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VOL. I (July 2019)

SOCIAL SUSTAINABILITY IN SPACES OF URBAN WELFARE Interpreting an overview of case studi from Italy and Brazil

VOL. II (Dec 201

CITIZENS' HOUSE Intervention on a modernistic patrimony in the heart of Brasília LUISA**VIOTTI**

(ben) essere urband

(ben) Cessere Urbano

urban well-being/ + being urban

VXX 0



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(ben) essere urbano VOL. I Master's degree final thesis - PoliTO. Torino, July 2019.

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+ + + + + + + + + + + + + + $^+$ + $^{+}$ $^{+}$ + + $^+$ ++VOL. II **Graduation degree final project - UnB** Brasília, Dec 2019. + + ++ + + UnB + *because of the type of the agreement between the two universities, the graduation degree final project is necessarly done after the master degree final thesis. + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + ++ + + + + + + + + ++ + + + + + + + + + + + + + + +

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*NOTE:

This paper is written in American English, consequently some spelling differences from the European British English can be found.

RESUMO

Esta é uma tese de conclusão de mestrado para o curso de *Arquitetura para* o *Projeto Sustentável* no Politécnico de Turim (PoliTO). A literatura indica que existe uma falta de estudos teóricos e empíricos sobre sustentabilidade social e espaços de *welfare*. Esta tese é um trabalho exploratório, revisando a documentação relevante de uma variedade de disciplinas e campos do conhecimento, tais como sociologia, política pública, ciência política, economia, e planejamento urbano. O objetivo é propor uma compreensão alternativa dos espaços designados para prover serviços sociais, com a perspectiva de sustentabilidade social e focando em pessoas. Sobre como a qualidade espacial pode potencializar políticas sociais e reunir diferentes tipos de cidadãos em um mesmo espaço físico para práticas de socialização, melhorando nossa capacidade de enfrentar o diferente, de empatia.

A teoria sobre sustentabilidade social em espaços de welfare urbano baseia-se em um método de análise conceitual para delinear primeiro cada conceito e, posteriormente, reuni-los na observação das soluções existentes sobre o assunto. Sustentabilidade social é o aspecto menos estudado do desenvolvimento sustentável e, a dimensão espacial de bem-estar é frequentemente negligenciada como um campo de pesquisa também. Cada um desses dois conceitos possui seus próprios atributos, características, perspectivas distintas e limitações. Portanto, a metodologia dessa tese delineia as seguintes etapas para alcançar uma compreensão do assunto: mapear fontes multidisciplinares de dados; revisar a literatura e categorizar os dados selecionados; integrar conceitos; sintetizar essa compreensão integrada em um modelo de tendências socialmente inovadoras para espaços de welfare; validação desse framework conceitual com estudos de casos nas realidades Italiana e Brasileira (dois exemplos de espaços de welfare urbano provendo serviços sociais para cada contexto); e por último, ideias iniciais para uma possível aplicação da teoria estudada com um projeto de um espaço de welfare inovador para Brasília, capital modernista do Brasil.

Nesse sentido, esta tese cria um plano teórico interligando esses dois conceitos, que juntos fornecem uma compreensão abrangente da dimensão espacial de políticas sociais e da relação com as pessoas que utilizam esses espaços. Comparando as duas experiências da Itália e do Brasil, três questões são levantadas: **1** o Brasil está mais longe de um welfare inovador em termos de sustentabilidade social? **2** Precisamos de uma mudança estrutural para atingir esse objetivo ou apenas uma mudança de perspectiva? **3** Podemos usar alguns dos casos existentes na Itália e no Brasil como uma referência positiva para essa mudança?

Palavras-chave: Sustentabilidade social; Espaços; Welfare; Itália; Brasil.

SUMMARY

This is a master's degree conclusion thesis for the course of *Architecture for the Sustainable Design*. The literature indicates that there is a lack of theoretical and empirical studies regarding social sustainability and welfare spaces. This thesis is an exploratory work, reviewing the relevant documentation from a variety of disciplines and fields of study, such as sociology, public policy, political science, economics, and urban planning. The aim is to propose an alternative understanding of the spaces designated to provide social services, with the perspective of social sustainability, and focusing on people. On how the spatial quality can potentialize social policies and bring together different kinds of citizens to the same physical space for socialization practices, improving our ability to confront the different, of empathy.

The theorization about social sustainability in spaces of urban welfare is based on a conceptual analysis method of first delineating each concept, and later bringing them together in observing existing solutions on the matter. Social sustainability is the least studied aspects of sustainable development, and the spatial dimension of welfare is often overlooked as a field of research as well. Each of these two concepts possesses its own attributes, characteristics, distinct perspectives, and limitations. Therefore, this thesis methodology delineates the following stages to achieve a comprehension of the subject: map multidisciplinary data sources; review the literature and categorize the selected data; integrate the concepts; synthesize this integrated understanding with a model of socially innovative trends for welfare spaces; validation of this conceptual framework using case studies from the Italian and Brazilian realities (two examples of urban welfare spaces providing social services for each context); and finally, initial ideas for a possible application of the theory studied in a project of an innovative welfare space for Brasília, the modernist capital of Brazil.

Accordingly, this thesis creates a theoretical plane interlinking these two concepts that together provide a comprehensive understanding of the spatial dimension of social policies and the relationship with the people using those spaces. Comparing the two experiences of Italy and Brazil, three questions are raised: **1** is Brazil further from a socially sustainable innovative welfare? **2** Do we need a structural change to achieve that objective or just a change in perspective? **3** Can we use some of the existing cases in Italy and Brazil as a positive reference for that change?

Keywords: Social sustainability; Spaces; Welfare; Italy; Brazil.

RIASSUNTO

Questa è una tesi di laurea magistrale per il corso di Architettura per il Progetto Sostenibile. La letteratura indica che mancano studi teorici ed empirici sulla sostenibilità sociale e sugli spazi di *welfare*. Questa tesi è un lavoro esplorativo, che rivede la documentazione pertinente di una varietà di discipline e campi di studio, come la sociologia, le politiche pubbliche, le scienze politiche, l'economia, e la pianificazione urbana. L'obiettivo è quello di proporre una comprensione alternativa degli spazi designati a fornire servizi sociali, con la prospettiva della sostenibilità sociale, e concentrandosi sulle persone, su come la qualità spaziale può potenziare le politiche sociali e riunire diversi tipi di cittadini in uno stesso spazio fisico per favorire pratiche di socializzazione, migliorando le nostre capacità di affrontare il diverso e, di empatia.

La teoria della sostenibilità sociale negli spazi del welfare urbano si basa su un metodo di analisi concettuale che delinea dapprima ciascun concetto e, successivamente, li riunisce nell'osservare le soluzioni esistenti nella pratica. La sostenibilità sociale è l'aspetto meno studiato dello sviluppo sostenibile e la dimensione spaziale del benessere è spesso trascurata anche come campo di ricerca. Ognuno di guesti due concetti possiede i propri attributi, le proprie caratteristiche, prospettive distinte e limiti. Pertanto, questa metodologia di tesi delinea le seguenti fasi per raggiungere una comprensione del soggetto: mappare fonti multidisciplinari di dati; rivedere la letteratura e categorizzare i dati selezionati; integrare i concetti; sintetizzare questa comprensione integrata in un modello di tendenze socialmente innovative per gli spazi di welfare; valida questo quadro concettuale con casi di studio nelle realtà Italiane e Brasiliane (due esempi di spazi di welfare urbano che forniscono servizi sociali per ogni contesto); infine, le idee iniziali per una possibile applicazione della teoria studiata in un progetto di uno spazio innovativo di servizi sociali per la città di Brasilia, la capitale modernista del Brasile.

Di conseguenza, questa tesi crea un piano teorico che collega questi due concetti, che insieme forniscono una comprensione completa della dimensione spaziale delle politiche sociali e della relazione con le persone che usano quegli spazi. Confrontando le due esperienze di Italia e Brasile, vengono sollevate tre domande: **1 il Brasile è più lontano da un welfare innovativo** *di forma socialmente sostenibile?* **2** Abbiamo bisogno di un cambiamento strutturale per raggiungere questo obiettivo o solo di un cambio di prospettiva? **3** Possiamo utilizzare alcuni dei casi esistenti in Italia e Brasile come riferimenti positivi per tale cambiamento?

Parole-chiave: Sostenibilità sociale; Spazi; Welfare; Italia; Brasile.

INTRO

OO why 'SOCIAL SUSTAINABILITY IN SPACES OF URBAN WELFARE Interpreting an overview of case studies from Italy and Brazil'

This thesis makes a case for an alternative understanding of spaces of urban welfare, focusing on social sustainability. It brings along both the virtues and disadvantages of appearing obvious, yet different perspectives and considerations are presented, and as they imply, this is a subject that is growing in attention at the same time that needs further elaboration.

Sustainability here is intended in its compound explanation of economic, environmental and social sustainability. The last is an aspect often overlooked of sustainable development discussions and the literature reveals the social facet of sustainability was integrated late into the debate.⁹ Because of that, it is still the least studied concept of all three, and there are still uncertainties in definition, criteria and measurement system until now.¹

Even so, social sustainability is indisputably the aspect of addressing people and their quality of life^{7 9 10 18}, contemporary society and their living spaces⁹, it combines the design of the physical realm with the design of the social world, creating successful places that promote well-being, by an understanding of what people need from the places they live and work¹⁸.

Talking about urban social spaces promoting a collective feeling of wellbeing is a premise of the work, however, considering how broad this subject can be, the research is focused on the case of spaces of urban welfare. These spaces are the resulting physical materialization of welfare policies (e.g., parks, hospitals, schools, facilities).¹⁹ It is essential also to consider welfare as not a clear single definition, and it is part of a heterogeneous and complex debate.³⁰

There is an extensive existing bibliography discussing the ambivalence of the meaning of 'welfare' and most authors agree the word itself carries-along a need for contextualization, meaning that different countries have different interpretations of the concept and what it entitles for, depending on where is being studied.

The European continent was the pioneer in discussing this ambivalence,^{98 100} defining welfare typologies, taken as a referential starting point for other developing or emerging economic regimes.^{29 66 68 83 88 98 99} Even so, considering historical, economic, and political differences, some countries tend to have contrasting views on who should be held responsible for providing welfare and what it is included in the welfare policies and spaces.^{29 46 66 68 83 88 98}

In Brazil (origins of the author), for example, the word 'welfare' is not commonly used and when translated it into Brazilian-Portuguese, means directly

¹ LANDORF (2011); BRAMLEY et al. (2009); BOSTROM (2012); MAK and PEACOCK (2011); LAGUNA (2014) apud MEHAN A. and SOFLAEI, F. (2017).

'*bem-estar*' (well-being),^{49 66 68 83} because it is assumed to be a natural universal right.^{68 83} The usage of the term in academic researches is usually associated with public social expenditure, but sometimes it is also used to discuss other matters of life quality, not necessarily related to policies, and there is not much exploration regarding physical spaces providing welfare services.

The discussion is escalated if taken into consideration that to study welfare means to be confronted with questioning values, so it is a subject that naturally incorporates principles and world views, as stated by BIFULCO (2015). To tackle this subjective perception of the matter the work intends to clearly define some basic concepts first, present many different points of views in order not to become a normative interpretation (dictating directions), and then, establish a causal interpretation, using four case studies to understand how the urban environment can shape social interactions.

The scientific methodology used here is organized as:

1 Theory of socially sustainable spaces;

2 Theory of welfare;

3 Understanding those theoretical bases in terms of spaces of urban welfare in case studies from Italy and Brazil;

4 The confrontation of those two experiences and what/if something can be taken as a positive reference from one to the other.

(ben) <mark>essere</mark> urbano

is a game of words, working the double meaning of urban well-being and being urban,

in the sense that well-being is intrinsic to the being urban, to living in an urban environment. *the original title is intended in Italian, as an homage, and also because a good translation is not possible in Portuguese (the official language of the second volume), neither is exact in English.

