

Based on the programs' descriptions and stated objectives on the respective websites, we may conclude that, on the whole, analytical skills are the most valued, followed by communication/negotiation skills and ethics and critical reasoning, and

[8]A comparative evaluation of the programs is beyond the scope of this study.

finally, with less preeminence, the technical skills. The prevailing analytical skills taught in these programs are: *integration of theory and practice*, *systemic thinking*, and an *international/global perspective* followed by *knowledge of movements and theories of planning* and *methods (quantitative, qualitative, or spatial analysis)*. Conversely, *visual literacy/aesthetical sensibility* is the least mentioned analytical skill. Regarding technical skills, there is, as expected, a strong weight on the know-how of *spatial planning instruments*, while the knowledge of *engineering and construction methods* is the least favored competence. The communication and negotiation skills most frequently mentioned are *team work* and *field work (including contact with real life settings and communities)*, whilst the importance of *participative and deliberative approaches* is only mentioned in two of the ten programs. Finally, on ethics and critical reasoning, the *normative nature of planning* is acknowledged in most programs, followed by the importance of *theoretical and critical reflection* and *environmental responsibility*. On the other hand, *spatial justice* is the ethical notion less mentioned in this cohort of programs.

Drawing on a comprehensive review of the content of the core and elective courses of our ten programs, we also made an attempt at mapping the themes/fields for action in SUPD. The listing presented on Table 6.4 is a condensed summary of all the topics mentioned in the programs' curricula, and are organized under the three dimensions of sustainability (society, economy, environment and resources) and also a fourth dimension: the built environment—which is the focus of all the programs in this study. Attesting the complex and interdisciplinary nature of the urban planning domain, it was possible to identify 44 themes and intrinsic fields for action in SUPD. The listing, however, is not exhaustive and we must acknowledge that the four dimensions are closely interconnected and partly overlapping. Themes from the built environment, like *informal settlements and tactical urbanism*, for example, are directly linked to some other themes of the economy (e.g. *informal economies*), the environment (e.g. *urban footprint*) and the society (e.g. *poverty* and *right to the city*). It is precisely a closer integration of such themes and fields for action, in a systemic fashion, that we believe may contribute to promote SUPD, both in the academic curriculum and in practice.

We must, however, acknowledge some shortcomings of this analysis and discuss further ways of improving our understanding of the requirements of education for SUPD. First, some of the programs' descriptions and stated objectives tend to be generic and might not portray an accurate picture of the program. Considering nevertheless that such narratives reflect the way schools and departments have decided to present and promote their programs to prospective students and the outside world, they reveal what is deemed important (or not, by not being mentioned) in each program's agenda. Second, in a couple of programs the syllabi of some of the elective courses were not available and we had to rely on short descriptions, sometimes as short as one line. Although this was a limitation in terms of identifying further themes and fields for action in SUPD (as summarized in Table 6.4), all core courses had full descriptions and the electives' short descriptions provided some useful, if scarce, information. Third, the organization of the themes and fields for action in SUPD under four dimensions (society, economy,

Table 6.4 Themes and fields for action in SUPD

Domain	Themes/fields for action
Society	• Community empowerment • Demographic trends • Gender and identity issues • Health/wellbeing • Multiculturalism, diversity and social cohesion • Public policy and institutional intervention • Poverty • Public participation and stakeholders' engagement • Right to the city (including public space issues) • Security (re. urban violence and conflict) • Social innovation • Social justice/equity/exclusion • Urban governance and political processes • Urban-rural relationships
Economy	• Circular economy • Economic equity/inequality • Employment/unemployment • Finances and SUD (e.g. innovative public procurement) • Global/Regional/local interdependencies • Green economy • Informal economies • Production and consumption patterns • Real estate development and SUD (e.g. smart growth)
Environment and resources	• Climate change and disaster risk prevention • Energy and SUD (e.g. energy transition, 'clean' energy systems) • Food, agriculture and SUD (e.g. urban farming) • Nature, ecology, biodiversity • Resources use/conservation/depletion • Urban footprint and low-carbon cities • Urban metabolism • Waste management and SUD (e.g. waste-to-energy systems) • Water and SUD (e.g. water recycling and reuse)
Built environment	• Green buildings and sustainable construction • Housing and public housing • Infill development (e.g. brownfield development) • Informal settlements and tactical urbanism • Infrastructure, green infrastructure and ICT • Land use and spatial distribution of urban activities • Landscape design • Smart urban technologies • Transportation, mobility and SUD (e.g. TOD) • Urban design and SUD (e.g. resilient urban design, eco-neighborhood design) • Urban form and SUD (e.g. compact cities, polycentric regions, new urbanism) • Urban repair/rehabilitation

Source Authors

environment and resources, and the built environment) is an obvious simplification, used for categorization purposes only. As already mentioned, these four dimensions are closely interconnected and partly overlapping, and the interdisciplinary challenge of education for SUPD is precisely to devise creative and efficient ways to bridge these sectoral divisions.

Finally, it is important to note that this analysis has examined the characteristics of each program as a whole, including the data from all core and elective courses. It does not account for individual courses of study, given that students in most cases can choose different electives from the offers within the program and from other programs and departments. Moreover, departing from this study, further aspects related to higher education for SUPD could be explored, such as the impact of "campus greening" initiatives (Lu and Zhang 2013) on students' behavior and future professional competence. Also, a deeper analysis of the core curricula and of the type and diversity of the electives on these programs would help uncover innovative curricular frameworks and understand how different local contexts (cultural, geographical and institutional) tend to frame and shape the urban planning curricula.

6.5 Conclusions: The Inevitable Convergence Between Spatial Planning and the Social Sciences

As attested by the current literature in sustainability and urban planning education, the requirements for an integrative approach to SUPD are manifold. Current and future urban professionals need to acquire the knowledge, skills, attitudes and values necessary to shape a sustainable and more cohesive future. In order to answer the question of how these requirements towards SUPD are being met by advanced higher education programs in urban planning, we have investigated the curricula and the stated objectives of 10 post-graduate programs in Architecture and the Built Environment. This study identified (1) the key skills and (2) the major themes/fields for action in the promotion of SUPD, which are currently endorsed by some of the top world university departments in the field.

It was possible to verify a strong convergence around a particular set of key analytical, technical and communication skills, and a common concern with some of the ethical aspects at play in the urban planning field. The normative quality of urban planning, concerned with "how the world should be" (Beard and Basolo 2011) is universally acknowledged in most programs, as well as the importance of integrating the theoretical and practical pedagogical components. Spatial planning instruments (territorial plans and architectural projects) are typically developed through team work, and field work provides the opportunity for students to contact with real life practice and its many challenges. Systemic thinking is highly valued, as well as the adoption of an international perspective which acknowledges regional and global differences and interdependencies.

On the other hand, it is possible to advance a few recommendations that can potentially improve the curricula of urban planning programs towards SUPD. In general, these programs could benefit from improving the visual literacy and aesthetical sensibility of future planners, who need to recognize both the spatial implications of policy decisions and, conversely, the social, economic and environmental outcomes of urban form and architectural design. A stronger emphasis on participative and deliberative approaches towards socio-territorial cohesion could also be of assistance in improving the SUPD curricula. This could help, in particular, towards the debate and development of important notions related to social and spatial justice, which seem to be somewhat devalued in the current curricula.

Finally, it is crucial to stress the importance of interdisciplinarity and systemic approaches. Urban planning requires an interdisciplinarity understanding of complexity, as well as technical knowledge and communication skills. We have identified 44 interrelated themes and fields for action in SUPD, requiring an integrated vision and selected knowledge from different disciplines. We realize that this is a difficult task, given the limited time frame of a typical 3 years program to build-up sufficient technical skills while concurrently widen students understanding on a vast range of relevant urban issues. Without losing sight of the global dimensions of SUPD, each program must therefore strive to adapt its curricula to local cultures and regional socio-spatial challenges. By doing so, it will contribute to change conventional approaches of corporate knowledge and political-administrative systems, which shape the frameworks of national urban planning regulations and institutions, and very often are at odds with much needed interdisciplinary and systemic approaches to contemporary urban planning. As we have demonstrated, an interdisciplinary curricula that puts sustainability at the heart of planning and managing urban communities must merge the core urban issues of the spatial planning field with the key concerns of the social sciences. In other words, to promote and achieve SUPD, academic programs with a focus on the built environment need to bridge, in their curricula, the ontological gap between the design of "space" and the complex dynamics of "place".

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Chapter 7
Harveyan Utopian Thought and Social Justice: Approaching Public Space

Márcio Moraes Valença

7.1 Introduction: The Role of Public Space in Opening up Social Scenarios Through Politics

A first thought that comes to mind when analyzing public space, as considered by academics of different theoretical leanings, is that it is a space of unrestricted access and free utilization. Ideally, it is a space—in the best Republican tradition—of the 'collective' (it belongs to the 'public'), where citizenship may be largely exercised; that is, it is a political space with a potential to change society. However, these qualities have never been plainly and concretely observed, not even in ancient Greece (with its *agora*) or Rome (with its *piazzas*), with few free citizens, realities that inspired these formulations. They are even less tenable today in a world of many free, but dispossessed citizens. Following Marcuse (2014), a democratic public space can only exist together with a democratic society in which sharp economic inequalities are untenable.

Ghirardo (2002) agrees and points to a paradigmatic change in the idea of public space. Exclusionary practices today are masqueraded into an inclusionary rhetoric. In this sense, closing roads and parks, zero-tolerance policing, electronic vigilance, gated-communities, defensive architecture and the sort are signaling towards a less, not a more democratic city. The contemporary city is perhaps better seen as a city where there is not only one encompassing type of public space but a variety of different types used by or which separates a diversity of 'publics', often in conflict or with contradictory interests.

For David Harvey, the free market society advances speedily towards new regions and sectors of production. Jameson (1991) acknowledges and highlights the

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role of culture in contemporary society, especially in regard to the capital accumulation process. Here, more than simply making culture a commodity, actual capitalism is related to the culturalization of commodity at large. Design, marketing, branding and fashion are today as important a feature as the use value of commodities (their practical capabilities). These new culturally-informed forms of production and consumption, including of the built environment, are conditioning globalization or what Jameson calls 'postmodernism'. Flexible accumulation, with its new technologies, makes it possible for economies of scope to develop around niches in the market, often targeting those with greater financial capacity. This is generally had as the 'cultural logic' of late capitalism, or postmodernity, and defines the 'cultural turn'.

For Harvey (1990), a new phase of space and time compression—today's globalization—was made possible by further technological developments in transports, communication and production. This made it possible for capital to go further and quicker, expanding towards new regions and sectors, including those which have been untouched by capitalist development in the past, and thus opening new accumulation opportunities. Harvey calls this a 'spatial fix' and argues that this may be, more recently, connected to a process of 'accumulation by dispossession', that is, a sort of up-to-date primitive accumulation (Harvey 2003), and is a prime condition for capital to deal with its frequent crises. In his reading of Marx and life-time elaboration of and search for a convincing explanation of the functioning of capitalism, Harvey (1989, 1993) also elaborates on the circuits of capital, critically examining Lefebvre's thinking, to show how capitalists move investments from one circuit to the other in times of crises. In this case, capital moves investments to the secondary and tertiary circuits of capital that have traditionally been a production of and/or under regulation by the state. In sum, capital accumulation is a complex, geographical phenomenon: the 'spatial fix' always implies in the production of space (geographical expansion, spatial reorganization, uneven geographical development). In line with Lefebvrean thought, capital survives crises by occupying and producing space. Harvey's 'spatial fix' concept (later called 'spatiotemporal fix') is a helpful construct which means that capital finds new opportunities in creating, destroying and re-creating space as well as, if necessary, postponing profit opportunities till later in long-term social investments in education, science, technological development and the sort. More than simply serving as a basis for production, space, or, rather, the production of space, is itself an important source of capital accumulation (Valença 2006, 2008).

Putting together Jameson and Harvey, it is possible to envisage how investments in public space may be attached to real estate markets. The production of public spaces in the contemporary city is a spectacular event attached to the logic of capital and urban development, not necessarily to citizen empowerment and principles of social justice. If before, during Fordism, urban infrastructure, including public spaces, was provided by the (Keynesian) state, that is, the state literally paid for the free access of all, today several of these spaces have been a product of capital investments (even if through public-private partnerships) or have been captured and appropriated by capital through the real estate market in immediate surroundings

(a process also referred to as gentrification). Access to them is now controlled and regulated by imposition of economic, symbolic and physical barriers to beneficiaries. Self-segregation based on market-controlled access makes spatial segregation a general feature of today's urban development. Thus, if the market, even if only partially, replaces the 'public' (now in the sense of state action), it is only natural that the problem of social justice in the city is to be aggravated, not diminished.

This essay explores the idea of public space drawing on David Harvey's utopian thought about social justice and the future of cities. It analyses several of his writings as well as conceptual constructs, including those of 'dialectical utopianism' and 'territorial distributive justice', the modified versions of Henri Lefebvre's 'right to the city' and of Boaventura de Sousa Santos' 'subaltern [insurgent] cosmopolitanism'.

7.2 Dialectical Utopianism: 'Change Ourselves Through Changing Our World'

In 'Spaces of hope', Harvey (2000) critically considers utopianisms of two sorts: of *spatial form* and of *social process*. The former includes those proposed by Owen, Fourier, Howard, Corbusier, Wright and Jacobs—however opposing or complementary they may be to each other—as well as, in the context of contemporary cities, those produced by 'practitioners' in the American suburbanization, in the Disneylandization of cities with shopping malls, in the revitalization of town centers, in the 'privatopias' of gated-communities and the like. Harvey explains that utopianisms of spatial form, although they open a rather wide range of possible social scenarios, are attempts to fix, stabilize and control certain moral orders that are necessary to make a new social scenario plausible. However, they end up being molded and controlled by the existing historical and social order that they intend to replace.

Utopianisms of *social process* include the free market, communism and novel-like idealized scenarios. In the analysis, based on the realities of uneven geographical developments and considering failed 'materialized utopias', he forwards the idea that the future of cities depends on rebuilding the social process by destroying the established physical and institutional structures of the free market (not the opposite as is currently put forward by the Establishment). As Harvey (2000, p. 178) writes:

> Circular and cumulative causation embedded within the utopianism of the market process produces increasing geographical differentiations in wealth and power, rather than gradual progress towards homogeneity and equality.

At first, Harvey (2000) comes to a much frustrating conclusion by recognizing that it is difficult to find and identify agents and processes of change. Drawing on lessons learned from both forms of utopianisms, in his proposition of a 'dialectical utopianism' (or 'spatiotemporal utopianism'), he brings forward the figure of the 'insurgent architect', an abstract agent of spatiotemporal transformation that should

exist in each person, and points out his/her 'theaters of insurgent activities', each helping the formation of consciousness and political bonding. The idea is persistently to '…change ourselves through changing our world…' (2000, p. 238). Harvey's dialectical utopianism entails the production of space and time into an utopian thought, pointing towards different trajectories and possibilities to tackle uneven geographical developments which are cause to much, if not all, social injustice.[1]

7.3 Social Justice: 'A just Distribution Justly Arrived At'

How then does Harvey propose to deal with questions of social justice and how can we use his utopian ideas towards a better understanding of the role that public spaces may have in helping transform (urban) society into a better, more just society?

First, if only briefly, let us state what the author understands as 'social justice'. Early in the 1970s, in his acclaimed 'Social justice and the city', Harvey (1993) first calls attention to distributive aspects in relation to the territory. His more detailed chapter on social justice is found in 'Part One—Liberal Formulations'. Departing from strictly economic and spatial analyses based on Pareto efficiency—which he thought to be an 'endorsement of *status quo* in distribution' (1993, p. 118), he defines social justice as a measure of the division of benefits and the allocation of burdens in the labor process, considering the existing social and institutional arrangements. In relation to how this affects what he calls 'territorial distributive justice', he also considers the 'costs of proximity' and the 'price of accessibility'. Here, it is of particular interest to analyze the location of jobs, the value of property rights and the price of resources to the consumer. He focuses on the territorial level of analysis and, by analogy, on the individual. Here, the question of scale is of major importance as development articulates worlds both within and across territories. A 'just distribution' is related to what affects incomes and should consider a number of aspects, the most important of which are 'need' (a total of nine items are listed, including food, housing, medical care and education), 'contribution to common good' ('spread' effects on other territories, externalities, side effects) and 'merit' ('degree of environmental difficulty' that has to be overcome).

Thus, territorial social justice is achieved when distribution of income meets needs of the population, resources allocation has beneficial spillover effects on other territories and offers compensation to regions facing specific social and physical difficulties, regarded this will contribute to the 'common good'. All this involves a considerable amount of uncertainty as to the criteria in the determination of needs and the other aspects. Because of this, in addition to finding just methods of

[1]In the appendix, 'Edilia', Harvey sketches an idealized, imaginary world for the future as are several similar novel-like social process (dis)utopias (More, Huxley, Orwell…).

measurement and evaluation, institutional, organizational, political and economic mechanisms should grant the least advantaged territories the best possible prospect, that is, territorial social justice depends on 'A just distribution justly arrived at' (1993, p. 117).

The idea of arriving at a 'just distribution…' is taken further in the chapters of 'Part 2—Socialist Formulations' and 'Part 3—Synthesis'. Harvey's analysis seeks to overcome and explore 'certain aspects of positivism, materialism and phenomenology [that] overlap to provide adequate interpretations of the social reality in which we find ourselves' (1993, p. 129). He writes: 'the essential difference, of course, is that positivism simply seeks to understand the world whereas Marxism seeks to change it' (1993, p. 129–130). In analyzing 'ghetto formation'—which arises from uneven capitalist development, in reference mainly to situations in the US and European cities, he then forwards that a 'revolutionary geographical theory' is necessary to deal with this issue. He suggests that researchers should look more into Engels, whose work, together with that of others, prompted studies on the spatial structure of cities.

He analyses, in particular, the 'competitive bidding' theory—even the studies based on the so-called 'Pareto optimality in the housing market'—by which the rich group in society 'can always enforce its preferences over a poor group because it has more resources to apply either to transport costs or to obtaining land in whatever location it chooses' (1993, p. 135). This makes the poor group concentrate in relatively high rent areas (for instance, city centre degraded areas), but having a denser occupation. The problems caused by competitive bidding could be dealt with 'socially controlled urban land market and socialized control of the housing market' (p. 137). If socially controlled mechanisms are not enforced in institutions and politics, solutions (he is now following Engels' well-known formulation) like 'urban renewal merely moves the problem around and in some cases does more harm than good' (p. 141).

A closer look at the theory of urban land use, which he approaches next, gives a hint of the sort of uneven appropriation of surplus value that takes place through urban development of land, its improvements and real estate markets. Land and improvements are commodities with special characteristics. For several reasons, there are several uses attributed to them by different categories of users as well as several actors in the real estate (Harvey refers specifically to housing) market, like landlords, developers, financial and government institutions, etc. 'What is a use value for one is an exchange value for another, and each conceives use value differently' (1993, p. 166). Private property of land is a source of rent which is realized through this complex market or may remain latent (like when landowners keep land vacant awaiting for better business opportunities). In these conditions, access to land is regulated by the market which functions through a combination of 'blow out' (the situation in which poorer groups exert pressure by 'living in close geographical proximity', forcing richer groups to move away to new construction and land developments at the urban fringes or to newly redeveloped land) and 'filter down' (the situation by which richer groups leave housing behind that can then be

occupied by poorer groups in succession). In any case, the resulting pattern of land occupation is more likely to reflect the unevenness of opportunities given in a competitive bidding power process.

Governments have traditionally intervened in areas which the 'self-regulated market' finds 'non-profitable'. In analyzing Karl Polanyi's modes of economic integration (reciprocity, redistribution and market exchange), Harvey (1993) concludes that all three are necessary to keep the system going. Reciprocity, for instance, arises when competition in the market threatens to weaken capitalist bonds or some specific interests. Redistribution involves government action and aims at keeping 'market exchange functioning properly' as well as ameliorating 'the destructive consequences stemming from the self-regulating market' (1993, p. 274). Harvey (1993, p. 274) concludes, quite ironically, and opposing Lefebvre, that, in their effort to create a proper market place, cities in major advanced capitalist societies have, in this respect and as a consequence, become more homogenous despite all the differences in local history and culture:

> The public provision of public (and sometimes private) goods, together with private and public planning of the urban community "in the public interest", are now of major significance in shaping the geography of the contemporanean city.

Be that as it may, although there may be no limit to redistribution within a specific territory—a city, for instance, may be rich and have a good pattern of income and wealth distribution, this may not be true of the global economy as a whole: the uneven distribution of wealth that arises from capitalist development should appear somewhere, so that any attempt at obtaining territorial social justice simply 'moves the problem around'. This is a rather disappointing, although expected conclusion. Notwithstanding, focusing now on the role and nature of urbanism (as a way of life) under capitalism, Harvey points towards a possibility of change. He is thus categorical to finish his book with the following lines:

> An urbanism founded upon exploitation is a legacy of history. A genuinely humanizing urbanism has yet to be brought into being. It remains for revolutionary theory to chart the path from an urbanism based in exploitation to an urbanism appropriate for the human species. And it remains for revolutionary practice to accomplish such a transformation. (1993, p. 314)

7.4 A Counter-Cosmopolitanism to Achieve Social Justice

Much has evolved in Harvey's thinking as over 40 years have elapsed since publication of his 'Social justice and the city', which marked the beginning of his 'socialist formulations', but not in terms of his ultimate utopian idea of change which remains—as is patent from the above citation—the classical Marxist proposition. Notwithstanding, he has forwarded some new ideas as to how to achieve change.

In a paper Harvey (1992) published, making a synthesis of 'Social justice and the city' and 'The condition of postmodernity', two of his best-selling books which were published some 15 years apart, a discussion, about life in and around Tompkins Square Park in New York, is presented in order to show the variety of different users and conflicting uses that were then made of that public space. Apparently, that space presented some, if not all major characteristics of Iris Young's notion of justice (which he discusses in some detail), in particular the existence of a heterogeneous 'public', spontaneous diversification and the co-existence of different voices, although he is skeptic about what voice certain groups, like the 'homeless', may have in an empowering process. Be that as it may, in 1991, despite all interests involved and much debate, the local authorities evicted everyone to prepare the area for 'rehabilitation', a measure which took to the 'militarization' of public space with police enforcement. A similar process is also discussed regarding the construction of a highway which was to go through Baltimore. To make a long discussion short, despite the many arguments—with different rationalities—at play, the project got approved through a top-down decision. Disappointed, following situations like these, Harvey (1992, p. 591) comes to the conclusion that:

> Genuinely public space is extinguished, militarized or semi-privatized. The heterogeneity of open democracy, the mixing of classes, ethnicities, religions and divergent taste cultures within a common frame of public space is lost along with the capacity to celebrate unity and community in the midst of diversity.

The conception of 'the public' in building 'public space' is here of major importance in the consideration of a progressive and socially just transformation.

The plurality of views and competing paradigms regarding social justice is also discussed in detail in '*Justice, nature and the geography of difference*', a book published a bit later (Harvey 1996). There are several competing, not always mutually exclusive, theories of 'social justice' and different ideals of 'social rationality' at play and, sometimes, in the way. Positive law theories, utilitarian, social contract, intuitionist and relative deprivation views, among others, show that the notion of justice is not universal. Justice has different meanings to different people in different places at different times. However, underlying the aforementioned processes in New York and Baltimore as well as similar ones all over the world, '…the idea that the market is the best way to achieve the most just and the most rational forms of social organization has become a powerful feature of the hegemonic discourses these last 20 [now 40 or so] years…' (1996, p. 597). Capitalist notions of social rationality and of justice have become 'universal values'. How then to counter this trend?

Harvey addresses Iris Young's 'five faces of oppression' (exploitation in the workplace, especially with respect to the role of women; marginalization, a situation in which people are out of the labor market for their race, ethnicity, religion, gender, immigrant status, age, etc.; powerlessness, the difficulty of expressing political power; cultural imperialism, which is related to stereotyping and the

production of the 'Other'; and violence), adding one more (ecological consequences) to argue that, in order to build 'just planning and policy practices', it is necessary to oppose these limitations. He then writes:

> The different faces of oppression have to be confronted for what they are and as they are manifest in daily life, but in the longer term and at the same time the underlying sources of the different forms of oppression in the heart to the political economy of capitalism must also be confronted, not as the fount of all evil but in terms of capitalism's revolutionary dynamic which transforms, disrupts, deconstructs and reconstructs ways of living, working, relating to each other and to the environment. From such a standpoint the issue is never about whether or not there shall be change, but what sort of change we can anticipate, plan for, and proactively shape in the years to come (Harvey 1992, p. 600).

Further:

> … it is both valuable and potentially liberating to look at alternative conceptions of both justice and rationality as these have emerged within the new social movements these last two decades. And while it will in the end ever be true, as Marx and Plato observed, that "between equal rights force decides", the authoritarian imposition of solutions to many of our urban ills these past few years and the inability to listen to alternative conceptions of both justice and rationality is very much a part of the problem (1992, p. 600–601).

It thus follows that, in more recent analyses, especially after his rather abstract 'Spaces of hope', already commented on, Harvey (2008, 2009a) more strongly considers the role of social movements and focuses on their potential to control piecemeal the allocation of surplus-value, in particular that generated in cities, presenting a plausible proposition. Considering the 'right to the city', he argues that human rights movements do not necessarily challenge neoliberalism. Capital seems to have natural rights over the city and the urban process. Based on the idea that space (with its signs, symbols and signals) can powerfully mould people's character (sensibilities, sense of wants and needs, aspirations, etc.), a meaningful social transformation '…depends upon the exercise of a collective power to reshape the processes of urbanization' (2008, p. 23). Here, like Lefebvre, the right to the city is 'the right to command the whole urban process' (p. 28), that is, to exert democratic control. In sum, he refocuses on the urban, in a way returning to a direct, critical dialogue with Lefebvre's formulations in the 1960–70s, which he had dealt with in his 'Social justice and the city'. He writes:

> One step towards unifying these struggles is to adopt the right to the city as both working slogan and political ideal, precisely because it focuses on the question of who commands the necessary connection between urbanization and surplus production and use. The democratization of that right, and the construction of a broad social movement to enforce its will is imperative if the dispossessed are to take back the control which they have for long been denied, and if they are to institute new modes of urbanization. Lefebvre was right to insist that the revolution has to be urban, in the broadest sense of that term, or nothing at all (Harvey 2008, p. 40).

In his 'Cosmopolitanism and the geographies of freedom', after critically analyzing all-encompassing, universalistic forms of cosmopolitanism, especially that subjacent in neoliberal globalization—which he argues has been under production for at least the last 500 years—Harvey (2009b) gives his own idea of how a

cosmopolitan environment should look like to enable emancipation and freedom. He analyses what went wrong with several of those cosmopolitan views and projects, to argue that all had as a basis Kantian absolute notions of space and place.

> Liberating ourselves, …, from the narrow confines of that absolute theory of space and time which grants bourgeois authoritarianism is a vital first step toward freeing up our conceptual world, and so helping to define a broader terrain of "conditions of possibility" for progressive action (2009b, p. 280).

Accordingly, a constant process of production of space and place is always on the run and thus these notions vary with time and circumstances as they are molded by individuals (and the state) in their collective doings. To pursue a 'counter-cosmopolitanism' that faces the challenges put by geographical uneven developments, geographical theory has an essential role to play (alongside ecology and anthropology). He states:

> …without an adequate knowledge of geography, not only will we fail to understand the world around us and undermine our cosmopolitan quest for universal justice: we will forego all possibility of revolutionary politics for a relational dream-world of narcissistic transcendentalism, of perpetually unfulfilled desire, at the very moment when "spaces of hope" are opening up all around us for the taking and the making (2009b, p. 283).

In the making of his own '…cosmopolitan project of opposition to cosmopolitan neoliberalism…' (p. 94), he criticizes a number of existing alternative views, to adopt a revised version of Boaventura de Sousa Santos' 'subaltern cosmopolitanism'. This proposition comes out of the three ways by which he thinks a liberating project may come to life: 'philosophical reflection', 'assessment of practical requirements and basic human needs' and the 'ferment of social movements'. However, here, it is crucial that space and place change accordingly. Just as, during centuries, bourgeois society has produced space and place at its own image and to meet its own needs, there is need that they be transformed to serve liberation. He then writes:

> The rise of an alternative, oppositional, and far more egalitarian cosmopolitanism likewise demands that attention be paid to the prior transformations in the geographical conditions of possibility for such political ideals not only to be realized but even to be fully formulated. If a subaltern insurgent cosmopolitanism is to take hold, it must contemplate no less a radical transformation in its geography than that which the bourgeoisie collectively accomplished (2009b, p. 283).

This paramount task is a necessary condition towards progressive change, and it should go along together with the classical Marxian proposition.

7.5 Building Public Space Under Capitalism

Perhaps, the only time when Harvey dedicated himself specifically to the discussion of *public space* was in a book chapter entitled 'The political economy of public space'. Here, Harvey (2006) reapproaches his long-term interest and familiar

research on Second Empire Paris to argue that a certain spatial order was necessary, not only to make Paris a safer place for the bourgeoning bourgeois class, but also to support their commercial interests at large. Although there have been competing views over what it really means, public space is often attached to an idea of public sphere, which has to do with democratic governance. The Athenian *agora* may have inspired this formulation and linked the idea of political deliberation with that of the shaping of a proper public space. The *agora* thus became a metaphor for democratic public space. Today, public spaces may also include other media, such as the internet, a virtual public space, but throughout history the idea of a public space has mostly referred to a physical, generally urban space. It is not by sheer coincidence that cities today are highly segregated, gated, policed, and privatized, with video monitoring and surveillance in buildings and the streets and all sorts of similar things. This has to do with the role that 'convening', 'encounter' and 'infrastructural' public spaces—to use Marcuse's (2014) classification—play in society today.

Harvey analyses the reconstruction of Paris during the Second Empire to discuss this matter. The new boulevards and cafés (also the new department stores, cabarets and theatres) were a particular feature of Haussmannian development in those days, changing the spatial pattern of the city as well as its typical social mix. The city's 'embourgeoisement' meant that a social divide was now in force. Until then, different classes of people shared the neighborhoods, streets and even lived in the same buildings (occupying different levels). Haussmann's Paris created a divide between bourgeois and working class neighborhoods. The new boulevards thus served to augment military and policing control, facilitating surveillance and movement, as well as promoted a distinctive space where certain commercial interests could develop. The boulevards facilitated '…the state's protection of bourgeois private property' (2006, p. 20), creating a symbiotic relation between public and commercial spaces. They represented the Imperial splendor and bourgeois affluence. The new boulevards also played a role in resignifying the political nature of public spaces. Harvey (2006, p. 23) writes: 'Once the city is imaged by capital solely as spectacle, it can then only be consumed passively, rather than actively created by the populace at large through political participation'. And further ahead, he writes that there was: '…the symbiotic organization of public/private spaces under the aegis of commodification and spectacle. The hoped for effect is depoliticization' (p. 27).

However, a by-product of the city's new spatial arrangement was also the formation of a more homogenous and conflicting working class. After discussing the way that the Second Empire later collided with bourgeois interests, he then concludes that:

> …the character of public space counts for little or nothing politically unless it connects symbiotically with the organization of institutional (…) and private spaces. It is the relational connectivity among public, quasipublic, and private spaces that counts when it comes to politics in the public sphere (2006, p. 31).

The example of Paris can be seen all over the world. One way or another, cities promoted their Haussmann-like urban reforms and/or adopted similar principles in new land developments and planning. More importantly, capitalist ('bourgeois') urban development attached a different meaning to public spaces, one that had to do with its fundamental roles (social, political, infrastructural, etc.) for capital accumulation.

7.6 Public Space to Sum up…

In more general terms, Harvey finds that public space can only belong to the 'public'—or the 'publics', if we accept the different approach put forward by Ghirardo (2002)—through a more general process of political and economic empowerment that takes the less privileged to the command of or to have a voice in the way urban surplus value is allocated, that is, the less privileged ought to effectively exercise the 'right to the city'. Public space being molded and lived in major contemporary cities is certainly functional to capital accumulation as it is related to city marketing (city animation, the city as a spectacle, etc.), with all its symbolic subjacent meanings, in the promotion and attraction of businesses and consumers. In this entrepreneurial approach, action towards improving the quality of public spaces does not necessarily improve social conditions in the city at large and may even do more harm than good to social justice. This trend goes against progressive changes taking to anti-capitalist struggles that can prompt a dialectical utopianism. Here, consideration of social justice or, more precisely, territorial social justice, is a starting point of analysis and so of major importance as focus for action. Harvey finds it critical that, at some point in the future, all institutional and physical infrastructure set up by bourgeois society during the last five centuries or so be replaced by another that gives rise to an alternative, relational space and place which are born out of 'philosophical reflection', an 'assessment of practical requirements and basic human needs' and the 'ferment of social movements'.

Having produced, in the last four decades or so, a consistent and profound critique (and corresponding theorization) of contemporary capitalist society and its urban development, in spite of the incompleteness, that is often present in any utopian project, Harvey (2000, p. 281) justifiably writes:

> I had always thought that the purpose of More's *Utopia* was not to provide a blueprint for some future but to hold up for inspection the ridiculous waste and foolishness of his times, to insist that things could and must be better.

The fragments, presented here, of David Harvey's social, utopian thought about social justice and progressive change, are not a comprehensive outline of his well-known and extensive production on social and urban development, but tell us of the obsession of a writer who has spent his academic life searching for answers.

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Part III
Architecture, Politics and Social Change in Urban Territories: Critical Perspectives

Chapter 8
Society, Space and the Effects of Place: Theoretical Notes and Results of a Sociological Research on Social Housing in the City of Porto

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8.1 Introduction

Sociological knowledge of the types of social and symbolic production of everyday spaces, and also the knowledge of the logics underlying their appropriation is a heuristic evidence of the configuration of the societies in which we live. Admitting, in the wake of Lefebvre (1992), the socially constructed nature of daily spaces, to understand them in sociological terms is a complex task that requires significant theoretical and methodological approaches in order to be developed effectively. Assisted by theoretical, methodological and empirical analyses based on Pierre Bourdieu's sociological work, this article lists very briefly a number of conditions to set in motion the sociological research on the relations between society and space, and discusses the relevance of dialogues with the work of the author of *La Distinction* to promote the said process. In connection with this proposal, and in an attempt to go beyond the limitations of an exercise set from a purely theoretical register, the text seeks to document the relevance of this view using, to that end, the results of a sociological research on the relations between society and space in the city of Porto, in northern Portugal. More specifically, the text analyses the genesis of the most striking social housing programme introduced by the Portuguese State in the city in the 20th century, the Improvement Plan for the City of Porto, of 1956, and considers the requirements of its implementation based on the analysis of the first *bairro* to be built, Bairro do Bom Sucesso. The study examines the institutional process underlying the early phase of the *bairro* and the results of a

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socio-demographic survey and ethnographic work carried out in the *bairro* in 2009 in order to study the logics underlying the "effects of place" produced in this context. The text shows some of the possible approaches likely to be followed by a sociological analysis of the relations between society and space, focusing, in particular, on the status of social collective buildings in the modern city.

8.2 Theoretical Elements for a Research Framework: Physical Space, Social Space and Effects of Place

Although it is not always remembered for the contributions it gave to the sociological work on the production and appropriation of physical space in everyday life, the sociological and anthropological research carried out by Pierre Bourdieu is a heuristic contribution to be taken into account when conducting research in this field. Whether based on the irrefutable contributions of the various theoretical-empirical research works directly promoted by Bourdieu, or based on the epistemological, theoretical and methodological framework which was used for reference, the overall analytical work that resulted in the theory of practice is, in our opinion, a call for the promotion of sociological research on the relations between society and space.

Bourdieu's work has many examples, particularly in the early works on the Kabyle house (see, for example, Bourdieu 1972: Chap. 2), of the many possible approaches to the analysis of the relations between society and space. However, before we highlight the specific contributions that can be taken into account in those approaches, we should note how the overall epistemological matrix of Bourdieu's work can be rightly used to achieve our desired effect. A first reference of this kind stems from the proposed definition of the object of the theory of practice and highlights the importance of historical knowledge of the socialized bodies, of the institutions and their convergence to stimulate sociological knowledge (Bourdieu 1997, p. 179). The necessary questioning and parting from what is *evident*, that Bourdieu, in the wake of Durkheim and Bachelard, proposes as the preliminary step to constructing scientific knowledge, presumes an in-depth knowledge of history (Bourdieu et al. 1968). The formulation of scientific issues resulting from this work presumes, in turn, that it will be divided into theoretical and methodological approaches. These are provided within comprehensive approaches (Bourdieu 1993a), which Bourdieu builds from the epistemological primacy of field research, emphasizing the importance of dense *objectivation* work—to be done in a comparative manner and, where possible, multi-situated (Bourdieu 2003). Praxeological knowledge in Bourdieu's comprehensive approach therefore assumes an articulation between *social physics* and *phenomenology*, implying the need for topological knowledge on how the capital of social agents is structured (economic and cultural, mainly), duly complemented by the study of experience, of the openness to action, and of the representations of those agents (Bourdieu 1979; Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992).

In addition to placing the dynamics of domination at the centre of the analysis, this configuration of the research programme assumes the compatibility of instruments and analysis techniques that are not always easy to match well together, but nevertheless provide, when adequately combined, significant advances in knowledge, such as those that result from the combination of ethnographic analysis with survey work, with the multiple correspondence statistical analysis technique or with the analysis of archives. For the approach we propose herewith, the detailed sociological knowledge of practices and representations on the production and use of physical space, as well as on the social dynamics in which they are rooted also requires the analysis included in the praxeological knowledge proposal. Moreover, the possible compatibility between the analysis of the production and daily appropriation of physical spaces and the objectification of the capital of social agents that use them makes it possible to document the (re)production of lifestyles, and the more or less conscious logics inscribed in the symbolic and ideological position-takings underlying the (re)reproduction of the "effects of place" (Bourdieu 1993b). It is therefore important to know the relations established between physical space, social space and the experiences that materialize into the effects of place in the city.