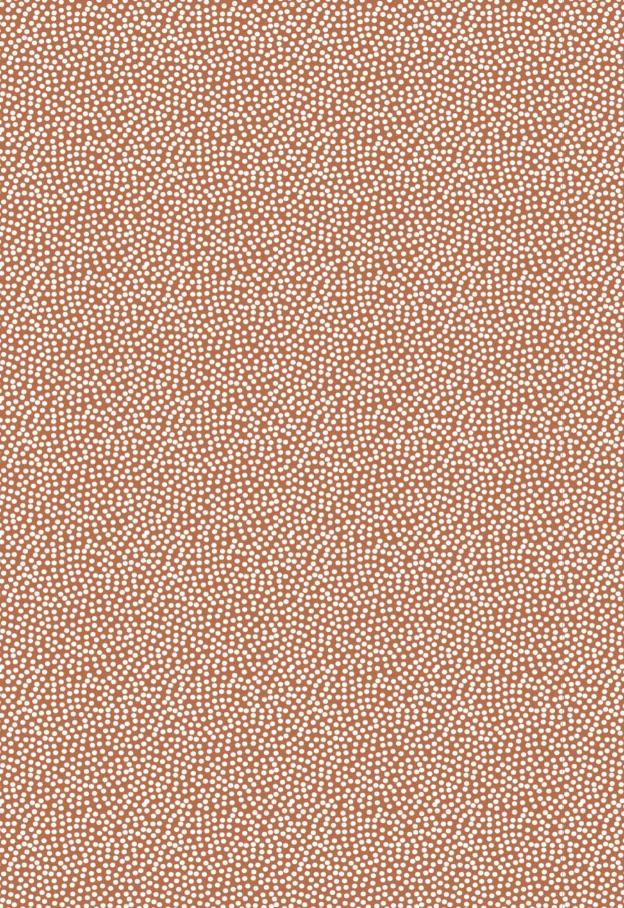
VOL. I

SOCIAL SUSTAINABILITY IN SPACES OF URBAN WELFARE

Interpreting an overview of case studies from Italy and Brazil

VOL. II

CITIZENS' HOUSE Intervention on a modernistic patrimony in the heart of Brasília





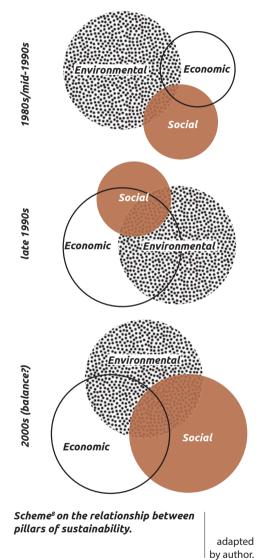
1.1 What it means to be a socially sustainable space 1.1.1 Theoretical overview of social sustainability

The term 'sustainability' was first brought to light by the United Nations - UN's Brundtland Commission Report in 1987, which defined sustainable development as meeting "the needs of the present without compromising the ability to future generations to meet their own needs".²

Initially, the notion of sustainability was narrowly linked to environmental resources, but in 1992 with the UN-Conference in Rio de Janeiro, it was widened when presenting the document of *Agenda 21*, which explicitly mentioned human development and social dimensions of sustainability.³

Since then, it is considered in the literature that sustainable development embraces three equally important pillars: *environmental*, *economical* and *social*.⁴

Among these three pillars, the social aspect is the least studied⁵ and has only been considered as an integral part of the sustainability debated after the year 2000.⁶ Scholars believe there are still uncertainties in definition, criteria and measurement system of social sustainability.⁷ 'Human' is agreed to be the main focus in the definition of social sustainability⁷ and there is an increasing trend among researches to view the concept from an urban design perspective.^{7 8}



² SEN (2000); PARTRIDGE (2009) apud MEHAN A. and SOFLAEI, F. (2017).

7 MEHAN A. and SOFLAEI, F. (2017).

³ HARUN et al. (2014) apud MEHAN A. and SOFLAEI, F. (2017).

⁴ DEMPSEY et. al. (2011); DAVIDSON and WILSON (2009); MAK and PEACOCK (2011); BARRON and GAUNTLETT (2002) apud MEHAN A. and SOFLAEI, F. (2017).

⁵ GHAHRAMANPOURI et al. (2015) apud MEHAN A. and SOFLAEI, F. (2017).

⁶ DEMPSEY et al. (2012); MCKENZIE (2004); LAMIT et al. (2013) apud MEHAN A. and SOFLAEI, F. (2017).

⁸ COLANTINO (2010) apud MEHAN A. and SOFLAEI, F. (2017).

Reviewing the existing definitions of social sustainability, it is possible to notice the literature is fragmented, vague and lack a coherent, clear and utilizable definition.⁹ That can be explained by the intangibility of the concept, its dynamic nature, multi-disciplinary approaches with different scales and perspectives about the issue.⁷

Various definitions within different frameworks have been provided (TABLE 01),⁷ and there are eight general aspects relating social sustainability and the urban context:⁷

1 Social Equity, includes equity of access to key services (including health, education, transport, housing, and recreation) highlighted in almost every references (LANDORF, 2011) (MCKENZIE, 2004)

2 Satisfaction of Human needs, relevant to individuals, and covers physiological (food, water, health and safety), social (relationships, confidence and mutual respect) and self-actualization (creativity and morality) levels (AHMAN, 2013) (ANCELL and TOMPSON-FAWCETT, 2008) (LITTIG and GRIESSLER, 2005) (LAGUNA, 2014) (MASLOW, 1954)

3 Well-being, Happiness (BARRON and GAUNTLETT, 2002) (CASTILLO et al., 2007) (CHIU, 2003) (MAGIS and SHINN, 2009) (BACON et al., 2012)

Table⁷ with various definitions within different frameworks of social sustainability (BY THE SIDE).

adapted by author.

TABLE 01:

| RE | ESEARCHERS ^A | Urban Social
Sustainability
DEFINITIONS |
|------------------------|-------------------------------|---|
| Conditions Framework | CHIU, 2002 | Social sustainability
relates to social norms
and conditions in that any
environmental or economic
decision must not exceed
the <u>community's tolerance</u>
<u>for change</u> . |
| | LAGUNA, 2014 | A condition where an
<u>extended set of basic needs</u> .
<u>are met for all residents</u>
regardless of their race/
ethnicity, age, religion,
gender, socioeconomic
status and/or level of ability
and the <u>highest possible</u>
<u>level of social inclusion and</u>
<u>participation in community</u>
<u>life</u> is promoted. |
| Measurement Framework | COLANTINO, 2010 | Traditional <u>hard social</u>
<u>sustainability themes</u> such
as employment and poverty
alleviation <u>are increasingly</u>
<u>being complemented or</u>
<u>replaced by emerging</u>
<u>"soft" and less measurable</u>
<u>concepts</u> such as happiness,
social mixing and sense of
place. |
| | BARRON and
GAUNTLETT, 2002 | Socially sustainable
communities are equitable,
diverse, connected and
democratic and provide a
<u>good quality of life</u> . |
| s Framework | CHIU, 2003 | Social Sustainability is
the maintenance and
improvement of <u>well-being</u>
of current and future
generations. |
| Future Focus Framework | MAGIS and
SHINN, 2009 | Social Sustainability
concerns the ability of
<u>human beings of every</u>
generation to not merely
survive, but to thrive. |
| Process Framework | MCKENZIE, 2004 | Social Sustainability is a <u>life-</u>
<u>enhancing</u> condition within
communities, and <u>process</u>
<u>within communities</u> that can
achieve that condition. |
| | HOLDEN, 2012 | A process of <u>urban</u>
<u>development</u> , <u>supported by</u>
<u>policies and institutions</u> that
ensure harmonious social
relations, enhance social
integration and improve
living conditions for all
groups. |

A This list is not exhaustive, meaning that probably there are other existing definitions, but it is sufficient to show the complexity of the subject and theoretical foundations.

18

4 Quality of Life, it is the sum of factors that contribute to social, environmental and economic well-being of citizens (WEINGAERTNER and MOBERG, 2011) (POLESE and STREN, 2000) (MCKENZIE, 2004) (COLANTINO, 2010)

5 Social Interaction, Social Mixing (Cohesion and Inclusion), it is about

right and opportunities to participate in community, it encompasses cohabitation of culturally and socially diverse groups, preventing social exclusion (COLANTINO, 2010) (POLESE and STREN, 2000) (MCKENZIE, 2004) (ANCELL and TOMPSON-FAWCETT, 2008) (BRAMLEY et. al., 2009) (DEMPSEY et. al., 2012) (BACON et. al., 2012) (SEDAGHATNIA et. al., 2015) (MEHAN, 2016)

6 Pride, Sense of Place and culture

(Identity), it is about a positive sense of attachment, an identity that people feel about the place they live (DEMPSEY et al., 2011) (COLANTINO and DIXON, 2011) (YUNG et al., 2011)

7 Sense of Community, it about social interaction (DEMPSEY et. al., 2011) (BARRON and GAUNTLETT, 2002) (CASTILLO et. al., 2007) (BRAMLEY et. al., 2009) (COLANTINO, 2010) (LANDORF, 2011) (BACON et. al., 2012)

8 Future Focus, primarily about valuing and protecting positive aspects of cultures (MCKENZIE, 2004) (MAGIS and SHIN, 2009) (GHAHRAMANPOURI et al., 2015) Nonetheless, social sustainability is always about connecting contemporary societies and their living physical spaces,⁹ so spatiality is a very substantial aspect of social sustainability. Moreover, the social theory of space originated from sociology studies, expanded to urban studies, urban planning, and the built environment,⁹ varying from quantitative and qualitative methods of study (TABLE 2).¹⁰

TABLE 02:

| | Objective
spatiality | Subjective
spatiality | |
|--|---|---|--|
| Theoretical foundation | Theory of
urban form | Social theory of
space | |
| Relevant disciplines | Architecture,
Geography,
Urban Design,
Urban History,
Urban Morphology. | Urban Sociology,
Urban Geography,
Urban Theory,
Theory of Space. | |
| Methods for study | predominantly
quantitative | predominantly
qualitative | |
| Table ¹⁰ with two modes of spatiality | | | |

Table¹⁰ with two modes of spatiality of social sustainability.

1.1.2 Spatiality of social sustainability

"The way we think about space matters. It inflects our understandings of the world, our attitudes to others, our politics. It affects, for instance, the way we understand globalization, the way we approach cities, the way we develop, and practice, a sense of place. If time is the dimension of change then space is the dimension of the social: the contemporaneous co-existence of others."

MASSEY, D. (2005).

Urban commentators and practitioners have long held the view that physical space is strongly linked to how social relations are defined.¹¹ Space is the dimension of the social, as stated by the quote that opens this work. The shared urban space, which is a synonym to 'collective space', it is then, where people share social interactions,¹² and these spaces can offer some abstract categories of democracy, citizenship, coexistence and the potential for social communion.¹³

From the classical-Rome, renaissance-Florence, mercantile-Venice, public spaces were key sites of cultural formation and political practice (for those few who could exercise politics).¹¹

Still in the modern and contemporaneous city, urban thinkers like Jane Jacobs and Jan Ghel argue that is in the collective urban space where the public life happens. According to Ghel,¹⁴ public life is precisely how people use public spaces; and Jacobs¹⁵ suggests that sidewalks, parks, neighborhoods, cities function as a result of how people interact with space and with one another.

It is in the shared physical urban space where we go out of our immediate private scale (our domestic environment), and we are confronted with the other,¹¹ with the different. It is in the urban environment where we live collectively and is in the collective spaces where people are able to build a sense of community.¹⁶ This sense of community intended as people feeling safe¹¹ and belonging^{11 12 16 19} in a certain space, at the same time that allows them to feel confident enough to openly welcome newcomers.¹⁶

In consequence, is where we have the formation of civic culture, where we are formed as citizens, and citizenship is our political dimension,¹¹ is *"a relationship*

¹¹ AMIN, A. (2009).

¹² MASSEY, D. (2005).

¹³ MUNARIN, S. and TOSI, M. C. (2014).

¹⁴ GHEL, J. and SVARRE, B. (2013).