In one of our recent researches on the social housing policy in the city of Porto we were faced with the need to sociologically describe how the typical everyday situations in various social housing *bairros* came into being. To that end, we used the framework on the theoretical and methodological issues we have just presented. Seeking to illustrate a sociological *modus operandi* on the relations between physical space and social space, we will then discuss how social housing policies fit into the historical context of the city of Porto. Following this, we will analyse the formation of the social space of the first social *bairro* built by the municipality under the most significant public housing policy implemented in the city during the 20th century. We will then study the resulting relationship between the social space of the *bairro* under study and the types of lifestyles of its residents, and interpret the effects of place organised within them.

8.3 Historical Inscription: Porto's Housing Problems and the 1956 Improvement Plan

Housing deficiencies were one of the most important basic elements that characterised the Portuguese society until late 20th century. The situation in the city of Porto rose to particularly serious levels due to both the industrialisation process that marked this city since the late 19th century and the way it interacted with the dynamic urban planning of the territory throughout the entire period. The importance of Porto as a destination for migrants from the rural hinterland and the fact that such a process did not articulate for more than half a century with a housing approach capable of absorbing such a high demographic influx in minimally

acceptable conditions meant that, over the first half of the 20th century, large population concentrations persisted in the very run down old city centre and there was a widespread of unhealthy housing in the so-called *ilhas* (literally "islands", but meaning "poor houses") in the city: in the early 1940s, shortly after the *Inquérito Geral às Ilhas* in 1939 (General Survey on the Poor Houses), more than 258 thousand people lived in Porto, more than 45 thousand of which lived in 13 594 poor houses; over 60% of these houses were situated in just three of the central parishes (see Fig. 8.1 for an illustration of this type of housing).

Despite the plague at the end of the 19th century (Jorge 2010[1899]), tuberculosis and the various social and political struggles over housing issues, which nevertheless resulted in significant urban intervention works such as basic sanitation and greater regulation of urban growth, the initiatives that underpinned prevailing liberal thinking that both during the monarchy and in some way during the very republican regime tried to tackle the housing problems of the city were few in number and limited in scope during the first half of the century. In fact, the most systematic attempts to address the housing deficiencies of the country and of the city began in the Estado Novo period,[1] even though the first expressions of such attempts, structured around the "Economic Housing Programme" of 1933, did not have a significant impact on the population with the greatest social and housing needs, due to the planned housing model and the selective composition of the programme's beneficiaries (Pereira and Queirós 2013). So, besides the results of the said Economic Housing Programme, until the end of the first half of the 20th century in Porto, and as a result of the Central Government or City Council actions, the construction of houses for the poorly housed residents of the old centre and city "poor houses" was very limited.

Overcrowding and the lack of housing conditions typically described the houses of several generations of city dwellers, in particular the industrial workers (Teixeira 1996). In a strong demonstration of the ideological and practical difficulties in finding solutions acceptable to the political regime for the housing problems, decisions on new houses for the poorly housed population materialized with the construction of 115 houses in the Block at Rua Duque de Saldanha, completed in 1940. Moreover, because of the resistance of the regime against collective housing and of the specific concept in question, the model for the said Block at Duque de Saldanha was not disseminated, and the State's housing initiatives were in fact extremely limited over the 1940s. We would have to wait until the 1950s for a more systematic intervention tailored specifically to the poorly housed residents of the city's "islands" to take shape in an initiative led by the Mayor of Porto, José Albino Machado Vaz.

[1]In 1926 a military dictatorship replaced the first republic. In 1933 the authoritarian rule of the Estado Novo regime was "constitutionalized". This regime would last until April 1974. For further developments about the genesis of the Estado Novo, see Rosas (2012).

Fig. 8.1 "Ilhas" in Saint Victor neighbourhood, 1930's. *Source* Architects Joaquim Madureira and Amoroso Lopes Filho; Engineer C. Pereira da Cruz, "Projecto para a construção de um aglomerado de casas económicas na rua de S. Victor, na cidade do Porto"

The prospect of having to "radically change" the housing situation in the city was already known following the *Inquérito Geral às Ilhas* (General Survey on the Poor Houses) of 1939, and, having realised the ineffectiveness of a first housing health condition campaign in the early 1940s, in the Improvements Plan of the city in 1955. The action matrix resulting from the dynamics of the 1939 Survey and the 1955 Plan, widely combinable with the main arguments of the Regulatory Plan of Porto of 1952, pointed to the need of an intervention in 12 thousand houses, establishing the transformation of every two poor houses in the "island" into one, significantly changing their living conditions. It was also anticipated that 6 thousand new social houses would have to be built to accommodate the population displaced by the demolitions of the poor houses affected by the intervention. Although it was argued that the people could be rehoused in the areas near the demolished "islands", there was scope in the Plan for a solution in which rehousing could involve building new social houses in the city's periphery, to reduce the population pressure in the centre, but also because the cost of land in the periphery was cheaper. One of the greatest innovations of the Plan was, however, the realization that the population rehousing process, because it involved a very significant number of "island" residents, between 25 and 30 thousand people, would imply, besides the entitlement to a house at the best affordable prices possible, choosing a collective housing solution of "moderate height", something to which over time and even in this latter form the authorities had opposed.

By articulating the city's capitalist expansion goals with a controlling intervention of the social groups concerned, as had been put into perspective with the economic housing programme, the central action goals announced in the 1955 Plan

would be widely enshrined in the government's Decree-law 40 616, which underpinned the most relevant State action in terms of social housing in the city of Porto. Admitting in its preamble the persistence and "moral, social and political importance of the 'islands' of Porto", the 1956 Improvement Plan retrieves the basic objectives of the 1955 Plan, establishing, for a time limit of ten years, the need to build "at least six thousand houses" for the residents of Porto's poor houses, in which opting for a peripheral location of the new buildings comes out much stronger, with the recovery of the "islands" coming a very poor second, in fact, strengthening the plan to opt for their demolition. Widely marked by financing issues, the concerns expressed in the new Plan were primarily of an infrastructural nature, both from the point of view of the set goals (stressing the compliance with the construction project for the planned houses) and from the institutional point of view (organising administrative procedures likely to ensure the effectiveness of the mechanisms to expropriate the land ownership required for implementing the new buildings, and creating a council technical department dedicated to implementing the Plan) and also relegated the housing process issues and the social project and management of the new houses to a secondary level (Gros 1982; Cardoso 1983).

It is under these circumstances that the Improvement Plan began to be implemented in 1956, carrying out new surveys among the poor houses residents to identify situations of demolition and rehousing, and initiating the construction of the new districts (*bairros*). Over the ten years needed for the implementation of the Improvement Plan, 6072 houses were built according to the characteristics shown in Table 8.1, which included collective housing of a moderate height (mostly ground floor plus three upper floors), with usable space not more than 65 m^2 in the best case scenario, and in most cases consisting of 2-bedroom and 3-bedroom apartments. Besides the fact that these houses were built on time, their most marking elements are that they were built away from almost all built districts and because construction was seldom found in the vicinity of demolished "islands" (Bandeirinha 2007, p. 99).

With the implementation of the Improvement Plan, which in any case would continue until the eve of April 1974 in a second construction phase of new social housing, the physical and social landscape of Porto changed profoundly. The significant demographic transfer of a very important part of the population from the poor houses in the central area to newly-created contexts in the outskirts of the city, and the very reconfiguration of the socio-spatial dynamics resulting therefrom contributed to changing the city and the way its residents related to it. As the public authorities did not consider an urban and social development plan for the districts thus created, the overall consequences of the contexts and populations were gradually covered by the political action typical of the Estado Novo regime and, in general, encompassed between repression and paternalist welfarism. In some denser districts, however, the municipality recognised the need for an alternative action project and, after some clashes, ended up reverting to the Catholic Church to seek social support (Fernandes 2010).

Table 8.1 Main features of the buildings and houses built as part of the *Improvement Plan for the City of Porto*, of 1956

Types		Buildings			
Apartments A		Fronts facing east and west; access to the houses via stairs, and open balconies (house doors side by side, two on the left and two on the right)			
Apartments B		Fronts facing north and south; access via stairway enclosure to two houses, left and right (independent access)			
Apartments C		Access to the houses via stairs; landings giving (independent) access to three houses			
Pavements		Typical model: ground floor + 3 upper floors; exceptionally, ground floor + 4 upper floors			
Exterior		Reinforced concrete structure cladded with 0.15 m open bricks and granite			
Interior		Pinewood floor with air gap in the living room and bedrooms; open brick walls 0.10 m thick between houses and 0.05 m between rooms; cement-based screed in the kitchen and bathroom; cement mortar in moist areas			
Rooms		Bedroom(s); living room; kitchen (in a living room corner); bathroom (with shower); wash-house; private area for clothes-line			
		Apartments			
		1-bedroom	*2-bedrooms*	*3-bedrooms*	*4-bedrooms*
% of total		15	30	45	10
Usable area (m^2)					
Apartments A	Excluding balcony	30.0	36.0	46.5	57.5
	Including balcony	34.6	41.7	50.7	62.8
Apartments B	Excluding balcony	31.5	–	51.0	59.0
	Including balcony	35.7	–	54.0	61.0
Apartments C		30.0	43.0	–	65.0
Min. room area (m^2)					
Living room		14.0	14.0	16.0	16.0
Bedroom 1		10.0	10.0	10.0	10.0
Bedroom 2		–	8.0	8.0	8.0
Bedroom 3		–	–	8.0	8.0
Bedroom 4		–	–	–	6.5
Floor to ceiling height (m^2)		2.5			

Source Porto City Council, *Plano de Melhoramentos 1956-1966*, Porto, CMP/Direcção dos Serviços do Plano de Melhoramentos, 1967

8.4 The Effects of Place in a Public Neighbourhood (*Bairro*) in the City of Porto

8.4.1 The Social Space of Bairro Do Bom Sucesso

Situated in the central area of Porto, now close to a very busy motorway entrance and exit, Bairro do Bom Sucesso was the first housing complex to be built as part of the 1956 City Improvement Plan. The construction of the 128 apartments began at the end of November 1956 and it was a quick process as all the land was owned by the City Council of Porto, making use of the land that had become available when the access road to the Bridge of Arrábida was opened (Rua Gonçalo Sampaio). Consisting entirely of 3-bedroom apartments (the only *bairro* of the Plan with this feature), and in accordance with the 1956 Plan, Bairro do Bom Sucesso was part of a broad city expansion project aiming to connect downtown Porto with the West side, taking advantage of the construction of Arrábida Bridge. The six 4-storey buildings followed the programme's Type A model (see Table 8.1; Fig. 8.2 of the construction phase), four of which were located on the left side of the street and two on the right side.

Inaugurated in 1958, the *bairro* contributed greatly to the urban planning of the area in which it was located. Both the testimonials of the old residents and the results of the questionnaire survey of residents during 2009[2] indicate that many of the residents of neighbouring poor houses were rehoused here, as well as a significant number of people from other poor houses and from the run-down central area of the city. Under a patronage scheme, it seems that many of these new residents were able to get a house in the *bairro* by requesting favours, thus "rewarding well-behaved" residents from those contexts with good connections with the City Council; allocating a house in the *bairro* seems to have followed tight social selection principles, so the municipal authorities ensured that the social composition was controlled in the first *bairros* to be built under the Plan.

Although the usable areas of the houses were quite small and a lot of families were very large, these new houses nevertheless had a great impact on the lives of many families. The very small size of the *bairro*, the tight social control on the rehousing process, the effective authority of council supervisors, who according to local history regulated more and repressed less, the spatial configuration of the development, spread over two rather small areas and divided by a large and very busy road, and its urban integration, marked by the gradual spreading of the central

[2]This questionnaire survey gathers information on 98 households and 226 residents. The survey was as comprehensive as possible, with contacts being made with all the households in the *bairro*. The 30 cases for which we were unable to gather information include, as we realised, some vacant apartments. In addition to a series of questions on the social characterization of the residents, the survey included questions on the residential and professional pathways of individuals, as well as questions on use of time and space practices and social representations of space and of the future. For reasons of economy, we have only examined a few segments of the blocks on the social characterization and representations of space.

Fig. 8.2 Bairro do Bom Sucesso, 1958, view from the west side. *Source* Arquivo Histórico Municipal do Porto/Arquivo Geral da Câmara Municipal do Porto (DMESG-11108-002/3)

part of the city around it, gave Bairro do Bom Sucesso a social and urban configuration not always as reported in the documents on the socio-history of social housing in Porto resulting from the 1956 Improvement Plan activity (Fig. 8.3).

Rehabilitated in the 2000s (painting of facades, fixing of access paths, landscape spaces, construction of a small sports area; many of the interior works have been done by the residents over the years), according to the results of the survey carried out in situ, the *bairro* is inhabited by an aging population, mostly female, that has lived here for a long time, but now live in smaller households. Aging is a major feature of the local population. A significant number of local residents are retired; together with the pensioners, they account for more than those who work. According to the information given in Table 8.2, we note that work orientation is, however, relevant among the inhabitants, although the number of unemployed is very high. One point to bear in mind here is that not many people receive social security benefits, and most of the unemployed do not receive any unemployment benefits. On the other hand, the rate of precarious labour relations that characterises the *bairro* is particularly high.

Despite the relevance of the identified regularities, and following what was theoretically suggested in the beginning of this text, it is important to enhance the topological and relational knowledge on the social features of the residents through the construction of the local social space (Bourdieu 1979, pp. 128–144). To that end, we refer to the information collected through the survey of the *bairro* shown in Table 8.3. It contains information on the class composition of the residents and on some of the types of their economic, cultural and social capital. We note, in particular, the information on the representatives of 95 household respondents.

Fig. 8.3 Bairro do Bom Sucesso in 2008. *Source* João Queirós/Projecto PTDC/SDE/69996/2006 (2008)

Table 8.2 Data on the social composition of Bairro do Bom Sucesso, according to the 2009 survey

Status of main residence of apartments (%)	100
Households living in the bairro from the start (%)	32.6
Households living in the bairro for five or less years (%)	10.5
Average length of residence in years	34.7 (standard-deviation = 18.9)
Household homeowners (%)	29.8
Registered population (individuals)	236
Female population (%)	58.1
Residents born in the municipality of Porto (%)	77.9
Average age of residents in years	49.8 (standard-deviation = 23.0)
Population aged 65 or more (%)	30.1
Average size of household	2.5 (standard-deviation = 1.3)
1-person households (%)	24.2
Source of income earned from work (%)	35.2
Source of income from unemployment benefit and social benefits (%)	4.3
Source of income from retirement (%)	35.2
Unemployment rate	18.4
Rate of precarious labour relations	31.7

Source Survey IB01 2009

Table 8.3 LABELS, variables and modalities used in the construction of the local social space

Social class	Social class (household indicator)	Frequencies	Social origins	Frequencies
	Executives and managers (*passive modality*)	2	Executives and managers	–
	Professionals (*passive modality*)	1	Professionals	–
	Technical workers and intermediate managers	10	Technical workers and intermediate managers	7
	Small proprietors	10	Small proprietors	29
	Routine employees	52	Routine employees	21
	Industrial workers	20	Industrial workers	36
	Total	95	DK/DA	2
			Total	95
Economic capital	Housing status		Holidays away from home	
	Municipality's tenants	64	Yes	44
	Other forms of tenancy (*passive modality*)	1	No	51
	Proprietors	27	Total	95
	Other situations (*passive modality*)	3	Number of cars	
	Total	95	0	68
			1	22
			2 (*passive modality*)	3
			3 (*passive modality*)	2
			Total	95
Cultural capital	Number of years of school		Number of books available at home	
	<4	15	Less than 20	35
	4	45	20–50	19
	6	9	51–100	22
	9	9	101–200	13
	12	6	More than 200	6
	>12	11	Total	95
	Total	95		
Social capital	Number of contacts available in an agenda			
	Less than 20	39		
	20–50	35		
	51–100	21		
	Total	95		

Source Survey IB01 2009

Even though we had additional information on alternative types of capital resources, namely social, we chose to limit the study to the set of the identified variables for reasons of consistency of the proposed analysis exercise.[3]

So, with regard to household class affiliation, we note the presence of routine employees, to which are added, in descending order, workers, small owners, as well as technical workers and middle management. With regard to the social origins of the respondent households, we have taken note of alternative trends, namely the more evident working class, even though it is complemented with the presence of families with origins in petite bourgeoisie owners. The latter include a relevant segment of origins in small-scale farmers, showing the importance of the rural origins of part of the local population. On the other hand, social origins are less dense among routine employees and especially among technical workers and middle management, which are nevertheless present at local level. There are no records of social origins in classes alternative to these ones, in particular, among the more socially and culturally qualified. In turn, the information on economic capital, even if based on indirect indicators, shows that most individuals and families do not own their own house or their own car, and do not spend their holidays away from home. In any case, it is important to note that, following the changes in the central and local State housing policy in the country from the mid-1980s, about 30% of the households purchased their own house, leading to the presence of both owners and tenants. As regards cultural capital, individuals with low schooling prevail, even though some are more academically qualified. Similarly, most of the households have smaller libraries. Finally, note that the relationship networks of the largest segment of the local population consist of less than 20 people. Although larger networks exist, it is important to note that these numbers are never more than 100 people.

Based on the information above, and following an iterative work that involved studying the different combinations of variables on the social composition of the population, we carried out a relational analysis exercise on this composition using the multiple correspondence analysis technique (MCA) (Le Roux and Rouanet 2010). The information presented in Table 8.4 documents the first results of the process, confirming that the solutions that would best represent the relational composition of the *bairro*'s social space would have to consider the results of the first four axes. To save on arguments, our interpretation will only consider the first two axes, in a total of 64.5% of the accumulated modified variance.

The first axis on the structure of the social space explains 51.5% of the modified variance. As we can see in Fig. 8.4, this first axis generally marks the individuals according to the overall capital volume they have (even though the explanatory value of housing is reduced, which we can relate to the fact that this is a municipal district where renting is the dominant housing status among residents). The right

[3]The logic of analysis underlying the proposed exercise complements the one we used in Pereira (2013) to analyse the social space of the city of Porto, and, in more detail, the one used to study the social space of the "economic housing" *bairro* analysed in Pereira and Queirós (2012).

Table 8.4 MCA: Number of axis, eigenvalues, % of variance, modified rates and cumulative modified rates

Axis number	Eigenvalues	% of variance	Modified rates	Cumulative modified rates
1	0.3106	12.33	51.5	51.5
2	0.2083	8.27	13	64.5
3	0.1947	7.73	9.8	74.3
4	0.1861	7.39	8	82.3

Total variance 2.5184
Source Survey IB01 2009 (MCA with Spad 7.4)

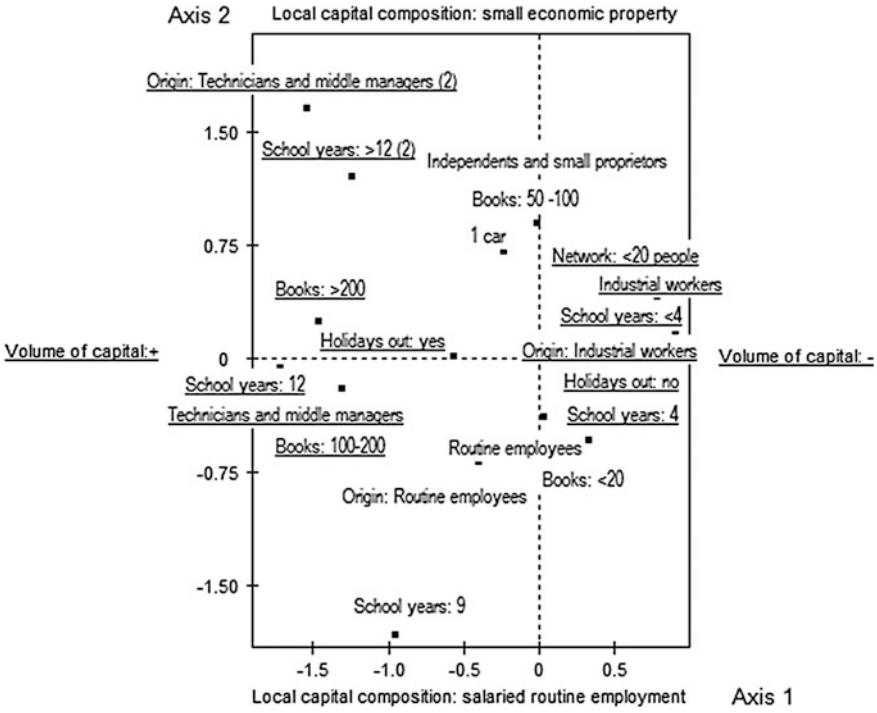

Fig. 8.4 The social space of Bairro do Bom Sucesso: axes 1 and 2 of the MCA. *Legend* modalities with significant contributions for axis 1 are *underlined*; modalities with significant contributions for axis 2 are in *regular text* format; when the contributions are significant in both axes, (2) is added to the modality

side of the figure shows the individuals who originate from and belong to the working class, who have four years of schooling or less, who do not spend their holidays away from home, and who have smaller relational networks. On the left of the figure we find the individuals who are technical workers and middle management, with identical social origins, who have 12 or more years of schooling, who

own 100 or more books at home, and who spend their holidays away from home. This axis therefore distinguishes the residents based on their more contrasting local social positions, associating the reproduction of the working class to the less dense capital categories, and the reproduction of the position of technical experts and middle management to the more qualified categories in the different domains listed.

As for the second social space axis, it has a more reduced percentage of modified explained variance (13%) and a different configuration. We note on the upper side of the figure the association of individuals that belong to the independent segments of petite bourgeoisie and with technical expertise background, in general with more cultural capital for local standards, and also with some economic capital, of which owning a car (more rare locally) is an example. The lower side of the figure, in turn, shows the different associations configured around routine employees, who have nine years of schooling, yet unrelated to owning significant libraries (not having more than twenty books at home). This second social space axis shows, therefore, significant differences that point to a marked contrast between social positions featuring independent economic property and others relating to routine employment.

Figure 8.5 allows us to improve the description of the social space by introducing additional information on the social characteristics of the identified categories. While they do not interfere with the main configuration presented, these

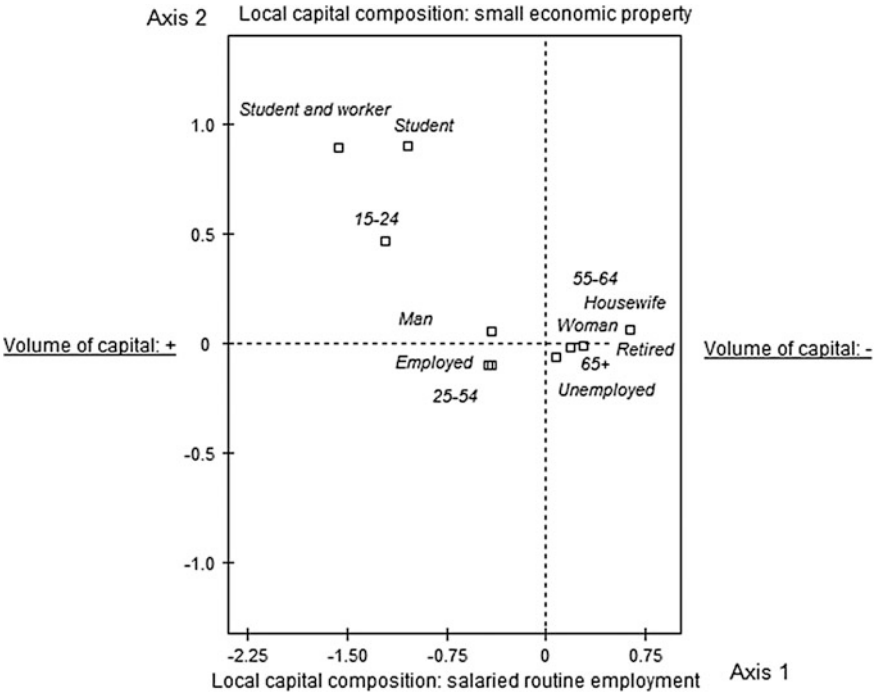

Fig. 8.5 Social morphology of the residents of Bairro do Bom Sucesso projected as supplementary variables in the social space

elements make it possible to better delimit the idea of this description. Thus, the first axis of the social space, which distinguishes the working class, more vulnerable, from the middle management, with more capital, may be characterised by having very relevant gender and age differences, with the working class being more feminized and older, and the technical workers being more masculine and younger. Similarly, these contrasts may also be characterised based on the information on their work situation. The working class is strongly marked by retirement from economic activity, unemployment or house chores; the region occupied by technical workers is characterised by a work situation and students. Note, on the other hand, that the second axis of the social space, which separates small independent proprietors from routine employees, may also be characterised by age contrasts and work situation: more specifically, the independent individuals are more likely to be young and students; work, unemployment and adulthood and old age are stronger among routine employees in the *bairro*.

8.4.2 *Lifestyles Components and Representations of the Residents of* Bairro Do Bom Sucesso

According to this approach, Bairro do Bom Sucesso is far from being a homogeneous social context, as social housing in Porto, and elsewhere (Champagne 1993; Wacquant 2006), is often thought of. Now that the main characteristics of the *bairro*'s social space are known, we need to document in more detail the daily life of its residents and their representations. In line with the suggestions made earlier in this work, the information in Figs. 8.6 and 8.7 allows us to materialize the proposed exercise. The analysis of the testimonials of a number of interviewed residents completes the aspect on the representations.

Figures 8.6 and 8.7 show how the residents use their time[4] and the lifestyles that characterise their position along the two social space axes. This information is not actively part of the results of the relational analysis in each axis; the modalities are projected in supplementary terms to the axis (Le Roux and Rouanet 2010).

As already explained, the region of the social space on the right side of Fig. 8.6 is occupied by working class individuals with low capital. On the left side of the same figure, we have technical and middle managers, with more capital. In terms of domestic cultural practices and sociability activities, the working class is characterised by the lack of broad practices. On the other hand, in the opposite region, we see that practices are more regular and include reading newspapers and magazines regularly, entertaining people at home, and having an Internet connection. The information on the right side of the figure shows the lack of cultural activities (not

[4]The survey on how time was used was based on a theoretical work inspired on a reading of the studies by Bourdieu (1979) and Elias and Dunning (1992), among others, the analytical foundations of which can be documented in Pereira (2005).

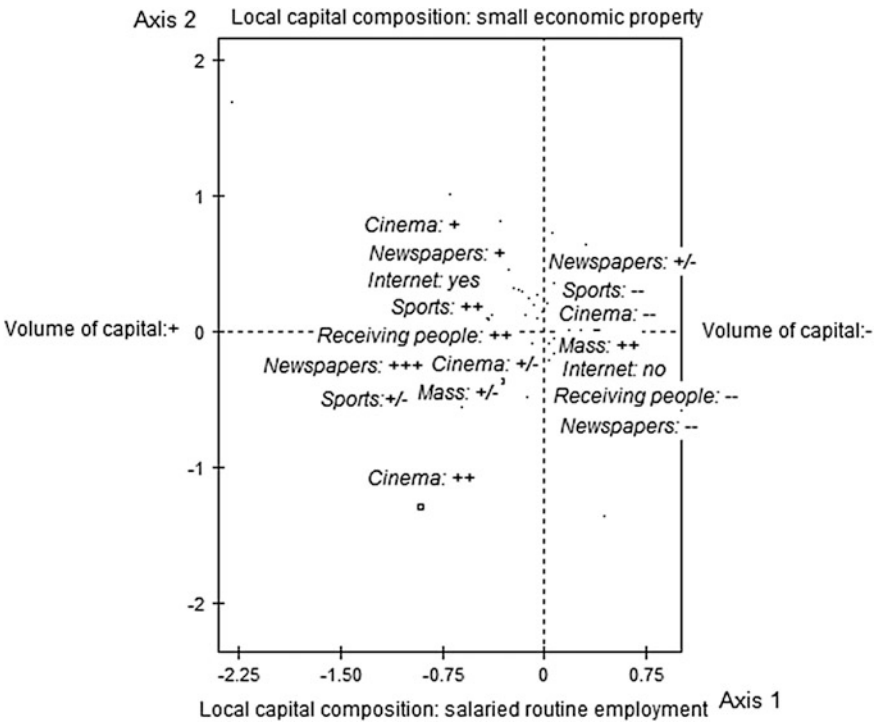

Fig. 8.6 Lifestyle components projected as supplementary variables in Axis 1 of the social space of Bairro do Bom Sucesso. *Legend* To survey the use of time, practices were classified according to a set of regularities that varied from +++ (i.e., a daily basis) to − (not developed). To avoid charging the graph with information, this is a simplified representation

going to the cinema or theatre, for example) and regular religious activities (going to mass frequently). More regular and occasional sports and cultural activities characterise the opposite side of the local social space; less regular religious activities illustrate the same region too.

A similar exercise to the one we did on the first axis of the social space of the *bairro* can also be done based on the information of the second axis. As we can see, this axis places the independent and small proprietors, shown on the upper side of the figure, in opposition to those with routine employee positions, on the lower side. The residents positioned on the upper side of Fig. 8.7 may be characterised by engaging in regular activities of local social leisure, as in talking to neighbours, going to the café, going out for lunch and dinner, or attending the local community associations. On the other hand, the residents in the lower section of this figure indicate that they engage in socializing activities more rarely or occasionally. Finally, we note the significant contrast between the absence of religious service attendance, which characterised the individuals in the upper section of the figure, and the more rare activity of those in the lower section.

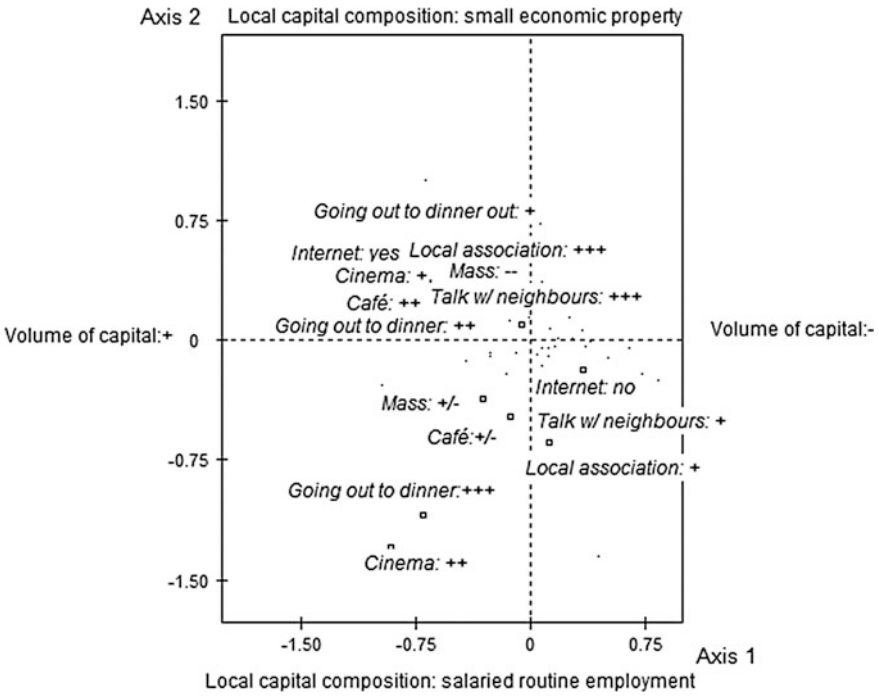

Fig. 8.7 Lifestyle components projected as supplementary variables in Axis 2 of the social space of Bairro do Bom Sucesso. *Legend* To survey the use of time, practices were classified according to a set of regularities that varied from +++ (i.e., a daily basis) to − (not developed). To avoid charging the graph with information, this is a simplified representation

To sum up, therefore, it is possible to characterise both axes of the social space of Bairro do Bom Sucesso, based on the use made of time and the well-marked lifestyle components. In line with what was suggested early in this work, we need to relate the social and symbolic features thus established with a viewpoint focused on the life path of the residents. As we have seen, the systematic absence of a broad range of activities, combined with rare socialising activities and a more systematic presence in religious services characterises the more fragile region of the local social space. Situated in this region, the 53 year-old interviewee A is a member of a working class family, is a housewife and has lived in the *bairro* for about ten years. She comes from a run-down housing complex nearby and her family rents the house from the municipality. She is quite aware that the *bairro* is well integrated in the city. In the case of this interviewee, the good relationship with the neighbours, quite frequent in the *bairro*, is articulated with a regular public socialising activity, but does not translate into frequent visits to friends in the *bairro*. Her slight scepticism about her everyday interaction with the neighbours, fuelled by some conflict, from which she tries to keep a distance, is an active element in her everyday life. As she has not lived here from the very beginning, this interviewee is

aware that the recomposition to which part of the population was subject due to the arrival of new residents has contributed to some withdrawal in relationships, especially with potential new neighbours. Just as it happened with her, it takes time to build a continued relationship:

> Some people keep more to themselves … I can't complain, I don't know! (…) I think they're all good neighbours. At least (…), I can't complain. Sometimes there's some confusion, but it's nothing to do with me. (…) You have to take care of yourself.

The opposite region of the first axis of the social space is characterised by diversified activities, in terms of both content and regularity. Interviewee B is positioned here. He was only three months old when his parents came to live in the *bairro*. He is 50 years old and did not complete his university education. He is a skilled small business owner and lives alone in a municipal rented house. Having lived intensely the day-to-day life in the *bairro* during his younger years, interviewee B has a positive memory of the entire process and of the friendships he made here. Unlike many of his neighbours he grew up with, he stayed in the *bairro*. He once had the opportunity of leaving and does not regret having stayed: "(…) I live in a social *bairro*; many people wish they could live in such a privileged place! I have the restaurants nearby, the shopping centre, cinemas, hospital … 'You see? I am fine as I am!" His critical opinion, especially because of his positive outlook on his local experiences, is enhanced by the experience of social and moral "aversions" cast on the residents because they live in a municipal housing development. Such experiences are addressed by inverting the stigma and declaring that he really likes to live in the *bairro*, even though this liking is based on his awareness that he has lived without socializing much:

> (…) the old people, they still say they live in Bairro do Bom Sucesso. Their children and grandchildren, … hum… overtime they became more ashamed, you know? The word '*bairro'* is like a label, isn't it? It's like an abomination: 'Look, there goes that man who lives in the ghetto', you see? And the kids and all … I am proud to say that I live here! This is where I like to be.

We can also note in the second axis of the social space of the *bairro* some meaningful activities and lifestyles. As we have already seen, the position of independent workers and small proprietors is characterised by domestic cultural entertainment activities and the importance of domestic and local sociability, as well as the absence of religious involvement. Interviewee C is positioned in this region of the local social space and is part of the group of residents who inaugurated the *bairro*. She was 17 at the time, and is 70 now and retired. When she was young, she immediately integrated into the life in the *Bairro* by forming her own independent family and establishing intense neighbourly relationships: "Just imagine it was a closed neighbourhood. A closed condominium". In her opinion today, the constant change of residents actively contributes to destabilizing the *Bairro*. Although in the opinion of interviewee C and of her husband the moment today in the *bairro* is fuelled by instability factors—which stem from the recomposition of residents promoted by the municipality and those resulting from the injunctions resulting from changes in leases, the management of the succession of owners, or

from the implications of the decision to buy the houses, and that neighbourly relations used to be more intense, for these old residents, their desire is to stay in the *Bairro*, moreover because they value its location.

> *C's husband*: I mean, it's just the two of us, if we were four it would be no good, this looks a bit better because we bought a table, some chairs, you know? Apart from that there's nothing else; there's a lamp that cost one euro back then, and there's nothing else, I bought the bedroom furniture, the other one was very old … (…) I'm only happy about the place. (…) Now, I can't say there's drugs, theft, this and that, that I can't say …
>
> *C*: Nor prostitution, nothing.

The position of middle management is defined by less domestic cultural entertainment, by a more sporadic local and domestic sociability, and by an identical religious activity. Interviewee D is positioned in this section of the local social space and is part of a third generation of residents. He had a successful education in schools nearby and was admitted to the University of Porto. His school experience before going to university was interconnected over time with the building of a network of friends in the neighbourhood: he was 24 years old when we interviewed him. His process of socialization and experience of living in the *Bairro* were marked by the importance of his peer neighbours and by the intense social relationships with them. Part of the descriptions of those relationships are similar to the accounts on the intense youth experiences we learned from the residents who lived through the early times of the *bairro* and reveal a profound contrast with the present times, in which local youth are hard to find. His personal and academic growth meant that he had to gradually move away from the relationships he had made in the *bairro*. He still knows them, but the relationships have become more distant and sporadic, not only because some of his friends have left the *bairro*, but because of the stress of his student career. Although he has less and less neighbours of his own age, familial inter-knowledge among neighbours still persists. Some of the relationships are marked by petty conflicts, which are also the reason for some distance and reservation in the everyday life. But this does not stop this young interviewee from positively valuing his experience in the *bairro* and at home, even though it is a small house. For as long as his mother wishes to live here, and since the family chose not to buy the house from the municipality, interviewee D prefers to stay.

> (…) The thing is, because I live here with my mother, for now there's no problem in me staying here. 'I'm ok here. 'Practically in the centre of Porto! One step from … by bus, on foot, from everything! Hum… for now, [leaving,] no! But later on, I'm thinking about staying in Porto. If I stay here in the *bairro*, I'd like that! But it's small … Obviously if I could go somewhere better, I don't mind, although I like the area.

In short, in terms of how the daily lives of residents are structured, the positions within the local social space are characterised by well-marked patterns. Divisions in terms of physical force, culture and economy seem to be, here too, relevant domains of capital formation and lifestyle structuration (Mauger 1996: pp. 137–163; Chamboredon and Lemaire 1970). The interviews also show relevant divides in how relationships with neighbours are built. The not too consolidated local sociability of interviewee A contrasts with the established and positively valued

memory of the *bairro*, and broader sociability, of interviewee B. On the other hand, interviewee C and her husband show that they are fully integrated in the local sociability and are fully aware of the conflicts and local divides, from which they take consequences. They stand in contrast to the more solidarity and younger reading but also gradually more distant view of interviewee D. The structure of meaning arranged in this way is not without relation to the individuals' inscription in the social space.

8.5 Conclusion

Pierre Bourdieu's sociological work is a heuristic reference for the study of the relations established by the social agents with the physical space. Using a reading of the sociological analysis model of the French author, we have sought to demonstrate the relevance of the relational concept of social reality the author proposed and use it to study how the effects of place resulting from the implementation of social housing in the city of Porto, in northern Portugal, was materialised. Housing Intervention in Porto was a product of a deeply hierarchical view of society typical of the Estado Novo period. After a great deal of to-ing and fro-ing, it was implemented in the city of Porto in the late 1950s to address the problem of the poor houses, causing a massive demographic movement, with residents being moved to the social *bairros* that were located in the fringes of the city. Bairro do Bom Sucesso was the first housing development to be built under the "Improvement Plan for the City of Porto" of 1956. This *Bairro* accompanied, became integrated in and contributed to the urban expansion of the city centre in which it was located—unlike other *bairros* under the same programme, which, usually, were unable to overcome the space and social segregation that characterised them (Matos and Salgueiro 2005). More than fifty years after its inauguration, the sociological work carried out in the *bairro* in 2009 gave an accurate picture of how the local social fabric is arranged. The social and urban consolidation of the *bairro* was characterised by the gradual aging of the population together with signs of significant social depletion—visible in the significant precarious labour relations, and in the local unemployment rates. Although these processes are structuring elements in the social situation of those who live in the *bairro* at the end of 2009, it is important to note that those processes are far from being unique logics of structure of the local social fabric. Indeed, the construction of the *bairro*'s social space based on a relational analysis inspired by Bourdieu (1979) allows us to distinguish two well defined axis of local power. They contrast the overall capital volume of agents and their families—distinguishing the positions of working classes from those relating to technical workers and middle management, and on the other hand, the local effects of capital composition—accentuating the divide between small independent proprietors and routine employees. Despite the relevance and the high incidence of aging and social weaknesses seen locally, we note that they fit socially into the more frail regions of the local social space.

The analysis carried out in Bairro do Bom Sucesso also enabled us to establish a well-defined picture of the sociabilities and lifestyles of residents. While we were able to determine that systematic sociability practices and sporadic religiousness occur less in the more fragile regions of local social space, in the more capitalized region we identified a greater incidence of diverse sociability practices. On the other hand, in the region occupied by independent workers and small proprietors we identified the importance of domestic cultural entertainment and sociability, as well as one of the nuclei with the greatest local sociability practices and minimal religiousness. By contrast, in the routine employment region we were able to identify a more sporadic social involvement. The analysis also allowed us to study the representations of residents and to learn about their opinion on the housing context. More central than most of other similar *bairros* and with a history of gradual interconnection with the surrounding urban fabric, we noted that Bairro do Bom Sucesso and its population are far from being a homogeneous social and symbolic context, as social housing contexts in Porto are often thought of.

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Chapter 9
Architecture and the "Right to the City": The IBA Hamburg as a Case for Critical Urban Studies

Frank Eckardt

9.1 Introduction

As a proud city with a Hanseatic tradition, Hamburg maintains the image of a port city and a place of prosperity. While demographic changes have led to considerable reconsiderations of the very basis of urban planning by questioning the idea of growth, Hamburg continued to express self-esteem and reconfirmed the idea that the city will continue to grow economically and in terms of inhabitants. This has led to a kind of growth coalition which crosses the lines of political parties and which has been expressed in a variety of iconic new buildings. The most well-known developed area is the HafenCity (HarbourCity).

This orientation in urban planning has been the consequence of a more profound societal change. As Hamburg was a stronghold for the Social Democratic Party up to the 2000s, the focus on social integration had been the key orientation for public planning and policies after the Second World War. However, as many observers have been recognizing, the general line of politics in Hamburg shifted towards a different set of priorities in the beginning of the 1980s. In the years of Mayor Dohnanyi (SPD), major projects for the "growing city" were initiated and the key concept of an entrepreneurial approach to urban planning was introduced. In a speech in 1982, Dohnanyi proposed the "Sprung über die Elbe" (Jump over the river Elbe), intending to connect the disfavored South with the Northern parts which are divided by the river. When the conservative party took over the magistrate, these concepts were brought to life and urban planning had been given a new framework: the International Building Exhibition (IBA) and related the International Garden Show (igs). Both formats were highly appreciated by German architects and were regarded as progressive tools for urban development.

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Local initiatives in Hamburg immensely criticize these formats, motivated by their experience with social problems in Hamburg, which can be summarized as consequences of gentrification. Moreover, the critics refer to a broader analysis stemming from urban sociology by making reference to the work of Henri Lefebvre and his theoretical writing on the "right to the city". In critics' view, the IBA and the igs need to be analyzed with regard to their impact on the profound rights of the inhabitants and on social equality. Interestingly, the protagonists of the IBA also refer to a theoretical argument to legitimize their actions. In their self-proclamations, the positioning of the IBA in the socially changing city plays an important role.

In the following, a closer look at the situation in the neighborhood of Wilhelmsburg will be presented. This will be done with regard to the social position that this neighborhood holds in the city and in the context of the changed political agenda of Hamburg since the 1980s. Secondly, the ideas, plans and program of the IBA will be recapitulated. The focus lies on the architectural view of the IBA as it is documented in the reviews by the main commentators of the German architectural discourse. Thirdly, the criticism coming from the "right to the city" movement addressed to the IBA will be presented. Here the analysis will enter the debate on the social role that architecture is expected to have in the eyes of the critics. Fourthly, the intellectual position of architects and academics of the IBA on the role of architecture in a fragmented city like Hamburg will be unfolded. By doing so, the more general question about the relationship between architecture and social science in this book will be answered, by framing them in a concrete local context.

9.2 Wilhelmsburg as a Place of Stigmatization

It is commonly known, even beyond the borders of Hamburg, that the southern parts of the city of Hamburg are suffering from less favorable living conditions than the rest of the city. In national news, the place has become "famous" because of deadly attacks of dogs on children, seen as a sign of the lawlessness of the area. Again and again, even serious journals like "Der Spiegel" (Barth 2000) or "Die Zeit" (Willeke 2005) reported about Wilhelmsburg in a dark and sinister way. One can say that the neighborhood functions as a representation for more symbolic debates on the failure of integration and social policies. As a place of larger social housing settlements, Wilhelmsburg and the nearby Veddel exhibit the fundamental error of architecture as a tool of social policy in general.

A closer look, however, reveals a more nuanced and differentiated picture. Firstly, the neighborhood has to be understood as a product of its dynamic and contradictory post-war history. Wilhelmsburg is the largest inhabited river island in Europe. It consists of housing, farming and industrial estates which are each of the same size. The neighborhood functions furthermore as a pass-through area, as the established motorways and the harbor are important functions for the whole city. These lines of mobility predominate the character of the neighborhood and the life in the high rise estates as well as in the single family houses in Wilhelmsburg. In its

built morphology, the contrasts of the neighborhood are eye striking. The northern Reiherstieg offers those Jugendstil-facade houses from the turn of the 20th century which now are so attractive for gentrifiers, but which were originally built for the working class. Furthermore, there are parts of Wilhelmsburg which were erected in the 1930s and house middle class families. Close to these single family houses, the large scale settlements of Kirchdorf-Süd, Korallusviertel or Schwentnerring from the 1970s were situated in the old villages of Moorwerder and Georgswerder. In an analysis of the neighborhood, these areas constitute different social spaces.

Destroyed by the allied forces during the Second World War, Wilhelmsburg was mainly reestablished as a place for the harbor infrastructure. When in 1962, the city was heavily flooded, the idea of using the area solely for industrial purposes was seriously discussed. With the influx of foreign guest workers only a few years later, the need for more and low-rent housing became urgent, but only in 1977 was the formal decision taken to use Wilhelmsburg as a place for social housing. As a consequence, a higher percentage of those social groups have settled here which have difficulties to find adequate housing in the private sector. One in three of the ca. 50,000 inhabitants living in Wilhelmsburg has a foreign passport. Considering the fact that a large group of people were nationalized following the reform of the national citizenship law in 2000, the majority of inhabitants has to be regarded as having a migration background. The establishment of social housing has furthermore led to an above-average representation of young people. The number of people under 20 years of age is twice as high as in the rest of Hamburg. Both the high number of migrants and youth require policies that pay extra attention to social support, especially with regard to educational institutions.

Social policies in Hamburg have, however, ignored the particular needs of the neighborhood. Wilhelmsburg has a higher need for social housing than the rest of Hamburg. Estimations by social organizations like the Paritätischer Gesamtverband indicated that poverty rises in Hamburg as fast as in no other German city, and that half of the population would need low cost housing, which normally is only available in the social housing estates. In reality, however, in 2013, only 6463 apartments were available and the tendency over the last 15 years showed that the number is ten percent lower now than before. Moreover, there is no hope that the total amount of social housing will be increasing in the near future. Rather, the opposite has to be feared. A main reason for concern is that the legal obligation for owners to continue to uphold favorable conditions for poor tenants will end in 2017. Then apartments will be prone to the forces of the housing market which implies higher rents. While mention of the problem was tabooed during the years of the CDU reign, during which no official reports on poverty were published, the SPD, since the election of 2008, has addressed the general need for more housing in Hamburg, but restricts the building of new social housing estates. In sum, the social-democratic plans will not outbalance the loss of affordable housing in Wilhelmsburg.

The social profile of the neighborhood shows the impact of a changed urban economy, where the destabilization of working conditions does not allow the mainly less educated population to participate in the general economic growth of

the city. This can be linked to technological changes in the harbor where containerization has replaced most manual work and thereby left many industrially skilled workers without many possibilities. This has led to the acceptance of work in the more flexible service and low-wage sectors. Even this option is not available for many inhabitants of Wilhelmsburg, leaving ten percent jobless. As a consequence, the social monitoring indicates that the majority of residents has to be classified as having the lowest social status. When looking at the youth, the percentages are even considerably higher. Poverty is the main aspect of social life in Wilhelmsburg. When the 'Sprung über die Elbe' was again promoted in the early 2000s, the political agenda behind it did not explicitly address this problem but rather suggestively formulated goals that were—if at all—indirectly targeting the real life conditions of the inhabitants. Any reflection on the consequences of the ongoing de-investment in social housing and the inadequate public infrastructure has not taken place. The problems with the disinvestment management of the publically owned housing association GAGWAH has becoming apparent with numerous complaints by tenants, and in a survey where unhealthy living conditions in the housing estates has been brought to light.

9.3 The IBA Perspective

More than one billion Euro have been invested in the context of the IBA, which was organized from 2007 to 2013. The IBA is a particular form of architectural exhibition which can be understood as an organization of in vivo architectural experiments. The idea of the IBA is thereby linked to the intention to contribute in one way or another to social progress (cp. Deutsches Architektenblatt 2013). Famous examples are the Berlin IBA and probably most well-known, the IBA Emscher Park. The latter was realized in the Rhine-Ruhr area and achieved overwhelmingly positive reviews, as it attempted to change the negative image of this old industrial region by recognizing its cultural and natural potentials. The Hamburg IBA can be seen as in line with this approach. The hosting of the International Garden Show (igs) also uses nature as a tool for creating a positive image of the Elbe island. In light of the described stigmatization, this approach appears to be transferable also to the situation in Wilhelmsburg. The main difference, however, remains that the IBA Emscher Park did not address a particular neighborhood but different places in a large conurbation. Moreover, the stigma of the Rhine Ruhr relates merely to the dirty and run-down industrial landscape, while the stigmatization of Wilhelmsburg is part of a segregated social geography where the better-off neighborhoods are blaming the poor for their own misery.

The IBA Wilhelmsburg could not avoid directly addressing potential criticism that skeptically sees architectural projects as contributing to gentrification, as has been documented as happening in other parts of Hamburg (Breckner 2013). This is why the central slogan in the self-description of the IBA was "Upgrading without expulsion" and by this the management signaled a reflection on the growing

concern that the investment in architecture could lead to the undesired effect of increasing the pressure on poor tenants. From the perspective of the IBA authorities, the main objective is to create or to sustain the existing social mix. In their analysis, the neighborhood suffers from a lack of housing opportunities for the middle class, which then motivates them to leave Wilhelmsburg. This perspective is argued for by the fact that still more people are moving out than into the neighborhood. No evidence, however, is given that the outward mobility is dominated by better-off inhabitants.

A crucial conclusion that is drawn from this argument is the support for the educational infrastructure in Wilhelmsburg. Among the more than 60 projects that have been taken under the umbrella of the IBA, the "Bildungszentrum Tor zur Welt" (Educational Center 'Gate to the World') stands out in scope and ambition. This Center integrates the local secondary school and a primary school, offers counseling and education for adults, a café for parents and more educational activities. The IBA protagonists pride themselves on this project as it demonstrates lasting effects for the neighborhood, sustainably created with massive investment into the built environment. More places have been shaped which are intended to increase extra-scholarly facilities for education and leisure. The initiation of a relocation of a Basketball team which plays in the National League onto the island is one of the examples which are mentioned to demonstrate the successful strategy of the IBA. The sports hall is planned for 3500 spectators and is to be opened up to the local youth for different sport and educational activities. With Marvin Willoughby the IBA has found a local professional basketball player who embodies and promotes this project. This example demonstrates the general principle of the IBA concept. The IBA itself understands its role as bringing together different actors, resources, ideas and organizations to bundle their efforts in a limited time frame, so major steps can be taken in a concentrated manner. It therefore works as a "catalyst" and allows local actors to play a prominent role. Apparently, the IBA integrates different parts of Hamburg and local society by offering different kinds of rewards, such as working contracts, public attention or long awaited recognition. "You can criticize IBA in many ways, but without it, we would not have achieved so many places for education", says Beatrix Nimphy who is the director of the "Media Dock" (quoted in Laufer 2014: 35). In the newly built media dock, pupils can learn how to navigate the internet and more, so "they can go back to school and show it to the others". Without the IBA, Nimphy explains, she would have only one computer available for a group of 15 pupils, which they can use for their afternoon stay. The "Dock" also has two rooms for music lessons and one for dancing classes. With the same satisfaction, Jürgen Hensen, the director of the Mügge youth center states that thanks to IBA he now has rooms for teenagers to practice with handcraft. The "Mügge" is located close to the water and allows the youth direct contact with the river, which is otherwise nearly impossible in Veddel. Hensen was formerly the director of the "House of the Youth" which for a long period of time was not frequented by the local youth as it had nothing more to offer than some furniture to sit on and a billiard table.

In the program rhetoric, three key phrases were promoted to describe the intentions of the IBA: “Cosmopolis: New chances for the city”, “Metrozones: New spaces for the city”, and “City and climate change: New energies for the city.” All three slogans were meant to testify to the overall theme of “Designing the Future of the City in the 21st century”. The list of the projects included can hardly be categorized in a strict way. Besides the “Tor zur Welt”, there is a new building for urban planning and environment, an integrative housing complex called “Veringeck” hosting Turkish and other senior citizens, the “Energy mountain Goergswerder” (a waste recycling station), a “Forest House” (green architecture, restaurant, hotel, exhibition space), the so-called hybrid houses, a language and meeting center in the Reiherstiegviertel and a public bath. Most noticed in architectural audiences, the so called “World Quarter” was set up and realized housing with modernized and energy-friendly design (Ehrlinger 2014).

Especially the concept of the “cosmopolis” has been set into the frame of a socially-oriented approach to urban development. It claims that social and cultural barriers can be overcome by a holistic planning approach with the means of urban design and architecture but also with education, culture and local economy. While opportunities for senior citizens, like the Veringeck project, can be counted as proof of this intention, the most attention went to education. Education is defined as one key subject of urban planning in the future city. Related to this idea and incorporated into a vaguer description, the IBA proclaims that culture is a key factor for the further development of Wilhelmsburg, which has thereby become the object of cultural industries. Cultural and artistic projects were meant to show the potentials of Wilhelmsburg as a future place for the hosting of cultural industries. The holistic vision of the IBA, to sum up, is that these architectural projects and the investments into the built environment should contribute to a change of image which should be already visible in the principles with which the projects are undertaken. The projects are regarded not as aiming to substantially solve the actual social problems of Wilhelmsburg, but to give hints as to how the area can develop in the long run. With this argumentation, the expectations about the IBA are paradoxically high and low at the same time. They are ambitious because the IBA intends to promote an image of the wishful future for Hamburg and Wilhelmsburg in particular, but they are also defensive and narrow, as they respond to criticism on the real output by stating that architecture cannot solve the problems of social inequality.

This ambivalence becomes especially visible in the discussion on the hard facts-oriented projects which are mainly the built houses. Publically, the most serious criticism launched related to the failed realization of the “New Center of Wilhelmsburg”, which embodied the idea of a total reshaping of the central places in the neighborhood (a goal which was never advertized by the IBA but which the general public expected nevertheless). The “World Quarter” was an answer to this criticism and was heavily supported by the architectural discipline in Germany. This “resistance” was prominently undermined with the 2014 German Award for Urban Design. According to the jury, the project successfully realized “on the social, participatory and design level to find an adequate language, so the World Quarter offers for many a new Heimat” (quoted in Gefroi 2014: 12). The quarter

was once the living area of the classical harbor worker and was suffering from disinvestment as a consequence of political deadlock and neglect. With the IBA investment, 300 apartments have been "carefully renewed", so that 1700 inhabitants "from more than 30 nations" now have a place with which they can identify. The houses were owned by the SAGA corporations, which is in the hands of the city of Hamburg. Participation in this project was realized by a "door-to-door" survey. The survey was emphatically called "Heimat research" and "much of it was taken over into the design of the houses" (Gefroi 2014: 14). In total, the impression was created that these houses appear rather as newly built than renewed. Attention to many small design aspects and the addition of balconies enhanced the living space for many inhabitants. Furthermore, the surrounding spaces have been reshaped and are more inviting for people to stay. It has been confirmed, however, that many inhabitants who had to leave the houses during the renovation have not returned and that mostly new tenants are now benefiting from the changes. The higher rent following renovations as a reason for the failed return of tenants is downplayed by the architects and the IBA. What makes this estate then attractive for newcomers? While the project praises itself for its participatory approach, no information is available so we can understand the reasons for a residency change. It can only be speculated as to why old inhabitants do not return and why new people choose to come to the stigmatized Wilhelmsburg (Hamburg 2014).

What is known, however, is that a residency change is intended. As IBA officials repeatedly made clear, they want to stop the middle class from leaving by ensuring opportunities—especially with regard to education – that enable this. As in the analysis about the social composition of Wilhelmsburg in the first part made clear, the assumption of a fleeing middle class holds little ground. There is a social space (single family housing) where the established middle class is settled. The IBA creates rather more stimulus for the attraction of better-off people. The World Quarter as the main success of the architectural part of the IBA has exactly counteracted the intention of "Upgrading without expulsion". Even if the effects of the renovation might not be considered in sensu strictu as "expulsion", the narrative that embeds the project can be seen estranging the old inhabitants. The survey undertaken might be regarded as very progressive, as everybody was included. However, it has to be considered that especially low-skilled persons are not socialized for this kind of communication. It needs to be taken into account that most surveyors do not share the life world of the inhabitants and are now confronted with questions unrelated to their life situation. An indication for this interpretation can be seen in the language of the "Heimat" and the "identity of the place". This is a narrative which leaves no space for other perspectives recapturing the social problems most older inhabitants in Wilhelmsburg are suffering from. Participation in this sense means a legitimation of a concept that in itself is not familiar to many old inhabitants. "You would rub your eyes if you could see the change achieved", wrote architectural critic Gefroi (2014: 15). In the eyes of the middle class socialized architect, this is a compliment. It seems beyond imagination that people might have liked their apartments as they always had been and that they might interpret the new style as an implicit and subtle devalorization of their

lifestyle. In the laudation of the jury, the before and after situation is described as from “garbage” to “identity”. Before, this was a place of graffiti and waste, now people take care of their own environment. This attitude does not acknowledge that this was also a place where people have their memories of growing up, small things of happiness and good days. Their traces of life are made invisible, became garbage.

The awarded design proposal has no rational reason but appeals to the socialized disgust against the life situation of poor people. With much self-esteem, the housing area is cleaned up and reshaped for the tastes of the middle class. As earlier analysis on the process of gentrification in the Hamburg neighborhood of St. Pauli has shown (Eckardt 2013), the emotionalization of the concept of design plays a crucial role in feeling at home in an area, and that there is a conflict of different emotional norms on what is “nice”. In most processes of gentrification in German cities, gentrifiers are seeking Jugendstil design as facades for their new houses. In Wilhelmsburg, this is only available in a limited scope at the Reiherstiegviertel. It is thus no coincidence that the World Quarter replicates the same look with the gabled roofs and the brick layered facades as these much-loved Jugendstil houses. As it is explained by the Gerber architects, the design should signal a powerful entrée into the area. That is to say that the feeling of connection to the nearby Reiherstieg is the crucial idea for the shaping of an atmosphere where new norms of behavior—cleaning up, meeting together in public space and post-modern valorization of energy awareness—are embodied. The SAGA cooperation argues that the character of these estates has been retained, as the typical clinker architecture that has characterized working class estates was reused (Ehrlinger 2014: 18), and thus reduces the language of the whole design to a detail that now solely functions as a reference to a world gone by.

Consequently, in the architectural description of the World Quarter, the neighborhood is permanently coined as “formerly working class” area. When it comes to the details of design, the shape of the apartments—with a classical division between a bigger living room where the family meets and smaller bedrooms—is seen as “anachronistic”. The reshaping of the social housing estates also brought “order” into the “chaos” of the attached small workshops where mostly migrants offered low-paid services like car repair, cheap trade or scrap metal recycling. With the new concept designed by Dalpiaz and Giannetti architects, there is now space for “adequate” buildings consisting of a flexible box structure which “now allows social exchange”.

9.4 Right to the City

The most profound and prominent criticism of the IBA was formulated by activists related to the right to the city movement in Hamburg (cp. Vrenegor 2014; Birke 2011). Although sometimes described as a social movement, there are obviously differences between this concept and well-researched cases like the feminist or

ecological movements. The right to the city activism does not claim to represent any social group. There is an idea of advocacy attached to many of their activities, but that often relates to a larger and more profound idea of a more direct and radical form of democracy than might be found in groups that advocate for underprivileged citizens. In this respect, the activists of the right to the city movement do not understand themselves as radical social workers. Instead, their actions presume a certain self-concept of inhabitants as being citizens. Along these lines, the political actions undertaken require a certain level knowledge about the social and political situation in Hamburg.

The activities of the "right to the city" movement can be seen as the most prominent example in Germany of a type of international activism that mobilizes more prominent people in countries like the United States. Although groups all over Germany have been using this slogan to organize themselves, the Hamburg activists are a comparatively big group of people. In fact, the right to the city movement is a network of more than seventy different associations and organizations from all kind of political fields. Most important to mention is their early engagement for refugees which intensified in 2015. It started with the arrival of a group of refugees from Lampedusa who were supposed to return to Italy because of the Dublin treaty (Benigni 2014). The activism in favor of asylum for these refugees in Hamburg escalated to massive protest, but the initiative succeeded in linking with the unions and the churches in their protest. Besides their activism for refugees, activities against the closure of social and cultural institutions, especially those which are autonomously organized, is a major aspect of the movement. However, the protest against gentrification might be regarded as the most characteristic work of the movement. The basic idea behind the different activities and partners in the network is the egalitarian approach that has been referenced from the work of Henri Lefebvre (cp. Kipfer et al. 2012). In the run of the last twenty years, Lefebvre has been interpreted in many different ways and to serve a wide range of action and analysis. The "flexibility" of the original text might help to include different subjects like refugee integration and anti-gentrification protest. The right to the city appears to be mainly motivated by a sense of belonging, which refuses any closer definition of what citizenship in times of globalized cities might mean. The right to access, which is often also included in the reading of Lefebvre, also leaves much room for interpretation. Put into an architectural debate, access is seen as physical accessibility and a barrier free environment. Activists from social science, however, emphasize that "access" requires a more political accessibility and self-governance. Mullis (2014) has worked out the most important features of the "right to the city" movement in Germany and emphasizes this political reading and its focus on radical democratic reforms which center around the creation of spaces of self-realization and self-governance. Mullis thereby formulates that the city as such is not the primary dimension for the necessary political changes. It is rather one arena of political conflict next to others. In this way, the "Right to the City" activists do not see themselves as socially oriented urban planners or something similar. Obviously, the conflicts about space cannot be understood without the analysis of

more profound conflicts in society. In this regard, this movement would not accept the given institutional and policy settings upon which singular projects and strategies of urban planning are based.

The question of accessibility for these political groups is not a mere question of realizing wishful improvements as such. The creation of a more emancipated and autonomous city is, according to them, the main goal which does not allow compromise for the sake of an achievement of arbitrary project objectives. Self-critically, many activists, who are often students or academics, acknowledge that this politicization hinders a broader anchorage amongst citizens, as hands-on and application-oriented concepts are traditionally preferred by a larger part of German society and the intellectual capital for understanding such a theoretically motivated slogan overburdens potentially low-skilled persons. The most powerful actions of the network therefore can be found in those protests which are related to processes of expulsion, like in the case of the ESSO houses of St. Pauli, where affected tenants can make direct sense of the slogan. However, working with affected citizens endangers the movement, as protest activities can collapse when another fight is lost or in cases where nobody is directly affected.

The latter is true for the IBA Wilhelmsburg at first sight. With the "Arbeitskreis Umstruktierierung Wilhelmsburg" (AKU/Workgroup Restructuring Wilhelmsburg) some local activists from Wilhelmsburg and some of the network have worked out their criticism on the IBA by reviewing some of their main projects (AKU 2013). In the first place, however, the criticism goes beyond the narrowed down view of particular projects. Criticism of projects rather creates a critical awareness of general lines of political changes. The main point of departure is the assumption that political decisions are the core of the problem that will enhance gentrification and the expulsion of the poorer inhabitants of Wilhelmsburg. The core analysis thus does not start with the interpretation of the IBA projects and does not follow their perspective which takes for granted that creating social mix is a socially desirable goal.

The criticism points to the changed societal and political context that initiated and motivated the IBA. In the frame of a neo-liberal idea of city, planning and politics, the IBA signifies the paradigmatic shift from a city that has a (housing and planning) policy aiming at affordable housing for all, realized by the social housing programs on the 1970s, to a city which is subdued to the entrepreneurial norms of a market-oriented planning by reducing planning to project management. This entrepreneurial city pays lip service to social intentions and fakes participation where decision-making power is replaced by surveys. Aesthetization, in this perspective, becomes the major principle for urban design, fostering a good atmosphere for the middle and upper class which are being catered to. The IBA, one can conclude, does not reflect on the societal reasons for the existing social problems in Wilhelmsburg, which are not caused by the neighborhood and its built environment, but which express themselves in the urban space and architectural deficits. Wilhelmsburg is not—as it is called in many IBA related publications—a "socially difficult" neighborhood, but in the first place an area where a higher percentage of people live who have social and financial problems. Stigmatization and the

consequently following negative attitude of the city towards Wilhelmsburg have then increased the downward spiral of social and built devastation.

The more profound criticism on the IBA therefore not only argues that the effect of this urban planning process has increased the social difficulties of the already disfavored inhabitants of Wilhelmsburg (as they are prone to suffer from the consequences of gentrification). The impact of the IBA goes beyond the local and neighborhood related social context. Criticism points at the redefinition of the social and of politics in general which is a result of a long-term development of the post-Fordist economy and society which produce the IBA and at the same time were reconfirmed by the IBA. In the general set up, the IBA functions as a kind of festivalization of urban planning (Hohenstatt and Rinn 2013), resulting first in a changed landscape of imagination, where Wilhelmsburg becomes a visible place for investment and an attractive property market for real estate of all kinds. The effects of gentrification thus only become secondarily evident and shape a new social geography forcing the poor inhabitants to the margins. In the first phase of imaginative reinterpretation, the temporary inclusiveness is realized by cultural projects, which however will close when the IBA show is over. A famous example is the cinematic project of the progressive Hamburg film maker Fatih Akin whose Workshop "Soul Kitchen" closed very soon after the official end of the IBA. Akin is only the most prominent example on how culture is instrumentalized to create intellectual support for the intrinsic political agenda of the IBA.

Impressively, the IBA has been able to organize a five year long firework in Wilhelmsburg that included a long list of involved artists, fashion designers, slam poets, musicians, and other key persons of the Hamburg cultural life. The IBA was successful in selling itself as a good thing that is worth being supported, so that many people voluntarily worked with the IBA, mostly for little pay or even unpaid. Cooperating with the IBA apparently produced symbolic capital that has to be related to the underfinanced subculture of Hamburg. As the IBA combined "big names" and subculture, the involved free local artists sought benefits by placing themselves close to the successful ones. As a result, the artists and many academics have been integrated into a project which they might have otherwise criticized because of its gentrifying impact, as they have been doing in the case of the Gängeviertel (Helten 2015).

The IBA follows a logic of product promotion as it is crucially embedded into the approach to the city in which each part has to be lifted up to be attractive for potential buyers. Wilhelmsburg did not yet have the proper promotion so that a takeover by the middle class could be motivated. Culture is reduced to the essential support for this "development" of the area. The extraordinary high number of events and density of the cultural calendar of the IBA presents a "city of the future" that is oriented around events, happenings, and short-lived activities and thereby replaces other concepts of urban life and culture. It is striking that the neighborhood itself barely appears in this concept of culture. Culture is a resource but not a particular way of living your life, in this festivialized urban planning strategy. The existing cultural activities are either treated as not being present at all—and in this way are devalued—or transformed into mere façade. This particularly true in the

case of the repeatedly quoted "more than 30 nations" living in Wilhelmsburg. Cultural diversity is coined as a positive attribute but does not appear as being allowed to have a say in what the cultural needs of the neighborhood might be. A striking example of this kind of kitschy multiculturalism is the attempt to make the cultural diversity visible as part of the first thematic focus ("cosmopolis"). The migratory history of many people in Wilhelmsburg paradoxically is made invisible in this approach, as it pins the inhabitants to their origins. It subtly carries a socially deterministic perspective, denying the fact that many of those "from more than 30 nations" have been living in Germany since birth. If the IBA had not treated Wilhelmsburg as a cultural terra incognita, they could have brought into view what it really means to live in different cultural worlds and showed the contradictions, sufferings and ambiguities of cultural diversity. In contrast, the project took photographs of people with a migratory background and posted them on oversized billboards so as to make them "visible". The IBA furthermore categorized this as participation.

9.5 Architecture Versus Social Science?

The effect of the IBA on the social fragmentation of Hamburg has not been discussed much in the urban planning and architectural scene in Germany. The criticism from the AKU gathered voices of protest which have barely been noticed in the professional field. Their key argument, however, is not new and reconfirms earlier analysis about the profound transformation of urban planning and the affirmative character of architecture in the context of this kind of "events". Already in 1993, prominent social scientists pointed out the "festivalization" of urban politics (Häußermann and Siebel 1993). Compared to the debate then, there are important differences to be discussed. First of all, the question of why social criticism (even when it refers to urban sociology as the "Right to the City" movement is doing) is disconnected from social science today, needs to be addressed.

Prominent critical voices towards the IBA are not present anymore. The analysis by Häußermann and Siebel has found a fruitful earth in the movement "Right to the City" long after the sociologists had formulated their insights. One can say that the general opinion on big planning projects has become more critical in Germany. This has especially found expression in the massive protest against the rebuilding of the Stuttgart train station ("Stuttgart 21") and with the recent rejection of the Hamburg bid for the Olympic Games by a referendum. The widespread criticism of these kind of long-term projects coincides with profound changes in society in the last two decades. Although an adequate analysis would exceed the scope of this chapter, a few important tendencies might be pointed out. In a very general way, one can say that the festivalization, which projects at the beginning of the 1990s started to introduce as an innovative form of urban planning, have now become the norm. While in the last years some authors have been refocusing on the "ordinary city" and "vernacular architecture", the principal logic of urban development seems

to follow the imperative of selling the city by implementing and following new narratives on spaces like in Wilhelmsburg (cp. Bourdin et al. 2014).

Most prominent and influential has been the discourse on the "creative class" in the run of the work of Richard Florida. As is also true for other analytical terms intending to introduce a new perspective on urban development, like "Global City" or "Postmodern Urbanism", the terminology was observed to legitimize certain approaches to urban planning that intellectually promote entrepreneurial urbanism like the IBA. In the case of the IBA Wilhelmsburg, the elaborated version of this sophistication of neoliberal urban politics and planning is worked out most prominently by Klotz (2014), who formulated a PhD in cultural studies and was the project coordinator of the "Creative Quarter Elbe Island" of the IBA for 6 years. In her methodological chapter, she argues that participating in the project at the same time that she does research on the area is an advantage. The acceptance of her academic reflections shows the dilemma that a critical mass of, for example, artists or academics who could formulate counter-narratives, has gone. The effects of university reforms, by implementing excellency and sponsorship as a main criteria for the evaluation of academics, have led to the cancellation of most academic positions in the field of urban studies in the social sciences.

The case of Hamburg is emblematic for this change. The newly built Hafencity University has also been a "partner" of the IBA and motivated students to develop activities like the "University of the Neighborhood" in Wilhelmsburg. With nearly no financial support, the students tried to realize projects in a run-down building which they were kindly allowed to use temporarily. Of course, after the end of the IBA it was closed. The narrative of the creative city implies hard work, little payment, short-term perspectives and a priority for a distinguished taste for beautiful appearances. Planning is seen as enabling, framing and steering creative processes that are upgrading the area.

The enthronization of the narrative of creativeness is not positioned in the IBA rhetoric as a new master discourse. It is one of at least three narrative options on how to read the intentions of this planning policy. By throwing buzzwords into the air, the IBA absorbs all possible interpretations and thereby mentally includes most diverse actors. Initiated and linked to the local elites, the IBA offers symbolic capital for those who were considered to be linked to them like artists and intellectuals. In 1993, the main criticism of festivalization was that the promise of a trickle down effect—everybody will profit from these investments—does not pan out. Often, critics calculated how much money could have been spent on social expenditure if it had not been invested in the architecture of spectacles. Now, such a counter-narrative is made conceptually impossible, as the IBA can fall back on its ambivalent position of the social meaning of their program. It will demonstrate some direct outcome with comparably simple and small investments like the above-mentioned sport facilities. The social intentions are reduced to the ambition to enable social interaction and education. In fact, these investments into social infrastructure would have been needed anyway and were offered by public authorities in other parts of Hamburg without any "support" by the IBA.

Spending public money on the IBA to promote private investment nevertheless needs some kind of legitimation in the eyes of the general public. Against the background of ongoing turbulences with even violent demonstrations against gentrification, the subject of expulsion was the Achilles heel in the case of Hamburg, and the political elites of the ruling Social Democrats had to find a way to demonstrate their sensitivity regarding the expulsion of poor inhabitants. The only direct answer given to critics of the IBA was therefore concerning the fear of expulsion. In a 14-page paper (IBA Hamburg 2013), the IBA tried to demonstrate that no gentrification is observable in Wilhelmsburg. The figures presented were interpreted in a rather astonishing manner. Over the duration of the IBA, rents rose by 35%. The IBA relativizes this fact by saying that the average rise in rents in Hamburg was 46%. Moreover, the paper argues that this figure only stems from newly rented apartments and that people who were already living in Wilhelmsburg were not affected. This means that the rise of rents in the free market sector was even higher. In general, many neighborhoods in Hamburg underwent less dramatic rent increases. What the IBA is not talking about is what this development means for the youth of Wilhelmsburg who want to leave their parents' homes. For the children of the overwhelmingly poor people, the neighborhood is no longer affordable. While there had been empty lots prior to the IBA, which young people could easily afford, now there is no space left for them anymore and consequently, internal mobility in the neighborhood has totally stopped. New vacancies will be filled with richer external candidates, while the only option for the established inhabitants to move to another apartment is to leave the neighborhood (Kiehn 2013: 192).

The stories of the poor are not part of the master narrative of the IBA, and as intellectuals like social and cultural scientists share the mindset of success with powerful actors in a vain attempt to save their role in the festivalized politics of planning, the distinguishing discourse about "social science" and "architecture" misses the point. As the example of the IBA shows, the shared societal position currently proliferating intellectually for the implementation of entrepreneurial politics has overcome the dichotomy of social scientists as the critics of architecture and architects as the pragmatics of social ideas. With the narrative on creativity, both professions have agreed on a loose narrative, which is hard to attack because of its ambivalence. A narrative that obscures social problems.

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Chapter 10
Visualizing the Urban. Tools for Interpreting and Representing Milan Change

Rossella Salerno

10.1 Building an Image of the City: The Milano Porta Nuova Project

The intention of this paper is to enquire into the significant contribution played by images and representations in the decision making processes and building phases of a new urban space. The term 'visualisation' in the title highlights the fact that in the multiplicity of places in the institutional debate and elsewhere messages are transmitted by figures who work together to sharpen the focus of desires and images and, lastly, urban imagination. It is well known that the urban studies approach to the city has for some time been to see it as the outcome of physical and social space. As Lefebvre repeatedly argued, alongside concrete spatial forms, objects which can be mapped, the physical spaces generated by societies, there is a second type of space structured mentally or cognitively which takes the form of systems of signs and symbols 'elaborated intellectually' first and foremost by means of written and spoken words. It is the dominant space in any society, the space in which power and ideology manifest themselves and take shape. Edward Soja's critical theory, which makes explicit reference to the work of this French scholar, added another interesting analytical category to Lefebvre's physical and mind spaces, one which relates to lived space, the fruit of social practices and real spaces in the material world of experiences and their coming to fruition. In this analytical perspective, the lived space integrates the physical and mental dimensions of space generating a symbolic use of its objects and building symbol systems and non-verbal signs.