¹⁵ JACOBS, J. (1961). **16** WILLIS, B. (2018).

between individuals and political authorities".¹⁷

A socially sustainable space is established when there is this mutually beneficial relationship between people's quality of life and their built environment.^{7 18}

It is not necessarily related to the kind of space, to the physical internal or external organization (can be positively influenced by all that), but it is when we have a balance of feeling safe and free, collective but able to form individuality as well.¹¹

Based on these arguments, a synthetic definition for socially sustainable spaces can be as follows:

spaces for socialization, collective activities, services, infrastructure; 19

they contribute to the effective progress of daily civil life, ^{11 19} and it is where we can form a spirit of citizenship; ¹⁹

is where within the activities of socialization and sharing are practiced freely; ¹⁹

they are about bringing people together, the 'throwntogetherness'²⁰ that entitles quotidian negotiation;¹¹

is where we are confronted with the other, ¹¹ with the different;

however is also where we feel safe, we feel belonging;^{11 12 16 19}

they can be open or closed spaces, public or private, planned or naturally appropriated by the population;

but they are necessarily contributing to a collective perception of well-being,⁷ and the well-functioning of the collective urban daily life.¹¹¹⁹

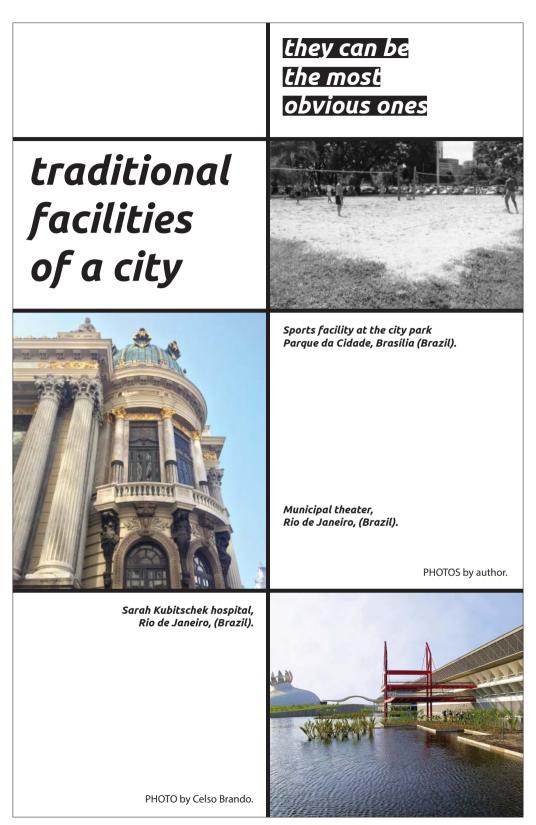
Examples of these practices and vision are presented on the next pages based on the here studied social sustainability theory, and using an empirical methodology, drawn from communities around the world, trying to incorporate a wide range of different spaces for a clear exemplification.

¹⁷ BAUBÖCK and GUIRAUDON (2009) apud BIFULCO, L. (2016).

¹⁸ WOODCRAFT et al. (2012).

¹⁹ MUNARIN, S. and TOSI, M. C. (2009).

²⁰ A term by MASSEY, D. (2005) that is understood as the juxtaposition of diversity and difference in contemporary urban life.



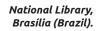


PHOTO by Fernando Camargo.



library



National Library, Brasília (Brazil).

PHOTO by Rafaela Felicciano.

City Library, Malmö (Sweden).







museum

Cultural Center - CCBB, Brasília (Brazil).

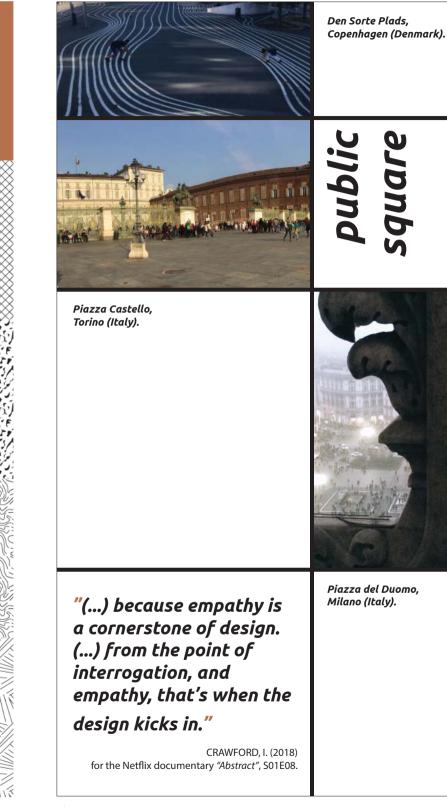
can may be linked to local culture

"We spend 87% of our lives inside buildings. How they are designed really affects how we feel, how we behave. Design is not just a visual thing. It's a thought process. It's a skill. Ultimately, design is a tool to enhance our humanity. It's a frame for life."

CRAWFORD, I. (2018) for the Netflix documentary "Abstract", S01E08.

Louisiana Museum of Modern Art, Copenhagen (Denmark).







Piazza Valdo Fusi, Torino (Italy).

Piazza Vignaioli, Riomaggiore (Italy).



Praça Mauá, Rio de Janeiro (Brazil).







Piazza San Carlo, Torino (Italy).



pedestrian street

Södra Tullgatan street, Malmö (Sweden).

Pelourinho, Salvador (Brazil).



pedestrian bridge



San'Angelo bridge, Rome (Italy).



Millennium bridge, London (UK).

Bench at Diagonal Park, Barcelona (Spain).

> PHOTO by Fernando Lucena.

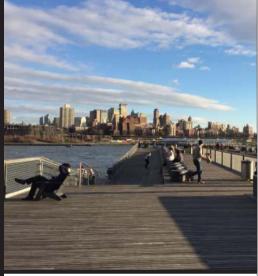


"when you prioritize human needs within a space, design can have a profound impact."

CRAWFORD, I. (2018) for the Netflix documentary "Abstract", S01E08.

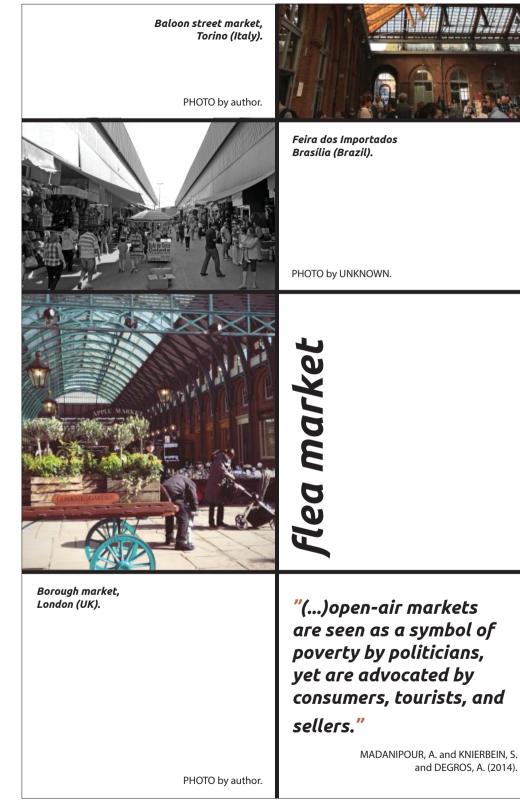
Bench with a view, Belvedere Castelletto, Genova (Italy).

PHOTO by Estela Hirakuri.



Pier 15, East River Esplanade New York (USA).

well designed urban furniture





Mercado do Bolhão Porto (Portugal).

PHOTO by author.

Feira de São Joaquim,

Salvador (Brazil).

Porta Palazzo, Torino (Italy).

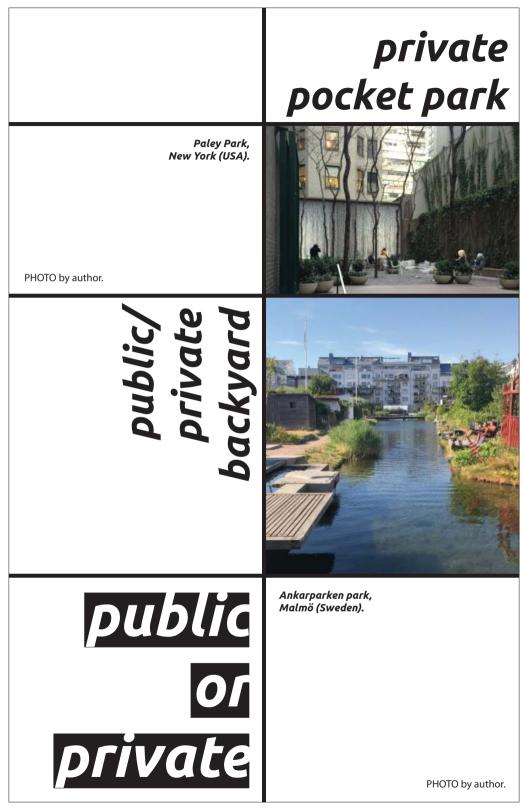
food market



Municipal market, São Paulo (Brazil).

PHOTOS by author.

PHOTO by Jair Magri.



public beach



"Hidden" public part of the beach, 5 Terre (Italy).

"a sense of common purpose is what can unify that multiplicity and overcome the initial fear of the different"

AMIN, A. (2009).

Old couple talking by the sea, Genova (Italy).

Reserva do Grumari beach, Rio de Janeiro (Brazil).

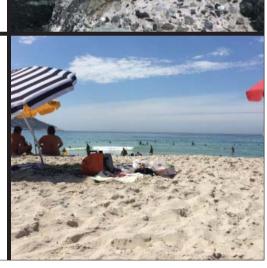




PHOTO courtesy of Matarozzi Pelsinger Design + Build. Parklet in San Francisco (USA).

High Line in New York (USA).





PHOTO by author.



Parklet in São Paulo (Brazil).

PHOTO by Sissy Eiko.



Parklets in Vienna (Austria).

PHOTOS courtesy of City Making! Wien.



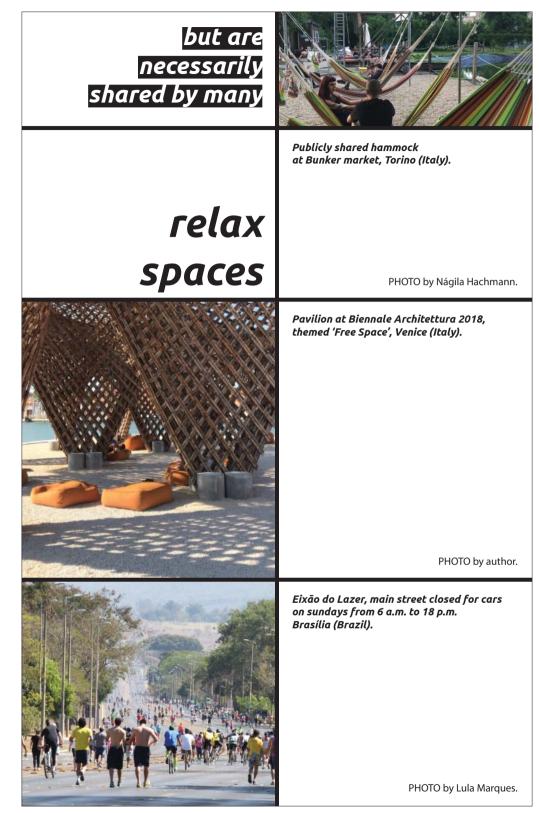
MAAT in Lisboa (Portugal).

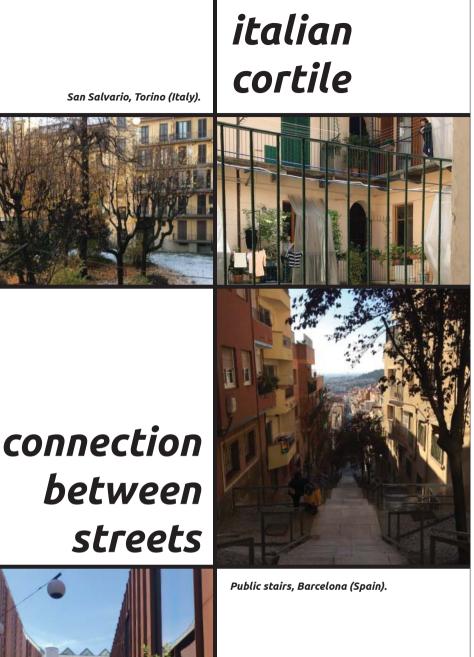


PHOTO by author.

Parklet in London (UK).

PHOTO courtesy of WMBstudio.





Private market outside sitting area, Malmö (Sweden).





Nyhavn canal, Copenhagen (Denmark).



Murazzi at Po river, Torino (Italy).

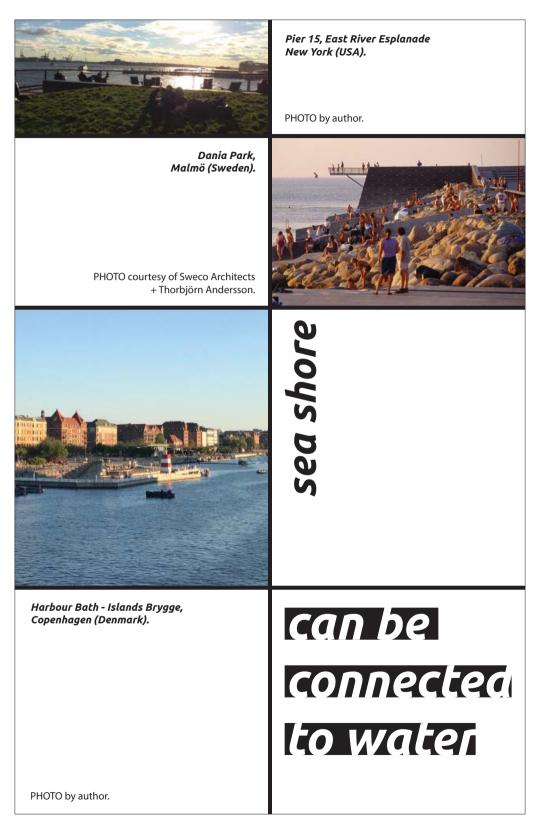


"the active juxtaposition of diversity, the play of ground-up and distributed watchfulness, and an entanglement of uses - economic, social, and cultural - that promises individual and collective benefits"

JACOBS, J. (1961).