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In this third category—*Thirdspace*—as theorised by Soja, I would argue that images tend to take on an increasingly important role for their ability to bridge the void between real time and imagination, the ability to generate meanings and significance in the social space.

Another analytical reference which will be taken into consideration focuses on the 'immaterial components' which play a decisive role in the organisation of urban space. In more recent times Amin and Thrift's approach has encompassed new practices capable of throwing fresh light on urban phenomena. The question which these two British scholars have posed as incipit to their book *Cities* is: what are cities now? How can we represent them? In addition to the social dimension and physical factors Amin and Thrift argue that other components are also to be taken into consideration: "Cities (in the past, too, but much more evidently today) are made up at the same time of a great variety of 'other' elements: technologies (especially those which make long distance interaction possible), images, representations, procedures, organisational frameworks, software […]" (Amin and Thrift 2001). This interesting and relevant openness to the role played by technologies—and digital communication technologies in particular—in social and urban space formation processes prompts a widening of the field of enquiry to include the imagination and proactive dimension which takes shape in the web sphere. Social actors, communities and societies can in fact employ technological mechanisms in relation to the diverse political and cultural conceptions too. The issue of the creation and pervasiveness of images of the city on the web combines with the web's collective imagination database and, more generally, with our multimedia imagination which represents the outcome of the sharing of events and visibility regimes strongly conditioned by TV (Mapelli 2010).

One last necessary introductory reference is based on those whose approach to technology is not simply a matter of their practical applications. While technologies may effectively constitute solutions to real or apparent problems, make our lives more pleasant or straightforward and our cities more 'smart' or safe, it is also true that to some extent we cannot escape being drawn into their orbit and power to contribute to improving urban societies (De Waal 2014). Thus in setting out its subject matter this paper will also pay attention to the relationship between technologies and urban images and the role that these new means of communication can play in urban communities. It is, however, evident that the diverse levels and multiplicity of image and debate generation spheres which combine to build a social space which is both perceived and imaginary at the same time, impact on both opinion formation and, to an even greater extent, on decision making processes.

On the basis of these critical insights the aim of this paper is to put forward the case study of a recent urban transformation in Milan—the Porta Nuova project—focusing on the way a city image proposed by investors and the local government takes shape both in terms of its reception in 'residual' debate contexts and especially in the social media and on the web. The project put forward here as a case study involved the renovation and redevelopment of a huge area of Milan, the Garibaldi Repubblica area which, though in the city centre, had effectively been abandoned for more than 50 years. In town planning terms the work designed to

"Renovate and redevelop the areas situated in the Garibaldi—Repubblica zone" required an amendment to Milan City Council's Local Strategic Plan. An integrated public and private action plan for the development of the area was drawn up with the objective of creating a prestigious and important development both institutional and otherwise for Milan and Lombardy: the new Lombardy Region headquarters, the city council offices and other public bodies covering a surface area of around 220,000 m^2; a Fashion, Design and Communications City on a further 110,000 m^2; the 'campus', i.e. an urban park inspired by the very best international models. This redevelopment also took on improvements and rationalisation to the existing infrastructure re-organising the road network, creating green areas and public facilities for the use not just of the area itself but for the whole community. Residential buildings covering 15,000 m^2, hotels on a further 15,000 m^2 and exhibition spaces (20,000 m^2) were also planned and have been partially built.

In more general terms, as well as being adjacent to the city's historic centre, the area is easy to access from both the city and the wider area, i.e. from other parts of Milan centre. The sponsor and principal investor was the Hines Group—Intelligent Real Estate Investments. The Lombardy region and Milan city council took part in the development of the project as public bodies thus obtaining decision making power over the redevelopment of a key part of the city with private resources including a share of the resources needed to build their new headquarters. In 2003 the area's three main segments (the institutional centre, the Fashion City and the Campus) were put out to international contest: the Giardini di Porta Nuova (Campus) contest, the regional headquarters contest (Polo Institutionale) and the new Fashion City masterplan.

The overall cost of the operation has been estimated at €2,500,000,000. These figures provide an overview of the operation which will be described here above all in relation to the following points which develop the issues set out introducing this paper:

- the building of an image of change and design in a large public area—support for a real estate operation and the creation of a new city skyline;
- the way the area was represented in the communications strategies of both investors and the city council;
- the dissemination of 'dominant images' and the appearance of 'residual images' as a contemporary iconographical process.

In his *Milano e il suo Immaginario* in *Milano Porta Nuova: L'Italia si alza*, edited by Luca Molinari and Kelly Russell Catella, Luca Doninelli wrote: "I very soon realised that the idea underlying the Porta Nuova project was not simply a matter of urban building just as its relevance was not specific to Milan. It was a global idea of Italy, its strength of character, its traditions and obviously its future" (Doninelli 2015). This sums up the *leitmotiv* of the whole real estate project. This paper will attempt to set out the various pieces which the individual players contributed to the complex, composite mosaic of this urban change proposal. Contributions to the implementation of the Milanese project were many and varied.

First and foremost it was Gerald and Jeffrey Hines who decided to invest in one of the few large spaces available within a European metropolis. Their vision for Milan was set out clearly in the words of one of their developers, Michael Topham: "Being a developer in the Hines world means being capable of dreaming and what we brought to Milan was precisely this: the ability to dream what most people cannot even imagine" (Topham 2015). Topham then went on to say that achieving this objective required developing a successful project involving putting oneself in the shoes of those who walk along the area's road with their children, trying to imagine what it would be like to spend time in and live in the area.

If this is, in fact, one of the most complex and multifaceted projects implemented in Italy since World War Two it is also true that the project has also been given an overall unitary framework consisting of building a large scale public space capable of linking up three Milanese districts—Corso Como, Isola and Gioia-Repubblica. The project area, as referred to above, is central and served by three transport networks—metro, bus and train—and its proximity to the historic city centre and large size give it strategic importance and the space for a large park. On one hand the aim of this project was to combine history, urban and architecture traditions and innovation, on the other hand it raised the issue of looking closely at those quarters of the city overlooking this large decayed area, redesigning its borders but at the same time looking after people in "a new district which was to dialogue with the historic centre, finding its own personal space sensitively in the midst of historic buildings" (Catella 2015). Thus the attention paid by the project to public spaces, or rather the relevance accorded to them, was the Porta Nuova project's starting point and enabled it to meld the three districts mentioned above into a single open space unit with links to the rest of the city. This also enabled a strategy targeting the public dimension to be drawn up recognising the crucial importance which open spaces play in the quality of life. Flow distribution and access were carefully analysed, users identified and relationships between full and empty spaces and type of area use analysed with the final aim of achieving excellent quality of living standards in the area.

From 2005 onwards three internationally important architecture and town planning studios began work on redevelopment projects for the old Garibaldi-Republica railway station: the Gehl Architects studio in Copenhagen for the research into the type of public spaces to be used in Porta Nuova; the London EDAW studio for landscape consultancy; Milan's LAND studio with an intermediary role between planners—many of whom are foreigners—and local players and interested parties with the role of local architect translating international design styles into local language. The overall structure of the project comprised four skyscrapers, a retail park, luxury urban accommodation and a number of other public and private buildings. The project as a whole was named Porta Nuova and overall governance was entrusted to American architect Cesar Pelli. The following is an overview of the architects who developed the various parts of the project together with the names of their work: UniCredit Headquarters/Pelli Clarke Pelli Associates; La Corte Verde e Isola 8/CZA Cino Zucchi Architects; New apartments in Corso Como/Muñoz + Albin Architecture and Planning inc.; Fashion and

Design Museum/Grimshaw Architects; E3-West/Michele De Lucchi; Office buildings 3-Est/MCA—Mario Cucinella Architects; Stecca 3.0—Incubatore per l'arte/Stefano Boeri, Gianandrea Barreca, Giovanni La Varra; Porta Nuova Edifici E1 E2/piuarch; Hotel "F"/Valentino Benati.

A number of these projects—some of which have not in fact yet been built—resulted not simply in changes to the area in which they are located but also to a city skyline which had only few tall buildings previously—Torre Velasca, Torre Branca, Grattacielo Pirelli. The overall view of the city for those arriving, for example, by train at Milan's Central Station is a city which, in contrast to 10 years ago, is dotted with skyscrapers packed into a relatively small area in the context of the overall size of the city and which emerge from a fairly compact urban fabric. Certainly this marked change is the result of a 'renewal' strategy which has impacted on the whole city. The vision which the whole Porta Nuova project has attempted to bring to fruition is on one side a new city and on the other a city capable of balancing vertical buildings and horizontal public spaces. This latter theme is taken up energetically in the volume referred to above by Molinari and Russell which describes the project in a multiplicity of voices: "It is two years", wrote Molinari, "since the Porta Nuova project area opened to the public. […] What immediately struck me was the simplicity with which thousands of people visited the place, where the shops had not yet opened, in a constant flow of families, individuals and youngsters curious to see the buildings that had so quickly occupied a place in the skyline over Milan, giving rise to differences of opinion between those who protested against the colonization by globalised works unrelated to the context and those who instead gazed with interest on what was perhaps finally solving one of the city's great urban problems" (Molinari and Catella 2015).

A number of themes which are central to the development of this real estate project emerge from Molinari's comments:

- the building of a dominant image identified with the creation of a large urban public space;
- the role of the work in changing Milan's skyline and thus generating a new overall image of the city;
- the debate between 'innovators' and 'conservatives' which has reverberated extremely in the internet.

This is the way in which questions linked to the new image that the district was to give to the city emerge from the 'strategic actions' of another of the project's centre stage players, Manfredi Catella, Hines president and chief executive officer in Italy: "Before the first bulldozers set to work preparing the ground for this great project, going against the normal Italian way of doing things Manfredi Catella wanted to create a place in which everyone would be able to find out about what was soon to take place on the site by means of a model, a large animated rendering and written texts" (Molinari and Catella 2015). Fondazione Catella's communication strategy worked on multiple levels: first and foremost, the use of rendering designed to provide an image of future and change reinforced by the depiction of

happy people as a backdrop to the architecture itself and as framework to the new public space. It also involved making a large model to be placed in the Fondazione's venues whose aim was to present the project in the concrete form which is more accessible to a 'non-expert public' and enabled the general public to gain a very clear idea of the urban changes which the Porta Nuova project intended to promote. This great mock-up showed the strategic solutions implemented very clearly: the way in which the void between the district and the rest of the city was to be dealt with and the building of a new fulcrum in city life, Piazza Gae Aulenti, a radical change in the city's symbolic layout.

After work finished Manfredi Catella commented on the work thus: "Absolutely the most important thing is to go to Piazza Gae Aulenti, take a seat and, as we did more than once, people watch. This element is the measure of success (…) Seeing people take over this place (…). Porta Nuova is a bridge just like the one which once linked Corso Como and Via Borsieri (…) The site is becoming an icon: you see it in communications, in advertising campaigns. I recently went past the cathedral and saw a large poster inviting passers-by to go up onto the roof to admire the new skyline (…) Italy is going through a period of profound cultural transition and at such times positive symbols showing the country's ability for innovation and top quality and not only examples of bad management are important" (Catella 2015). For Manfredi Catella Italy has in the past taught the world how to build extraordinary cities and innovative infrastructure and thus the time is ripe to renew this great tradition and transform the country into one of the world's most important town planning and architecture workshops. This is, in essence, the image that Porta Nuova, this symbol of virtuous public-private partnership, is sending out Italy wide and beyond.

Mayor Albertini's institutional support for the project and vision is in line with those of Hines and Catella: "Architecture", argued Albertini, "is the art which brings everything together: painting, accountancy, capital and politics. All the great architectural work done over the centuries has been done for clients, be they popes, states or the communities they represented. I like to think that what has happened over these nine years has been a little like this. This area of Milan is now packed with absolutely top level urban quality. If you go to Piazza Gae Aulenti you feel like you're in New York!" (Albertini 2015). The vision of the project and the city has, moreover, been amplified by Fondazione Catella's communications strategies which are illustrated here in the words of Kelly Russell Catella herself after work began at the Varesine site: "The first narrative strategy was giving the work a single name and making it into a logo which would be recognisable over the inevitably long time frames in which the people of Milan would see only bulldozers, cranes and foundation columns (…)" Porta Nuova was the name of a historic Milanese gate which is still standing, the name of that ancient entranceway to the city and its evocative power made it the perfect symbol for the whole area's urban redevelopment. "As far as the logo chosen is concerned", continued Russell Catella, "it conjures up the image of a gateway and a leaf symbol to represent the project's civic, infrastructural and environmental sustainability" (Catella 2015).

The second narrative strategy paid a great deal of attention to the phase of work which involved the whole area from 2007 onwards making it the largest urban building site in a historic city centre in Europe. Right from the start the objective was to set in motion and keep active a communication channel which enabled citizens and media to gain an overall vision of the project, of the meaning of what was happening, and follow progress.

10.2 The Dissemination of 'Dominant Images' and the Appearance of 'Residual Images' as a Contemporary Iconographical Process

But parallel to the official version of the project's promoters, both public and private, a considerable number of other images, bearers of approaches and opinions which were not always in line with the project's powerfully innovative messages, were disseminated on the theme of the transformation of the Porta Nuova area and more generally on 'Changing Milan'. Photographer Gabriele Basilico, who died prematurely in 2013, created a full-blown photographic account of the seven years of transformation in the project area, first by photographing the abandoned areas waiting for work to begin and then the various building phases until work was virtually complete. Basilico had already developed an interest in the urban landscape in his valuable photographic work and this came across very clearly in his comments: "If we look at the city as a great body to be observed with nearly scientific curiosity there is also a waiting period, a space to listen to what is to come, something which is ahead of us but as yet invisible, ready to reveal itself if questioned or observed in the right way. […] What interests me constantly, almost obsessively, is the contemporary urban landscape, the social and aesthetic phenomenon of the great, rapid, irrepressible changes under way in the planet's cities, and I think that photography has been and will perhaps continue to be, an especially sensitive and effective way of registering this" (Basilico 2014).

In addition to the critical—and not purely documentary—role played by Basilico's photographs, other, slightly marginal but no less interesting, debating spaces can also be detected. In the academic sphere the focus of Milan's urban transformations has coalesced around the embryonic Urban Simulation Workshop at the Politecnico di Milano, founded in 2007, which focuses precisely on Porta Nuova. To monitor this great project with new tools Peter Bossellmann was invited in as visiting professor on the basis of his experience in similar workshops in both Berkeley, his own university, New York and in Tokyo. The building of a great mock-up of the area on a scale of 1:500 was an occasion for interest and experimentation sponsored and encouraged by the manager of the Milanese workshop, Fausto Curti, who died prematurely a few years later. This three dimensional representation which grew out of a two dimensional photo, i.e. a huge photographic image of the area seen from above, gives a feel for the dimensional terms of the

impact of the planned building work, the relationship between vertical and horizontal development, the heart of the project which, as we have seen, focused on redeveloping a vast public space. The objectives of the Urban Simulation Workshop are education and experimentation, but on more than one occasion representatives of the city government involved in the development and implementation of the project were called in. The approach that the workshop's activities intend to sponsor in particular is generating effective images which ordinary people can identify with without indulging in the attractive but often not lifelike images disseminated by the official communications machine.

In recent years the building of an image of 'Milan in the Future' has also taken the form of digital maps providing social and up-to-date insights at least equal to those taking place in the main European metropolises. Of these the images of the city in areas popular with tourists and residents drawn from Twitter accounts in various languages by Erich Fischer are worthy of note. Before we look at what happened in the debate around Milan's urban transformations on the web, however, it would be useful to make reference to certain useful analytical parameters in order to limit our discussion to the themes dealt with by this paper.

We will hand over the task of gaining an insight into this world, then, to L.E. Gries who has analysed the dissemination dynamics of web images in an interesting paper called *Computers and Composition:* "Images, like music, often circulate across a wide and diverse range of physical and digital ecologies once they are distributed in networked pathways (Hawk 2011). As images enter into new associations and transform in genre, medium, and form at seemingly simultaneous rates, divergent materializations emerge with time and space. […] With the proliferation of the World Wide Web, social networking sites, weblogs, digital file hosting services, YouTube, etc., the rhetorical force, circulatory range, and dynamic transformation and transfiguration (change in functions) of images only intensify" (Gries 2013). This American scholar's approach to the issue offers interesting insights with which to follow the development of rhetoric which, on the web, is built and disseminated with widespread use of images. In some way the 'iconographic tracking' of image flow proposed by Gries to monitor transformations in meaning contributes to turning our attention to social life with a special focus on the collective experience of images after they are taken and initially circulated, the rhetorical component and persuasive ability of images to take meanings on board, their tendency to unpredictable transformations, differentiations and variations thus revealing that their meanings have never been stable (Gries 2013).

In general, the images of the city on the web are sponsored by many discussion forums in which photos illustrate comments. Whilst images, and thus urban images, travel in all directions on the web gathering consensus and dissent, they are fed by discussions and comments which can send them off into not always predictable directions. Media and cities find common ground on the web: the *Skyscrapercity* site which polarised interest on a great many urban elements has hosted a lively debate on the case of Milan, on the subject of the intense building activity in sections of the city and the birth of a new skyline. The public has not simply made comments but also taken an active part in uploading images and expressing

judgements and opinions through them, making international comparisons or rejecting the new architectural solutions on historical grounds. Images and comments interact giving a fragmented and multi-faceted image of opinion groups and individuals. Images and communities thus interact taking on representation and communication dimensions and creating new collective imaginations.

Let us try here to gather together the threads of a 'work in progress' debate on Milan city integrating references to the Porta Nuova project. Of great usefulness in projecting ourselves into this world of images and urban imaginations is the video, posted in 2007, on the *Skyscrapercity page "MILANO—progetti approvati"* (http://www.skyscrapercity.com/showthread.php?t=419468) with a title which is in itself replete with images of the future, "*Milano domani—Milan tomorrow*". The video shows the most significant work of the last ten years: Porta Nuova and Citylife, Santa Giulia, the Renzo Piano project for the Falck area, the Portello area and the smaller settlements which have so far not been dealt with in official reviews. Documentary care and technical skill are the features of many of these projects which have developed their own communication channels dedicated to web users. The urban image which emerges is coherent with the message of the bulk of contemporary urban transformation projects, a varied and attractive representation of Milan as the city of the future to be put forward and supported. Information technologies contribute to rendering the result persuasive rather than concrete, both allusive and elusive at the same time. Images are packed with shiny surfaces and clear glass. Vegetation is equally pervasive, proliferating, flourishing and verdant in buildings which always appear ultra new. The impression given is of environmental condition and imaginary visibility simulations. The use of 'iconic canons' aims more at a high degree of consensus than providing information. The images seem to interpret and reiterate architecture slogans exalting technological progress, concepts which spring from the pages of the specialist press, celebrating light weightedness, transparency, innovation, naturalness, sustainability. The vision which emerges is of a 'touched up' city requiring a more circumstantial and self-aware approach.

An interesting phenomenon is that relating to image 'migration', namely their transfer from official contexts to more marginal channels, web sites used by amateurs or laypeople. The *Skyscrapercity* web community mentioned above clocked up an average of around 300 users and message volumes of over 26,000 during the building of the Porta Nuova Garibaldi project. The Porta Nuova project story told in a Hines film on the company site (http://www.porta-nuova.com/filosofia/) also appears on anonymous user channels (http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=V5389KuXpYk) and in advertising by the studio which was entrusted with this role by Hines (http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yWWr6v-eAQc). What is interesting in these 'minor' channels of communication is the presence of opposition voices and criticisms of the official vision which highlight the limitations of the architecture and city planning solutions chosen and focus on hidden aspects. Comments of this sort, drawn from the *Vivi e progetta un altra Milano* discussion channel are commonplace: "*Certainly… and do you think that the fabulous bird's eye views of the project with happy people strolling through an enormous park with*

birds cheeping is an objective vision rather than an advertising campaign… WAKE UP!" (http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=96HLTmZ-Tu8) (Romanato 2015).

The communications structure of the web has a proliferation effect which derives from its technological characteristics. Thus messages are interpreted and disseminated at the same time as images which enter that flow space which juxtaposes with physical space and interacts with it. The critical comments on the subject of the liberal rhetoric sponsored by the large scale urban work done in the Milan area are numerous. The following illustrate themes which are commonplace and reiterated:

> If building skyscrapers means 'Americanisation', 'emulation' then I agree with you!! If building skyscrapers is an intelligent way of building whilst leaving space for large green areas and not building over more and more land, then I welcome them. If others have got there before us, we're the ones who are too dumb to have got there sooner and who are still eating up land which seems even more wrong to me! (posted by "dreamjay" on 12.12.08)
>
> Enough of this provincialism taken to extremes! We're an OLD and STATIC country. If we don't get a move on we'll end up like Greece, a Disneyland invaded by tourists who come here, take a photo in front of some ruins and then go home…. (posted by "franxit" on 11.12.08)
>
> I think the problem starts much earlier than this and is a matter of Italy's inability to attract the big multinationals and their offices. Years ago I saw that in comparison with other countries and G8 we were in numerical terms really at the bottom of the pile—and even more so if we consider the relatively large size of our economy. (posted by "Xesar" on 05.04.11)
>
> But the point is that Milan has been rebuilt before as well. Just remember that, by contrast with many other Italian cities, the Roman city—which was one of the Empire's great metropolises—was practically taken down brick by brick leaving almost no trace. It is a historic tendency of this city which economic development and war have certainly sped up. Today much of the work—including those posted—keep the city alive in continual renewal. What are rules for? I mean, a little flexibility increases the real estate value of property making its redevelopment paradoxically easier and more straightforward. (posted by "Eddard Stark" on 25.07.07) (Romanato 2015)

The debate has been continually supplemented and equipped with images which taken together show the extent to which the city is always under observation by means of photographs. These forums, including *MILANO|Foto, MILANO|Aggiornamento vari cantieri* also demonstrate an interesting point of view of the city which do not show up on the official communication channels. The web communities dealing with city related issues and urban transformations in a way which is very different from generic communities or social media resort very frequently to image based communication. The traditional communicative value of photos is here supplemented by the dynamic nature of inter-subjective communication between users targeting mutual exchanges of information, interpretations and comments operating on a prevalently ironic level. In other words it is evident that this medium contributes to generating and nurturing a user contribution continuum the outcome of which is the formation of social know-how which finds expression here. Thus building designs, panoramas, views and single photos converge in an image of the city, passing messages and contents on in a continuum with an urban

debate whose knowledge or criticism connotations would not otherwise come to the fore.

A relevant issue revolves around the immediate and widespread availability of urban images as the following post seems to synthesise:

> Thanks to everyone for the wonderful photos and updates but these two are incredible*-* *-* *-* I love Milan and you have no idea how much I'd love to live there. (posted by "nossiano" on 05.05.14).

The suburban dimension of the subject is thus projected onto the symbolic-emotional status of belonging to a community. In other words technological progress allows a demand for belonging to an urban dimension to be satisfied via the web without the need for full-blown citizenship, taking a purely social media part in the city experience.

The Porta Nuova case which emerges here only implicitly is emblematic of a vaster interaction dimension between urban images and web users which we could interpret as a social image building phenomenon. The attribution of personal and collective meanings is channeled into judgments on the city and its places, alternating positive and negative opinions, doubts and certainties and thus a debate on the city's future. It is in any case a fragmented collective imagination in which uniform aspirations amongst the multitude of subjects is difficult to detect. It can, however, be useful to take up the gauntlet of this challenge from below, from a variegated social urban image construction in that it is revealing of a dimension of the relationship which unites citizen and city. Direct and deeply felt expression of individual and group preferences prompt reflection on the ways in which emerging social demands sometimes conflict with the establishment's holographic constructions.

10.3 Conclusions

The objective of this paper has been to develop considerations on the main transformations which have taken place over the last ten years in Milan city under the aegis of Porta Nuova. The critical approach adopted is drawn from that sector of urban studies which looks at cities as the outcome of dynamics which encompass both physical and social spaces and focus in particular on the social practices which this dialectic develops. In analysing the ways in which the area studied has changed as a result of large scale real estate investment both public and private, the main focus of the paper has been the symbolic use which has taken place in the site, the building of a system of symbols and values belonging to the 'immaterial' sphere which have in any case played a decisive part in urban spatial organization. The paper has attempted to give a view of the plurality of approaches to the formation of a new urban image by the project's stakeholders, citizens and users and lastly by the new digital communication channels.

Communication technologies in fact play an important role in social and urban space formation as they are capable of conveying an imaginative and pro-active dimension via the web including alternatives to the establishment view. With the term 'visualising' chosen for the title of this paper the intention has been to synthesise the diverse processes which have channeled images, ideas and visions of the future of the city of Milan. The specific case of the Porta Nuova project has taken on an importance which goes beyond the district dimension, however vast in size, and communicated the desire for investors, the local government and part of public opinion to generate a new way for Milan city and Italy as a whole. The role of representation and images has been central to this process: from the vision of web debate promoters in which a 'desire for city' has taken shape which has showed itself capable of generating new scenarios via non official channels.

A demand for a sense of belonging to an urban dimension which is not always coherent with full-blown citizenship seems to have emerged from blogs and dedicated debate forums giving free expression to an essentially social media involvement in the urban experience. In other words it would seem to be possible to argue that these new channels of communication, nurtured over time by a continuity of intervention by users, contributes to generating knowledge which takes the explicit form of social image building—or a plurality of urban images. In this sense the analytical parameters at the heart of this case study could usefully be employed in parallel enquiries on other large scale urban transformation work at least on a European scale, the dimension which Milan city belongs to.

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Chapter 11
Participatory Approaches in the Qualification of Semi-urbanised Peri-urban Areas: The Case of the Odivelas *Vertente Sul* Area

Isabel Raposo, José Luís Crespo and Joana Pestana Lages

11.1 Introduction

Public participation in planning is nowadays a requirement in all European and national recommendations, it is mentioned in legislation and in political and technical discourse, and it is called for, at national level, since Decree-Law no. 380/99 and the amendments thereto. A practical finding underlies it: the planning system in force fails to respond to the growing complexity of territorial issues. In this framework, the involvement of all actors, including local populations, through consultation, negotiation and consensus-seeking actions, emerges as a condition to finding the most adequate urbanistic options and to ensuring their implementation.

Participation is called for by the emancipatory and transformative discourse that defends a more diversified, innovative and democratic city, with better redistribution of resources, less social imbalance, greater social cohesion, allowing greater autonomy. But participation is also demanded by the dominant, neo-liberal and conservative discourse, which defends competitiveness and the concentration of surpluses in the privileged zones, established norms and co-opting. When it comes to intervention in territories marked by strong factors of social and territorial vulnerability, participation is seen to be more pressing, yet it is at the same time more

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difficult and contradictory. In such cases there is an increasingly sharp conflict between the use value claimed by residents and the exchange value sought by real estate interests.

As a contribution to the theoretical and empirical discussion of public participation in the planning of marginal urban areas, we shall undertake here a critical reflection on this issue, with reference to a specific case, the *Vertente Sul* area (South Slope) of the Odivelas municipality in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area. This area incorporates five neighbourhoods that resulted from non-legal allotment of rural land in the 1970s, which were delimited in 2002 as Urban Areas of Illegal Genesis (AUGI—*Áreas Urbanas de Génese Ilegal*), as per Law no. 91/95. The territory was the target of two urban instruments, an Urbanisation Plan (PU—*Plano de Urbanização*) and a Territorial Action Programme (PAT—*Plano de Acção Territorial*), developed in the framework of an application for European Union funding, and approved in 2009: the *Acção por Lisboa* Programme, *Parcerias para a Regeneração Urbana da Vertente Sul de Odivelas* (Joint Ventures for the Urban Regeneration of Odivelas South Slope). Among a wide range of other actions, this Programme wanted to boost discussion of the two urbanistic instruments under elaboration for the area (PU and PAT), and entrusted this to Gestual,[1] a research and action collective in the Faculty of Architecture of which the authors of this paper are members. As actors in this participatory process, we resorted to a "observing while doing" methodology, with constant self-reflection and self-assessment of our actions. We held regular internal discussions at Gestual; discussions with the Programme partners; regular self-assessment of the public actions we set in motion; made communications in international scientific forums; published collective papers in scientific journals; and we have two Ph.D. theses nearing conclusion.[2]

Four years on since the authors mediated public participation in Vertente Sul, this paper reflects on the participatory approaches designed and implemented, both in the framework of the AUGI Law and in the *Acção por Lisboa* Programme, with a view to public discussion of the PU and the PAT. We shall explore here the hiatus created at three levels of the participatory process: (i) at the level of the legal framework of participation, i.e., between the participatory dynamic developed by the AUGI Law procedures and the dynamic set in motion by the University team in the framework of the *Acção por Lisboa* Programme; (ii) at the level of the binomial design/implementation of public participation, i.e., between the intention to

[1]Socio-territorial, Urban and Local Action Study Group (GESTUAL—*Grupo de Estudos Socio-Territoriais, Urbanos e de Acção Local*) at the Architecture, Urbanism and Design Research Centre (CIAUD—*Centro de Investigação em Arquitectura Urbanismo e Design*) of the Faculty of Architecture of the University of Lisbon (FAUL).

[2]Besides the report elaborated for the Odivelas City Council (Raposo 2013), three collective papers were published: one centred on Vertente Sul (Raposo et al. 2012) and the other two on a comparative study with other cases in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area and in Maputo (Raposo and Jorge 2013, 2016); two Ph.D. theses are nearing conclusion, taking this case as one of its empirical references (Lages 2012; Valente 2012).

promote it and the blocks to its practical implementation; (iii) at the level of the model and participation techniques and their impact on qualification of the territory as well as in democratic interaction between the diverse actors and agents involved. We are interested in identifying the limitations and virtues of participatory approaches, from Lefebvre's transformative perspective of the Right to the City (1968), and its main meaning of the 'Right to the Work' (*Droit à l'Oeuvre*), that is to say, the right of the inhabitants to be co-authors of the transformation of the place where they live.

In addition to the notion of participation and to this central reference to the Right to the City, this paper, refers to another structuring notion—Social Arena—which anchored the research-action we did on Vertente Sul and grounded the texts previously published. In this framework, the participation approaches brought into action under AUGI Law and under the *Acção por Lisboa* Programme are seen as elements of a territorialised social arena[3] and the various actors at play position themselves with regard to this arena. The reflection is centred on analysing the complex processes of public participation in the planning and qualification of peri-urban territories.

Our reflection is structured around two main points: in the first, we study from a diachronic and theoretical point of view the emergence of the inclusion of public participation in the planning and qualification of marginal urban territories, in parallel with the notion of Right to the City; in the second, we study the mechanisms of public participation set in motion in the case of Vertente Sul, under AUGI Law and under the *Acção por Lisboa* Programme, and we assess the impact of such mechanisms in the present situation of Vertente Sul.

11.2 Public Participation and the Right to the City

For our critical re-interpretation of the participation process in Vertente Sul, we relied on the transformative notion of the 'Right to the City' introduced by Henri Lefebvre (1968), which accords it three meanings: (i) the right of all city dwellers to have access to urban services; (ii) the right of all to a renewed centrality, with places for meeting and festivities, and to a more democratic city, governed by use value; (iii) and the right of all to active participation in the transformation of the city, as co-authors of that transformation. It is in this sense of 'Right to the Work' (*Droit à l'Oeuvre*) that we approach the notion of participation. We start with an overview of the contribution of the antecedents of modern urbanism; next, we look into the conditions attending the emergence and affirmation of the notions of participation

[3]The notion of the Arena has been evoked since the 1950s by authors in the Social Sciences. It was revisited in the 1990s for the study of rural development processes from an interactionist, author-oriented point of view (Long 1992; Olivier de Sardan 1995), and appropriated at the turn of the millennium by socio-urbanistic approaches to interpret complex processes of urbanistic intervention (Healey 2005).

and Right to the City, focussing on intervention in marginal urban areas with some examples from Portugal; and, lastly, we systematise different points of view on participation, its virtues and limitations.

11.2.1 Contributions by the Antecedents of Modern Urbanism

To begin this reflection, it is worthwhile going back to the origins of modern urbanism, to the moment when, according to Benevolo (1979, p. 52), the concentration of misery in the urban space acquires such magnitude that it causes "not only discomfort but also [social] protest." In the first half of the nineteenth century, urban studies [*urbanística*] cease to be at the exclusive service of absolute power, and start wanting to contribute, in Benevolo's words, towards all classes having access to the "potential benefits of the industrial revolution", as well as towards a "compromise between the forces at play" and the "construction of a democratic community."[4] (*id*. p. 53, 55).

The first and second meanings Henri Lefebvre attributes to the Right to the City are expressed above, but there is no reference to the right to participation. The early-nineteenth-century utopian visionaries of socialist urbanism—Saint-Simon, Owen, Fourier or Godin—criticise class society and the emergent industrial city, and they outline global visions of a more harmonious society, with better living conditions for all, yet they do not involve the target population in the creation of their models. These utopian urban systems were not anchored on social action, nor, as Marx and Engels affirmed at the time (1973/1848, p. 137, 138), "on the historical conditions of emancipation of the proletariat."[5]

The later half of the nineteenth century is marked by reinforcement of the technical dimension of urbanism in various European capitals, connected with major works of urban renovation and extension in the service of the dominant powers (as Haussmann in Paris, or Ressano Garcia in Lisbon), contributing to the sharpening of spatial inequality. The paternalistic answers, of a philanthropic, humanist and reformist character, which emerge to assuage growing social conflicts, bring improvements in housing conditions and in urban services for the poor. However, as Benevolo points out, they do not incorporate the socioeconomic dimension and the democratic approach of previous socialist utopians (1979, p. 113, 146–147, 158), and they are quite removed from the notion of participation.

[4]Translation from the Spanish edition: "*no solo la incomodidad, sino inclusive la protesta*", "*beneficios potenciales de la revolución industrial*", "*compromiso entre las fuerzas en juego*", "*construcción de una comunidad democrática*".

[5]Translation from the Spanish edition "*en las condiciones históricas de la emancipación* […] *del proletariado*". Marx and Engels, whose understanding was that the resolution of the housing and urban problem depended on change of the capitalist social relations of production, do not conceive any alternative to the model of the industrial city.

The most innovative urbanistic contribution of the late nineteenth century was Ebenezer Howard's, with his global concept of the Garden City,[6] encompassing and integrating the benefits of the rural and urban worlds and, above all, as Lewis Munford refers, based on a notion of "inalienable property" controlled by the municipality. Howard (1969, p. 102) says specifically: "the lands surrounding the 'Garden City' are not in private hands: they are in the hands of the people and must be managed not to serve the supposed interests of a minority, but according to the true interests of the entire community." And he states explicitly (*id*. p. 105): "the people as a collectivity owns the land."[7] This "radical proposition of the common ownership of land" made by Howard[8] was recently emphasised by Ross and Cabannes (2014), in a Manifesto where they revive the values of the Garden City[9] on a basis of citizenship and empowerment absent at the dawn of the twentieth century, based on charity and paternalism.[10]

Howard's utopian and transformative vision was superseded in the second half of the twentieth century by the reformist and elitist vision expressed in the Charter of Athens of 1933, elaborated in the third International Congress on Modern Architecture (CIAM). Defending a functionalist, rationalist approach, then prevalent in many fields of knowledge, modern architects, "voluntarist and clairvoyant", set out to resolve the problems of "the machinist civilisation" and of "the world's accelerated mutation" (Le Corbusier 1957, p. 91), so as to ensure the good functioning of society and of the capitalist industrial city. In the name of progress and hygiene and anchored on a technocratic vision, they defend the demolition of unsanitary, historical or peripheral neighbourhoods (*id*., p. 24), save for a few exceptions (*id*., p. 66–69). We are still quite far from the right of all to a democratic city or from participation in urban transformation. The modernist and functionalist postulates, serving well the capitalist system and generating strong urban segregation, will become dominant from the second quarter of the twentieth century, extending to the entire urban world, with the reconstruction that followed WWII. Its normative guidelines persist today in many urban regulations and in urbanistic operations and they constitute an instrument for strong political or economic powers.

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[6]The second edition of his book *Garden Cities of Tomorrow* came out in 1902 (Howard 1969). The title of the first edition (1898) is: *Tomorrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform*.

[7]In Lewis Munford's preface written in 1945 to Howard's book (1969, p. xli–xliii) Translation from the French edition: "*les terrains qui entourent 'Cité-Jardin' ne sont pas dans les mains de personnes privées: ils sont dans les mains du peuple, et doivent être administrés non dans l'intérêt supposé d'une minorité, mais selon les intérêts véritables de la communauté entière*", "*le peuple en tant que collectivité possède le sol*".

[8]Private property is the core of capitalist society, from the Marxist point of view (Marx and Engels 1973/1848, p. 140).

[9]This proposal for common ownership of land was replicated in the emancipating notion of the Community Land Trust (CLT), implemented since the 1960s throughout the United States, Canada and the United Kingdom and emerging world wide.

[10]This Manifesto includes three principles that had not been part of early twentieth century claims: "direct democracy", "participatory planning and design methods" and "the Right to the City".

11.2.2 From the Critique of Modernism to the Emergence and Affirmation of the Notions of Participation and Right to the City

Criticism of the alienating functionalism of the Modern Movement arose since the 9th CIAM of 1953, at Aix-en-Provence (Bonillo et al. 2006), declared by a new generation of architects, more open to social and cultural preoccupations and organised worldwide as the Team-Ten, which observed the de-structuring and excluding effects of the "renovation" operations in urban centres and of the massive post-war rehousing in the peripheries. Since then, through the 1960s and 1970s, architects, urbanists and social scientists multiplied their criticism of modernist postulates, of vertical decision-making processes, and of capitalist cities, increasingly more extensive and unequal, marked by poverty in their immense peripheries. There is a surge of new programmes and projects, alternative in formal terms and procedures, more or less emancipating, which embody social preoccupations, residents' initiatives and participation. Diverse authors and professionals defend participatory processes in urban planning and development, specifically in poor and marginalised neighbourhoods, albeit with different interpretations according to ideological positions.

Davidoff (1965) gained a following in the USA as a lawyer, city planner, activist and lecturer, defending professional assistance and advocacy planning to disadvantaged groups and low-income communities. In London, the report of the Skeffington Committee (1969) proposed ways of informing and involving the wider public in the formulation of development plans and in decision-making processes. Chombart de Lauwe (1971) was one of the first sociologists in France that railed against the technocratic supremacy, and he backed the aspirations of the population, defending its active participation in the construction of the city. In Italy, de Carlo (2005), a member of Team-Ten, was one of the first architects who defended, at theoretical and empirical level, residents' participation in project design, without abdicating from his functions as architect (Bandeirinha 2007, p. 35). Between 1964 and 1974, he rehabilitated a workers' compound, Vila Matteotti, in Urbino, Italy, involving the residents in the choice of the project premises most adequate to their needs. Turner (1980) worked for several years in Peru's popular neighbourhoods, where he witnessed the building inventiveness of urban periphery populations, and he was more radical in defending a bottom-up approach to participation and specifically to local housing promotion, criticising public promotion, which he saw as too distant from local practices.

At the end of the 1960s, there was an surge of various urban social movements and urban struggles, of which the May 1968 in Paris had the most far-reaching impact. Residents claimed infrastructures, housing and their right to the place. They organised against operations of gentrification and renovation of central areas. They called on militant students and architects to design alternatives, as in the case of l'Alma-Gare, in the outskirts of Lille (Talpin 2013). Associations were formed to safeguard memory-rich places, as in the case surrounding the destruction of the

Petite Roquette prison in Paris, which gathered a large number of intellectuals (Bandeirinha 2007, p. 37). It was in this effervescent period, of subversion against the mercantilisation of the city and against the *status quo*, shortly before the May 1968, that Henri Lefebvre, a visionary, a sociology professor at the University of Paris X, Nanterre (where the student movement broke out), published his manifesto on the Right to the City.

The 1973 oil crisis breaks down these movements and experiments and installs a new neoliberal order, which accentuates inequality and draws architects and urbanists apart from the excluded. In Portugal, the April 74 Revolution will extend this period three years more; it will be marked in the field of architecture and urbanism by an innovative programme on slums, SAAL, to which we shall refer in the next section. In the 1980s, with structural adjustment programmes, privatisation and decentralisation of the state apparatus, the notion of participation in urban planning tends to be marginalised by a streamlined and technocratic planning system turned to large-scale planning of strategically-located areas; nevertheless it is incorporated into the dominant discourse in a conservative, top-down perspective. In the 1990s, with the increasing globalisation of neoliberal capitalism and the complexity of social and urban phenomena, the interdependence between actors and institutions increases. Sustainable development and citizens' participation are demanded, be it by more neoliberal or by more transformative voices. Some authors defend the creation of collaboration and dialogue mechanisms for the actors involved in planning (Healey 1997/2005). Others outline alternative development models advocating an increased role of civil society and its empowerment (Friedmann 1992). Urban social movements and civil society organisations regain political expression and dialogue among themselves and with governments and international organisations at national and international meetings.[11]

This new paradigm is sanctioned at the turn into the millennium by three documents issued by European bodies focussing on the two notions in discussion. The New Athens Charter, written in 1998 by the European Council of Urbanists and updated in 2003, focuses on residents and their aspirations, proposes a coherent vision of the city and a new system of governance involving citizens in decision-making procedures. Nonetheless, just as in the 1993 Athens Charter, and as Raposo (2016) points out, this "document has no answers […] for the great antagonism of interests and rationales between actors of very unequal resources, or for the great urban and regional, spatial and social asymmetries; it forgets, too, the vast, highly precarious peri-urban extensions, which […] are also present in European cities". In a more institutional approach, the *White Paper on*

[11]Such as the "2nd United Nations World Conference on the Environment and Development (1992, Rio de Janeiro); the 2nd United Nations Conference on Human Settlements (Habitat II 1996, Istambul); or the First World Assembly of Residents (in Spanish *Primera Asemblea Mundial de Pobladores* 2000, México)".

Governance,[12] issued in July 2001 by the European Commission (CCE 2001), integrates as one of its five principles the reinforcement of participation and the implication of citizens in the elaboration and application of its policies.

Taking a more transformative approach, the European Charter for the Protection of Human Rights in the City, elaborated in 2000[13] in the wake of international dialogue during the 1990s, defends the extension of human rights to all city dwellers. We highlight the Right to the City (Art. I) and the rights to political participation (Art. VIII), to information and to a harmonious, sustainable urbanism, whose responsibility falls to the municipal authorities (Art. XI).[14]

The idea of a World Charter for the Right to the City[15] was launched in 2001 at the first non-governmental World Social Forum. It was debated in later civil society forums, approved in 2004 by the World Urban Forum, Barcelona, and the Social Forum of the Americas, Quito, revised in 2005 at the World Social Forum, Porto Alegre, and published in 2005. This Charter commits not only national and local governments, parliament representatives and international organisations, but also social networks and organisations to implementing the Right to the City. This right is defined therein as: "the collective right of the inhabitants of cities, in particular of vulnerable and marginalised groups, that confers upon them legitimacy of action and organisation, based on their uses and customs, with the objective to achieve full exercise of the right to free self-determination and an adequate standard of living" (Art. I, §2). Underlying the Charter there is criticism of the rationale of the city as merchandise and it defends a set of principles favouring a "de-mercantilised" (*desmercantilizada*) city (Ribeiro and Santos Júnior 2010), among which we highlight: the city's social function and social property (Art. V §1) rather than the individual right to property (Art. II §2.4); the social production of habitat, including collectively organised self-managed processes (Art. II §1.1); "tenure regularisation and [the] improvement of precarious neighbourhoods and informal settlements" (Art. XIV §2); "protection against eviction, expropriation, or forced or arbitrary displacement" (Art. XIV, §7); the democratic management of cities (Art. IV §1.2); the creation of "institutionalised spaces for broad, direct, equitable and democratic participation by citizens in the processes of planning" (Art. III §1); the authorisation

[12]Available at: http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/PT/TXT/?uri=URISERV%3Al10109 (Accessed May 2016).

[13]Subscribed by the 96 cities taking part in the Saint-Denis Conference, May 2000. Available at: http://213.58.212.214/media/pdf/PDF20120723150310287.pdf (Accessed May 2016).

[14]Available at: http://saojoaodelreitransparente.com.br/laws/view/181 (Accessed May 2016).

[15]Available at: http://normativos.confea.org.br/downloads/anexo/1108-10.pdf (Accessed May 2016).

and recognition of "processes of popular initiative for submitting legislative bills and urban development plans" (Art. VIII, §1).[16]

This ambitious programme constitutes a new utopia—more anchored than two centuries ago on social action and on the historical conditions of the current citizens' emancipation process—a utopia that aggregates movements and fosters discussion on the Right to the City. Since then, the debate on this issue has intensified and spread, giving rise to multiple essays (HIC-AL 2010), to new Charts,[17] platforms,[18] manifestos and declarations. One such is the Declaration launched by the Global Platform for the Right to the City, in October 2015,[19] which calls for the inclusion of the Right to the City as a fundamental pillar of the New Urban Agenda of Habitat III (to be held in Quito, Ecuador, in October 2016), as a way of forcing all actors to take responsibility for its implementation and so that all citizens have the right to participate in political processes and city management. This imbrication of the Right to the City with the right to participation will serve to support our presentation of the Vertente Sul case study. Before we go into it, we shall focus on different visions of participation, different types of participation in planning, their virtues and limitations.

11.2.3 Perspectives and Types of Public Participation in Planning: Limitations and Virtues

Today, participation in planning is quite a widespread notion, not only in the various international documents already mentioned and other national ones, but also

[16]Translation from the Portuguese edition: "*o direito colectivo dos habitantes das cidades, em especial dos grupos vulneráveis e desfavorecidos, que lhes confere legitimidade de acção e organização, baseada em seus usos e costumes, com o objectivo de alcançar o pleno exercício do direito à livre autodeterminação e a um padrão de vida adequado*" (Art. 1, §2.); "*regularização fundiária e* [o] *melhoramentos de bairros precários e ocupações informais*" (Art. XIV §2); "*protecção contra despejos, expropriações e deslocamentos forçados ou arbitrários*" (art. XIV, §7); "*espaços institucionalizados para a participação ampla, directa, equitativa e democrática dos cidadãos no processo de planejamento*" (Art. III §1), "*processos de iniciativa popular na proposição de projectos de lei e de planos de desenvolvimento urbano*" (Art. VIII, §1).

[17]Rio Charter (*Carta do Rio*) approved at the 5th World Urban Forum (Fórum Mundial Urbano—FMU), which took place in March 2010 in Rio de Janeiro, and Rio Charter: in neighbourhoods and worlds, struggling for the Right to the City, for urban democracy and justice (*Carta do Rio: nos bairros e nos mundos, em luta pelo direito à cidade, pela democracia e justiças urbanas*) approved by the Urban Social Forum (*Fórum Social Urbano*—FSU) integrating social movements and civil society organisations gathered at the same date and venue. Available at: http://www.hic-al.org/eventos.cfm?evento=908&id_categoria=12 (Accessed May 2016).

[18]Global Platform for the Right to the City launched in November 2014 in São Paulo (Brazil), at an International Meeting on the Right to the City (*Encontro Internacional sobre Direito à Cidade*). Available at: http://www.righttothecityplatform.org.br/publicacoes/?lang=pt (Accessed May 2016).

[19]Available at: http://hic-al.org/eventos.cfm?evento=1916&id_categoria=7 (Accessed May 2016).

in countless reflections by scholars, professionals and politicians. The notion incorporates different meanings and approaches and diverging implementations, some of them more top-down and conservative, others more bottom-up and transformative.

The conservative perspectives on participatory processes tend to view citizens as a homogeneous public and to define the same standard for all participatory practices. When one understands social and territorial reality as heterogeneous, defining the methodology of participation requires knowledge of the groups involved, of their territory and of their goals. For Sanoff (2011, p. 15) "conceptualizing the issue means asking simple questions: who, what, where, how, and when?" In a more emancipatory view, beyond the question Sanoff makes, "Who are the parties to be involved in participation?" we should ask, from the perspective of social movements of the 1960–70s: "Who started the process of participation?" For Hochet and Aliba (1995), participation in the development of rural areas means involvement of structure support to the achievements decided by communities and not the reverse, usually the dominant point of view of planning structures.

This paper analyses participation as a social arena where actors with different positions and interests confront each other (Olivier de Sardan 1995), creating consensus or dissensus. As Guerra says (2006, p. 32), from the point of view of frame theory, "agreement is not formed mechanically, or haphazardly, but with reference to a small number of representations and interests that guide the actors' behaviours."[20] According to this author, considering participation as an act of "being there jointly"[21] (Guerra 2006, p. 45), the notion of conflict is part and parcel of participated processes and it requires resilience from the participants and specifically from the technicians in conflict mediation and in the collective construction of consensus (Guerra 2010). Sharing the experience of consensus construction is regarded by the author as a way of fostering *empowerment* and the involvement of citizens in the decision-making processes.

We can identify different types of participation according to the level of involvement of citizens in the processes of planning. Vasconcelos (2007) distinguishes two major types: passive and active. Passive participation is associated with actions such as information and consultation of populations, and generally corresponds to the final phase of processes, after the determinant decisions have been made by technicians and politicians. Cases in point are public audiences where those present can be heard, can get information and clear doubts about the process under discussion, yet do not take part in decisions. Active participation supposes dynamic interaction among all external and internal participants, or technicians and community, through every phase of the process, from the earliest phases of defining strategies to decision-making. In this type of participation, communication and

[20]Translation from the Portuguese edition: "*a formação de acordos não se faz mecanicamente, nem ao acaso, mas em referência a um pequeno número de representações e de interesses que orientam as condutas dos actores*".

[21]Translation from the Portuguese edition: "*estar em conjunto*".

dialogue among those involved is promoted, in the form of conversation, open or small group meetings, as well as collective work sessions, facilitating a result conforming better to local objectives and to empowerment of communities.

White (1996) develops a finer distinction considering four types of participation: nominal, instrumental, representative, and transformative, the first two being more passive and the last two more active. Nominal participation refers to supporting marginalised groups or groups from marginalised territories without including their participation in the process of identifying their needs and interests or of improving their situation. A recent example, promoted by the Lisbon City Council in 2013, is the project "A square in each neighbourhood. Interventions in public space",[22] aimed at qualifying a few non-descript Lisbon squares and at promoting areas for interaction between users, services, commerce and transports. In this case, residents are merely informed of what will happen in their neighbourhood square.

Instrumental participation refers to having the community participate only as labour to carry out a project, without including it in making decisions about the project. It is a way of overcoming scarce financing resources, in poor areas, with communities that are not empowered. One example of this type of participation is the project *Soe Ker Tie House*, or Butterfly House, designed by a group of architecture students, TYIN *Tegnestue Architects,* to expand an orphanage in the small village of Noh Bo, in Tak, Thailand. Built between November 2008 and February 2009, construction was done with private investment and involved the local population as skilled labour, using bamboo to reduce costs.[23]

Representative participation refers to involving citizens in a specific decision-making process, relating to a project or small-scale intervention that the group find interesting; it may be a one-time action or part of a broader project. In Portugal, the Critical Neighbourhoods Initiative Programme, launched in 2005 by the State Secretary for Local Administration and Town and Country Planning, was implemented in three neighbourhoods applying a participatory methodology, with a differentiated outcome in each of them. Even though it was based on highly structured participatory engineering, the case of Cova da Moura, in Amadora, Lisbon Metropolitan Area, failed to accomplish its main, consensual goals of land ownership regularisation and urban qualification. Nonetheless, in the first six-month period dedicated to the collective construction of a diagnosis and a local action plan, all residents were called on to discuss and approve those instruments (Vasconcelos 2007).

Transformative participation refers to the processes of active participation, which favour collectively-desired material change and stimulate the emancipatory transformations of each agent involved. Here, everybody reaches toward the same goal, everybody is involved in the process from the start: they work together, discuss the

[22]Translation from the Portuguese edition: "Uma praça em cada bairro. Intervenções em espaço público". Available at: http://www.cm-Lisbon.pt/viver/urbanism/espaco-publico/uma-praca-em-cada-neighbourhood (Accessed June 2016).

[23]TYIN (n.d.) Soe Ker Tie House. Available at: http://www.tyinarchitects.com/works/soe-ker-tie-house/skth-projectdescription/ (Accessed December 2015).

paths ahead together, and they make decisions together. The SAAL (Local Support Ambulatory Service—*Serviço Ambulatório de Apoio Local*), launched in Portugal in August 1974, in the aftermath of the April revolution, embodied this type of transformative participation. Implemented by the State Secretariat of Housing and Urbanism, under the direction of Architect Nuno Portas, this initiative fit in with the theories of participated intervention of the 1960s and 70s, and it aimed to respond to the housing shortage of the time through an interactive dynamic process, integrating a wide range of actors: from the populations of 'shanty towns' (self-produced with few resources), who claimed their right to housing, to their representatives, to residents' associations, to technicians from the local teams and from the central services of the municipalities, to politicians and to the April Revolution military. The communities streamlined or actively collaborated as co-authors, in producing their home spaces, from the design to the construction phase, resorting at times to self-construction; and their opinions mattered in the processes of collective decision. The precedence given to residents' associations over legislative power, maintaining a horizontal and occasionally *bottom-up* approach, made this experience unique and a reference in participation projects in Portugal and Europe (Bandeirinha 2007).

The revolutionary moment in which SAAL emerged shaped its emancipatory character: everyone involved shared the same goal of creating the best housing conditions for the residents of poor neighbourhoods self-produced on the fringes of Portuguese cities; everyone, exhausted by the 40 years of dictatorship, believed in the transformative force of collective work. This moment was unique: participatory processes bear the signs of the more bureaucratic or more emancipatory contexts in which they arise, and of the visions, rationales and interests of the agents. The assessment or monitoring of these processes allows us to identify their strengths but also a nexus of frailties that tend to be repeated, and making them explicit may serve as warning in future experiences.

Crespo (2010, 2013) systematised some of the recurrent limitations in participatory processes: (i) the barriers created by politicians and technicians who regard involvement of inhabitants in planning as a threat and questioning of their power; (ii) little acceptance of citizens' opinions and contributions by technicians in charge of urban planning, who put to discussion only a few, isolated procedures; (iii) difficulties in managing conflicts that may arise during the public participation processes; (iv) devaluation belittling the act of participating in decision-making processes; (v) the low level of information of some communities, which may inhibit participation; (vi) and the material, human, economic and time resources, required to set in motion this type of initiative.

Despite the limits on participation experiments in technocratic and neoliberal contexts, we can point out some of the advantages of public participation in urban planning processes. According to Crespo (*ibid.*) the following may be observed: (i) there is greater facility in gathering trustworthy information through a participated process, in which the inhabitants are co-actors of the transformation and know local problems and aspirations, contributing thus to create more appropriate solutions to local diagnoses and desires; (ii) the involvement of inhabitants in

participated processes reinforces their capacitation as more active citizens, with greater awareness of the problems besetting the territory they inhabit; (iii) participated processes contribute to recognition of participation as a right of any citizen; (iv) they also foster equality in the power to have a say in the interventions that occur in a collective context.

Implicit in a participation process are the "envelop and educate" actions Crespo mentions (2003), applying not only to the community but all involved parties. The goals are to raise collective awareness of local problems, to set in motion collective action based on team work, to build consensus, to manage dissents and joint decision-making regarding intervention and territorial planning. In the case of communities with low level of access to training and information, the mediation body may have to invest in closing those gaps, namely through the promotion of spaces for dialogue that may foster participation in collective actions (Vasconcelos 2007).

In our next point, we shall contribute to this brief reflection on visions, on types, on the limitations and virtues of participatory processes, starting from the Vertente Sul case study approached from the critical standpoint of construction of the Right to the City.

11.3 Participatory Processes in the Reconversion and Qualification of Vertente Sul, Odivelas

Vertente Sul, in the Odivelas municipality (VSO), on a north-facing steep slope, is located in the southernmost part of the municipality and comprises five neighbourhoods with an area of about 120 ha, resulting from an allotment of rural plots made in the 1970s, outside the laws in force. These "clandestine plots" were bought in indivisible fractions (*avos indivisos*), at low cost, by the present owners, who proceeded to build without any licences their family home, or housing for rent, or business premises. During the 1980s, the Loures City Council gave the residents support regarding the infrastructures of their neighbourhoods. In 1994, however, the Municipal Development Master Plan (PDM—*Plano Director Municipal*)[24] of the Loures Municipality, which at the time encompassed the current Odivelas Municipality, classified part of this territory as ineligible for reconversion—"Urban space subject to the attribution of the status of Temporary Maintenance" (Art. 54 in the PDM by-laws), because of geotechnical and flooding risks, and set down "an order of priority for resettlement of the population"[25] (Art. 54). Given local

[24]This situation did not have the benefit of any substantial alteration in the revision and approval of the new Odivelas Municipal master plan (PDM) (http://www.cm-odivelas.pt/index.php/pdm. Accessed May 2016).

[25]Translation from the Portuguese edition: "*Espaço urbano sujeito à atribuição de estatuto de manutenção Temporária*"; "uma ordem de prioridade para o realojamento das populações".

dissatisfaction with this intention and the lack of public means to carry out the operation, an initiative of local associations and municipal technicians applied for various juridical and programmatic mechanisms with a view to dealing with this situation and achieving the land and urbanistic regularisation of this territory. We shall look specifically into the AUGI Law and the EU-financed *Por Lisboa* Programme, which integrate, each one in its way, the notion of participation. We shall look into them over the next two points, and in the end we shall take stock of the impact of the priority actions implemented.

11.3.1 Participation Mechanisms Within the AUGI Law

Wanting to guarantee their right to place and secure a juridical framework for the urbanistic reconversion of the five neighbourhoods, in 2002, the owners of plots in indivisible fractions [*avos indivisos*], legally acquired in Odivelas' Vertente Sul, proposed to the municipality the delimitation of each neighbourhood as Urban Areas of Illegal Genesis (Áreas Urbanas de Génese Ilegal—AUGI), as provided in Law no. 91/95.[26]

This juridical regime (Art. 55) imputes the "duty of [urbanistic] reconversion" to owners and/or co-owners, who, with the municipality's support, take on chief responsibility for reconversion of the plots: the aim is to find more appropriate solutions but also to respond to the reduction of public responsibility, in the neoliberal environment in which the Law was elaborated. As we mentioned in an earlier paper (Raposo and Valente 2010, p. 223, 224 e 233), the (co)owners "duty of reconversion" helps to diminish the duties and responsibilities of reconversion of the other actors, who are not subject to sanctions, be they the central administration itself or clandestine plot dealers.

By making the "duty of reconversion" mandatory to (co)owners, the Law institutionalises, bureaucratises and de-politicises their participation. Institutionalisation turns on the creation of the juridical figure of a Joint Administration (*Administração Conjunta*) (Art. 8), which integrates the (co)owners of each AUGI, but leaves out the tenants: being grounded on the dogma of private property, only the owners of plots in fractions (be they residents or not) may take part in discussions about the reconversion process of the territory. Each joint administration elects its Committee (CAC—*Comissão de Administração Conjunta*), which represents it and conducts the AUGI reconversion process. In the case of Odivelas Vertente Sul each of the five AUGI elected their CAC, and four of them contracted the same technical team, with which they established a strong relationship of trust.

The dynamic of participation depends on the characteristics of the territory (with more or less conditioning factors) and on the occupation (more or less dense, and

[26]In accordance with this Law, the AUGI are "clandestine plots" eligible for urbanistic reconversion in the terms of said Law, of the PDM in force and of other urbanistic instruments.

classified as principal or secondary residence), on the resident social groups (with more or less resources, owners or tenants), as well as on the party-political context, and the commitment and conviction of politicians, of municipal and CAC technicians, and of the (co)owners themselves and their representatives. In the case of Vertente Sul, the territory, partly classified as ineligible for reconversion because it is located in environmental risk zones, did not hold hopes for a speedy urbanistic reconversion process. Moreover, the high density of construction in some of the neighbourhoods (in particular Serra da Luz), with a great number of high-rise buildings and a high proportion of tenants, complicated designing a solution and did not favour involvement by the residents, since a large proportion (to wit, tenants) were excluded from the outset.

In this case, it was the strong commitment of the principal actors—politicians, municipal technicians, and particularly the technicians in charge of the local technical office (DRIAC/EPRUAC),[27] the CAC and their technical team—over more than ten years of close interaction that made possible creating a dynamic of interactive reconversion and qualification of the territory. Before this joint effort, Vertente Sul was regarded by many municipal technicians as a place to be demolished and renovated for higher-income classes. We must highlight the proactive and strong-willed role played by the local municipal office, installed in one of the neighbourhoods, more markedly as from 2008, when a change of direction placed a greater political thrust on reconversion of the VSO; we should also notice the close relation it established with the CAC and its capacity for mediation with other municipal technicians and politicians.

Through the long process of reconversion of a territory classified as ineligible for reconversion, which unfolded in the framework of the AUGI Law, the CACs of the five AUGI and above all their leaders emerged as decisive actors in a process of active participation by civil society in the transformation of its own territory. Moreover, they knew how to bring together a quality technical team, made up of one solicitor and one architect, knowledgeable about the Law's intricacies and the urbanistic procedures applying specifically to this case, which strengthened the capacity for local action.

The capacity for initiative and the creativity in leadership and relations with neighbours of some of the CAC presidents in Vertente Sul was decisive to the advancement of this process. We must praise the determination they invested in their common goal of staying on in their place, and achieving the urbanistic and juridical reconversion of the territory, driven by the defence of their collective and individual interest (to leave legal patrimony to their children). The team work among the five CACs reinforced their capacity for action and their knowledge of the reconversion mechanisms. However, this new knowledge was closely held by the

[27]Initially entitled Critical Areas Requalification and Insertion Division (DRIAC—*Divisão de Requalificação e Inserção de Áreas Críticas*), later it was renamed Urban Reconversion of Critical Areas Project Team (EPRUAC—*Equipa de Projecto de Reconversão Urbana de Áreas Críticas*).

local leaders, who drove the process and entered into dialogue with external actors, technicians and politicians; it was not extended to all the residents as a whole.

In a previous paper (Raposo and Valente 2010, p. 227), we discussed the role of the CACs in mobilising the involvement of the (co)owners, which entails, in formal terms, holding owners' and co-owners' meetings (*assembleias*) and reporting accounts. The General Meetings usually convened yearly are a milestone in the reconversion process, but their procedure, mostly top-down, does not favour active participation by the owners, who delegate decision-makings to the CACs and their private technical teams. The AUGI Law specifies the legal procedures that must be complied with in running such meetings as an occasion for information and deliberation, "but nothing is said about the way they function as a venue for training and public discussion, for collective negotiation and construction of strategies and proposals"[28] (*ibid.*).

Besides that, the technical jargon employed is inaccessible to most participants; legislation is complied with but hierarchical relations are reproduced at local scale; the information and training indispensable to active participation are not implemented, nor are other actions set in motion to involve all in the construction of their common good. This lack of experimentation in new forms of interaction is partly compensated with the time and attention dedicated by a few of the leaders to owners and residents of their neighbourhoods, with local visits and weekly attendance to the public.

The active participation of (co)owners depends largely on the implementation of the goals and proposals approved at the meetings and on the transparency and probity of the CACs in their management of the money contributions of each (co) owner; but it depends, too, on the relationship of trust and greater proximity that each CAC and, particularly, its president, establishes with each (co)owner, on the probity and knowledge they bring to this process.

Nevertheless, the protracted time of reconversion hampers mobilisation. The long time required by the process, and specifically the delay in the elaboration of the PU (terms of reference in 2008 foresaw a 180-day deadline, not counting the time allotted for analysis and debate) contribute to loss of motivation and alienation of the owners and to lack of interest in the tenants, the latter being excluded at the outset from the process by the AUGI Law.

We present below a concrete example of involvement of the population in technical issues. In March 2015 Odivelas Municipality presented at AUGI's General Meetings the results of a study on flood protection. The chief concern was the high number of houses located in a flood-prone area, on the Costa River riverbank. Public perception of environmental risks, in particular VSO's flood-prone area delineation, diverged from the technicians'. In interviews, residents would recall the flood in 1967, which caused around 700 deaths in Greater

[28]Translation from the Portuguese edition: "*mas nada é dito sobre o seu funcionamento enquanto palco de formação e discussão pública, de negociação e de construção colectiva de estratégias e propostas*".

Lisbon, however they doubt if this area was still in risk. They allege that recent urban transformations like the CRIL motorway, or even the implementation of Dolce Vita, the biggest shopping centre of the Iberian Peninsula both massive infrastructures nearby, changed the river flow. This lived dimension of risk's assessment was confirmed by the analysis of the consequences of flooding in a more recent study made by National Laboratory for Civil Engineering (LNEC). Beyond the recognition of LNEC as a credited public institution for technological research, this input in the process aimed also to give population a clear understanding of flood risks.

The presentation of the study's key results was made under the assembly of all five AUGI's therefore only plot owners were present. This option excludes 48% of all residents; according to data from October 2015 of the unit in charge, the Urbanistic Management Department—*Sector de Reconversão Urbana de Áreas Críticas*'. For an aged population of plot owners, most of them landlords, the presentation was difficult to follow. Although an effort was made to edit the technical information, the presentation was still uncomprehended for most of them. The integration of complex concepts related to technological engineering approaches and geomorphologic concepts withdrew people from a successful engagement with flood hazard mitigation options that can influence the forthcoming urban masterplan.

11.3.2 Participation Instruments Set in Motion for Discussion of the PU and the PAT

The road to reconversion of these neighbourhoods turned out to be particularly complex given the need to find a legal and procedural framework for the reconversion that permitted circumventing the constraints stipulated in the PDM. To that end, and in order to speed up the legalisation and reconversion process, the collective of the CAC and its technical team in collaboration with the local office of the Odivelas City Council decided to promote the elaboration of an Urbanisation Plan (PU) and of a Territorial Action Programme (PAT).[29] In 2008 they invited tenders for elaboration of the PU, encompassing the five AUGI and surrounding territory (a total of 161 ha); it will be awarded to a private contractor under technical supervision by the DRIAC and financed jointly by the Joint Administrations; it was foreseen then that the PAT will be run as an instrument for execution of the PU. However, in that same year, in order to speed up the area's regeneration, the municipality approved the elaboration of an Action Programme, launched within the framework of an application for European Union funding through the National Strategic Reference Framework (QREN—*Quadro de Referência Estratégico*

[29]PAT is a programming actions instrument for the implementation of the Territorial Mangement Instruments, and it may arise before or after the plan (DGOTDU 2010).

Nacional). It was approved in 2009: the *Acção por Lisboa* Programme, Partnerships for the Urban Regeneration of Odivelas' Vertente Sul (*Parcerias para a Regeneração Urbana da Vertente Sul de Odivelas*). The Programme aims to speed up the elaboration of the PU that will define the urban structure of the policies for use and transformation of the land, and it proposes a new approach to the PAT: the latter is to be carried out before conclusion of the PU, contrary to what had been foreseen initially, and it aims to create public equipment and spaces public to improve the inhabitants' quality of life.

The *Acção por Lisboa* Programme set out to widen the partners' network, to promote greater interaction of municipal technicians with the CACs and, pursuant to the EU's directives,[30] to reinforce the mechanisms of public participation in planning, explicitly defining the methodology to be followed: "defining for the purpose the organisation of several meetings, to wit, sessions of information and clarification and public debate with economic, social and cultural agents, thematic meetings, public gatherings in each neighbourhood, holding meetings with other municipalities having similar realities with a view to the exchange of experiences and joint reflection"[31] (CMO 2009, p. 73–77).

Contracting an external team to promote the reinforcement of participation, through the Action denominated "Workshops on participation and development of participated planning techniques and processes in Odivelas' Vertente Sul," revealed strengths and weaknesses. The development of action relied on undertaking six types of tasks: (i) following visits to the neighbourhoods; (ii) holding interviews with key actors involved in the Programme in order to identify different points of view on the reconversion and regeneration process underway and on the main issues it raised; (iii) the organisation of thematic sessions with the focal groups to present the information brochure and to debate of identified issues; (iv) launching the suggestion box initiative; (v) support to the owners' annual General Meetings; (vi) and the organisation of participatory workshops. The team maintained neutral distance from the issues under debate and from the interests and rationales of the various actors, which made it easier to gather information needed to understand the various points of view, and to mediate debates in small groups.

However, since a deadline had been set for conclusion of this action, which was to accompany the conclusion of the PU, it was not possible to carry out public sessions to debate the plan in each neighbourhood, as initially intended, given the delay in the elaboration of this instrument and the differences of view caused by that delay among the technical teams responsible for the plans (Raposo et al. 2012).

[30]Expressed in the set of European documents approved at the turn of the millennium (New Athens Charter, *White Book on Governance,* the European Charter for the Protection of Human Rights in the City) and cited in the first point of the present paper.

[31]Translation from the Portuguese edition: "definindo para o efeito a organização de vários encontros como sejam sessões de informação e de esclarecimento e debate público com agentes económicos, sociais e culturais, encontros temáticos, reuniões públicas por bairros, realizações de encontros com outros municípios com realidades semelhantes tendo em vista a troca de experiências e reflexão conjunta".

On the other hand, because the team was under contract to carry out a specific action, when the latter was completed, the dynamic that had been started came to a halt. Continuity would have required greater articulation with the actors present in the territory and accompaniment by local mediators that might follow up with the same type of sessions.

This is one of the hiatus we note between the participatory dynamic activated in the framework of the AUGI Law and the one that was activated by the University team in the framework of the *Acção por Lisboa* Programme. While the former is to unfold over a long time and is set in motion by the actual actors of the reconversion process (politicians, technicians and owners), the latter takes place in a limited time span and is set in motion by an external team—whose only interest is to contribute to wider information and participation by all, and particularly by those least included up to that time, tenants, immigrants, young people and women. Having distinct rationales and time frames, the interaction between these two processes was insufficient and does not contribute to innovation in the participatory dynamic activated by the AUGI Law framework.

At the level of the relation between the intention to promote participation of all citizens and the blockage of its practical implementation, we draw attention to the following aspects, some of which have been mentioned already in previous papers (Raposo et al. 2012; Raposo and Jorge 2013, 2016): (i) little knowledge about the reconversion of territory and lack experience in matters of citizenship leads many residents to draw away from the process and delegate decisions to their representatives, the CAC, reacting only when the matter affects them directly; (ii) marginalisation of tenants—both recent and long-standing, often immigrants and in some cases women who support their family alone—because they are not integrated in the joint administrations set up in compliance with the AUGI Law, deepens their exclusion from decisions on the future of the neighbourhoods; (iii) the burden of bureaucracy on public administration, which complicates and slows down processes of participation; (iv) fears by politicians and technicians of losing control over planning processes once they are opened to public discussion leads to delays in promoting debates and may block implementation; (v) the reductionist view of public participation as mere consultation, connected with a top-down attitude to planning and the use of technical jargon inaccessible to most residents constitutes yet another obstruction to active participation; (vi) the protracted time of participated processes, which require investigation, information and training actions, when the goal is to contribute to local empowerment; (vii) and the even longer time of reconversion in a territory marked by severe urbanistic constraints by the PDM.

As push factors of participation in the planning of Vertente Sul, we must highlight: (i) the generalised recognition by all actors of the importance of public participation in the planning; (ii) and the wholehearted involvement in the process by politicians, technicians (municipal and from the local teams), and local representatives. This common interest and the involvement of a broad spectrum of actors may have been partly facilitated by two factors mentioned above and identified in a previous paper (Raposo and Jorge 2016): the favourable landholding situation of

the five neighbourhoods in Vertente Sul, in which the plots were legally acquired; and their location, which is of no strategic interest to the real estate market. Despite the constraints on urbanistic reconversion defined in the PDM, the right to place and to its qualification were made easier by these two factors, leading to improvement in the inhabitants' quality of life.

11.3.3 The Role of Priority Actions (PAT)

The excessive time span of the requalification process is singled out by all actors as one of the main factors of distrust. Nevertheless, recent urban interventions leveraged confidence and boosted new ways of appropriation of the public space in Odivelas' Vertente Sul.

The division between 'urban structure', concerning the long term PU Plan, and 'priority actions', concerning the short-term PAT program focused on public space and environmental requalification, set the separation between strategic and tactical interventions. Improvements in the public space were a catalyst to understanding the ongoing transformation, helping the residents' reliance on the requalification process. These tactical approaches aimed to strengthen urban resilience, responding to the lack of equipment, deficient mobility, or absent public spaces. Those projects were presented in the assemblies, set out in posters for consultation and briefly explained. Since they were part of a larger plan, they never evoked many questions. Moreover, they were always presented in final form, not inviting the residents to interact or propose different solutions. People also felt that, since the CACs had their own technical team, including an architect, this somehow validated the offered urban solution.

The initial perception of most of the actors—politicians and technicians from the Municipality of Odivelas and CACs—was based on the idea that plot owners (both VSO residents and those who had left it to live elsewhere) were focused mainly on the legalisation of their own plot in order to hike its market value. Although the master plan's main thrust was the design of better public spaces and providing new urban equipment, during meetings and interviews it was always underlined that the legal question of the land, the process of regularising property, was the only driving issue that mattered and could unite people.

It has been proven that this does not correspond completely to reality. It is true that, despite of the fact that plot owners chose to delegate many decisions to the CACs and their technical team, they actively protested when budget cuts were made, soon after Portugal went into financial crisis, from 2010 to 2014, under the European Union's neoliberal policy. Nevertheless, when a part of the municipal budget could not be allocated to the implementation of public spaces in Serra da Luz, as PAT had contemplated, a great majority of people voted in assembly to use their own (private) money. This decision sparked a controversy, but in the end it was accepted because it was presented as the only way towards legalisation of occupied plots. This indicates that, although the legal question of property is the

most important, it is not divorced from the right to live in a neighbourhood with qualified public spaces, equipment, and services. Even though the cuts affected some unrealised projects, others were executed on time.

Largo da Saudade, a small public square in Vale do Forno was the first place to undergo a deep intervention in this neighbourhood. This urban square, mostly used to park cars, is located in a central area encompassing the main commercial streets and the local church. After the urban intervention the square has become a car-free meeting place. Previous complaints about jobless men drinking through the day (all relating to African immigrants), disappeared from the residents' discourse. Articulations with two other projects were also beneficial. Both the intervention in the River banks, giving reed a landscaping interest, and the creation of a children playground, overcoming the lack of public spaces, won over residents to the work of the CACs, municipality and technical teams. Besides the gain in public spaces, residents recognised the opening of '*Polo Cívico do Vale do Forno*', a civic centre, as one the chief enhancements in the quality of their urban life. A legacy of the local neighbourhood association, AMOVALFLOR (*Associação de Moradores do Bairro Vale do Forno*), this building was completed in September 2014. Financed by the POR Lisbon program, the Municipality, and plots owners, it comprises a nursery, childcare for 75 children, a day centre and a multifunction space for elderly persons. This building is open to broad use, reducing the distance between the five AUGIs and the center of Odivelas both in physical and representational terms.