Tejo river, Lisboa (Portugal).







Parco Valentino, Torino (Italy).



urban parks



Parco Valentino, Torino (Italy).



Parque da Cidade, Brasília (Brazil).



Diana, Princess of Wales Memorial Fountain, Hyde Park, London (UK).

specials in the park



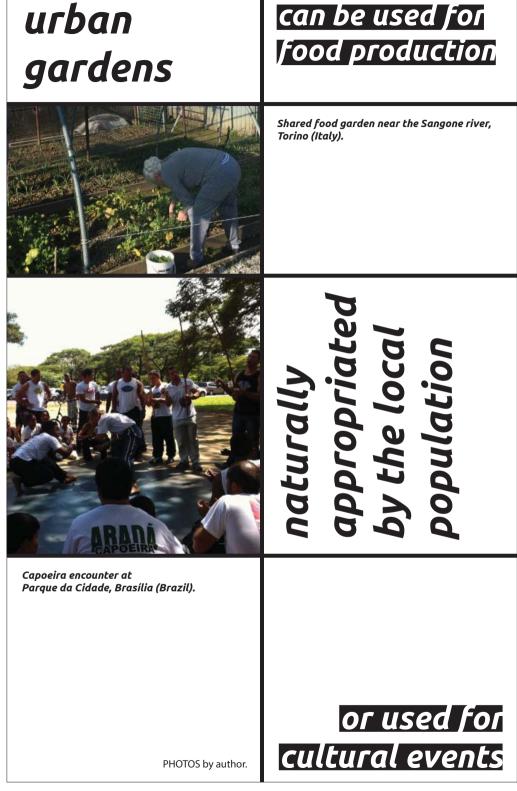


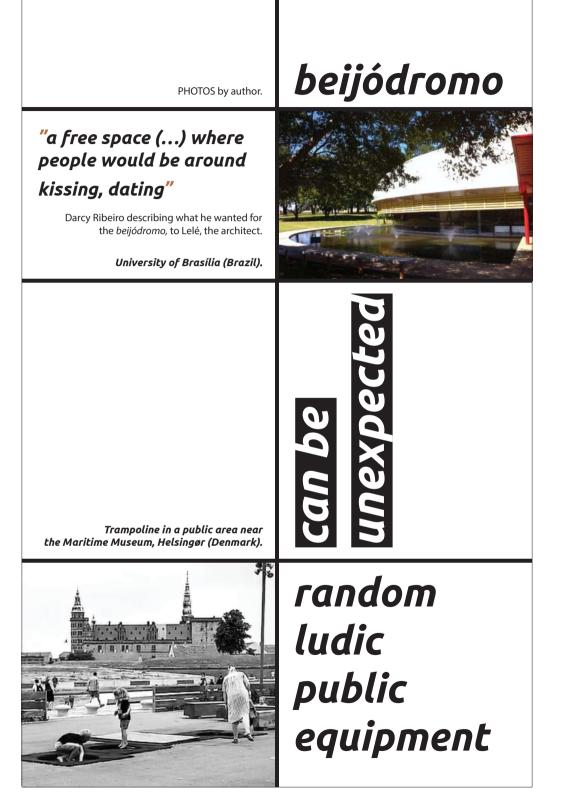


Free yoga in the park, Parco Valentino, Torino (Italy).

Kids park, Parco Valentino, Torino (Italy).

Kids park, Parque da Cidade, Brasília (Brazil).







Maritime Museum, Helsingør (Denmark).



"The museum's site is one where, between 1882 and 1985, one of Denmark's most significant and progressive modern shipyards were located."

Danish Maritime Museum official website.

reuse of the unused



"It was an abbandoned weaponry factory (...) now it's a meeting point between culture, religion, different groups to get to know each other, dialogue, to walk together."

Free translation by author from *L'Arsenale* official website.

Arsenale della Pace, Torino (Italy).



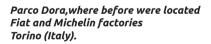




"the park has five separate areas whose functional differences and aesthetic impact are based on the quality of the industrial remains. Bridges, stairs and ramps connect the different parts of the park"

LATZ + PARTNER official website, the responsables for the project.







1.2 Social spaces, public spaces, and spaces of urban welfare

In defining a socially sustainable space, it is possible to notice that the definition is comprehensive and can incorporate various types of spaces that combine spatial design with social realm.^{7 18} Social sustainability is about contemporary human societies and their living spaces as a general,^{7 9} so in order steer the direction of this research and reduce the field of study, it was necessary a quick inquiry about social spaces, public spaces, and spaces of urban welfare.

A social space is where people share interactions in the urban environment, can be anything involving the collective, as opposed to personal space²¹ like squares, sidewalks, communal areas. In order to be considered socially sustainable, it requires the space to contribute to civic daily life.¹⁹ Naturally comes to mind then, public spaces, so why not talk about them?

The definition of the word 'public' is subjected to variations.²² Describing something as public can be perceived as exclusively funded by governmental expenditure and complete responsibility of the state, meaning without any private involvement. However, public can also be intended as 'for public use, collective use', so in terms of space, related to the use of it, rather than financing or responsibility for administrating. This second meaning is the most interesting one when talking about social sustainability.

At the same time, just by classifying a determinate space as public does not automatically guarantee a contribution to collective well-being and spaces that are part of the everyday life of a community.¹⁶ Most of the times, a big concern when creating a public space is that involves many different factors, from different and specialized spheres of the bureaucratic public system, and not all the actors involved are focusing on the user.

When a public space becomes a touristic attraction, for example, it can become very overcrowded and do just the opposite of bringing the feeling of wellness. It can be transformed into a staged space that gets in the way of the everyday life of the community. It is the case for example of *Escadaria Selarón* in Rio de Janeiro (Brazil) and *Fontana di Trevi* in Rome (Italy), where the public space is mostly used by tourists trying to take the perfect photo.

There is also the possibility of public areas that for numerous reasons, end up not having people actually using it. It is the case, for example, of many central areas of Brasília, where the human scale is ignored, and this results in not having pedestrians. The hostility to people is intensified by the constant heat and lack of shadows, as it becomes impractical for people to stay on those spaces and have the conviviality a social and public space should incorporate.

²² Collins English Dictionary (2019).



\\01

Escadaria Selarón in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.



\\02

Fontana di Trevi in Rome, Italy.

PHOTOS

01, 02, 03, 04, 05 by author 06 by UNKNOWN 07, 08 courtesy of Foster + Partners.



\\03

Esplanada dos Ministérios in Brasília, Brazil.





National Museum (external area) in Brasília, Brazil.



Praça dos 3 poderes, public square in Brasília, Brazil.

When talking about what defines a place as having public character, a critic not to be ignored is the current wave of wellfounded concern for public space being eroded by threats of privatization.¹⁶ This tendency was mainly initiated by Apple transforming its stores into "town squares". It was intended to make private area public, giving back to the community, but has the negative result of making some people (usually the ones with lower economic conditions) to feel unwelcome to use these spaces.

All that discussions about well-functioning (or lack) of the public space show that is a subject vastly discussed in urban studies. A possibly less explored point of view concerns spaces of urban welfare that are the resulting physical spaces of welfare policies. Welfare is a very complex and broad term, but it is intrinsically connected to the concept of social sustainability, since they are typical facilities of a city, like schools, hospitals, parks, sports centers, civic centers, libraries,¹⁹ and spaces related to social protection services, providing the services or even orientating people.²³

Spaces of urban welfare naturally incorporate the meaning of social space, being a place for socialization, and is also a public space, when the public is understood as for collective use.¹⁹ Welfare spaces seem to be even more relevant to study here, considering they precisely incorporate two commonly agreed focus of social sustainability: Satisfaction of Human Needs, and Socially Cohesive and Inclusive Physical Urban Units to improve Quality of Life.⁷



\\06

Apple store in Milan, Italy.



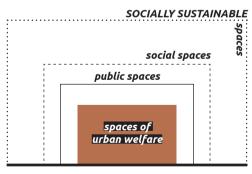
07

Apple store (exterior rendering), in Milan, Italy.



\\08

Apple store (section rendering), in Milan, Italy.



Scheme on the relationship between social spaces, public spaces, and spaces of urban welfare.

1.3 Why spaces of urban welfare

The spatial dimension of welfare is a topic not extensively discussed yet.²⁴ It is an unusual perspective at the subject of social policies, frequently neglected.²⁴ Nevertheless, spaces of welfare are how social policies are translated into concrete livable spaces, meant as the place where groups of people can collectively recognize one another and form a sense of identity.¹⁹

Even when studying welfare spaces, the considerations made are often of merely technical attention, aiming at minimum quantitative levels¹⁹ while it is precisely such spaces that should be focusing on guaranteeing certain levels of comfort, security, wellness, and quality to the city.

The potentials of adding relevance to the quality of those places of welfare are of great importance to the quality and impacts of policies and services realized in the spaces. The spatial, physical characteristics have great generative potential,²³ they can favor the development of certain interactions within the same group or towards the unknown; or can facilitate the attribution of meaning to specifics profiles of identity,²⁵ breaking stereotypes.

Furthermore, welfare incorporates changes in social risk profiles, and consequently, social needs.²³ This phenomenon has epochal and sudden changes, putting tension in the city, and the city as in the structure where the complexity and diversity of people, their interests and lifestyles become social experiences.²⁶ To this point, the argument is that not only welfare,¹⁹ but also the concern for the quality of welfare spaces¹⁹ should be infrastructural to the city, infrastructure understood as:

the basic structure of an
 organization or system
 which is necessary for its
 operation;²⁷ in the city,
 material goods that serve
 the community, which does
 not produce individual
 wealth, but contributes to
 the collective well-being.²³

Spaces of urban welfare are the physical translation of policies,²⁴ and they are what remain in the territory, despite discontinuities in politics. Hence, because welfare is a context-dependent concept,²⁹ with different approaches and intervention philosophies, it is vital to consider welfare as a complicated, ambivalent matter in itself,³⁰ which involves long lines of specialized areas of knowledge that usually do not interact with each other.²³ Therefore, a more in-depth theoretical base of welfare is needed.

²⁴ BRICOCOLI, M. and SABATINELLI, S. (2017-B).

²⁵ BIFULCO, L. and DE LEONARDIS, O. (2003); WEICK, K. E. (1997) apud BRICOCOLI, M. and SABATINELLI, S. (2017-C).

²⁶ SENNETT, R. (1976) apud MUNARIN, S. and TOSI, M.C. (2009).

²⁷ Cambridge Dictionary (US, 2019).

²⁸ JURGEN E. K. (2001) apud MUNARIN, S. and TOSI, M.C. (2009).

²⁹ FAGNANI, E. (2014).

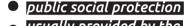


2.1 What is welfare

The concept of welfare is ambivalent, heterogeneous, evaluative, and contested.³⁰ The word by itself (no contextualization given), can be understood regarding two meanings:³¹

a state of being (physically and mentally) related to wellness (health). happiness. and comfort: well-beina.³¹





 usually provided by the state to cover "basic human needs";³²social policies.³¹



The first definition is less discussed in the academic field because it suggests welfare as a state of mind, which would be a thumping simplification, considering everything this term brings along. Wellbeing is individual perception, linked to an emotional reaction and is hard to be objectively measured.¹⁰

This definition, though, is not to be ignored, because collective well-being is an intrinsic part of welfare,¹⁰ in the sense that it is interwoven in the comprehensiveness of the term, being its evaluative dimension,³⁰ and it should be the primary concern for policymakers. This meaning is decidedly relevant when talking about socially sustainable spaces and when arguing about architecture's contribution to improving social matters.²³ Other than that, in some contexts, this simplified meaning is automatically associated when translating the word, it is the case of Brazil, translating welfare as '*bem-estar*'.⁴⁹ The second definition, on the other hand, is related to a community's social risks and understanding of the welfare state, of what should be included in social policies. Welfare as social policies is a subject that includes many different disciplines and means to be confronted with questioning values, so it naturally incorporates principles and world views.³³

To objectively measure it is the role of the discipline of welfare economics. In this discipline, the concept is reduced to the utilitarian element of welfare, the market value of any useful good or service, anything preferred by individuals that is not freely available (a scarce good), whether if the need or preference is basic or superfluous being an irrelevant question.³⁰ The main concern is to improve the economic welfare of a society of individuals, not creating wealth directly, but to distribute it in a way that the total welfare of the society is optimized.³⁰

³⁰ ALBERTSEN, N. and DIKEN, B. (2004).