At Serra da Luz, a neighbourhood marked by a pattern of massive urban concentration, the design of a new playground and new urban equipment, integrated in a network of similar urban facilities, also worked as the starting point to giving a visible face to the requalification process. But besides the public equipment that residents in VSO had demanded for many years, maybe it was the first structural action in the urban fabric that had the biggest impact in terms of creating the VSO as it is today: a territory that, although it had its idiosyncrasies already, did not exist before the proposed master plan. The creation of this demarcated territory was achieved by connecting the five neighbourhoods with a single road, non-existent until then. Although the neighbourhoods were created side by side, since they correspond to different illegal allotments they were never properly connected. Therefore, the first initiative to combine them, giving them a faster physical connection, was crucial to boost the feeling of belonging to this recent, new VSO. A cultural association for the VSO also agglutinates diverse types of cultural practices, like drumming and activities with children, both in the neighbourhoods and outside them.

Some final notes on these qualification interventions carried out in the PAT framework, before the elaboration of the PU had been completed. As already observed during interventions in other contexts (e.g. case of the improvement of self-produced neighbourhoods in Mozambique, or the Favela Neighbourhood programme in Rio de Janeiro), an implementation of short-term priority actions, be they equipment or infrastructures, before conclusion of the general plan, contributes to winning over residents and involving them in the transformation process underway. Undertaking improvements to public space may thus be seen as an

incentive to active citizenship. Such interventions respond to the two first meanings of Lefebvre's Right to the City indicated at the start of point 1 in this paper: access to urban services (equipment and infrastructures); and to a renewed centrality by means of places for meeting and festivities (case of the *Polo Cívico* at Vale do Forno). They may also collaborate towards a more democratic city that privileges use value, as exemplified by the new thoroughfare connecting all the neighbourhoods and by the public use of the built equipment. Yet, these interventions do not comply with 'Right to the Work' (*Droit à l'Oeuvre*) in the sense meant by Lefebvre of the right of all to active participation in the transformation of the city, as co-authors of that transformation: the residents were not heard about the type of actions to be implemented, or about their design. The list of actions was quickly defined by the Vertente Sul municipal team in 2008, to fit in with an application for European funds, without the time for ample discussion, not even with the CAC and its technical team, even though it was elaborated based on deep knowledge of the field. There was no participation, either, of the team of participation mediators from the University, since it was not yet part of the process. Nonetheless, the residents agreed to finance these operations (just as they had done with the PU) when municipal financing ceased. This case raises new interrogations for future debates.

11.4 Concluding Notes

Two centuries on since the utopians of a socialist urbanism outlined their visions of a more harmonious society and city, alternative to the industrial and dual society, the Right to the City emerges as the new collective utopia. It was outlined in the late 1960s by the visionary Lefebvre and appropriated by the countless and diverse urban social movements that broke out worldwide at the dawn of the new millennium. This utopia does not impose one city design, but it does formulate a goal and leverages a road to it, the collective 'Right to the Work' (*Droit à l'Oeuvre*); i.e., it does not only aim to achieve everyone's access to all the urban benefits and renewed centralities, but also it clamours for the right to participation and co-creation in the transformation of the place. Lefebvre's utopia is re-invigorated by the social action of the movements, which are engaged in an active, multifaceted process of construction of their emancipation. It was from this perspective that we understood the employment of participatory approaches in the qualification of semi-urbanised peri-urban areas.

Participation has won pride of place in the international political agenda, being included since the turn of the millennium in international documents and charters dealing with urban issues. The New Athens Charter of 1998/2003 focuses on the inhabitants and on the notion of extended governance, but it forgets the marginal areas. The European Charter for the Protection of Human Rights in the City defends public participation but it restricts the responsibility for urbanism to the municipal authorities. The World Charter for the Right to the City proposes a more transformative approach: it also binds social networks and organisations to the

transformation of the territory and to its free "self-determination", working toward a "de-mercantilised" city; it systematises procedures for the qualification of the so-called informal neighbourhoods; and it defends popular initiative and the wide participation of citizens in the planning process.

The importance accorded to the inhabitant, to the actor, to participation is not the unique hallmark of this emancipatory approach; it has been increasingly co-opted by the dominant neoliberal discourse as a justification for the retrenchment of public power and for legitimising decisions. A society organised in networks and undergoing accelerating change stimulates interconnectivity and interaction at local and global level in multiple fields. Whether it is used in a more transformative approach, geared to social cohesion, or in a more conservative approach geared to competitiveness, the notion of participation is now widespread, taking on different nuances of meaning and different configurations, be they more passive or more active and emancipatory.

Participatory approaches always entail some proportion of interaction among the several actors, and the creation of new spaces and moments of dialogue and communication; thus, they require a new, plural, wider know-how, and much experimentation. Collective decisions call for consensus, yet the collective processes of decision-making presuppose different viewpoints, interests and rationales, which generate dissensus. Defining common goals helps the collective construction of the consensus needed to make a decision. Participatory processes generally promote exchange of knowledge and collective learning, including citizenship awareness and skills, but they are not free of difficulties and limitations imputable to the relations of force at play, to the hiatus between the political-technical camp and common knowledge, and to the time they need.

As the case of Vertente Sul in the Odivelas municipality demonstrated, even when they are applied in a neoliberal framework, the interactive practices started by the participatory approach may foster transformative and empowerment processes. The creation of joint administrations of (co)owners, as provided by the AUGI Law of liberal contours, responds to a bureaucratic requirement in order to acquire the juridical reconversion of land holding. The election of committees (CAC) that represent them institutionalises participation: they organise annual meetings of the (co)owners for the purposes of information and collective decision-making on the zone's reconversion process. The formal running procedures of those meetings, however, and the non-decoded technical jargon employed, do not foster a wide debate; moreover, tenants are excluded from the common reflection, which sharpens social cleavages among the inhabitants. Viewed from this angle, we may conclude that the participatory engineering set in motion by the framework of this Law is reductionist and that it reproduces hierarchical relations at local scale. The close relations the CACs enjoy with the residents do not result from the participatory package provided by the Law as much as from their informal or festive contacts and everyday interpersonal and neighbourly relations.

On the other hand, the responsibility placed on the CACs to conduct the reconversion of the territory has fostered a strong internal dynamic and in articulation with external actors, in an ongoing learning process. Thus, the CACs have

become an active laboratory of citizenship and local empowerment, even if this usually turns around the more or less charismatic figures of their presidents. It is also important to emphasise the close interaction established among the five CACs of Vertente Sul and the added value of their team work, with the support of a combative technical team, in the defence of the right to the place and of the joint resolution of issues attending the reconversion of the five neighbourhoods. This transversal approach overcomes the fragmentary and sectorial vision promoted by the AUGI Law; it helps to strengthen the capacity for local action and the construction of a territorial identity relating to Vertente Sul that goes beyond the identity of each neighbourhood. In turn, the driving energy of the municipal office installed in one of the AUGI, its operative character and its close interaction with the five CACs and respective technical teams have contributed to the dynamix of the interactive process. A strong synergy was created by this close interaction among the local teams (CAC, their technical team, and the local office) in articulation with the municipal political power, in skilful negotiations with the other municipal services and setting up partnerships with other actors; thus has made it possible to circumvent the frailties created by the territory's legal constraints and the municipal and national financial constraints, and to achieve effective qualification of the territory and the advancement, albeit slow, of the reconversion process. On the whole, the qualification actions implemented, the new equipment, improvement of the public space and the throughway connecting the five neighbourhoods, at the same time that they respond to the residents' right to better urban services and a renewed centrality, also increase confidence in the conduction of the process and foster democratic interaction and the participatory process.

Engaging an external team as mediator of the debate on the urban instruments under elaboration (PU and PAT) acknowledges the importance of participated processes in the intervention on marginal areas, despite the obstacles by some politicians and technicians to wider, interactive discussion inherent in their fear of losing control over processes. This action benefited from the university team's distance from the vested interests at play; it allowed the inclusion in the debate of the groups previously excluded from the process (tenants, immigrants, young people) and offered a systematisation of the viewpoints of the various groups; nevertheless, as other situations have shown, the limited duration of the mediation action is a frailty, because it interrupts the dynamic set in motion and the relations of trust established. A greater engagement and articulation of the external team with the dynamics underway locally, and the direct involvement of the local representatives, might have given continuity to the work already started and contributed to the improvement and innovation of the participatory dynamic activated in the running of the meetings held pursuant to the AUGI Law.

The reflection on Vertente Sul permits saying, to round off, that the major added value of participatory approaches is setting in motion emancipatory interactive processes, articulating different actors over a long time around collective actions and decisions, thus creating local laboratories of democracy; and is the primacy accorded to the process rather than to the project, favouring the political dimension over technocracy.

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Chapter 12
Questioning (in)Equality. Insights from a Community Kitchen in a Migrant Squatter Settlement in Greater Lisbon

Joana Pestana Lages

12.1 Introduction

By far more important than proclaiming that 'the world became urban in 2008' after the release of the State of the World Population by the United Nations (UNFPA 2007), is to decode how we are becoming 'urbanized'. Through the deconstruction of binomial relations that until now characterized the spatial and scalar realities, like rural/urban or city/nature, Brenner (2014) demonstrated that the explosion of capitalist urbanization reached a planetary scale confirming the theoretical hypothesis concerning the complete urbanization of society posed by Lefebvre (1970). But becoming more urbanized is also proving to be even more unequal. A report from early 2017 states that the richest 1% of people in the world own nearly half of global wealth. Inequality is unveiled by the 5.5% of wealth that 80% of the entire population owns, showing how wealth is concentrated in the hands of a few (Hardoon 2017). Interrelating realities of urban inequality and urban growth, in a post-global financial crisis context, the demand for urban planning policies that can effectively undermine or eliminate structural injustice is rising. 'In this sense, the Right to the City is less a juridical right than an oppositional demand, which challenges the claims of the rich and powerful. It is a right: to redistribution, not for all people, but for those deprived of it and in need of it' (Mayer 2010, p. 33).

The first part confronts the concept of justice through the framework of Young (1990), from distribution to the issues of representation. The second part introduces Costa da Caparica and the precarious neighbourhood of Terras da Costa, followed

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by an analysis of this place through the lens of the five faces of oppression that constitutes the third section. The fourth section presents the construction of a community kitchen and the arrival of running water in the neighbourhood. In the last section, before the conclusion, this paper seeks to comprehend how the Community Kitchen of Terras da Costa gave rise to more justice for this place by revisiting the five faces of Young's oppression.

12.2 [Spatial] Justice, from Distribution to Representation

The theoretical framework that supports this paper deals with the concept of justice, not specifically with *spatial justice* as developed in recent years by Soja (2010, 2011) or Fainstein (2009, 2010, 2013), but with the 'politics of difference' and its spacialization in the work of Young.[1] Critical to Rawl's theory of justice (1971) and his tendency to see justice and distribution as coextensive concepts, Young goes further, appointing two main problems with the distributive paradigm. First, justice is more than the allocation of material goods or distributions of social positions. If narrowed in this way, it ignores the institutions and social structure which produce them. The second problem with this distributive paradigm, interrelated with the first problem described, happens when we broaden distribution to nonmaterial social goods, distribution misrepresent them as part of social relations and processes. Thus, distributing resources, income, wealth or jobs, seeing justice as something which is independent from a given context, and therefore too abstract to be tangible, reinforces the hegemonic ideal of impartiality. While questioning impartiality, Young suggests that instead of focusing on distribution, justice should be centred on the concepts of domination and oppression, expressing that 'such a shift brings out issues in decision-making, division of labour, and culture that have a bearing on social justice but are often ignored in philosophical discussions (1990, p. 3). The enlargement of the concept of justice overlaps with the concept of the political. Born from the impact new social movements imprinted in all spheres of society (black, radical feminists, gay and lesbian activists, among other groups) this approach acknowledges that addressing structural oppression is vital to political discourse.

Young suggests that social justice can be defined as 'the elimination of institutionalized domination and oppression' (1990, p. 15). By categorizing oppression in five concepts: exploitation, marginalization, powerlessness, cultural imperialism, and violence, this author takes further the Marxist's central standpoint that reduces

[1]To summarize her position, Iris Marion Young (1949–2006) was a feminist political philosopher interested in feminist social theory, theories of justice and democratic theory.

oppression solely to class oppression. The presence of a single one of these categories is enough to consider that a group is oppressed. Oppression is defined as 'the institutional constrain on self-development', and domination, 'the institutional constrain on self-determination' (1990, p. 37). The exercise here proposed is to operationalize an abstract and foundational concept, justice, giving it a spatial dimension. Young's 'politics of difference' are used in an operational way to understand spatial transformations through and in space. In its inextricable connection between urban live and everyday live, the dominant paradigm of equality and inclusion is questioned, when equality corresponds to equal treatment, ignoring the practices of disadvantaged groups.

In 'Spatial Agency: Other Ways of Doing Architecture' (Awan et al. 2011), the association of architecture solely with buildings is questioned. On configured practices and their repercussions in space the authors state that 'How we position ourselves, and how and from where we operate and become part of a dialogue, has clear implications on how space is produced, used and perceived' (2011, p. 151). An implicit relation derives from the lefebvrian dimensions of the production of space (Lefebvre 1974), the triad of perceived space (material); conceived space (conceptual) and lived space (social). Architects that are disposed to cross over the borders of the discipline can encompass relational conceptions of space capable of problematizing design as an instrument for social change, opposing the practice of design as an uncritical tool to meet the agenda of neoliberal policies.

12.3 Costa da Caparica and 'Terras da Costa'

The eighteen districts that form Greater Lisbon concentrate a quarter of the entire Portuguese population. Located only 10 km away from the centre of the city of Lisbon, Terras da Costa is a migrant squatter settlement situated in the Costa da Caparica ward, in the municipality of Almada on the south side of the River Tejo [Tagus]. The southern margin of the Tejo is in fact a peninsula, Setubal, divided into eight of the eighteen municipalities of Greater Lisbon. Given the natural barrier of the river, the urban growth on this margin happened later that in the northern side, where the city of Lisbon is located. Urban expansion accelerated with the construction of the bridge linking both margins in 1966, making Almada today a municipality with 174,000 inhabitants.

To the west of Almada, Costa da Caparica ward is delimitated by the Atlantic Ocean and by a fossil cliff to the east. Its touristic potential eclipses other shore destinations in the metropolitan area due to its proximity to the capital and its vast sand beaches from Cova do Vapor to Cape Espichel, attracting almost 60,000 visitors per day during summer time.

Since the 1920s, Costa da Caparica grew hand in hand with the 'Costa do Sol' seashore, in the municipality of Cascais, in the west of Lisbon. While in Cascais tourism targeted luxury resorts and exclusivity, Costa da Caparica aimed to respond to the mob that discovered the benefits of sun and relaxation. The first masterplan for the Costa da Caparica area dates from 1930. Designed by Cassiano Branco, it was a modernist vision of an enormous leisure area for the masses. An important reference of Modern architecture in Portugal, this architect envisioned a futuristic utopian scene, an assemblage of large avenues and water channels, casinos, and massive hotels. The plan was never developed beyond promotional images, despite setting the vision until today. In 1947, Faria da Costa designed an urban plan, implemented in the following decades. Although Costa da Caparica embraced Cassiano Branco's waterside dream it was built with deficient urban planning, showing no defined strategy. Regardless of a disorderly growth, Costa da Caparica nowadays has the most popular beaches in the region of Lisbon. From the fishing village surrounded by woodlands, to a population of 13,418 inhabitants living in Costa da Caparica today (Câmara Municipal de Almada 2014), the transference from the primary sector, agriculture and fishing, to the service sector allots more than 70% of this population.

Today, the Metropolitan Area of Lisbon concentrates 55% of all immigrants in Portugal and more than 80% of PALOP immigrants (Malheiros and Fonseca 2011, p. 52), acronym for Portuguese-speaking African country. The municipality of Almada was no exception regarding these migratory fluxes, and the neighbourhood of Terras da Costa was created in this context. Following the independence of African countries formerly colonized by Portugal, (starting in 1974) immigration was a repercussion of political reconfigurations and instability. However, after Portugal entered the European Union in 1986, when the flow exploded, labour was the main cause. Alongside Portuguese migrants arriving from the countryside, African immigrants found no response to their accommodation needs, mainly due to their meager economic resources, scarcity of formal housing stock, and the absence of housing policies (Salgueiro 1977). The permissiveness of political and administrative institutions enabled the construction of 'bairros de lata'.[2] Some of these places were improved over time, evolving from an original precarious structure to a decent place to live. Others, after the administration's initial inertia were targeted for demolition, after displacements and resettlements.

For more than 3 decades, around 300 people lived in 90 precarious constructions of fragile brick or timber walls and metal roofing, a place with unpaved roads and power stolen from the grid, with no water supply. For the most part, two groups dwell in Terras da Costa, immigrants from Cape Verde occupying 55 houses in the cultivated fields and a smaller Roma/Ciganos group, living closer to the road. An in-depth understanding of this neighbourhood is presented in the next section, through the lens of the five faces of oppression.

[2]A precarious settlement, comparable to what is perceived as a 'shantytown'.

12.4 Searching for the Five Faces of Oppression in Terras da Costa

12.4.1 Marginalization

> (…) [P]erhaps the most dangerous form of oppression. A whole category of people is *expelled from useful participation in social life* and thus potentially subjected to severe material deprivation and even extermination (Young 1990, p. 53) [Emphasis added]

Although irrigated crop fields surround the neighbourhood, 300 people living in Terras da Costa had no access to running water until September 2014. At the Costa da Caparica public water fountain, located approximately 1 km from the neighbourhood, containers were filled and then carried along a dirt path. The lack of running water reveals, obviously, the absence of sewage system. All power is obtained illegally, stolen from the grid.

These areas of 'illegal genesis', thus termed by juridical urban planning discourse, were created outside the official regulatory framework.[3]

Terras da Costa result from an occupation of land without legal permission, thus dwellers cannot access basic goods such as sanitation or power services due to the lack of land ownership. Other places in the same conditions managed to obtain basic services during the 1980s or 90s, mainly through articulation between local associations and municipalities. But for Terras da Costa, access was not allowed, forcing them into a situation of exclusion.

Since the majority of immigrant dwellers are from rural Cape Verdean areas, having a water point far from the house is a well-known reality. Even so, they are pushed to look for alternatives not always within the law, like stealing energy from the grid, accentuating once more to their marginalization. As Raposo's research (Raposo 2011) indicates, in accordance with the current Portuguese legislation there is a correlation between socio-spatial exclusion and the difficulty to solve complex planning restrictions. Places with severe patterns of socio-spatial exclusion tend to remain ignored. Places like Terras da Costa, where urban redevelopment intervention takes longer, or fails to happen.

[3]Suburbanisation in Lisbon led to two main configurations of 'illegal genesis'. In most cases, owners of the land (in joint ownership) erected unlicensed constructions on their 'lot', usually in non-urban areas. Reasons and motivations are well described in the work of Craveiro (2010). A reverse situation, more seldom, shows that other areas were self-produced from the occupation of and subsequent construction on public or private land. In the first case, and since dwellers had property rights, the commitment was to proceed to "urban reconversion", a manifest for the legal fetishism described by Azuela in these types of processes (2004). As for the second condition, occupations resulted in resettlements mainly framed within the PER (Slum Relocation Programme), a public housing programme. Some of those processes started as far back as the 1990s and are still unconcluded.

12.4.2 Exploitation

> The central insight expressed in the concept of exploitation, then, is that this oppression occurs through a *steady process of the transfer of the results of the labour of one social group to benefit another.* The injustice of class division does not consist only in the distributive fact that *some people have great wealth while most people have little.* (Young 1990, p. 49)[Emphasis added]

The neighbourhood of Terras da Costa faces the coastal investment zone under 'Costa Polis', an urban renewal programme. After more than a decade, its condition of invisibility hasn't changed, even if the Strategic Plan made in 2001 put the spotlight on the agricultural area occupied by those 90 houses.

The intervention of the Polis programme in Costa da Caparica covers an area of 650 ha, between the Atlantic front, the urban zone and the rural area. It was developed across five axes, Urban Beaches; Urban Garden; Campo da Bola neighbourhood (a resettlement); Urban Front and the Rural East; Transition Beaches. With a total investment of 214 million Euros shared between the Portuguese State (60%) and the Municipality of Almada (40%), Costa Polis initiated construction works in 2006. Among other existing interventions, it included the breakwater renovation, the rehabilitation of public spaces and leisure facilities along the beachfront and the construction of parking lots. Despite all efforts, only 2 out of 7 urban plans are fully implemented.

'Masterplan 4—Urban Front and Rural East', framed by the Polis Programme covers Terras da Costa. Less developed than the other urban plans, Masterplan 4 does not make clear what kind of resettlement is intended, whom it will benefit and under which programme (municipal or central state) will it, or even if can, be accomplished. Another plan, 'Plan for the Protected Landscape of the Fossil Cliff of Costa da Caparica', mandated due to environmental issues, was approved in 2008, deferring further progress.

Delays in compliance with the programme (the initial closing date was 2006) and the extinction of Parque Expo, the company that managed the process, dictated that investments be focused on the beach area, a consolidated and wealth-generating zone. Framed within what is a dominant neoliberal urbanism, Polis was mainly market-oriented to the thousands of summertime visitors forgetting the resettlement of those living in undignified conditions.

Confirmation of the absence of effective housing policies, particularly in response to immigrant communities or stigmatized groups like the Roma, the choice to turn away from Terras da Costa underlies a neoliberal urban development that systematically produces forms of exploitation which this group is affected by.

12.4.3 Powerlessness

> The powerless are those who *lack authority or power even in this mediated sense,* those over whom power is exercised without their exercising it (…) Powerlessness also designates a position in the division of labour and the concomitant social position that allows persons *little opportunity to develop and exercise skills*. (Young 1990, p. 56) [Emphasis added]

A relationship of invisibility with the formal city and its institutions is expressed in everyday practices. In September 2015, without warning and lacking coordination with the local association, technicians for the Municipality of Almada went to Terras da Costa to remark door numbers. Those visits are a form of controlling the growth of 'unwanted' settlements. Sprayed numbers are easily seen, singled out by their overstated size (minimum 50 cm). When asked, residents felt resigned to the fact that someone could so roughly scribble their walls; after all they are 'illegal'. Some of them were at home during the marking, questioning the violence of this action. A member of the neighbourhood association said in an interview that he had volunteered to escort the municipality's team and was refused. Young talks about 'respectability' as 'the privileges of the professionals that extend beyond the workplace to a whole way of life' (1990, p. 57). Questioning our ideas about authority and expertise this example at Terras da Costa, a place of nonprofessionals, highlights dynamics of racism and discrimination.

Citizen participation is encouraged even though it later fails to observe the diversity and the spontaneity of everyday practices. Under the current Portuguese planning system, participation gradually changed since the beginning of the democratic period (1974), boosted by policy agendas and principles required after entry into the EU. From limited moments of intervention, to a continuous process where citizens can play a part, legislation is changing. However, mechanisms of participation are principally supported by the 'right to be informed'. In the designing of plans, strategies or policies for the places where people live, information seems to prevail above other forms of involvement. In Portugal, local authorities are hardly prepared to dialogue and negotiate beyond the formal procedures of consultation (Cardoso and Breda-Vázquez 2007), causing a long-established lack of involvement of citizens and other urban agents. In formal territories, lack of decision-making can lead to apathy or distrust on participatory engagements, worse in oppressed territories like this neighbourhood where participants are even further removed from planning mechanisms.

As Petrescu states, following Deleuze, the 'participation process depends on participants' desire' (Blundell Jones et al. 2005, p. 44). The event described at Terras da Costa confirms that participative actions question power relations. This refusal in involving the local association and numbering houses in a more dignifying way, expressed a lost opportunity to constitute a 'microscopic attempt' at the level of collective and individual desires of clients and users of micro-social units: neighbourhood associations, informal teams, (…) [to] promote existential values and values of desire rather than commercial values (2005, p. 47). Or rather, values of normative action.

12.4.4 Cultural Imperialism

> Cultural imperialism involves the *universalization of a dominant group's experience and culture*, and its establishment as the norm. (…) the culturally dominated undergo a paradoxical oppression, in that *they are both marked out by stereotypes and at the same time rendered invisible.* (Young 1990, p. 59) [Emphasis added]

'Chaotic'. 'Dirty'. 'Dangerous'. Those attributes of unplanned spaces emerge from conveyed representations appointing one fixed identity, defined as neutral. The imposition of a single point of view marks all other forms of representation of these places and people who inhabit them, making it permanently overshadowed.

In 1993, the aforementioned PER[4] (Slum Relocation Programme), the purpose of which was the 'eradication of slums', referred to places like Terras da Costa as a 'social wound', irrevocably linking poverty to these 'bairros de lata' (Cachado 2008). The negative valuation of built form is indivisible from the perception of these places as marginal, linked to poverty but also to illegal activities such as drug trafficking, crime or prostitution.

'I know I'm at a dead end. In a city without heart' said the lyrics of a hip-hop song written 20 years ago. The rapper of the extinct 'Crazy Jungle' band is today one of the most active members of the neighbourhood association. He thinks about Terras da Costa as a ghetto, exactly as in the ambivalent position that Wacquant's (2004) describes. He also talks about nearby social housing neighbourhoods-framed within the PER, as ghettos. 'The term 'ghetto' variously denotes a bounded urban ward, a web of group-specific institutions, and a cultural and cognitive constellation (values, mindset, or mentality) entailing the sociomoral isolation of a stigmatized category as well as the systematic truncation of the life space and life chances of its members' (Wacquant 2004, p. 95). In fact, since medieval times, the word is used to confine certain types of groups *spatially* in first instance. The analytical construction of this concept is conceived simultaneously socially and spatially. Given that the neighbourhood is mostly inhabited by two stigmatized groups, African immigrants and a Roma/Ciganos community, both low skilled and living in precarious conditions, their spatial confinement and cultural invisibility serves mostly to perpetuate their position within what we could call, the *formal* city.

Dwellers also demonstrate discourses of self segregation, expressing that they can't mix in with the city and that they 'live in a cage', an expression used by the president of the neighbourhood association when the possibility of resettlement in building blocks rather than in detached houses was presented. Explained by Wacquant's 'cognitive constellations', the daily practices in Terras da Costa,

[4]The PER led to a strong debate prior to its implementation. Evictions, displacements and a general reflection on the fact that this type of urban form, both on the macro and micro scale, was inadequate to accommodate inhabitants from 'bairros de lata' was a concern for many urban planners. Guerra (1994) wrote a special number of 'Sociedade e Território' a journal of urban and regional studies, dedicated to the PER, stating that 'People are not things one can put in drawers' [translation by the author].Years later, execution of the PER was also criticized in the works of Cachado (2008, 2013).

like cooking over an open fire in the street, playing loud music outdoors, sharing space with extended family members, are embedded in their cultural way of life. For dwellers, these practices cannot coexist with the formal city, not only because they feel repressed but also due to the fact that spatially, they cannot reconfigure/redesign this 'way of life', both for Roma/Ciganos or Africans. Deep-rooted in their personal paths and still related with existing colonial forms of representing cultural differences, this configures a silencing of people considered as subaltern others.[5] That leads directly to the last face of oppression, violence.

12.4.5 Violence

> What makes violence a phenomenon of social injustice, and not merely an individual moral wrong, *is its systemic character, its existence as a social practice* (…) The oppression of violence consists not only in direct victimization, but in the daily knowledge shared by all members of *oppressed groups that they are liable to violation, solely on account of their group identity.* (Young 1990, p. 61) [Emphasis added]

A ring of agricultural fields and dirt paths naturally fences Terras da Costa, causing any visitor to be seen before arriving. PSP, the Portuguese police force reported this as a major difficulty to dismantling a drug trafficking scheme with connections to Terras da Costa. After detentions in 2004, 2007 and 2011, police found that drug dealers used plantations to hide illegal material underground. Although most of the residents are not involved in illegal activities, their relation with the police is marked by a pattern of brutality derived from the space they occupied, a form of violence more likely to be associated to self-produced territories rather than formal areas.

People living in the surrounding buildings facing the shore, advise visitors not to enter Terras da Costa, demanding authorities patrol the area with heavily armed police, far from the 'soft' proximity police that safeguards the beach line. The PSP special units, part of the 'Integrated Proximity Policing Programme' (PIPP) rarely entered the neighbourhood, inhibiting the prevention of crime and violence and neglecting areas where the strengthening of relations between authorities and the population is crucial. Consequently, everyone fears the Police in Terras da Costa. However it's not only the middle class adjacent areas that perceive this place as insecure. In an interview with a local leader of another squatter neighbourhood in the same ward, '2º Torrão', the description of Terras da Costa as 'a no man's land of delinquents' highlights that people are oppressed under the exact same conditions (socio-spatial exclusion aggravated by discrimination in rights) are paradoxically reproducing this type of structural violence.

[5]For a deeper understanding of representation issues, the PER housing programme and 'bairros de barracas', see the work of Braga et al. (2015) regarding the confrontation of urban policies and urban planning with artistic interventions in Quinta da Vitória, a migrant squatter settlement in the periphery of Lisbon.

Thus, rooted in the social and political reproduction of violence and beyond criminal issues, the spatial confinement and physical isolation of this neighbourhood from the surrounding urban fabric accentuates its fragmentation at all levels. The manifesto for 'Security, Democracy and Cities' (European Forum for Urban Security 2013) states that 'a just city is a safer city'. Interventions to end or minimize violence, both urban policies and contextualised urban interventions can open Terras da Costa to the city, making it more visible and willing to reject the targeting and criminalisation of its disenfranchised community. Hence, more just.

12.5 The Community Kitchen of Terras da Costa

In 2010, a research project called 'Fronteiras Urbanas' (Urban Frontiers) arrived in this neighbourhood, presenting itself as 'a critical ethnographic movement centred on the development of emancipatory educational policies through participant observation of the knowledge existing in multicultural communities.'[6]

This educational project was based on three main axes; critical literacy, multiple mapping and the collection of life stories (Mesquita 2014). Outside of the scope of this project, but still linked to it, the architecture department of Lisbon's Autónoma University, an associate of Fronteiras Urbanas, held a workshop with tutors and architecture students in June 2012. The main goal was to 'demonstrate the possibility of reaching new scenarios of coexistence, (…) those projects open new hope, able to substantiate the recognition of a community doomed to oblivion and invisibility' (Moreira and Campos Costa 2013, p. 90) [translation by the author], raising questions about the permanence or relocation of those people.

In its follow-up, one of the tutors, ateliermob, was contacted by a group of dwellers, representative of the neighbourhood, with a specific demand: solving their main problem, the lack of running water. This appointment emerged from the approach outlined by this studio during the workshop, founded on the mediation between various actors. According to the architect Tiago Mota Saraiva, the proposal for building a communal kitchen came from Dona Victoria, a Cape Verdean and one of the oldest residents. Dwellers voted this decision in assembly, believing that the kitchen would bring water. The draft programme was prepared by them, even if it was later complemented with other uses to benefit the daily life of this community, like a space for meetings/gatherings, a laundry space and a barbecue area.

A long process began, seeking funding and opening up contacts with the Municipality of Almada in order to find a legal framework for this intervention. Since the neighbourhood is located in area designated as a National Agricultural Reserve (RAN) and a National Ecological Reserve (REN), the decision to bring water was above all, a political choice. The Municipality of Almada, politically

[6]Translated from the project summary found at http://fronteirasurbanas.ie.ul.pt/?p=14, visited on December 15th 2015.

supported by a left wing Unitary Democratic Coalition (PCP—Portuguese Communist Party and PEV—Green Party) and Almada SMAS (municipal water and wastewater services) considered that the right to an essential commodity like water overlaps, even temporarily, all the legal planning constraints regarding new constructions. The construction was done on a volunteer basis, incorporating local labour and donated timber. Braga (2015) follows the route of the timber that gave physical body to three participated projects, the last of which is the Community Kitchen, framing these projects as 'makeshift urban experiments', practices operating in contrast with the context of austerity lived in Portugal at the time. On the materiality of the object, it can be added that in a country that uses mainly concrete and cement for construction, the use of timber for the construction of the kitchen allowed everyone to take part since all work was done in situ and it was simple to participate in it. With the birth of new CAD/CAM technologies and the massification of Fab Labs[7] around the world, building something with just a few tools, brought together dwellers and architects, where architects are frequently seen not as problem-solvers but as unaffordable labour. Because this project spoke directly to the practices of dwellers like eating and cooking together, and was born around a common necessity, water, it was easy for dwellers to get involved with planning issues. From the embryonic neighbourhood coalition which the Fronteiras Urbanas research project fostered, to the first meeting with local authorities, this shows how action research projects can actively engage with the practice of architecture.

Fronteiras Urbanas, whose main goal was not to build objects, was in fact the catalyst for the achievements that followed, since it started to give visibility to that place. The strengthening of self mobilisation and collective action were crucial to dwellers, allowing them to contact external institutions for technical support, in the search for their urban rights (to water, to housing, to the City). The following section seeks to understand how the materialization of the Community Kitchen of Terras da Costa brought more spatial justice to this place by revisiting the five faces of Young's oppression (Fig. 12.1).

12.6 The Five Faces of Oppression Revisited

12.6.1 Marginalization

No more carrying water from a public fountain at Costa da Caparica, one kilometre away from the neighbourhood. Water finally arrived. Some conflicts emerged; after all, three hundred people were sharing six taps in just one water point. Negotiation

[7]Fab Lab stands for Fabrication Laboratory. Fab Labs are a global network of local labs focused on digital fabrication. Regardless of the potential to empower individuals or communities to co-create objects in an open-source, democratic way, in the case of Terras da Costa a low tech solution was closer to existing practices of building resistance.

Fig. 12.1 View from the community kitchen

had to occur among dwellers and between them and the Municipality of Almada that currently supports the financial cost of bringing water to the community kitchen.

In a time marked by individualism and privatization, the practices of communing in this case, were discussed informally, sometimes over the creation of conflict. Washing cars was considered a waste of water by some dwellers, so this practice was debarred and people were alerted to avoid it. There are no rules, no written documents to testify this arrangement, it's still an ongoing construction. Having running water, even if it's still a precarious situation, changed the daily lives of Terras da Costa's dwellers, giving them more comfort.

'Is "Tactical Urbanism" an Alternative to Neoliberal Urbanism?'. The question posed by Neil Brenner under the context of the MoMA exhibition *Uneven Growth: Tactical Urbanisms for Expanding Megacities*[8] opens a debate on how "tactical urbanism" can, or cannot, counter-respond to neoliberal urbanism. Tactical interventions are gaining strength, exploring formulas that rapidly answer contemporary planning issues like lower public investment due to the economic crisis or new management tools for contexts of uncertainty and rigidity. As the 'power of the temporary' arises, as seen in the 'Urban Catalyst' study (Oswalt et al. 2013), concerns for co-optation come to light.

As Brenner states, interventions that have an 'anti-planning rhetoric' can hardly confront or subvert neoliberal market-driven urbanism. 'To the degree that

[8]Between November 2014 and May 2015, the exhibition presented design proposals for six of the world's megacities made by teams of architects, advocating for change in terms of spatial production and questioning the scope of profession.

advocates of tactical urbanism frame their agenda as an alternative to an activist role for public institutions in the production of urban space, they are at risk of reinforcing the very neoliberal rule-regimes they ostensibly oppose.' (Brenner 2015) This kind of practices may lead to 'quicker action when it comes to build a longer change' using the motto of the tactic urbanism group (Lydon 2015; Lydon et al. 2011, 2012) but is it true the use value overlaps exchange value, can they confront or produce alternatives?

The community kitchen stands for a way to deliver a basic public good; water. Yet, this improvement will only prove to be effective if it opens a path to resettlement, otherwise minimization of the marginalization is residual. The articulation of this intervention with a territorial macro vision avoids this type of intervention from being instrumentalized by local authorities or done by dwellers without a defined strategy. The kitchen is there to address public institutions that dweller's right to housing, a 'dignified house' as its written in article 65 of the Portuguese Constitution is not yet fulfilled.

12.6.2 Exploitation

This excluded group gained visibility with the reporting of their accomplishment in newspapers and national television channels. Citizens, technicians and politicians from this municipality and beyond, questioned how this lack of basic living conditions could still occur so close to the capital of an EU country. The main consequence of this sudden finding was the beginning of a resettling process after a land occupation that started 30 years before.

Apart from the political participation right, Portuguese and legal foreign residents have equal rights according to the Portuguese Constitution. Moreover, Portuguese Law forbids discrimination based on race, nationality or ethnicity. Therefore, the right to have an adequate house is a constitutional right. In 1991, more than 20% of PALOP immigrants were living in 'barracas' or precarious constructions. However, after 10 years this number decreased to 10%, due to the resettlements programme. In spite of all efforts the final number increased 22% due to migratory flows and the growth of these communities (Malheiros and Fonseca 2011, p. 140). Despite public programmes to resettle thousands of immigrant families in the last three decades, their clustering together with other disenfranchised communities proved to be an ineffective answer for successful integration. Inspired by the 'grand ensembles' (when they were already being demolished in France), large housing blocks were built in the 1990s, disconnected from the city and its opportunities, showing an urban and architectonic design that ignored cultural singularities, different solidarity networks and everyday practices from their original homeland(s) which were still rooted in those immigrants or immigrant-descendants.

After a visit from the Mayor to Terras da Costa, in October 2015, a political commitment was made. This resettlement will take into account their singularities and will be made outside the protected agricultural area, but still very close to the place they dwell in nowadays. Foremost, it will begin now.

12.6.3 Powerlessness

With the encouragement of architects, technicians and politicians, but above all themselves, the neighbourhood's association was reactivated, opening a dialogue with local authorities to demand better living conditions. The Municipality of Almada considers this formal association, 'Associação de Moradores das Terras da Costa', a valuable and irreplaceable stakeholder to negotiate the future of that place. This is an important construction of the political space that the community kitchen enabled.

The resettlement project of resettlement is still closer to a figment of the imagination than to a built reality. Nevertheless, the enunciation of a participated project where dwellers will have a voice in the place making, a voice as an equal partner, acknowledges that resettlements need to be redesigned both in procedural and in architectural form. Throughout a reframing of participation, (Cupers and Miessen 2012; Kolowratnik and Miessen 2012; Miessen 2007) the validation of the agonistic potential of public arenas, based on dissensus, not consensus (Mouffe 2005), draws modes of coexistence and recognition of other ways to build cities. As a consequence, practices and motivations of dwellers should be recognized by the association and negotiated with architects and technicians when the time to design a new place arrives.

Part of the initial Fronteiras Urbanas research project, was aimed at fighting illiteracy. Cape Verdeans are among the immigrants with the highest levels of illiteracy upon entry in Portugal, up to 15% (Malheiros and Fonseca 2011, p. 43), which forces them to work in low-skilled sectors like construction, mostly men, and domestic service for the majority of women. As for the Romani, high levels of school–leavers and functional illiteracy characterize this group in Terras da Costa, showing similar results to the national study about Roma/Ciganos living in Portugal (Mendes et al. 2014). Demystifying planning issues in ways that dwellers can understand, towards an urban pedagogy, can raise awareness on how they can bargain or what to bargain for. Since the summer of 2015, researchers working in the field are developing graphic translations to increase knowledge of and enhance engagement, mainly focusing on particular interventions like the regularization of the energy supply or on how dwellers can self organize to demand better conditions.

12.6.4 Cultural Imperialism

After the Fronteiras Urbanas research from 2012 to 2014, and the construction of the community kitchen, other representations of the neighbourhood could arise or endure with more evidence. The strengthening of the *batukaderas* group called *Nós Erança* (meaning 'Our Legacy' in Cape Verdean criollo), formed before the construction of the Community Kitchen, gained openness along with the arrival of water and the presence of academic researchers in the field. The group performed in November 2015 at HANGAR, an Art Research Centre and art gallery in Lisbon, bringing new possibilities for reaching new audiences, unlike the parties, weddings and baptisms at Terras da Costa, usually restricted to networks of migrant populations.

Probably the oldest musical genre of Cape Verde, batuque[9] was forbidden during the Portuguese dictatorial regime until 1974. Nevertheless, since the 90s new groups are renewing this tradition (Ribeiro 2010). The endorsement of music networks made by African immigrants is also visible in this small neighbourhood, where a recording studio produces music of many styles, including funaná, kizomba, kuduro or batuque, a strong cultural manifestation of this archipelago and beyond. Because it's almost exclusively done by women, batuque also gains an important meaning. For each of them the 'practice of batuque is a personal reliever, a moment of evasion and conciliation with their dream life' (Ribeiro 2010, p. 115) [translation by the author]. The group is now thinking about making a cultural association in order to become eligible for financial support to buy instruments and expand their performances. As people who normally don't step beyond the boundaries of the neighbourhood, except for work, by enlarging their mobility and expanding their networks of (spatial) relations they conquer their place in the city. As stated by Harvey (Harvey 2008) in his revisiting of Lefebvrian 'Droite a la Ville", they secure the right to change themselves by changing the city.

12.6.5 Violence

The initial critical literacy project brought by Fronteiras Urbanas proved to be a catalyst for the physical transformation and consequent exposure of the neighbourhood to the outside world. The chosen place to build the kitchen matched a location marked by legal problems, related mainly with drug trafficking. The plot was signed off by local dwellers to the group of architects. With the opening of the

[9] *Batuque* is a Cape Verdean musical genre and dance associated with the culture of the island of Santiago, where most of the inhabitants of Terras da Costa are from. It is not exclusively but typically performed by women. The group sits in a circle, called 'terreru', on the street, at home, at a party. While one woman dances, the others sing and play the 'chabeta', a flap of cloth wrapped usually in a piece of leather or a plastic bag.

kitchen, trafficking was reduced significantly and police intervention is now more untroubled. Projecto Warehouse coordinated the community kitchen's construction works as co-authors of the design project. Foreigner young architects or graduate students helped them on a voluntary basis during summertime, recruited by the international networks of ateliermob or the EXYZT collective. At Terras da Costa, Cape Verdean dwellers are integrated in immigration networks, leaving mostly for Spain and France to work on a temporary or permanent basis, with or without legal documentation. Despite all differences, foreign volunteers travelled an opposite route, arriving there to work mainly in manual labour not intellectual, entailing an exchange of knowledge that permitted dwellers to feel less threatened by violence, exclusion and displacement.

During 2015, the community kitchen was the subject of several journalistic pieces both in the national and international press, conquering their fifteen minutes of fame in primetime television news blocks. The recognition as 'Public Building of the Year 2016' lead to a second round of interviews and photo shoots, one year after the end of the project. This prize was promoted by the popular architectural website ArchDaily trough online voting by their international readers, spreading Terras da Costa's achievements worldwide. Paradoxically, '[i]n spite of low crime and victimization rates, some of the highest public perceptions of insecurity within Europe characterize Portugal. This is explained on the ground of general feelings of lack of faith in the future (…) not directly connected with the actual danger of being victims of violent crime' (Tulumello 2014, p. 11). This inconsistency between *feeling* insecure and *being* insecure diminishes if visibility is given to places like Terras da Costa. Visibility created the possibility for the construction of different perceptions by neighbours, institutions and local police.

12.7 A Spatial Agenda Fostered by a Community Kitchen

Since 2015, a collaborative research work is taking place in Terras da Costa, developed by three urban researches, linking Architecture, Urban Studies and Anthropology, involving also dwellers and local authorities. The group investigates new ways of acting refusing misconstruction on immigrant communities or underprivileged groups. Going beyond the ethnographic fascination that this type of place sometimes exerts on architects, it is intended that experimental actions can lead to a participatory discussion regarding their right to housing.

This work acknowledges the crucial importance of 'Fronteiras Urbanas' as the starting point for debate in the neighbourhood. Now, urban researchers in the field work on intersections between power relations and spatial practices, benefiting from the momentum created by the research project focused on critical pedagogy between 2012 and 2014.

Workshops and meetings use the community kitchen as a space for gatherings, in activities like naming streets and re-numbering houses on route to a critical cartography that recognizes their right to be there. Another ongoing process is the

negotiation on the regularization of the power supply in the neighbourhood, providing dwellers technical support. After the privatisation of EDP - the Portuguese electricity operator was partially owned by the State until 2012, dwellers are now forced to make a legal contract, since the private company cannot support a loss of profits. A single electricity meter was allowed for all houses given that they are dispossessed of tenure rights. Researchers and dwellers negotiated how to organize equitable collective payments of the electricity bill.

Recent actions also include translations—mainly graphic but also discursive, of the site's planning constrains. Both local association and individuals asked urban researchers to better understand why they have to leave that place. Or how to resist displacements. The intricate structure of urban plans related to Terras da Costa (proposed, superseded, or up-to-date) is illegible for them, as for many others. Another aspect of this subject is the relation between formal institutions and the way they communicate with dwellers. Municipal technicians, even in their best intentions, are not able to adjust their technical jargon so dwellers can understand them. Deleuze wrote, '[t]here's no truth that doesn't "falsify" established ideas. To say that "truth is created" implies that the production of truth involves a series of operations that amount to working on a material-strictly speaking, a series of falsifications. When I work with Guattari each of us falsifies the other, which is to say that each of us understands in his own way notions put forward by the other.' (1995, p. 126). Thus the translations made for dwellers, imply a *production of falsifications*, as Deleuze puts it, aimed at endorsing concepts of illegality, justice and oppression. This endorsement is anchored in the understanding of spatial and social processes for the appropriation of space.

Between tactical approaches related to micro scale actions—both projects and procedures, and the promotion of a grassroots programme, the recent political promises of resettlement mobilized those who are directly affected by it, dwellers, to work closely with researchers and architects.

12.8 Conclusion

Regardless of all efforts from public housing programmes and social policies aimed at disenfranchised communities, Greater Lisbon still has places where severe socio-spatial exclusion exists. Places like Terras da Costa, where 300 people live without access to basic infrastructure and services. Illegality emerges from land occupation combined with the absence of effective housing policies.

Young's criteria were used as a means of evaluating claims that a group is oppressed, and how could a micro spatial revolution anchored in the everyday lives of those who live in Terras da Costa undermined that oppression. The aim is to

question the dominant paradigm of equality and inclusion, where equality corresponds to equal treatment, ignoring the practices of disadvantaged groups. The five faces of oppression substantiate three dimensions rooted in political economy (exploitation, marginalization and powerlessness) and two others (cultural imperialism and violence) based on culture. Part of human diversity, cultural differences should be acknowledged as *differences*, not eliminated or universalized. The introduction of diversity in planning is also one of the pillars in the construction of the just city (Fainstein 2010), fundamental for the mitigation of unjust impacts.

It is also recognized that the initial 'Fronteiras Urbanas' research project stimulated existing social dynamics and fostered dweller participation, vital to the implementation of the architectural project that followed. The community kitchen, whose main purpose wasn't the construction of a kitchen per se but to bring a water point into the neighbourhood, shows that objects can amplify voices of disenfranchised dwellers, while responding lo local practices. Reinforced practices were a way to embody differences in the discourse and practices of urban planning by institutions, or at least to address part of those differences. At Terras da Costa, the triangulation between public authorities, architects and dwellers (now officially organized in a formal neighbourhood association) leveraged the resettlement of this group of people, acknowledging their right to be there. As this process exemplifies, tactical urbanism in articulation with group-differentiated policies can respond to long-term demands in a more just way.

Joy for many, the arrival of water in the neighbourhood left a 40-year-old Zairean immigrant jobless. He charged some Euros for carrying water jerrycans from the replaced water fountain, located 1 km away. As with all processes of urban transformation shaped by a range of structural factors, Terras da Costa is constantly changing, since space is socially produced and has a political inscription in the territory where it operates.

Final Note: In the last days of the writing of this chapter, part of the neighbourhood was demolished, around 30 houses located near a paved road. This *tabula rasa* corresponds to the first action in the construction of a definitive solution. The entire Roma/Ciganos community, mostly one large extended family was resettled in social housing. They signed the papers for a new house after the promise they could return to Costa da Caparica. They occupied the only place where construction is allowed, and for that reason they need to clear the site so the resettlement of the other 55 houses can happen. Some of the displaced dwellers will return. Some others will eventually create new dynamics and stay where they are. Nevertheless, it is hoped that all can live in a decent house.

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Chapter 13
A Sociology of the Camps' Persisting Architecture. Why Did Rome not Put an End to Expensive Ethnic Housing Policies?

Gaja Maestri and Tommaso Vitale

At the beginning of the millennium, Italy was defined "Campland" by the European Roma Rights Center (2000) because of the presence of Roma camps, an ethnically-based public housing policy financed and, in several cases, directly managed by the local government.[1] In the camps the Roma live in either caravans or Portakabins provided by the local municipalities, which also supply basic facilities (such as drinking water, electricity and toilet facilities) and inclusion services to the resident population. With almost one-third of the Italian Roma population[2]—i.e. approximately 40,000—living in either informal settlements or official Roma camps, the Roma are among the communities mostly affected by severe housing deprivation and segregation (Dalla Zuanna 2013).[3] Still today Italy presents an astonishing level of ethnic residential segregation in camps for Roma, based on the wrong assumptions that they are nomads (ERRC 2013; European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights 2009) and that these ethnic camps constitute a less expensive housing solution. In the first section we will introduce the history

[1]We acknowledge the precious suggestions and criticisms by Marco Cremaschi, Stefano Pasta, Olivier Legros and Quentin Batreau.

[2]The Council of Europe estimates that there are approximately 150,000 Roma in Italy, with a minimum estimate around 120,000 and a maximum one reaching 180,000.

[3]It is however important to underscore that, although the Roma people in the media are often associated to camps, ghettoes and slums, the majority of the 180,000 Roma living in Italy actually live in flats or country mansions.

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of Roma camps in Italy, and in the following section we will look specifically at city of Rome. We will then focus on the architecture of the camps, and their barriers. Analyzing the multiple thresholds of these camps we will offer a sociological explanation of camps persistence, not related to the economic efficiency of policy instruments, but to the complex action fields in which they are embedded.

13.1 The Roma Camps in Italy

The journey towards the development of this policy can be traced back to the 1960s–1970s, when the advocacy action of Opera Nomadi, a pro-Roma association founded in 1965 (Bravi 2009), increased the political attention towards the issue of the free mobility of the Roma and Travellers (Sigona 2002). In the 1980s–1990s some Italian regions adopted regional laws with the aim of protecting Roma culture, especially their supposed nomadism. The Lazio Region was one of the first to adopted a law on the protection of Roma culture in 1985 (Regione Lazio 1985), in the absence of any legal status of Roma as a minority (Bonetti et al. 2011). This regional law introduced for the first time the creation of camps for nomadic Roma. However, the official camps for Roma people were introduced in the city of Rome only in the first half of the 1990s. An important factor that accelerated the implementation of this policy was the arrival of Roma asylum-seekers during the Yugoslav Wars. During the 1970s–1980s, Italy had already become the destination of Roma economic migrants arriving from former Yugoslavia (Pasta et al. 2016), many of whom—despite not being "nomads"—lived in informal settlements as they intended to remain only for a short period and hence sent most of their earnings as remittances to relatives in their home country (Daniele 2011; Monasta 2011). However, the sudden arrival of groups of Roma during the war, the mediatization of their migration (Sigona 2003) and the lack of recognition of the status of refugee to many of them who were without citizenships and thus obliged to find provisional and precarious shelters (ECRI 2002; Sigona 2015), resulted in the transformation of their presence and of the alleged increasing number of informal settlements into an "emergency" which required rapid solutions. This led the local administration to tackle the issue raised during the arrival of Roma asylum-seekers through the tool of the camp introduced by the 1985 regional law, which was though mainly concerned with the management of "nomads" rather than of asylum-seekers. Later, in 2008, the Italian Government declared a state of emergency related to the "problem" of "nomad settlements" in some of the Italian metropolitan regions (Milan, Naples and Rome, followed by Turin). By using the law on national disaster, the national government made available special funds and regulations. Although nomadism was mobilized to avoid ethnic profiling, in the following years the ethnic categorization (Roma) replaced the behavioral one (Nomad). Because of the importance of Roma camps, scholars have focused more on slums and camps, and

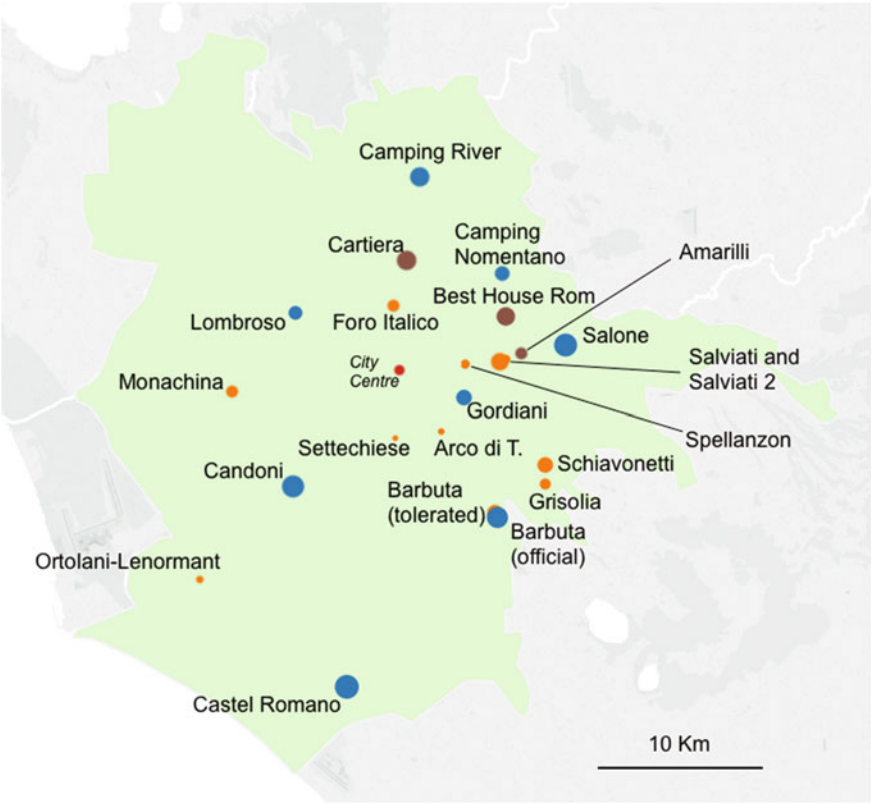
their regulation, than on other forms of Roma housing integration (Aguilera and Vitale 2015, Manzoni 2016).

The 2008 census in the cities of Rome, Naples, and Milan reported 12,346 Roma living in either informal settlements and camps, while official figures from the City of Rome revealed that, in 2011 they were 7,877 only in the Italian capital city (Comune di Roma 2011). Unofficial sources confirmed Rome as the Italian city with the highest number of Roma experiencing severe housing deprivation and residential segregation, with 11,021 Roma living in more than one hundred informal settlements (Dalla Zuanna 2013) and 8 official camps. In the official Roma camps, the City of Rome supplies basic facilities (such as drinking water, toilets and electricity) together with a series of additional services provided by subcontracting NGOs and including internal surveillance and security as well as so-called "socio-educational" activities for the residents, namely, schooling activities for the children and (though less often) training for the adults. Besides the Roma informal settlements and official camps, in Rome there are also 11 so-called "tolerated" camps which, despite acknowledged by the municipality and provided with basic facilities, do not receive socio-educational services. As of 2013, official figures from the City of Rome showed approximately 4,500 Roma living in official camps, and other 1,500 living in tolerated camps (Map 13.1).

People living in these camps experience residential segregation and severe housing deprivation, as they present low hygienic conditions, and are mainly concentrated in urban fringe, and in non-residential and isolated areas far from services and public transport. The caravans and Portakabins are often too small to accommodate the families with children (Fig. 13.1), and also in bad conditions (Fig. 13.2). The official camps are often overcrowded and host more people than originally planned, with three of them housing more than five hundred people (Camping River, Candoni, La Barbuta) and other two reaching almost one thousand residents (Castel Romano and Salone). Instead of being very cheap, the system of the Roma camps has been very expensive, and since 2014 several judicial inquiries have shed light on the direct engagement of mafia and crime organizations in capturing public funds for providing assistance and welfare services in the Roma camps, and the high level of corruptions of some officials, public servants and so-called Roma representatives in the sector.

In the last years, the City of Rome has also created Roma reception centers where to temporary relocate Roma people evicted from informal settlements and that, like the Roma official camps, are temporary but usually located in buildings.

Although the internal architecture of the camps is relatively flexible and is constantly changed and adapted by the residents according to their needs (Laino and Vitale 2015), the external barriers of these spaces have been barely modified throughout the last twenty years. Also internal facilities are almost the same. Even the most recent Roma reception centers simply replicate the approach shaping the official camps. Instead of being easily accessible and of favoring the integration of the target population into the local society, the Roma camps and reception centers



Map 13.1 The official (*blue*) and tolerated (*orange*) Roma camps and the Roma reception centers (*brown*)

are highly sealed and separated, presenting similar features to a total institutions, and similar kind of effects on identity, social skills and strategic action on those living inside. Furthermore, inside the camps there are no cultural, social, recreational or sport-related spaces and facilities aimed at the whole citizenry and which may attract the neighbors. Those who live near the camps avoid entering them because they fear potentially negative reactions from the part of the camp dwellers. Indeed, the architecture of the camp developed in the name of help and integration actually leads to a reduction rather than a development of social capital, destroying weak ties. Although there have been some interventions, often led by artists and architects who aimed to redesign and make the threshold of the camp more permeable, these efforts were nonetheless limited to locally based initiatives and did not introduce any substantial change in the logic of ethnic segregation of the camps.

Fig. 13.1 Picture of a caravan in Cesarina camp (Figure by Gaja Maestri)

Fig. 13.2 A bed in a caravan in Cesarina camp (by Gaja Maestri)

13.2 The Architectural Form of the Roma Camps in Rome

In this section we will describe the architecture of Roma camps emphasizing four dimensions:

(a) the spatial ordering of space through the control of *boundaries* (i.e. the use of fences);
(b) the spatial *configuration of the distribution of objects* (i.e. the organization of proximity and distance);
(c) the spatial organization of the camp, with its *permanence* (the "*firmitas*" in Vitruvio classical account), as opposed to the lack of robustness and good conditions of most precarious buildings (barracks and containers, as well as building for shelters);
(d) the *symbolic and communicative structure* of such configurations, of which aesthetic values are an important yet not predominant part (with the central building devoted to social assistance, or local police office at the entry door).

These four analytical dimensions have to be considered interrelated and they allow us to cover the relations between architecture and space (Cremaschi 2013). Let's start from one first example. The Salone camp is located in the eastern periphery of Rome and, with almost one thousand residents, it is one of the largest camps of the Italian capital city (Anzaldi and Stasolla 2010). The plot of land was illegally occupied in 1999 by a group of Roma who set up an informal settlement, later in 2006 provided with Portakabins and basic facilities by the City of Rome (Anzaldi and Stasolla 2010). Today the Salone camp is one of the most renown as it sadly encapsulates the main characteristics and problems of the Roma camps in Rome. It is far from services, with the closer food store at more than 3 km (Associazione 21 Luglio 2014a). As several other camps, the Salone one is really overcrowded: even though the camp was originally planned to host a maximum of six hundred people, in 2010 the population peaked at 1,076, while in 2013 there were still more than 900 people of Bosnian, Serbian and Romanian origins (Associazione 21 Luglio 2014a; Anzaldi and Stasolla 2010). There is one official entrance gate, which is patrolled 24/7 by the security guards controlling who enters. Next to the guards there is a Portakabin for the police too, which is—in fact—often empty. The camp is surrounded by a metal fence which has been, however, damaged in some parts so that the residents can more easily exit and enter the camp without passing from the main gate. The camp stretches on the left side of the main entrance, through a long straight asphalt road that cuts the camp into two specular halves with a multitude of Portakabins where the Roma live (Figs. 13.3 and 13.4). The Portakabins are of three different dimensions: 22.50, 24.30 and 27.60 m^2 (Anzaldi and Stasolla 2010). They have a main small door that leads to a small living room with a sofa in between two bedrooms, and a kitchen corner and they do not have an en-suite bathroom. Considering that Roma families often have many children, it is hard for a family of 6 or 8 to fit in such a small space.

Fig. 13.3 Satellite image of Salone camp (Imagery ©2013 DigitalGlobe)

Fig. 13.4 The caravans in Salone camp (reprinted with permission of *Associazione 21 Luglio*, Rome)

The Cesarina camp has been temporarily closed for refurbishment in December 2013. Situated on a natural park in the north-eastern periphery of the city, on the area of a former camping and of property of the Roman Curia, at the beginning of the 2000s it was ran by a manager who illegally rent it to hundreds of Romanian undocumented migrants for a monthly rent of approximately 200 Euros (Associazione 21 Luglio 2012). The conditions of the camp were deplorable and the manager was later arrested for favoring undocumented migration and exploitation

of labour. After dismantling the camping, in 2003 the local government opened on the same site an official camp and sub-contracted its direction to the previous arrested manager (Associazione 21 Luglio 2012). Like in the case of the Salone camp, the main entrance gate is patrolled 24/7 by the manager who can control who access the camp. The camp is divided into two main areas, one where Romanian Roma live in caravans and Portakabins and another where Bosnian and Montenegrin Roma live in mobile housing units. In the Cesarina camp there were more than 150 Roma living in a total of 40 old Portakabins and caravans, with 13 m^2 for more than 4 people on average (Associazione 21 Luglio 2012). The caravans were especially unsuitable to accommodate a family because they were old and during winter really cold, and also because some of them lacked electricity. Toilet facilities were insufficient for the population, with only 8 toilets and 8 showers which presented really low hygienic conditions. For this reason the City of Rome provided additional chemical toilets (Fig. 13.5), which however did not solve the lack of hygiene in the camp, which was temporarily closed because of this lack of safety and security standards and the residents relocated to the Roma reception center Best House Rom.

The case of the Roma center Best House Rom became infamously known for epitomizing the system of high public expenditure for low quality housing standards (Fig. 13.6). The center is located in the eastern periphery of Rome, was opened in 2012 and today host 359 Bosnian and Romanian Roma (72 families). The Associazione 21 Luglio revealed the shameful living conditions of this Roma center: the building was actually inhabitable, being designated as depository. Nonetheless families were relocated there, being assigned one bedroom of 12 m^2 each (i.e. about 2.5 m^2 for each person, below the legal 12 m^2 indicated by the Lazio Region), with no windows and no kitchen facilities despite the lack of full catering (Associazione 21 Luglio 2014b). These were the conditions offered for more than 2 ml Euros, i.e. 7,796 Euros per capita in 2014 (over 38,000 Euros per family in 2014, for a total of 150,017 Euros since its inauguration in 2012) (Table 13.1). The money invested in the center exposed the local government to criticisms for an unclear way of managing. Indeed, even though the 92.8% of outlays went into the maintenance of the building (to the detriment of schooling and social inclusion services), the conditions of the center were unsuitable to host families for a long period.

The Roma reception center Cartiera was opened in 2009 and it is currently in the process of being closed, although there are protests against its closing because no alternative relocation has been yet offered to its residents. As of today there are approximately 380 people, mainly Bosnian, Montenegrin and Romanian Roma (Associazione 21 Luglio 2015). The Cartiera is an old paper factory located in the northern part of Rome, in a building with a tall and heavy gate patrolled 24/7 (Fig. 13.7). Therefore, entering without a permission or without being seen by some of the guards is virtually impossible. The social life of the centre mainly occur in the backyard of the building, adjacent to a municipal waste disposal area which strongly affect the air of the building. In the backyard there are some kitchen corners where groups of women can cook because inside there are no kitchen

Fig. 13.5 The chemical toilets in Cesarina camp (by Gaja Maestri)

Fig. 13.6 A corridor in the Best House Rom center (reprinted with permission of *Associazione 21 Luglio*, Rome)

facilities (the center was originally planned as catered accommodation but it was then serving only one meal a day). The residents sleep in the internal part of the factory, which is equipped with a series of fitting rooms where the families can

Table 13.1 Expenditure for Roma reception centers, Rome 2014. *Source* Associazione 21 luglio (2015)

Reception center	Number of families	Total expenditure (in Euros)	Annual expenditure per family (in Euros)
Cartiera	102	2,073,724	20,331
Best House Rom	72	2,798,878	38,873
Amarilli street	20	1,394,469	69,723
San Cipirello street	10	253,751	25,375
Torre Morena street	9	497,816	55,313
Toraldo street	21	494,185	23,533
Ex Fiera di Roma	8	185,017	23,127
Total	242	8,053,544	33,279

Fig. 13.7 Main entrance Cartiera (Figure by Gaja Maestri)

sleep. Before, they were sleeping together in the main hall of the factory, using some bedsheets to symbolically divide the space and to seek privacy. After the *Associazione 21 Luglio* complained to the city about the lack of privacy, the fitting rooms were provided yet they are not big enough for a family of 4 or 5 people as they are only 12 m^2 each (Associazione 21 Luglio 2015). With only one toilet for 20 guests on average, toilet facilities are insufficient for the residents, and there is only one room for social activities which only has one television and video games. As in the case of the Best House Rom, with 600 Euros spent per capita each month (over 20,000 Euros per family in 2013 and approximately 231 thousand Euros per family since the opening of the center), the living conditions could be far better.

13.3 The Power Relations Behind Spatial Planning

The four examples illustrated in the previous section perfectly represent the architectural features of the rest of the Roma official camps and reception centers in the City of Rome. Since the second half of the 1990s the City of Rome, during both left-wing and right-wing administrations, has created new Roma camps with the same design, even though this policy is increasingly costly. In addition to this, the deplorable conditions of the Roma camps have negative effects on the real estate market in the neighborhoods where they are located, increasing even further the burden on Roman citizens. From 2005 to 2011 the city of Rome spent a total of 70 million Euros for Roma-related policies and projects (Berenice et al. 2013). The expenses almost doubled in 2009 after the declaration of the state of emergency for the "Nomad problem", during which Rome received a total of 32 million Euros to implement the Nomad Plan (Stasolla 2012). These financial resources are, however, largely ineffective and disproportionate, as revealed by the conditions of the camps just described (Table 13.2). In fact, as demonstrated by a series of associations it is possible to achieve better housing condition at a same price.

A project developed by *Stalker,* a group of architects based in Rome, showed that the same amount of money could correspond to higher housing standards. The project, called *Savorengo Ker* (meaning "everyone's house" in Romani language) was developed in collaboration with the residents of the former informal settlement Casilino 900 in 2008. The architects designed and built the house together with the people living in Casilino 900, and finally developed a two-storey wooden house of 70 m^2 for a total cost of 24,000 Euros (Muzzonigro 2011). The cost is the same as for the Portakabins used in the camps, but the house is at least three times bigger and meeting the needs of the families, also involving them in the construction works and therefore increasing their attachment to it. Also the *Associazione 21 Luglio* has revealed that it is possible to develop more inclusive forms of housing with less money. For instance, while the creation of the camp La Barbuta in Rome costed more than 80,000 Euros for each family, a self-building project costed approximately 50,000 Euros, and a renovation project drastically reduced the expenses per families to 10,000 Euros (Associazione 21 Luglio 2014a). These projects denounce the ineffective and unsustainable costs of the Roma camps, showing how for less money there could be more inclusive and better housing solutions. Yet, the Roma camps are still highly isolated (Table 13.3) and their architecture have persisted until today, revealing how their architectural form is not the result of a technical and rational planning which aims to maximize costs and quality, but the product of more intricate and political mechanisms which perpetuates this ineffective and segregating spaces.

This chapter investigates this persistence of the architectural forms of the Roma camps and seeks to understand what are the political mechanisms that hinder its change. We will address this question by analyzing the City of Rome. As illustrated above, the Italian capital city hosts the largest Romani population in Roma camps and reception centers, for which it has invested large financial resources

Table 13.2 Expenditure for Roma Camps, Rome 2013. *Source* Associazione 21 luglio (2014a)

Roma camp	Number of families	Total expenditure (in Euros)	Annual expenditure per family (in Euros)
Lombroso	30	344,616	11,487
Candoni	164	2,393,699	14,595
Gordiani	51	691,121	13,551
Cesarina	34	607,605	17,871
Camping River	105	2,204,363	20,994
Castel Romano	198	5,354,788	27,044
Salone	180	2,891,198	16,062
La Barbuta	116	1,717,004	14,802
Total	878	16,204,394	136,406

Table 13.3 Roma Camp in Rome, 2014. *Source* Associazione 21 luglio (2013)

Roma camp	Starting year	Distance from the city center (in Km)	Number of inhabitants
Lombroso	2000	12.3	190
Candoni	2000	12.4	820
Gordiani	2002	7.3	253
Cesarina	2003	12.7	172
Camping River	2005	18.0	611
Castel Romano	2005	31.7	937
Salone	2006	16.4	900
La Barbuta	2012	14.5	611
Total	–	15.67 (average)	4,494

nevertheless obtaining poor results from an architectural point of view. It constitutes, therefore, an important entry point into the politics behind the spatial planning of the camps. However, the extant literature on the Roma camps' architecture does not provide a satisfying answer to this question.

Sibley (1981) argues that the architecture of the Roma camps reflects an attempt of ordering the Roma population which is "perceived as disorderly and threatening" (p. 38). The design and disposition of caravans inside a camp reflects the desire of order which is seen as lacking in the Roma communities. The idea that the design of the Roma camps reflects a gaze imposed by the "majoritarian society" (as if it were a metaphysical unity able to express one vision and a unique representation) is shared by other scholars. Features of the Roma camps like the presence of caravans instead of stable housing units and the temporariness of the stay mirror the assumption that the Roma have a mobile way of living, thus "nomadizing" them as an effect (van Baar 2011). At the same time, nomadism as a concept shaping the policies targeting the Roma also works as a discourse justifying the actual rejection of these groups, confined in spaces shaped by the contempt towards them

(Brunello 1996). The refusal of this population translates into space, being for instance located in degraded peripheries of the city (Però 1999). While the space of the camp has been observed as the ultimate form of imposed segregation and containment of internal outsiders, there has been also growing attention towards the agency of the camps' residents, who have reshaped the context in which they live, also strategically (Vitale and Membretti 2013; see also Cremaschi and Fioretti 2016).

Even though the literature on the Roma camps has widely discussed both the role of racism and discrimination in the formation of these spaces and the resistance emerged in these segregated spaces, it has nonetheless given less attention to the interaction between these two levels, thus limiting the understanding of the persistence of this form of segregation. We therefore propose a sociological reading of the architecture of the camps which focuses on the relationships between institutional matrixes and the social bases of regulations (Bagnasco 2016). While, on the one hand, we look at the norms and incentives that regulate the allocation of resources in the reproduction of the Roma camps, as well as their physical settings, on the other, we connect the analysis of the institutional matrix with an inquiry into the social bases of the interest groups and collective actors that profit from the current configuration of the Roma camps. Within this classical Weberian sociological approach we look at current developments in sociological theory that may help us understand the persistence and change of an architectural form. Fligstein and McAdam (2012), dissatisfied with the lack of a sociological framework that could account for the relation between institutions and the individuals, suggest a formalized theory on collective action. The core concept of this theory is the "strategic action fields" (SAFs), which can be defined as "fundamental units of collective action in society" (Fligstein and McAdam 2012, p. 9) working as a meso-level social order with an institutional matrix of rules and incentives, as well as a structured configuration of relations among actors. The constant interaction between actors (either individual or collective) with different degrees of power makes the SAFs more or less stable. Therefore, unlike in functionalists accounts, change is conceived of as constitutive aspects of a SAFs and not reduced to something exogenous, generated outside of it. However, the sheer presence of groups with different interest and strategies does not necessarily translate into change, but into the stability of an array of different aspects, such as: the presence of formal rule protecting the power of the so-called "incumbent" actors, a legitimate "governance unit", the lack of external allies for "challengers" and a higher connectedness with other SAFs are all aspects that make the SAFs more stable.

Fligstein and McAdam's analytical framework can prove fruitful to avoid a functionalist interpretation, characterizing most of the literature on camps. In fact, to conceive of the camps as a SAF enables us to focus on the dynamics that led "incumbent" actors promoting an ineffective and highly isolating architecture to maintain their power against "challengers" that advocate more inclusive and economically sustainable architectural solutions. The question "what made this architectural form chronically persistent?" cannot be answered by a tautological response about the camps being functional to make the Roma invisible or to

re-educate them. Obviously, every architecture plays a function. However, the answer should be able to explain why and how a specific architecture—with all its functions—persists despite economic and social inefficiencies and failures. Thus, the research question can be re-phrased as follows: "why there have not been actions aimed at the innovation and change of the barriers and architecture of these spaces?" Explaining the stability of power of actors supporting the current Roma camps—despite the presence of available and cheaper alternatives—implies necessarily accounting for the lack of power of those opposing this policy. These reflections arising from Fligstein and McAdam's work can be useful to shed light on the role of the architecture of the camps in bolstering the stability of this SAF. We indeed argue that the architecture of the camps works as a mechanism that hinders change because it facilitates the isolation of the Roma, the control of their contact with the outside, the steering of their potential dissent and of their official political representatives, as well as the lessening of the legitimacy of alternative policy instruments (Halpern et al. 2014). In the following sections we will illustrate the effects of the architectural form of the camp and, by referring to Fligstein and McAdam's theory, what are the mechanisms that enable this architectural forms and its effects to persist.

13.4 Roma Camps Architectural Form and Its Effects

The Roma camps, with their highly sealed barriers and the bulky presence of third-sector organizations involved in the management of security services and activities with the residents, are spaces that contain social relations and isolate the voice of the Roma and repress the emergence of dissent towards this form of segregation. Furthermore, even the tools that throughout the years have been presented as enabling the political participation and representation of the camp residents have failed to do so and have actually reinforced the segregation and confinement of those criticizing the policy of the Roma camps.

As illustrated earlier in the chapter, associations played a crucial role in the Roma camps since the inception of this policy in the early 1990s. Indeed, private actors historically had an important role in the planning of territorial and social policies in Italy (Polizzi et al. 2013). The presence of sub-contracting associations in the camps have been justified by a humanitarian intervention, aimed at the inclusion of the Roma. However, instead of increasing their inclusion, by isolating them and by mediating their claims or complaints it has perpetuated their exclusion, thus favoring a small elite of Roma residents complying with the segregating policy of the camps and impeding to the actors challenging it to establish contacts with the rest of the residents (Daniele 2011). The recent police enquiry *Mafia Capitale* officially uncovered the detrimental effects of the involvement of self-styled pro-Roma associations in the management of the camp. In 2014, the police unveiled an intricate corruption system through which politicians, officials, members of third sector associations and of criminal organizations rigged the bids to select

subcontractors for the management and provision of services in the Roma camps and refugee reception centers and then appointed specific associations which would in turn support those politicians both politically and economically. However, rather than a rupture with how things were managed before, this corrupted system led to an exacerbation of the already foggy way of managing the Roma camps through the manipulation of the main contractual devices and standards of the tenders for service delivery of contracting out NGOs. And it led to new judicial inquiries in 2015 and 2016.