³¹ definitions put together by author, based on Cambridge, Merriam-Webster, Collins and Urban Dictionary.

³² PINCH (1997) apud ALBERTSEN, N. and DIKEN, B. (2004).

³³ BIFULCO, L. (2015).

However, welfare as public social protection still is more than welfare economics. It includes the complexities of the non-market-based value of a service. Ian Malcolm David Little³⁴ compares welfare to a well of unknown depth that can be filled from various taps, economic, political, cultural. The idea of social welfare has this "eclectic character" ³⁵ and can also be embracing in terms of fields-of-study and experts: psychologists, teachers, doctors, architects, cultural critics.³⁶

2.1.1 Welfare as social protection

The first known use of this concept was with the term 'Social State' originated in Germany in 1870 to describe state-support social programs created by the Otto von Bismarck when unifying Germany.³⁷

The term was then converted to the anglophone version 'welfare state', popularized during World War II by the archbishop of York William Temple to reinforce the English singularity in counterposition to the contemporary German term 'war state'. ³⁸

Even if originated in specific conditions, the term and the ideas of the 'welfare state' spread worldly on the second half of the 20th century, but until today there is no exact consensus of what it exactly implies.³⁰ Does it have to be necessarily and entirely provided by the state? What is included as "basic human needs"?

During the 1950s and early 1960s in Denmark, there was an intense debate for precise ideas and delimitations, and this debate seems surprisingly relevant today since it captured many of the issues that are still present today.³⁰ The Danish and Nordic model of welfare is often appreciated and taken as a reference for good practices when studying social protection provision.

To sum up what was illuminated at the Danish discussions at the time:

"The concept of welfare relates to a wide diversity of issues such as quantity, quality and distribution of material goods and services, the (re)distribution of income, protection against poverty, the security of employment and wealth, the provision of health care, education and culture, the provision of security and shelter, the guarantee of a certain equality and equality of opportunities, the support of and participation in democratic institutions, the general quality of life."30

37 FAY, S. B. (1950).

³⁴ LITTLE, I. M. D. (1965) apud ALBERTSEN, N. and DIKEN, B. (2004).

³⁵ MARGALIT, A. (1996) *apud* ALBERTSEN, N. and DIKEN, B. (2004).

³⁶ FORNSMARK, H. (1990) apud ALBERTSEN, N. and DIKEN, B. (2004).

³⁸ BRIGGS, A. (1961).

Although Denmark's interpretation is very compelling, it is not accepted as the only possible one. Within different nation-states, different ways of welfare provision occur in various combinations, depending on economic and political contextualization.^{30 39}

The welfare typologies can be classified as:

01 the *social-democracy of Nordic countries* (Iceland, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, and Finland)³⁰ who view the provision of welfare as a right for individuals based on citizenship, rather than a demonstrated need;⁴⁰ and has the basic concept of universalistic access to a welfare state and public services, with generous compensations and where risks are comprehensively socialized; ^{39 40}

02 the liberal model of Anglo-Saxon

countries (USA, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Ireland, and the UK),³⁰ where the answer to social needs should come from the market, to individualize risk and the State should intervene minimally, only in the conditions of extreme social need; ³⁹⁴⁰

03 the corporative system of the center-continental European

countries (Germany, Belgium, France, and Luxembourg),³⁰ with an inclination for the state and the family being responsible for socialization and its risks; these are pooled within particular occupational groups or social strata (the state presence is mainly of insurance and pensions); ^{39 40}

04 and lastly, when reflecting on his threefold typology debate, Esping-Andersen proposed in his second book⁴¹ a fourth welfare regime for *Mediterranean Europe and Japan*,³⁰ *known in Italy as 'stato sociale' (social state)*. It is relatable to the corporative system, but not restricted to particular occupational groups; it is still centered on familialism, the family as the primary agent for producing welfare, but the role of the state is debatable. ^{39 40}

However, this division of welfare in typologies should be caution against generalizations and may contain implicit evaluations.³⁰ Just as multiple, embracing and contested the concept can be, it also creates, in its comprehensiveness, an evaluative dimension that in politics and ideology, can be translated into a political polarity ⁴⁶ within the researchers:³⁰

A liberal and conservative authors tend to perceive the welfare state as a "paternalistic state"⁴² and the welfare society "causing humiliation through its own institutions" by creating "dependent people";³⁵ therefore, they argue the state should have a minimal interference, and the market should regulate welfare provision.³⁰

B from the **political Left** ³⁰, it is criticized for being based on a capitalist economy continually producing the very social problems that the welfare state was intended to solve.³⁰

³⁹ CARBONE, D. and KAZEPOV, Y. (2007).

⁴⁰ TITTMUSS, R. M. (1974) apud ALBERTSEN, N. and DIKEN, B. (2004).

⁴¹ ESPING-ANDERSEN, G. (1999) apud ALBERTSEN, N. and DIKEN, B. (2004).

⁴² DICH, J. S. (1973) apud ALBERTSEN, N. and DIKEN, B. (2004).



Cartoon criticizing welfare policies, 2018.

The objective of this research is not to be normative and define directions to whether or not each ideology is more correct than the other. In the following, it will be maintained this typology evaluation, not because the criticisms to this analysis are irrelevant, but because it is sufficient for the primary purpose of the work. The expectation is to emphasize at a general level the diversity of the forms of welfare provision and to reaffirm the existence of political polarity in some contexts, where there is generally an exercise in blame avoidance rather than credit claiming.⁴⁸

2.1.2 The case of emerging countries

When analyzing these typologies of welfare, a few researchers agree that none of them quite fit the emerging countries situation, which includes Brazil as one of the most agreed emerging economies.

The classification of what is considered an emerging country is based on an economic market condition,⁴³ which means that geographically they are spread all across the world and they do not necessarily have anything in common other than that. What classifies a nation's economy as progressing toward becoming developed is determined through many socio-economic factors, like liquidity in local debt and equity markets, and the existence of some form of a regulatory body.⁴³ For the purpose of this work, a simplified list of commonly agreed emerging countries is considered, as shown in the following picture.

UNKNOWN author.



emerging countries.



by author.

The presented list is based on the classification by five different recognized institutions.⁴⁴ There are some divergences in each of them, therefore the countries here evidenced are the ones that appear in all of them, and the list is composed by:

| 01 Mexico | 09 South Africa |
|--------------------|---------------------|
| 02 Colombia | 10 Russia |
| 03 Peru | 11 China |
| 04 Chile | 12 India |
| 05 Brazil | 13 Thailand |
| 06 Hungary | 14 Philippines |
| 07 Poland | 15 Malaysia |
| 08 Turkey | 16 Indonesia |

If even classifying an emerging country is already a complicated matter by itself, why talk about an emerging market's welfare?

There are recent and ongoing researches discussing that because of that specific emerging economic condition, those countries experience a different kind of welfare, where historical experiences and political preferences have a stronger impact on how massive social policies programs are used internally as a political power in national elections, and globally, to affirm those countries relevance in the global economy.

Even though each country has a very different national structure of social systems, the argument is that they all have

44 01-International Monetary Fund (IMF); 02-Morgan Stanley Capital International (MSCI); 03-Standard and Poor's (S&P); 04-Russell Investments; 05-Dow Jones.

ノビリシントレビリシンシンシン

in common to have been treating social policies, not as part of the formulation of economic policies and transformation, but perceived as subordinate and residual,⁹⁹ dealing with the negative impact of market processes, rather than shaping them.⁴⁵

For Arjan de Haan⁴⁵ the emerging economies are reshaping global economic power, with growth rates that have been consistently above those of the old hegemonic powers, and the existing economics literature views on social policy in those economies see welfare as either lagging or threating growth, as a market enemy. However, the author argues that social policies are congruent and constitutive, playing a critical role in the transformation of emerging economies, and in turn, shape the conditions of enhancing markets and productivity.

He makes the case about social policies in China and India, but many arguments are valid for emerging countries as a general. For example, the point of predominating universalistic welfare ideas (here intended in the sense of ideology, regarding state responsibility for its citizens), but based on strong notions of equity, of compensating economic differences, "limiting its action to a small part of the population, the 'deserving poor''', which puts in question the place of affirmative action in the universalism perspective. Social spending is considered a primarily cost, and not an investment in human capital. Lenaura de Vasconcelos Costa Lobato is a Brazilian post-PhD researcher that recently wrote an article⁴⁶ which talks about the social issue inside the BRICS⁴⁷ project. Her findings indicate that the social problem was necessary for the affirmation of the group in the global context, but social issues remain subsumed to geopolitical and market objectives. The methodology used was a documentary analysis of the Declarations resulting from the nine BRICS Summits held from 2009 to 2017.

The highlights are the slow progress of the group to really address welfare and social policies, initially only discussing about the humanitarian crisis and calling the international community to combat poverty, social exclusion and inequity, associating the social issue with sustainable social development, paying particular attention to vulnerable groups such as the poor, women, youth, migrants and people with disabilities.

It was only in the meeting of 2014, held in Fortaleza, Brazil, that was included in their Declaration the association between social and economic development as a strategy for global growth, affirming the group's readiness to explore cooperation and partnerships to facilitate market relationships and financial integration. In this same Summit, they address government decentralization to increase funding. In the next BRICS Summit in 2015, Russia they declare "the right to all

⁴⁵ HAAN, A. (2013).

⁴⁶ LOBATO, L. de V. C. (2018).

⁴⁷ A term coined by O'NEILL, J. (2001) that describes the case of Brazil, Russia, India, China and later included South Africa as on a similar stage of newly advanced economic development.

individuals, without distinction, to the highest possible standard of physical and mental health and quality of life necessary for the maintenance of their health and well-being". On their Summit of 2016, in India, they welcome ONU's 2030 Sustainable Development Agenda because of its centrality in eradicating poverty and a balanced approach between the economic, social and environmental realms of sustainable development.

According to her, it is possible to identify that the social advances of the group are more connected to national contexts with very different structures, and as a general, it maintains the social matter as a justification and consequence of development, not an intrinsic part of it.

Paul Pierson⁴⁸ in the 1990s discussed that political goals of policymakers suffer dramatic changes depending on the political context and that large public social programs are a central part of the political landscape. According to him, "politicians in democratic systems generally worry first and foremost about getting elected", so with these massive programs come along dense interestgroup networks and strong popular attachments to particular policies. Massive programs of welfare are a common practice for emerging economies, especially in the context of emergency industrialization of Latin America.49

Since 2017 there is the ongoing research

project⁵⁰ led by Prof. Dr. Erdem Yörük and funded by the European Research Council aiming exactly to identify this new welfare regime in emerging market economies and explain why it has emerged.

The project is called under the acronym 'EmergingWelfare' and is comparing China, Brazil, India, Indonesia, Mexico, South Africa, and Turkey to test two hypotheses:

01 that emerging market economies are forming a new welfare regime that differs from liberal, corporatist and social democratic welfare regimes on the basis of extensive and decommodifying social assistance programs for the poor;
02 that the new welfare regime emerges principally as a response to the growing political power of the poor as a dual source of threat and support for governments.

The group is based with the Turkish Koç University but has collaborators from all over the world in renowned American universities especially. To answer those questions, they are divided into four work packages (WP), each of which is composed of several tasks:

// cluster analysis of welfare systems (WP1)
// creation of protest database using
newspaper archives (WP2)
// establishment of statistical associations
between politics and policy outcomes
based on large-N survey data, protest
dataset and welfare indicators (WP3)
// analysis of political and policy reports
and parliamentary proceedings (WP4).

49 LOBATO, L. de V. C. (2016).

⁴⁸ PIERSON, P. (1996).

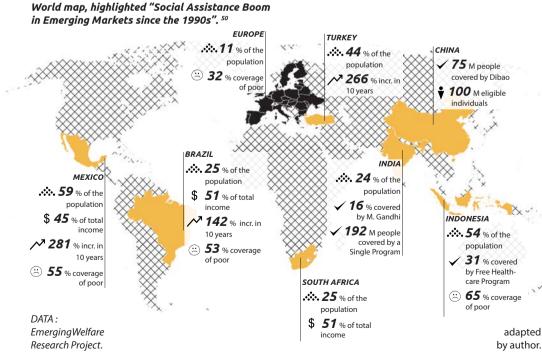
⁵⁰ Available information about the project general structure and first results on the official website: https://emw.ku.edu.tr/.

The first results published on their website include an analysis of social assistance boom in emerging markets since the 1990s (MAP 02)⁵⁰ and protest database for Brazil based on news articles of *Folha de São Paulo*, an influential national newspaper.

For the first hypotheses, they say **"In** emerging markets, a new world of welfare with unique programs, services, budgets, and a huge coverage is emerging, to which none of the existing welfare regimes fits. While the pioneering West had up until recently set the example for the rest of the world in terms of welfare provision, now, emerging markets have taken the lead by developing new social programs which neither follow in the footsteps of older poverty relief programs of the western world nor imitate them – they are inventing new programs." 50

For the second, "a global political economy, in which the poor have aained utmost political predominance as the main arassroots source of political threat to and political support for emerging market governments, countries have converged in providing extensive and decommodifying social assistance as the central element of a new welfare regime in a common strategy for the political containment and mobilization of the political power of the poor. Neither old theories of the development of the welfare state nor contemporary structuralist theories apply to the case of emerging markets, in which new matrix of, mostly political, dynamics shape welfare development." 50

MAP 02:



2.1.3 Illustrating the impact of economic and political contextualization

Based on all the discussions presented so far about the ambivalent nature of welfare as social protection, it is possible to comprehend that a nation's contextualization on economic and political factors influence even in how essential each country considers public spending to improve the well-being of its population.⁴⁵

In relation to a country's development condition, the debate goes more toward the state's responsibility or individualization of the social risks,³⁰ which means a larger or lower public contribution to social expenses. Although, in order to avoid general conclusions, it is better to review some data on expenditure. The relationship between Human Development Index (HDI)⁵¹ and percentage of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) on welfare^{52 53} can illustrate that argument⁴⁵ and help to justify the different interpretations of the word.⁴⁸

The presented analysis is composed of a table (TABLE 03) that organizes the data collected by decreasing HDI; a map (MAP 03) illustrating each country's classification of welfare typology; and a graph (GRAPH 01) that helps a direct comparison between these three factors: welfare typology, HDI and public spending on social expenditures.

| # A COUNTRY HDi GDP on
welfare VERY HIGH HUMAN DEVELOPMENT 01 NORWAY 0.948 24.7% 03 AUSTRALIA 0.933 24.9% 05 GERMANY 0.933 24.9% 07 SWEDEN 0.929 26.3% 06 ICELAND 0.927 15.5% 11 DENMARK 0.926 29.0% 13 USA 0.920 18.8% 14 UK 0.918 21.6% 15 FINLAND 0.915 30.4% 17 BELGIUM 0.913 29.2% 24 FRANCE 0.898 32.0% 25 SPAIN 0.885 24.7% 26 SPAIN 0.885 24.7% 28 ITALY 0.876 28.5% 41 PORTUGAL 0.840 3.5% HIGH HUMAN DEVELOPMENT 1.4% 3.0% 79 BRAZIL 0.767 1.4% | TABLE 03: | | | | | |
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| 116 INDONESIA 0.686 0.8% | 113 | SOUTH AFRICA | 0.692 | 3.3% | EMERGING COUNTRIES4 | |
| | 116 | INDONESIA | 0.686 | 0.8% | Ē | |
| 130 INDIA 0.627 1.5% | 130 | INDIA | 0.627 | 1.5% | | |

A Positioning on the world HDI rank of 2017 (total of 189 countries) from the HUMAN DEVELOPMENT INDICES AND INDICATORS: 2018 STATISTICAL UPDATE – TABLE 2.⁵¹
 B Data for public social expenditure in developed countries taken from data.OECD.org (relative to the year 2015).
 C Data for public social expenditure in emerging countries taken from datatopics.worldbank.org (also year 2015).
 D UN (2018-B).

Table with HDI and %GDP on social expenditure.

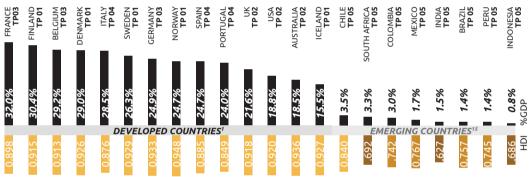
by author.

51 UN (2018-A).

⁵² According to OECD: "Social expenditure comprises cash benefits, direct in-kind provision of goods and services, and tax breaks with social purposes. Benefits may be targeted at low-income households, the elderly, disabled, sick, unemployed, or young persons. To be considered "social", programs have to involve either redistribution of resources across households or compulsory participation. Social benefits are classified as public when general government (that is central, state, and local governments, including social security funds) controls the relevant financial flows. All social benefits not provided by general government are considered rivet."



GRAPH 01:



World map, highlighted countries considered in TABLE 01 and their welfare typology, & Graphic representation of the same countries organized by decreasing GDP on welfare.

by author.

It is possible to notice first, that emerging countries have consistently a significantly lower public investment on welfare, and they also usually have lower HDI values.

Second, that between the countries classified as 'very high human development' (light yellow), the ones incorporated into the welfare typologies TP01 and TP03 have the highest %GDP, ^{52 53} which makes sense, since they advocate for the state being the main responsible for social matters; and the ones classified as TP02 and TP04 have lower %GDP, because they argue for market and family participation (private entities).

The exception would be Iceland, at the bottom of developed countries in terms of public expenditure, because it is classified as TP01 (social-democracy of Nordic countries), but debated⁵⁴ to have some definite characteristics of the American

⁵³ According to ASPIRE: "Social safety nets (SSN)/Social assistance (SA) expenditure refers to total program expenditure including spending on benefits and on administrative costs. The indicator captures both the recurrent and capital program budget and is based on administrative program records. Program level expenditure is presented as a percent of GDP of the respective year and is aggregated by harmonized program categories (unconditional cash transfers, conditional cash transfers, social pensions, school feeding, in-kind transfers, fee waivers, public works, and other social assistance)".

welfare (TP02, liberal model), giving less responsibility to the State to provide social services.

Regarding the Italian case, it could be highlighted as well, because it belongs to the TP04 (social state), where welfare's responsibility is divided between state and family, therefore not necessarily having very high public investments. However, Italy has a particularly interesting history of welfare innovations putting more responsibility in the state, if compared to other countries from the same typology, which puts the country as the 5th highest in %GDP from this selection.

Brazil is positioned as one of the lowest public investments, with only 1.4% of GDP but that may be due to some recent political history against massive social programs, that resulted in lowering public social expenditure.

Both countries details are going to be discussed more in the next chapter, with an overview of welfare and case studies for those two specific contexts.

The United Nation's Human Development Report is not the only way to evaluate a countries' development condition but is relevant in the way that they define "people are the real wealth of a nation, and human development is all about enlarging their choices". According to Selim Jahan, Director of the Human Development Report Office, "the human development concept has contributed to and influenced the development discourse over the years. But also (...) the human development approach is as relevant as ever in analyzing and formulating policies and actions to improve people's well-being (...)".⁵⁵

The intention in presenting this analysis here is not to define cause and consequence relationships (dictate which one is causing the other), since more in-depth knowledge on this matter is again part of the discipline of welfare economics.⁵⁶ It is presented as an illustration of the ambivalent nature of welfare and its consequences on public social expenditures.

The selection of countries was based on available data versus relevance in the global economy, including the aforementioned welfare typologies. It includes the majority of Nordic, centercontinental and Mediterranean western Europe, Anglo-Saxon countries and as many emerging countries as possible. The end selection is composed of 22 countries with very different conditions regarding welfare provision, and the data comes from OECD⁵⁷ and ASPIRE⁵⁸ (World Bank).

To assure the comparison of values, all the data was considered relative to the same year (2015), and the same unit was used (%GDP), to avoid currency conversions.

⁵⁵ UN Development Programme official website, article celebrating 25 years of Human Development (2015).

⁵⁶ For further reading on the subject, GEBREGZIABHER and NIÑO-ZARAZÚA (2014) "Social spending and aggregate welfare in developing and transition economies".

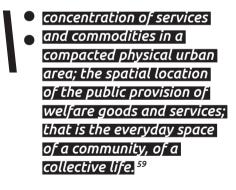
⁵⁷ Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD).

⁵⁸ The Atlas of Social Protection - Indicators of Resilience and Equity (ASPIRE).

2.2 URBAN WELFARE

On the first topic of the welfare theory brought to discussion in this research, a lot is said about welfare as a national structure to provide social services to its population, but what does that mean in the urban scale? In the late 1960s, Manuel Castells started to propose the welfare city as "The Urban Question" of the time, arguing that **"only spatial units of collective consumption should count as the scientific object of urban sociology.** (...) the spatial concentration of collective means of consumption, therefore, defines what is urban." ⁵⁹

Castells argument defines the provision of welfare as not organized based on a national structure, but as collective consumption, whether provided by state intervention or otherwise,³⁰ so he precisely argues that the urban should be defined as:



While discussing welfare systems in different cities, LEHTO (2000) claim that the provision of welfare goods was a significant factor in the urbanization process, attracting people away from rural life.⁶⁰

The city, considered as an "instrument of co-habitation", a place where people learn to live together, to live collectively, ¹⁹ it is the structure in which the diversity and complexity of different people become usable as social experiences.²⁶ The city is where changes in social risks profiles, and consequently, social needs are put in tension,²³ because these risks are scaled to a concentrated collective environment.

During the 20th century, there was in Europe (and the rest of the world following its example) a strong convergence between city planning and development and the construction of welfare systems.⁶¹ Both the ideas of urban studies, which shaped urban development in the years after the Second World War (WWII) and the founding part of welfare thinking, in general, were closely linked to the utilitarian ideas of the modernistic movement at the time.³⁰ The modern spirit was searching efficiency everywhere,³⁰ and the city was conceived as an efficiently organized and useful machine to create order in the chaos,³⁰ and "the modern architect should not design for the cultivated few or the cultural uplift of the masses, but for the human needs of the modern citizen, defined in terms of common rights and basic needs." 62

 ⁵⁹ CASTELLS, M. (1977) *apud* ALBERTSEN, N. and DIKEN, B. (2004).
 60 LEHTO, J. (2000) *apud* ALBERTSEN, N. and DIKEN, B. (2004).

⁶¹ BRICOCOLI, M. (2017).

⁶² BRAIN, D. (1994) apud ALBERTSEN, N. and DIKEN, B. (2004).

This perspective talks about collective wellbeing as a premise because a **"fact that is often forgotten, is that the majority of people that live in a city desire a normal daily existence made up of comfortable and secure spaces",⁶³** and **"well-being in a space, enjoying it pleasurably, is certainly one of the objectives that have had an important role in considerations made by people involved in the urban space".**¹⁹

Therefore, urban welfare does not intend to incorporate matters of rural social protection systems,⁴⁵ studied by the social science field of knowledge.⁴⁹ Urban welfare is the part of social studies focused on the urban environment, performed mainly by architects and urban planners,¹⁹ observing places where relations are formed, where there is positive development of civil life, and investigating and exploring "sustainable spatiality".⁶⁴

Urban welfare is where the concepts of welfare and social sustainability are intertwined⁶⁵ because the urban form and its physical typologies to mitigate risk, and enhance human well-being and welfare, play an essential role in achieving social sustainability.^{9 33} Despite the fluidity of welfare typologies, when the objective is sustainable development, it is about innovation and finding sustainable ways for urban social infrastructure.¹⁸

2.3 Contemporary matters and issues of welfare innovations

There are a few factors that have long challenged national social protection systems, requiring responses, adaptations, and transformations, even more in contemporary society and their living in the urban environment.⁶⁶

The current picture of ever more rapid and less predictable social changes, along with growing disconnection between new social and political needs and programs that are crystallized over time, with difficult financial sustainability, has significant implications also in spatial terms,⁶⁷ in the social sustainability of spaces of urban welfare.

To address the dilemmas that affect contemporary social policy,⁶⁸ this topic aims to bring to light in the present discussion these matters and issues, providing a brief definition of each and how they are related to welfare.

The matters associated with urban planning and welfare innovations that have been tendencies are: Bottom-up Approaches & Participatory-design Processes; ^{9 18 69 70 71} Territorialization of Welfare; ^{33 66 67 71 77} Active Local Welfare; ^{61 66 71 77 79 80} and Welfare Mix.^{61 84}

⁶³ BALBO, L. (1994) *apud* MUNARIN, S. and TOSI, M. C. (2009).

⁶⁴ BOLLEA, G. (2005) apud MUNARIN, S. and TOSI, M. C. (2009).

⁶⁵ MULLER, (2000) apud BIFULCO, L. (2015).

⁶⁶ DRAIBE, S. M. (2014).

⁶⁷ SABATINELLI, S. (2017).

⁶⁸ PEREIRA, P. A. P. (2014).