The mediation carried out by the associations in the camps occurs, first, by monopolizing the access to the camps and reducing the possibility of the residents to get in touch with associations that are not officially working there and, second, by steering the mobilization of the residents and by filtering their contacts with the outside. Both these two dynamics are enabled by the material and architectural structure of the camps and reception centers, which are difficultly accessible and constantly (though to different degrees) controlled by sub-contracting associations. The Cartiera centre epitomizes the power of managing association, both in steering and filtering residents mobilization and complaints, but also their power in managing the relationship between the outside and the inside of the camp. It is indeed virtually impossible to access the center without passing through the main gate's control, and subsequently to visit the center autonomously. During two visits to this centre, the workers of the managing associations kindly welcomed us and presented the center, explaining how it worked and introducing us to some of the residents. We were also offered the support of a linguistic mediator working in the camp. However, the constant presence of the managing association's members and operators resulted in a filter to interviews and to direct conversations with residents, mainly those who were criticizing the situation, while contacts with those more positive about the situation were facilitated. For instance, while we were introduced to a Roma resident of the centre who also works for the managing association as responsible for the children's sport activities, other residents who raised some critical issues regarding the centre were quickly dismissed by the operators and managers. The presence of sub-contracting associations turns from inclusion into control, which hinders contacts between the residents and actors opposing this policy. For example, also in the Cesarina camp the main entrance was constantly patrolled by the manager. When we visited this camp with a member of an association widely renown for its critical stance on the Roma camps, this person made up a fake name to access the camp in order not to be recognized and to enter the camp. However effective the control of the camps is, the attitude of the managing associations is to make the exchange between the inside and the outside of the camp more difficult instead of facilitating it. This enforced isolation is enabled by the presence of gates, walls and metal fences that buttress the power of the gatekeepers.

Furthermore, the isolation of the residents is further exacerbated by the formation of a small Roma elite that complies with the policy of the Roma camp and that contributes to silencing the potential dissent emerging among its residents. Although essentialist and culturalist interpretations depict the Roma as a sort of backward individualistic "tribe" supposedly unable to organize collective action

and to fight for their rights, we emphasize that strategic collective action is a *social* skill, i.e. it is either produced or destroyed within the very action fields where people live and establish relations. In our case study, the reduction of the Roma's capacity of collective action occurred through the means of participatory instruments. Paradoxically as it may seem, action fields and social skills are indeed structured by the implementation of policy instruments, and not by policy goals or explicit philosophies (Boisseuil 2016).

To understand social skills as embedded in action fields and affected by policy instrumentation enables us to plug a concrete participatory dynamic into our analysis. The isolation and the concerns about the actual freedom of the residents living in the camps, as well as the absence of a direct voice of Roma within the governance of Roma camps (Vitale and Boschetti 2011), led several pro-Roma advocacy group to demand an improvement in the policy instruments aimed at a more active political participation of the Roma in the design of the policy of the camps. For this reasons, past local administrations, both left-wind and right-wing, have introduced in policies and regulations of the camps the presence of Roma associations and representatives. Yet, instead of de-segregating the camps by widening the participation of its residents, the co-optation and officialization of a Roma leadership—though relatively unimplemented—actually reinforced the isolating tendencies of the camps, thus reducing collective action as a social skill shared by the camp dwellers. Indeed, instead of promoting a form of political participation and representation beyond the boundaries of the camps, the camp was taken as the community of reference and therefore the representatives chosen among the residents, hence reproducing the enclosed character of this policy. Moreover, this Roma elite, that in different ways control the community living in the camps, has been exploited by mayors and politicians to show their commitment towards the involvement or Roma communities while actually securing the stability of the camp.

13.5 From Material Barriers to the Multiple Thresholds of the Camp: A Regime of Action

What our empirical research highlights is that the architectural form and the quality of the space of the camps contain the Roma, making them invisible, weakening their social skills for collective action and coalition-making, and hiding underpinning social conflicts. The Roma camps are places of tolerance, where a certain undesirable population is contained and some deviant behavior is allowed, to the extent that it does not become visible outside the camps, spreading into the city. Indeed, the architectural barriers of the camps cannot be treated as a mere material feature of this space, but also entails an array of different thresholds with different social effects. From a sociological point of view, the architecture and geographical placement of the camps also produces a plurality of social boundaries that stretches

beyond the physical fencing in of the Roma and strongly orient the actors involved in this policy and affect their way of thinking and acting. Studies on urban segregation have shown that the mechanisms presiding the genesis of radical residential segregation are not the same mechanisms shaping the maintenance of this extreme segregation (Vitale 2009; Sampson 2012). Our research shows that this is true for total institutions as well as for the Roma camps, in terms of stigma, mechanisms of internal economic exchange, as well as processes of identity adaptation and skills formation (Vitale 2010). Employing Fligstein and McAdam's theory on the SAFs enables us to shed light on three main mechanisms at work in the *maintenance* of the social effects of the architectural design of the camps. The first concerns the threshold between the inside and the outside of the camps as a clear marker of the power relations characterizing the camp, the second is about the co-optation of the Roma residents and elites and the third regards the highly permeable threshold between the camp and other SAFs which increase its stability.

Fligstein and McAdam (2011) argue that, in stable SAFs, "[t]he rules of the game will be known" (p. 14). Despite the Roma camps are characterized by strong ambiguity, mainly with regard to its origins, goals and regulatory framework (Daniele 2011; Sigona 2011), the camps' barriers translate into a multiplicity of threshold drawing clear distinctions between the inside and the outside, between the controllers and the controlled, the helpers and the helped ones, with *clear* and *distinct* symbolic and material incentives to the service providers and the target population. On the other hand, despite these clear distinctions, the ethnic categorization underpinning this separation is naturalized and become invisible, as if it were impossible to conceive these architectural spaces differently, with the result that all the alternatives lose legitimacy and are removed from the governing agenda. Thus, this spatial design constitutes at the same time a rigid "regime of action" (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006; Vitale and Claps 2010), i.e. a modality of public action, and a tool of domination which reproduces power asymmetries, becoming an institutional matrix according to which the actors involved in it act, leaving no space for critical collective reflections. Indeed in the camp, while the residents are separate from the world outside the camps and therefore forcibly enact their segregation, the workers of sub-contracting associations actually lose their autonomy and the capacity to propose alternatives, thus reproducing what is imposed by that specific architectural form (Clough Marinaro and Daniele 2014). As a consequence, the access to a camp is not only the access to a local welfare service for housing emergency, but increasingly becomes the access to one architectural space which produces disempowerment and chronicity: a total institution that entraps its residents and adapt their preferences. Architecture has, thus, worked as a stabilizing aspects of this SAFs, increasing the power of control of incumbent actors, and reducing the power of (even potential) opponents and claimers of alternative housing opportunities.

Furthermore, not only have the camps enabled the silencing of the Roma voice, but the spatial confinement into a sealed camp allowed the dominant actors to develop strategies of co-optation when the power of challengers was rising. Co-optation is, indeed, one of the main strategies employed by dominant groups to

preserve their position in the SAFs (Fligstein and McAdam (2011). As mentioned above, the growing concern regarding the isolation and lack of participation of the camps' residents led the local administrations of Rome to adopt measures to formally include Roma associations and representatives into the decision-making process and planning of the services for the Roma population, including the camps. However, instead of effectively implementing processes of bottom-up participation and to include the voice of the Roma, the tools developed—i.e. the inclusion of Roma associations in board meetings, the appointment of a mayor's counsellor and the election of camps' representatives—actually further sustained the exclusion of the Roma. Participation can indeed be used instrumentally and "it can also be exclusionary and perpetuate inequality" (Silver et al. 2010, p. 473).

Finally, the camps and their architecture have persisted because they are strongly connected to a series of other SAFs and, as Fligstein and McAdam (2011) argue "[t]he more connected an SAFs is to other SAFs, the more stable that SAF is likely to be" (p. 17). Indeed, not all relevant structuring mechanisms are related to the endogenous dynamics of the specific policy sector. The recent *Mafia Capitale* police enquiry revealed the system of the Roma camps being tightly connected to the political ones and also to criminal organizations. Instead of working as a welfare service for people experiencing severe housing deprivation, the main goal of the actors planning and implementing the camps became to sustain their private political and economic interests to the actual detriment of the people in need and officially the beneficiaries of this housing policy. Employing the categorization of the field environment proposed by Fligstein and McAdam, the corrupt system constituted a proximate field which strongly affected the persistence of the Roma camps. Therefore, when challengers aim their criticisms at the Roma camps by denouncing their deplorable conditions, its excessive costs, their discriminatory character and the lack of achievement of the objective for which they were officially established at the beginning of the 1990s, the SAF of the Roma camp remained stable because the corrupt system sustaining it was not targeted by these attacks. Moreover, the SAF of the Roma camp is also strictly connected to the political system because the Roma camps constitute a political issue that provoke strong reactions, both among politicians and constituencies of all political colors. The widespread stigmatization of the Roma people makes it highly unpopular to support the inclusion of the Roma and also the change in current policies and expenses, mainly in a period of economic recession (Maestri 2014). Yet, economic rationality in times of austerity could have implied a radical change in the allocation of money and in the selection of the appropriate policy instruments. We cannot understand the logic and the dynamic of consensus if we remain anchored to a decontextualized form of economic rationality. On the contrary, our analysis of the SAF shows how, in order not to lose support, politicians opt not to change the current architecture of the Roma camps as a strategy of "blame avoidance" (Weaver 1986). Indeed, as it is often the case for urban policies for the poor, local governments seek to prevent the raising of potentially dangerous issues by steering the scope of the political process towards only those issues which are presumably innocuous, thus limiting the

decision-making to relatively non-controversial subjects and influencing community values, political procedures and rituals too (Bachrach and Baratz 1970).

The Roma camps are often mobilized for justifying an increase in security policies, for instance the exacerbation of repatriation policies mainly targeting Romanian Roma in 2007 in Italy was justified on the basis of the threat constituted by Roma camps. Moreover, the Roma camps, from being a tool for rehousing people in need became a tool of the local government for sharing favors and bribes with part of its constituencies, for securing alliances and political compliance and the consensus of the electorate. This strong proximity to the political and NGO's fields through mechanisms of corruption, brokerage and coalition building made the Roma camps and their architecture resistant to the attacks of the challenging actors.

13.6 A Persistent Architecture Based on Action Fields of Invisible Relations

The persistence of the Roma camps as architectural form concerns the regulation of social services in Rome and their system of incentives and regulation for the coordination of its actors. These latter belong to a strategic field of action whereby the political profits are linked to clientelism and electoral dynamics. These two components are different but they both converge into an institutional matrix that allocates the resources leading to the reproduction of the camp. At the same time, the internal actors of this strategic field do not develop demands for change and towards the integration and empowerment of the Roma. An incumbent mode of composing barriers, distribution of objects, permanence and symbolic order produces the Roma camps architecture. It is partially challenged by informal settlements, or by peripheral experience of more effective, community based sheltering, but with no impact on the main dimension of Roma camps architecture: their borders, objects distribution, spatial organization and symbolic order have persisted despites criticism, political shifts, international denunciations.

The analysis of the effects of the material barriers of the camps, which translate into the control of dissent, and of the mechanisms through which the camp creates several thresholds that enable its persistence, shows how the enduring exclusionary architectural form of the camp can be explained only by looking at the (power) relations *within* and *among* the action fields. As Pierre Bourdieu (2015) stated, the sociological study of reproduction and persistence in not based on the observation of visible interactions, but on the analysis of invisible relations (see also Le Galès 2001, for a more Weberian approach to invisible relations within contextualized urban policy sectors).

Indeed, merely promoting an upgrade of the physical facilities of the camps, with a more inclusive and economically sustainable design, is not enough to overcome this persistent exclusionary spatial arrangement. A similar reflection was already developed by the so-called de-institutionalization movements in the mental

health sector, which denounced the sociological impossibility of improving the outcomes of psychiatric hospital by changing their internal facilities (Basaglia 1987; Vitale 2010). Likewise, it is not enough to denounce how the current architecture feeds into the process of constant marginalization of this historically disenfranchised minority. The reasons for the architectural stability of the camp, and the persistence of this policy, need be sought in the political and economic relations among institutional and non-institutional actors and their strategies to maintain their dominant position, which in a vicious cycle are enabled through the camps' architecture. To change the latter, the former should change too.

Although it is probably too early to draw some conclusions on the possibility of change of the Roma camps in a near future, there are signs that confirm that to assail the economic and political interests enabled by the camps could be an effective de-stabilizing strategy. Following the scandal *Mafia Capitale* a series of third-sector associations historically working in the Roma camps have decided to boycott the recent public tender for subcontractors in the Roma camps with the intention to denounce the current management of the camps too focused on security and surveillance services, as well as on the ethnic profiling of the camps beneficiaries, to the detriment of inclusive social interventions. This initiative, which has increasingly being joined by several associations, is directly tackling the corrupt and political system sustaining the Roma camps, and its stability will depend on the strategies that the opponents to the Roma camps will develop to enlarge the Roma advocacy coalition as well as on how the dominant groups will deal with them.

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Chapter 14
Housing Policies for the Urban Poor: The Importance of an Interdisciplinary Approach. A View from São Tomé

Ana Silva Fernandes

14.1 The Multidimensional Challenge of Poverty Reduction

Even though poverty is commonly recognised as a multidimensional challenge—related not only with economic constraints, but also with social exclusion and deprivation (Townsend 1979; Costa et al. 2008), obstacles to development and unfreedoms (Sen 1999)—the extent in which it is addressed through an interdisciplinary approach is often quite limited, as well as its overall impact.

Indeed, the perpetuation of the poverty cycle may lead one to wonder if the solutions that are being implemented are truly addressing the problem and minimizing it.

In fact, taking the conditions of the built environment as an indicator and a pillar of this concern, the *Global Report on Human Settlements 2003: The Challenge of Slums* (UN-Habitat 2003), pointed out that—at that time—the percentage of people living in inadequate conditions was decreasing, while the numbers were increasing. A decade afterwards, the scenario remained similar (UN-Habitat 2013), thus showing that solutions are still far behind growing demands, while indicators point out that inequality keeps rising (OECD 2011) and threatens to aggravate already critical situations.

The balance of the results of the Millennium Development Goals 2000–2015 (UN 2015a) shows an improvement in the overall human development status, but rather asymmetric results, where some regions present alarming evidence of the

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presence and perpetuation of profound asymmetries. The new agenda on the Sustainable Development Goals for 2016–2030 (UN 2015b) dedicates the first point to the goal of eradicating poverty, and the eleventh to the cities and other human settlements, thus recognising the importance of the spatial issues as important pillars towards equity and inclusion, encouraging further efforts for the improvement of living conditions.

14.1.1 An "Approximate Therapy": Insufficient, but also Inefficient, Policies?

Policies to improve the built environment in benefit of the poor remain far behind increasing demands. Nevertheless, they often prove to be not only insufficient, but repeatedly also inefficient: meaning that they reach a lower impact than they might have achieved, and that much more could have been done with equivalent effort. Therefore, the discussion presented here is not on whether we need more investment into extending the actions and capacities for reducing poverty and the precarious built environment—we do, obviously—but on the obstacles and misconceptions that limit the impacts of programmes and actions, and how they may be overcome, in order to improve the existing policies.

Therefore, by focusing on the intervention in the built environment—such as housing policies and improvement of urban informal settlements—this chapter will especially address two aspects of the limitations of policies for poverty reduction, namely on how—besides the constraints in available resources for intervention—much of this inadequacy is related with both the misconceptions in the diagnosis and with the inertia of the intervention system or the repetition of standard solutions, which result in the application of an "approximate therapy" (Fanon 1964), rather than the search of adequate context-specific answers. This chapter will thus discuss the potentials of interdisciplinary tools into reducing these two sources of mismatch between action and need.

On the one hand, it will discuss mistargeting, biased perceptions and incorrect or incomplete diagnosis of inheritances and transformations throughout time, social interactions and representations, as well as priorities and immediate needs regarding specific family structures and economic capacities, which are often misread or misunderstood. Thus, it will be discussed how these limitations in policies might be reduced through improved awareness of these dynamics and specificities, in which an interdisciplinary point of view presents a great importance for deconstructing misconceptions and for improving the diagnosis.

On the other hand, this chapter will also discuss the inertia and repetition of solutions, regardless of their adequacy to the local specificity or effective impact, either for lack of evaluation or for inertia and dependency of decision-makers, funding entities or the scale and bureaucracy within institutions (Cels et al. 2012).

Thus, it will discuss how improved visibility of these mismatches might be reduced through both an improved awareness of professionals and civil society, and through reframing the approach and roles of institutions, associations and individuals.

14.1.2 Fighting Stereotypes, Especially of 'Poverty' and 'Africa'

An important part of the limitations of policies for tackling poverty probably derives from the very fundamental perceptions (and sometimes misconceptions) of the ideas of poverty, (under)development and mechanisms of perpetuation of disparities. They are often addressed through extreme approaches, such as of *fatalism*—where the urban condition is described as irreversibly heading towards a "planet of slums" (Davis 2006)—of *romanticism*—by believing that the enchantment of the world might solve its most severe challenges (Löwy and Blechman 2004)—or even through a *pragmatic realism*—where it is believed that the technical solutions might solve the detected problems, with the risk of becoming pure technocracy (Löwy and Blechman 2004). Nevertheless, these approaches present severe limitations in understanding reality and improving the existing instruments to tackle asymmetries, and therefore a stronger effort is needed into rethinking ideas that may have been misunderstood, and thus be generating misconceptions or biased views.

Indeed, the discussion of challenges within territories with extensive poverty is involved in stereotypes and preconceived ideas, especially in contexts that were colonized. The African nations stand as a paradigmatic example, being often presented under an overall and mystified description that encompasses the whole continent (Topor 2006), thus presenting an inexistent homogeneity. These misconceptions may derive both from the difficulty in perceiving the 'otherness', especially in a colonizer-colonized relationship (Mudimbe 1988), and also from a recurrent aprioristic view, in which the presumptions replace a careful analysis of the existing (Fanon 1964). In both cases, these biased views may replace a careful analysis, leading to an increased distance between reality and its perception, and consequently an amplified mismatch when it comes to intervention.

Focusing on misconceptions of the built environment, a recurrent tendency is to explain the world through antagonistic categories such as "urban/rural, modern/traditional, centre/periphery, formal/informal" (Oppenheimer and Raposo 2007), which reduce and limit a comprehensive understanding of the existing attributes, processes and dynamics. Indeed, the urban areas in African nations don't fit into any of these hermetic categories, but rather represent the result of their combination, coexistence, simultaneity of processes of both "endurance and change" (Coquery-Vidrovitch 1985). Though the need to overcome these dichotomies is often mentioned (Jenkins 2004), the extent in which efforts are actually put into action is still quite limited and remains a challenge, one where academic research may contribute to rethinking the conceptual frameworks on

specific forms of urbanity, as well as to a deeper understanding of local knowledge, the different stakeholders involved in the transformation of the built environment and especially the urban dweller's agency put into this process (Jenkins 2013).

14.1.3 How to Reduce Mismatches Between Need and Action?

The task of understanding the processes of formation and transformation of the built environment, its asymmetries and their causes, along with the thorough analysis of the living conditions and capacities of the different agents that take part in that process—especially the urban poor—is of uttermost importance to discuss the adequacy of the policies and programmes aimed at tackling these disparities. And while it may seem an obvious task, nevertheless this step often ends up not representing a priority within the decision-making process, which rather follows the inertia of preconceived ideas or repeated solutions.

Indeed, from the research previously undertaken on policies for tackling poverty through the improvement of the built environment (Fernandes 2015)—which took the city of São Tomé as a case study, but also analysed several other territories—the perception was that, besides occasional situations where the interests of certain intervenient(s) may have *actively* dictated the direction of the decisions, in most of the processes the detected mismatches between the need of the poorest and the actions undertaken seem to have been mainly a consequence of *passive* approaches, such as misconceptions, incomplete diagnosis, reaction to funding opportunities instead of a proactive attitude towards a strategic vision or the uncritical repetition of generic solutions.

Therefore, to reduce these mismatches, a stronger effort would be needed into building both a broader understanding of the needs of the urban poor, and further critical analysis of their relation with the policies that have been implemented.

Thus, better diagnosis would demand a deeper knowledge of vulnerabilities, social aspirations and economic capacities of the urban poor, as well as of the informal mechanisms that have been created to face the gaps of housing policies.

Additionally, and in order to discuss the adequacy and potential of action, the multiple points of view of the different stakeholders throughout the decision-making process should also be discussed and considered, both the beneficiaries of the policies, as well as the technicians and professionals, institutions, associations and civil society in general, towards a broader visibility and discussion of challenges and options, thus fighting the "danger of a single story" (Adichie 2009) towards the craved "right to the city" (Lefebvre 1968).

These two approaches, which are fundamental for improving the impact of urban policies for the poor, will be discussed and illustrated ahead, through the case of São Tomé.

14.2 São Tomé and Príncipe: Learning from a Microcosm

Small scale doesn't necessarily mean less complexity, and the African archipelago of São Tomé and Príncipe is a paradigmatic example of one such cases. It serves, therefore, as a motto for discussing what can be learnt from policies for tackling poverty and their (in)capacity to reach the most critical situations. Therefore, rather than analysing the scale and incidence of the problem, here the focus of discussion are the mechanisms of perpetuation—or interruption—of poverty cycles, the way social and spatial challenges are addressed, as well as the misconceptions and how they might be overcome.

In a small territory with less than 200,000 inhabitants (INE 2013), nearly two thirds of its population remain below the poverty line, in a perpetuation of disparities that may indeed derive from a colonial legacy of profound asymmetries and social fragmentation, but also from the subsequent insufficient and inefficient solutions to tackle them, meaning that demands have often been misjudged and the suggested actions ended up not being a solution, but rather palliative care, in a mismatch that is not specific to this territory, but rather recurrent.

Therefore, it is not only important to understand how background and inheritance have contributed to a fragile economy, but also how some structural features have perpetuated disparities and postponed solutions, the different dimensions of poverty and the roles and expectations of the different agents that transform the territory, as well as how interdisciplinary tools and approaches may contribute to better defining priorities, to raising awareness, to mobilizing resources and to improving actions.

14.2.1 From Colony to Developing Nation

Located by the Western African coast, in the Gulf of Guinea and over the equator line, the archipelago of São Tomé and Príncipe remained as a colony for five centuries, becoming an independent Nation in 1975.

During the colonial period, its economy relied mostly in the trade within the Atlantic commercial routes and as a plantation territory, used for the cultivation of extensive crops, such as sugar-cane, coffee and cocoa, which demanded intensive labour, obtained firstly by slavery and later by contracted labour. This economic system required not only the intense transformation of the territory, but also the creation of a profoundly hierarchized and asymmetric social organisation.

Even though the production of cocoa placed this territory in a hegemonic position in the worldwide exportation market at the outbreak of the 20th century, this economic success soon came to an end as production declined and the price of this raw product devaluated in international markets. By the end of the second world-war, and following the international pressure onto the decolonisation of African territories, a modernization process was undertaken in order to promote

welfare, creating improvements in the living conditions both at the public facilities and within the estates of the plantations.

The independency brought wide socioeconomic changes, with the departure of most of the settlers, leaving many of the management positions vacant, to be newly occupied (Oliveira 1993). Alongside, territorial changes also took place: the nationalisation of great part of the land, followed by an agrarian reform twelve years afterwards in which the land was distributed to former employees of the agricultural enterprises through small plots (UNDP 2008), produced a radical mutation in the land division. And even though aiming at a democratisation of the access to land and the improvement of agricultural production, the result was far shorter than expected.

Nowadays, the Democratic Republic of São Tomé and Príncipe is part of the group of Least Developed Countries and Small Islands Developing States (UN-OHRLLS 2011), and the policies to tackle poverty remain incapable of reversing the perpetuation of social fragilities.

14.2.2 São Tomé, a City of Disparities

The city of São Tomé, with roughly one hundred thousand people and in spite of its small scale in comparison to the Central Africa context, presents a growth rate that is similar to its bigger African counterparts (UN-Habitat and UNEP 2010; UN-Habitat 2014), with an annual growth rate of 3% from 2005 to 2010 (UN-DESA 2009).

The city of São Tomé has grown from an initial core by the seaside to stretch along the coast and inwards along the road network, forming nowadays a dispersed urban area without clear limits (see Fig. 14.1).

Throughout history, the city has taken the role of interface between the exterior and the inner part of the territory, responding to the main demands of, on the one hand, providing the logistic support for stops of maritime commercial routes (thus the importance of its first implantation in a sheltered bay) and, on the other, to allow the penetration to the territory for its exploration and the outflow of raw products.

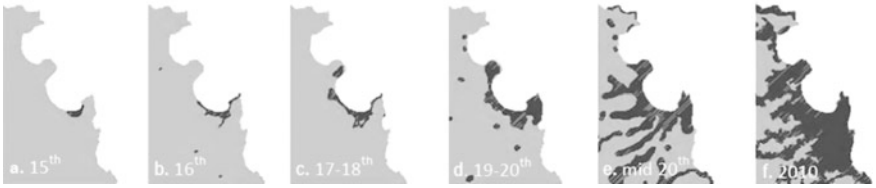

Fig. 14.1 Diagram of the evolution of the city of São Tomé along five hundred years: **a** first settling, 15th century; **b** sugar and slave cycle, 16th century; **c** slave cycle, 17th–beg.18th; **d** coffee and cocoa cycle, 19th–beg.20th; **e** from modernization to independence, mid-20th century; **f** from independence onwards, 1975–2010. *Source* Diagram by the author, based on AHU (1646), Leote (1796), IGC-JIU-MU (1958) and Google Earth (2010)

It was only from the mid-20th century that major efforts of modernization implemented new expansion axis, along with public buildings, allowing the city to expand beyond the bay of initial occupation. This urban configuration is still visible nowadays, with a consolidated core and a few axes, maintaining a radial structure that supports its expansion.

The urbanisation process intensified greatly during the last fifty years, following not only the modernization of the city and its plan of the early 1960s, but especially in response to the independence process, the employment opportunities created in the urban area, and mostly due to the shrinkage of the agricultural production and its consequent rural exodus. Nowadays the urban area reflects this legacy, where the older core is still noticeable as an area whose scale and configuration differs from the areas around it. The several axes that irradiate from the core are also recognizable, in which new constructions are anchored, driven by the attractiveness of accessibility, while their interstitial areas densify.

From the late colonial city to the present-day urban environment, most of the infrastructures or public facilities remain similar, even though the city has expanded to more than ten times its size, meaning a growth for which its infrastructures were not prepared (Nascimento 2008a) and severe needs in the basic living conditions of its inhabitants.

Additionally, as these amenities concentrate in the older parts of the city, most of the post-independence expansion areas lack their provision, contributing to an asymmetric distribution of public space and services and to physical disparities between a consolidated core and surrounding deprived areas of spontaneous settlement. This distribution is especially disturbing considering the disproportion of these groups, condition that is reflected in the housing situation: around two thirds of the urban dwellings lack the basic conditions and infrastructures (INE 2013). The urban built environment presents a wide diversity of settlement strategies (see Fig. 14.2), forming a patchwork of fragments with different scales and contrasting socioeconomic patterns, such as the emergence of areas of informal settlement with predominance of low-income residents, juxtaposed to clusters of hotels or private developments for the privileged. The fragmented space thus reflects a fragmented society, and existing policies face severe difficulties in reducing these profound social asymmetries.

The non-planned areas of informal settlement represent a great part of the present urban built environment in São Tomé, and while most of them lack basic infrastructures and living amenities, the constructions that form these areas also represent a reaction to needs and capacities: not a perfect solution, but rather a possible one, in face of an absence of alternative options. Where neither the regulated real estate market nor the public policies offer accessible housing, the informal market thrives. These neighbourhoods are therefore shaped by the successive addition and densification of locally ordered or self-built constructions, which gather mostly the function of housing, but recurrently also small manufacturing and local commerce (see Fig. 14.3).

The analysis of existing informal housing showed that some factors—such as the economic capacities of the urban poor and the scale of investment put into the

Fig. 14.2 Diagram of different settlement patterns that form the city of São Tomé: **a** the colonial core; **b** planned expansion areas; **c** hotels and private developments; **d** areas with predominance of informal or irregular dwellings. *Source* Diagram by the author, based on Google Earth (2010)

Fig. 14.3 Informal housing in Riboque, a peri-urban area of São Tomé. *Source* Photograph by the author (2010)

Fig. 14.4 Photograph of a house 'kit' (a set of materials for its construction), as well as a three-dimensional model of a recurrent typology of housing, showing its wooden structure and walling. *Source* Photograph by the author (2012). Model: survey and modelling by the author, rendering by Hugo Machado da Silva (Fernandes 2015)

construction (see Fig. 14.4), the housing typologies that were recognizable and even suggested by local builders (see Fig. 14.5) or the incremental process that allows a progressive improvement of the house throughout time in face of economic constraints (see Fig. 14.6)—are characteristics that are not taken into account within housing policies claiming to aim at the urban poor. Consequently, by demanding higher-range economic efforts, most social housing policies end up not reaching the lower-income families, but rather intermediate sectors, thus perpetuating the most critical situations and not contributing to tackling urban disparities.

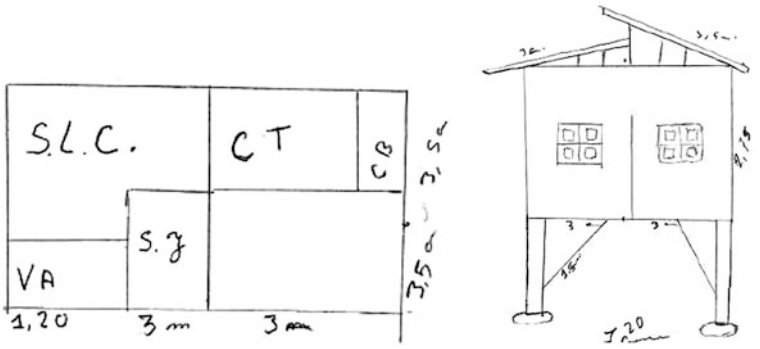

Fig. 14.5 Diagram of a typology suggested and drawn by a local carpenter in São Tomé. *Source* Collected by the author (2012)

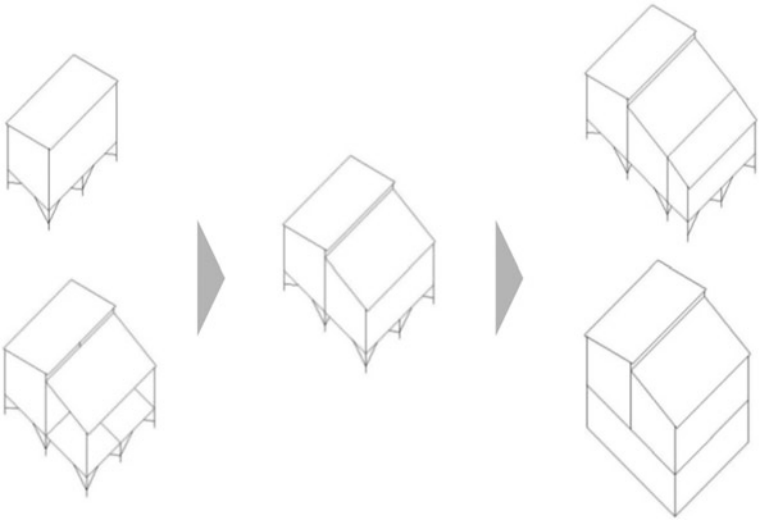

Fig. 14.6 Diagram of one of the processes of creation and transformation of the informal houses in the city of São Tomé, according to the study of the peri-urban area of Riboque. *Source* Diagram by the author (Fernandes 2015)

This example serves to illustrate how, through a deeper understanding of the needs and the existing informal mechanisms, the conception of housing policies might become more adequate to existing demands.

14.2.3 Policies and Roles: An Urgent Dialogue Amongst Agents

Within this scenario, the efforts for the improvement of the urban conditions fall short of existing needs: the investment in infrastructure and public space are clearly insufficient, and the existing housing policies—besides being scarce—are hardly accessible by the low-income population. Furthermore, the discovery of oil ashore—even though not yet being drilled—has already created the impact of expectations, contributing to real estate speculation, to the aggravation of property prices and to the production of expectant land and investments (Weszkalnys 2009), threatening to increase the gap between the richest and the poorest.

Since both the real estate market and the public social housing policies end up aiming at families with steady and reliable income, the urban poor living on unpredictable earnings of the informal economy scarcely get the chance to reach these offers or programs, and their living conditions rely only on their own capacities for improvement.

Thus even the social policies for the built environment that supposedly aimed at the lower-income population are repeatedly missing their apparent target, failing to understand—and respond to—their economic capacities and social demands. These mismatches prove that—beyond the spatial aspects of the suggested solutions—these policies are not taking into (enough) account the social and economic profiles of their supposed beneficiaries, demanding therefore a stronger effort into both understanding economic constraints and dependencies, social backgrounds and roles of the different stakeholders in the process of intervention, as well as in redefining priorities. There are several agents involved in the processes of transformation of the built environment, but they struggle with difficulties in their articulation and in improving their impact.

14.2.3.1 Public Institutions: The Dependency of External Funding

In a developing nation with low GDP, where considerable part of the national budget is supported by international aid, both from credit and from donations (RDSTP 2016), the public capacity for intervention in the built environment is highly constrained by economic limitations. Public institutions are thus quite limited in their continuous action, specially the ones that are aimed at social challenges, which face increasing demands. Such is the case of the entities responsible for infrastructural networks and for public housing policies, which often depend on occasional funding from international agencies or on thematic credit lines for their action, and social concerns are not always the first priority.

The public institute for housing of São Tomé and Príncipe, for instance, even though occasionally participating in partnerships for different projects, has mainly been working on housing provision for public servants, selecting this target group as preferred candidates rather than the low-income population. Thus, while the

professionals and technical staff recognize this incapacity of tackling the most critical social situations (according to the interviews undertaken during research), they justify it with the preferences of the funding partners, and neither do they foresee solutions for overcoming them, nor do they take it as a priority. Moreover, they predict, instead, an orientation towards the real estate market and to the return of invested capital, in order to provide the institute with more economic capacity to react to future challenges. And yet, while this approach might work as a mean to finance other programs for different socioeconomic groups, for now the solutions aimed towards the low-income population remain absent. Therefore, stronger efforts are needed taking the most critical situations as priority.

14.2.3.2 The Third Sector: Beyond Intermittent Action

The action of international agencies, non-governmental organisations and local associations represent an important contribution into solving the insufficiencies and absences of the public action, regarding the social support and the improvement of the built environment. Some of the spatial interventions towards improving the living conditions of the urban poor are often undertaken by (or with the support of) the third sector (such as infrastructural works, the construction of social facilities and household support), even though sometimes these actions may not fit exactly in the missions and goals that these organisations might be specialised in. The major challenges are the dispersal of organisations and associations (Nascimento 2008b) and the limitations for their articulation and action (Cravo et al. 2010), along with the dependency on funding, which results in the reaction to opportunities, instead of a proactive definition of strategies, and thus the subsequent difficulty in establishing a continuous and extensive action.

14.2.3.3 Inhabitants: Priorities, Self-help and the Contradictory Perceptions of 'Community'

The low-income population, set in the midst of these limitations and dilemmas, struggles not only with the insufficiency of support from other agents, but also with a recurrent difficulty in seeing their needs understood and taken into account by the existing policies.

Indeed, the economic and social specificities are often misread on their impact on the household and on the built environment. For instance, the scale and mechanisms through which economic constraints influence the production and perpetuation of informal constructions are hardly discussed: namely on how living on informal economy reflects upon the management of family budget, the subsequent difficulty in gathering savings and therefore in reacting to substantial fixed expenses (such as the ones required for house rental or acquisition), as well as the impossibility of applying to financial credit or the absence of other options in the regulated market that might help overcome economic limitations. In this scenario,

the communitarian microcredit is often the only solution that comes closer to the micro-scale of existing capacities (of a few dozen euro), far lower and more extended in time than other existing, but non-accessible, options.

The family configurations and vulnerabilities represent yet another challenge in what comes to housing needs and possibilities: the diversity of structures and relations—such as the recurrence of single-parent households or the importance of the extended family, the geographies of social networks or the impact of migration—produce specific demands in the process of construction and transformation of the house throughout time.

Local builders working in the informal market, unlike more rigid operating agents, have shown the capacity to recognize and suggest different scales, typologies and constructive systems for housing, according not only to present demands and economic capacities, but also recognizing the possibility of future expansion and transformation, adapting to the needs and resources of their clients and to their transformation throughout time.

Therefore, this scale and specific demands would thus need to be further taken into account, as the existing policies provide housing that two thirds of the population cannot afford, and the alternative options end up being rare and unable to represent extensive solutions.

In this scenario, the perception from low-income inhabitants (interviewed for the research) was that they were largely left unprotected and to their own risk, depending on their own capacities and on the informal market for solutions that might be accessible. The idea of 'community' amongst the low-income residents of the same geographical area gathered contradictory perceptions, pointing out that there might be benefits of social support within the neighbours, but they could also be a source of conflict, especially when it came to unsupervised shared facilities. Simultaneously, the State was often perceived as a distant entity with great difficulty in providing adequate social support, while non-governmental organisations and associations (regardless of their limitations in action) tended to gather the perception of a stronger proximity to the daily needs of the urban poor.

Thus, although there are several agents involved in the improvement of living conditions of the low-income population, they seem to lack articulation, as well as awareness on each others' perceptions and capacities, factors which would be fundamental for providing more adequate housing policies.

14.3 Final Remarks: Towards Improving Social Policies

The territory of São Tomé and Príncipe, being a microcosm, may help rethink, in a broader context, conceptions and decision-making on policies for improving the living conditions of the urban poor, through understanding needs and constraints, reducing misconceptions, articulating efforts and redefining priorities.

In this task, an interdisciplinary approach is essential for reducing mismatches and misconceptions, and research may promote the dialogue amongst the different

agents, the construction of detailed diagnosis, as well as contribute for raising awareness on the need to articulate efforts and discuss roles, which—though being a long-term process—is a task that is often postponed and overlooked.

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