Some of the main issues welfare systems are trying to confront, in response to new and heterogeneous contemporary welfare needs³⁹ are: Demographic Changes; ^{30 39 61 66} Family and Social Risks; 66 79 Growing of Informal Labor Force; 30 39 61 66 68 and Globalization. 30 39 45 46 61 66 97

BOTTOM-UP APPROACHES & PARTICIPATORY-DESIGN PROCESSES

To address how planning can facilitate the ability of a community to develop processes and structures that satisfy the requirements of its current members, and also support the ability of future generations to maintain a sustainable community, a tendency in urban planning methodologies since the communicative turn in 1970s⁹ has been to use bottom-up approaches and participatory-design,9 rescaling initiatives promoted from the bottom 69

The traditional practices are considered a 'Top-down approach', which means that districts need to follow instructions given by the central government to develop its solutions.⁷⁰ The 'Bottom-up approach' is when there is the involvement of local powers in decisions that affect their lives throughout the stages of their development, which is considered vital if the public investment is to be effective.¹⁸

There is no denying that the bottom-up approach is more focused on people if compared to the classic decisionmaking practice.⁷⁰ Regarding the social

69 KAZEPOV (2010) apud BRICOCOLI, M. (2017).

- 70 ESSAYS, U. (2018).
- 71 BIFULCO, L. (2016).

sustainability goal, this form of urban planning has many advantages of grassroots democracy promotion and social stability that can also be raised,⁷⁰ but it has mainly three critics:

1 these processes are usually temporal and problem – or project – oriented,⁹ focused on immediate needs of citizens,⁷⁰ partially undercutting their potential to generate sustainable outcomes:

2 planners do not always know how to translate communities' needs and demands into planning decisions, which makes it harder to manifest them in urban development:

3 and if local district power is concentrated in the hands of one or few organizations, it means fewer channels for the local citizen's involvement.

In response to those critics, a complement to the bottom-up approach is the Participatory-design process, proposed as participatory justice, which means the interaction of local government and planners with communities as peers. This argument is crucial for achieving social sustainability.9

Some scholars emphasize this interdependency between institutions and society, co-steering, shared goals and citizen involvement as the redesign of public action, also referring to the term 'governance' instead of 'government'.71 Governance means self-governing networks rather than hierarchy, and cooperative mechanisms of coordination

rather than authority.⁷² Until the early 1990s, the concept of governance was mainly associated with marketization perspective emerging in the wake of neoliberalism.⁷³

However, the contemporary discourse is mainly centered on cooperation between different actors, the involvement of the local community, and the development of participative and deliberative decisionmaking processes.⁷¹

In this perspective, governance does not correspond to the demise of the state, but rather, the role played by public institutions entail their transformation, rather than their atrophy, from a role of command and control to a role of enabling.⁷¹ On the one hand, at the local scale, and central and supra-national levels on the other.⁷⁴

In order to achieve sustainable development, it is argued that urban problems cannot be easily solved by the traditional Top-down approach,⁷⁰ since it is tough for the central government to recognize every district issues, but cities should conciliate elements of 'Top-down approach' and 'bottom-up approach'.⁷⁰ This means the central government coordinating local groups of multi-skill professionals, along-side with local communities.⁷⁰

On the central and supra-national scale, the public actor determines guidelines, while

allowing enough freedom and resources to needed adaptations.⁷⁰⁷¹

TERRITORIALIZATION OF WELFARE

Since the 1980s, as a response to changing power dynamics in governance and participation by citizens, public policies in Europe have undergone an increasing process of "territorialization".⁷¹

This term mainly concerns two intertwined phenomena:

1 territorial reorganization of public powers, directly connected with the rescaling of statehood,⁷⁵ *2* a tendency to take the territory as the reference point for policies and interventions, linked to the development of policy approaches and tools tending to perceive the context of public actions in terms of resources, targets and actors,⁷⁶ translated in the construction of physical structures on the territory on the urban scale,⁶⁷ the spaces of urban welfare.

This concept is an attempt to conjugate economic growth with social cohesion,⁷¹ trying to reconcile the universalistic framework of welfare provision, which in many cases, underlie the undertake to install a closer relationship between policies and territories.⁷⁷ It is a process directly associated with the bottom-up, participatory, and local design of welfare policies and spaces.

⁷² PIERRE (2000); RHODES (1997, 2007) apud BIFULCO, L. (2016).

^{73 &}quot;In its simplest definition, marketization is an attempt to bring together the state and the market." CROUCH et al. (2001) apud BIFULCO, L. (2016).

⁷⁴ LE GALÈS, (2002) apud BIFULCO, L. (2016).

⁷⁵ BRENNER (2004) apud BIFULCO, L. (2016).

⁷⁶ GOVERNA and SALONE, (2004) apud BIFULCO, L. (2016).

⁷⁷ BIFULCO, L. and BRICOCOLI, M. and MONTELEONE, R. (2008).

ACTIVE LOCAL WELFARE

In the present climate, urban and regional forms of citizenship are developing as a result of local governance arrangements intended to involve citizens and communities in public life.⁷⁸ Within this framework of current trends of change, local welfare provision is becoming increasingly more critical in meeting the heterogeneous needs of a diversified and mobile population.⁷⁹

Active local welfare, on top of englobing the concept of territorialization in the sense of an overall change in the scale of policies, also *"stresses the places and contexts in which policies come to life and considers them (...) as resources, targets, carriers and settings of public action",* ^{77 80} local people as active actors.

A first biased notion of activation in the European policy discourse references to the notion of social inclusion through the labor market. Nonetheless, activation is also related to a broader perspective, with working towards emancipation and creating opportunities, encouraging participation.⁸¹

This perspective argues that active local welfare may bolster the democratic nature of collective choices, but does not deny that this process also raises several problems, mainly about the increasing disparity between territories.⁷¹ At a local scale, the territory with its resources and limits can indeed respond better to the local population's needs.⁷⁹ However, taking in consideration the risk of territorial inequalities and fragmentation, substantial evidence exists that rich regions can foster local social cohesion by providing more resources and better access to welfare provisions,⁷⁹ often combined with a lower performance of the regions and communities most in need.⁶⁶ The result is tension between regions, which may also threaten national social cohesion.⁷⁹

On the other hand, this change in welfare politics, works in two axis: *vertically*, about rescaling initiatives promoted from below, creating a growing effect of local activation, as argued until now; but also, in parallel, along a *horizontal* axis, a growing number of actors from different spheres (public, private, non-profit) highlight the potential for innovation and experimentation,⁸² creating a variety of practices for research and policy analysis,⁷⁷ "acting as policy laboratories, developing and testing very different approaches."⁷⁷

On top of this complexity of coordination between many different actors, there are compressed, some ideological arguments of private capital participation, widely controversial in some contexts, fueled by ideas of welfare as a universal human right, therefore entirely public by nature.^{68 83}

⁷⁸ GARCIA (2006) apud BIFULCO, L. (2016).

⁷⁹ ANDREOTTI, A. and MINGIONE, E. and POLIZZI, E. (2012).

⁸⁰ BRICOCOLI, M. and SABATINELLI, S. (2017-A).

⁸¹ GELDOF (1999) apud BIFULCO, L. et al. (2008).

⁸² DONZELOT (2009); CUCCA and RANCI (2017); VICARI and MOULAERT (2009); OOSTERLYNCK et al. (2013); BRICOCOLI and SABATINELLI (2016) *apud* BRICOCOLI, M. (2017).

⁸³ SIMÕES, A. (2014).

WELFARE MIX

With the first world economic crises in the 1970s, politics of austerity began to emerge in the European continent, and cutbacks in public funding, especially on welfare happened, resulting in an inclusion of private capital.⁴⁸

As delineated in the concept of Local Active Welfare, the tendency was to each time more have variously articulated aspects, that have directed the social policies towards variable geometries of the composition of the action between different sectors (public, private, third sector).⁶¹

The argument for this change was based on the fact that the 'welfare state' (intended as the national public structure), in the provision of social, health and educational services or the protection of the most vulnerable, meets many difficulties in combining: efficiency (savings and better use of resources); and effectiveness (best match to people's needs).⁸⁴

Despite the critics to these ideas, they paved the way for extensive and articulated collaborations between the public sector and the non-profit sector,⁸⁴ known as the third sector,⁸⁵ which is not consensually agreed as private or public, but instead, a mix of the two natures, since it is actually private, but does not aim at monetary profit.⁸⁶ In this sense, the concept of welfare mix is this network collaboration between welfare state (public sector), and third or voluntary sector (private, but non-profit). Can also include in response to social and health needs, the participation of individual citizens and local institutions.^{61 84}

The management of welfare services and spaces can be divided into four: ⁸⁴

1 managed directly by public bodies (usually home assistance services); *2* managed entirely or in part by private individuals and financed by public bodies through tenders and agreements; *3* private services to which the public body pays for the services provided to persons who have the right to assistance (e.g., residential facilities for drug addicts); *4* managed entirely by private actors, having no financial relationship with public bodies.

This concept of welfare provision can be managed not only by public institutions, but also by the private social, but it necessarily aimed at creating a "market" aimed at the community, having a private nature with no lucrative aims (not profit), just a collective profit for society.⁸⁴

DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGES

Concerning the main issues, those matters cited above were conceived to resolve and continuously keep trying to solve in the contemporary society welfare, the first to be described is the demographic changes accentuated in recent years.

86 FRUMKIN, P. (2005).

⁸⁴ RAZZOLI, M. and MESSORI, M. (2012).

⁸⁵ Not to be confused with the "tertiary sector" terminology, meaning the service sector.

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The continuity, expansion and institutionalization of welfare state have had since from the beginning of its formation,⁸⁷ and even more accelerated today, a major source of pressure from ageing of the population,^{30 39 61 66 88} which increases the demand for social benefits (health and assistance care), but at the same time refers to the sustainability of social security systems, that are called upon to cope with a growing demand for pensions against a reduction in taxpayers (young people).³⁹

The ageing of the general population is a phenomenon that affects developed nations, as well as emerging or developing countries,⁶⁶ and is the combination of the elevation of life expectancy with the fall in fertility rates, which leads to the specter of increasing dependency ratios, a relatively smaller active population having to support a relatively inactive population.⁸⁸

In European territory notably, but not excluding specific contextualization in other continents, another demographic change is the recent increase in foreign immigration. The migratory phenomena have known different phases and have been faced with the recourses of strongly different policies in each country, but there are a series of problems common to all the countries that are to welcome foreign populations. First, the main problems are related to illegal immigration, precisely because of their condition of illegality, they are highly vulnerable subjects and, consequently, more exposed to risks of poverty and social exclusion. Nonetheless, the welfare state has a weak ability to intervene against it because the protection system was built and consolidated on specific membership criteria (payment of contributions, citizenship, residence, etc.) which, by definition, these people cannot claim.³⁹

FAMILY AND SOCIAL RISKS

There is a widespread understanding⁸⁹ of another real challenge, especially for welfare systems based on familialism, it is to provide welfare services (in particular, of care) without falling back to refamiliarization practices⁹⁰ that are hard to be sustained especially by increasing vulnerable families.⁸⁹

Familiar social protection to serve families in a situation of vulnerability and at times of pressure on income, such as childbirth, are traditional in social protection systems.⁶⁶ However, contemporary urban and metropolitan conditions, as well as women's participation in the labor market, have altered the structure of social risks related to child rearing, early childhood care, and also, the care of the elderly staying at home.⁶⁶ The steady increase in the demand for protection of such new social risks presses for the expansion of benefits and, consequently, of social spending.⁶⁶

⁸⁷ PIERSON (1998) apud ALBERTSEN, N. and DIKEN, B. (2004).

⁸⁸ KERSTENETZKY, C. (2014).

⁸⁹ BAMBRA (2007); LEITNER (2003) apud ANDREOTTI, A. et al. (2012).

⁹⁰ ESPING-ANDERSEN (1990) apud ANDREOTTI, A. et al. (2012).

The traditional structure that existed in the formulation of most welfare systems of the standard male breadwinner (provider) and the female caregiver has come to be questionable on the current debate on care, that is, on home-based care activities with children and the elderly.⁶⁶ This results in a demand for new conciliatory gender policies of social systems.⁶⁶

INFORMAL LABOR FORCE

Another critical challenge to welfare models is represented by the progressive spread of non-standard work forms. The welfare state of the second half of the 20th century was mostly built based on work contributions of the male breadwinner that had a steady job over a standardized working career.³⁹

This aspect is a growing problem, not only for welfare systems of the corporative typology but to all forms of tax-based welfare,³⁰ which these people cannot claim since they are not officially part of the labor market and do not necessarily contribute with tax payments.^{39 66 68}

GLOBALIZATION

Just as the welfare regimes have responded differently to the same internal forces of change,³⁰ they also responded differently to processes of globalization. Globalization is not a unitary process affecting different welfare regimes differently. Nonetheless, globalization has put under pressure all types of welfare typologies.³⁰ Globalization is expected to influence the relationship between citizenship and welfare. As mentioned above, welfare is primarily a nation-state phenomenon, linked to nation-state solidarity and community,³⁰ and citizenship also is primarily a nation-state phenomenon. Under pressure from globalization processes, the frame of citizenship is, in certain respects, becoming "denationalized".⁹¹

This process brings with it a new assemblage of territory, authorities, and rights,⁹² and affects welfare and citizenship, opening possibilities for political geography in two ways, outwards (supra-national) and inwards (sub-national).^{91 92} The outward denationalization of citizenship involves *"the growing importance of human rights over nation-state citizenship rights"*.⁹³ Inwardly, takes form at the local level,⁹⁴ adding more competitional pressure, due to intensifying processes of internationalization.⁷¹

Globalization also means mobility of people, and high mobility of people between welfare states, which can be a threat to the tax base of welfare states, especially concerning job mobility that has been increasing due to the global integration of product markets.³⁰

Thanks to European integration, the territorial boundaries of citizenship - assumed as a relationship between

⁹¹ SASSEN (2004) apud ALBERTSEN, N. and DIKEN, B. (2004).

⁹² SASSEN (2004) apud BIFULCO, L. (2016).

⁹³ TURNER (2001) apud ALBERTSEN, N. and DIKEN, B. (2004).

⁹⁴ GHIRAUDON (2002) apud ALBERTSEN, N. and DIKEN, B. (2004).

individuals and political authorities inside an undifferentiated state territory⁹⁵ - have become more permeable, and **"national roots are less important for the exercise of some rights than they used to be".** ⁹⁶

From the perspective of the welfare laws, a social security dimension in the European Union (EU) has emerged and been consolidated, furthered by cross-border movements of the people inhabiting the EU.⁹⁷ **"The European dimension of welfare has come to cover all citizens, irrespective of their economic status"**,

attached as the social security dimension, and against the historical background, where welfare constituted the social contract between the (nation-)state and its citizens.⁹⁷

Regarding the context of emerging economies outside the EU, findings indicate that a defining feature of them is that their economic transformation occurs as part of, and is driven by, their insertion into global markets,⁴⁵ incorporating the social problem as necessary for their affirmation in global context.⁴⁶

To conclude, the emergence of new risks and needs promoted by globalization, along with the other sopra cited issues, has prompted a redesign of social policies and new guidelines. Having integration, activation, participation, and localization as guiding words.⁶¹

97 MARTINSEN, D. S. (2005).

99 DE PAULA, L. F. R. (1992).

2.4 Defining a direction to understand sustainably innovative welfare

According to the studied literature and the here presented contemporary matters and issues of welfare innovation, it seems to exist some agreed trends to innovate welfare, following principles of social sustainability. It is not a definite solution, especially if considered that social risks are continuously suffering epochal and sudden changes,²⁶ notwithstanding, there are many logical arguments in this direction.

Welfare is clearly a social institution that has proven itself necessary for the functionality of the contemporary capitalist society³⁹ and, as such, it is nowadays, and it is expected to be a protagonist of the social sphere in the near future.³⁹ The challenges to which this system is called to respond are strongly redefining its contours and characteristics.³⁹

The knowledge about welfare state expansion and current situation provided in this chapter represent considerable insights into the near future politics of the welfare state.⁴⁸ The framework that welfare is taking in Europe – which usually is naturally taken as a referential starting point for developing and emerging countries^{2966 68 83 88 98 99 100} – obviously dependent on political and ideological

⁹⁵ BAUBOCK and GUIRAUDON (2009) apud BIFULCO, L. (2016).

⁹⁶ FERRERA (2005) apud BIFULCO, L. (2016).

⁹⁸ PIANA, M. C. (2009).

¹⁰⁰ COHN, A. (1995).

preexistence institutional arrangements within different contextualizations, converge in some themes and key issues in the sense of what is the state-of-the-art of innovation experiences, contributing to social sustainability of welfare.

The first argument is that **"social** sustainability is constructed through objective spatiality of physical space as well as intersubjective spatiality of individuals' perception."¹⁰ Thus, a premise is to understand sustainably innovative welfare is with regards to the two meanings associated with the word, welfare in the sense of well-being and about social protection.⁹¹⁰

The second reasoning is welfare applied to the territory, since it is needed to consider "the territory as the medium of the current relation between citizenship and governance"⁷¹ redefining the "concept of territory as a static, passive space to an interpretation of territory as a dynamic, active context"⁷⁶ whereby territorial spheres are defined by shared action of actors with their environments and themselves. Not

forgetting that territorial boundaries have become more permeable,⁷¹ meaning it is more pertinent if spoken in the urban scale.

Applied to the city because **"the** increasing integration of urban economies into the global economy [as argued in Globalization] has accentuated the importance of urban areas as central loci of economic growth"³⁰ and the urban environment as **"an 'instrument of co-habitation'**, a place where, through the obligation of sharing one's own life experience with others, people can learn to live together".¹⁹

Furthermore, urban welfare as an infrastructural system of the city owing to the fact that **"social policy is not** merely about the redistribution of income or wealth generated by economic growth. Instead, social policy is integral to the way economic processes are structured"⁴⁵ and **"one** can say that the purpose of policies is the 'future' of society: a public policy can be analyzed as a space in which a society (or at least some social actors) projects itself into the future."⁶⁵

More arguably are the actors involved in welfare systems, since it concerns the structure of responsibilities. Some innovating arguments are the agreement of public actors in a central role,³³ *"as crucial in keeping territorial inequalities under control through a common regulatory framework* (...) and the stable funding of local authorities."⁷⁹ and with this perspective of not demising the position of the state, it *"seems to entail their transformation,* rather than their atrophy, from a role of command and control to a role of enabling."⁷¹

Equally involving, empowered citizens, "about the recognition that users are also carriers of resources not only of needs"²³ having their voice heard in the decision-making processes and acknowledging "every individual (...) as active agents of transformation

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and no longer passive recipients of

benefits."¹⁰¹ However, considering this activation principle in the sense of a social investment strategy, not represented by the commodification of well-being.⁸⁸

A bit more controversial ^{29 46 66 68 83 88 98} participation of the third-sector on the provision of social services, on account of being sometimes considered part of the private sphere, but unarguably nonprofit, not envisioning economic profit. **"One might say, it is the situations in which public administrations, without directing them or imposing them from above, orientate the innovations, made in partnership with private actors and in particular, non-profit, are those in which relapses in terms of learning, transferability and upscaling are more important."²⁴**

The role of architects and urban planners come into place, mainly in the spaces of urban welfare. **"The experimentation** of new forms and places of access to welfare defines an interesting field of research and practice, at the crossroads between policies and organization of social services, urban design and urban planning regulation, architectural project and design of spaces, and communication design."¹⁰²

It is precisely urban welfare spaces and their entirety as a common good,¹⁹ "that should guarantee certain levels of comfort, security, and quality to cities (...) aiming to guarantee minimum

quantitative levels (...) which should instead (...) promote a greater collective well-being."¹⁹

All the arguments so far presented, put in evidence the need for some guidelines to face the challenges represented by appropriateness and sustainability of social services today. BRICOCOLI and SABATINELLI^{23 24 67} present four points as fundamental treats for spaces of urban welfare, especially those concerning the provision of assistance services:

1 non-sectoral

The first point is about a need to overcome the traditional 'hyper-sectoriality'¹⁰³ of welfare services. Created to facilitate specialized responses to specific needs of different target groups, however, this specialist-categorical organization has crystallized the subdivision of budgets, staff, approaches, structures and access to welfare services, to the point of compromising the effectiveness and appropriateness of the programs of social intervention, jeopardizing the margins of reformability and adaptability, and even feasibility.²⁴

This argument is to move in the direction of reducing sectoriality, which challenges public administrations on an even more radical ground though, that is the rearticulation in capillary and de-specialized access points, also operating in favor of integration.²⁴

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¹⁰¹ SEN (1999); COTTINO (2009) *apud* MUNARIN, S. and TOSI, M.C. (2009).

¹⁰² BRICOCOLI and SABATINELLI, (2017-E).

¹⁰³ CARAVAGGI and IMBROGLINI (2016) apud BRICOCOLI and SABATINELLI, (2017-B).

2 socializing condensers

The second point concerns making welfare spaces 'socializing condensers', ¹⁰³ meaning the idea that the structures that deal with reception and social reintegration of people and families in difficult situations work best if they manage to coagulate different activities and to bring together different profiles of citizens, not just the typical users and their families.²⁴

Since it is essential to consider social services (understood in a broad sense: care, training, guidance, support, reception, integration) as fundamentally relational services, they operate mainly through and within the relationships created in those spaces. As argued on socially sustainable spaces, the welfare spaces are about bringing people together, the 'throwntogetherness' ²⁰ that entitles quotidian negotiation.¹¹

3 logical location

The third point calls into question the rethinking of the location of welfare structures, giving meaning to it.²⁴ The localization on the territory, the dimensions, the visibility and the type of boundary with the outside, the internal layout of the spaces, the colors, the furnishings and the accessories, the objects, are all elements that act as 'context-marks', ¹⁰⁴ that define and communicate in what kind of place we are, and contribute to shaping the atmosphere,

and affect postures, attitudes and behaviors. ²⁴⁶⁷

4 spatial quality

The last point to focus, not in order of importance, is the attention to the spatial, material, and aesthetic qualities of welfare spaces. ²⁴ They are often "ugly, non-functional spaces",¹⁰³ "considered 'the saddest' of the city" ¹⁰³ and instead, welfare spaces need and deserve to be beautiful, the potentials that their aesthetic quality have is a fundamental factor for the efficiency and effectiveness of policies and the way in which services operate.^{23 24}

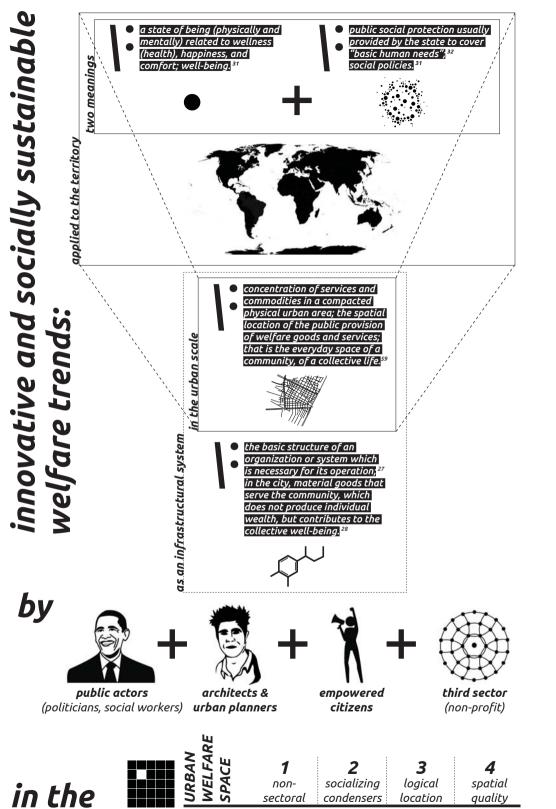
In a strongly medicalized structure, users will tend to feel sick; in a structure with strong security features, feel like inmates. In the same way, a space that reproduces the typical characteristics of the social spaces - waiting room, desk that rigidly pre-structures the position and roles of the operator and user respectively - will shape the relationships in the direction of a relationship between one as need-bearers, with an incapacity, facing the others who have the competence to define this need and treat it.¹⁰⁵

Moreover, if this space is a bad space, it turns out to be poor, even those who frequent it will perceive and be perceived as such, and those who do not attend it will do everything to avoid it, even if they are in need. It is the well-known mechanism of stigmatization.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁴ BATESON (1976) apud BRICOCOLI and SABATINELLI, (2017-C).

¹⁰⁵ BIFULCO and DE LEONARDIS (2003) *apud* BRICOCOLI and SABATINELLI, (2017-C).

¹⁰⁶ GOFFMAN (1983) apud BRICOCOLI and SABATINELLI, (2017-C).



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On the previous two chapters, the theoretical base about social sustainability and welfare were established, concluding the second chapter with a suggested framework to understand innovative and socially sustainable path of welfare trends, and it was argued that the whole location in the territory, external relations, and internal atmosphere of the space could contribute to the effectiveness of policies.²⁴

This understanding is consonant with the theoretical perspectives here presented and is taken from common characteristics in scholars' definitions and analysis of these two broad and complex concepts. However, social sustainability and welfare are still strongly context-depend notions,^{7 29} therefore, the need to tackle these subjects from a casual methodology, focusing on case studies, presents itself as necessary to understand if this framework can actually work for very different contexts.

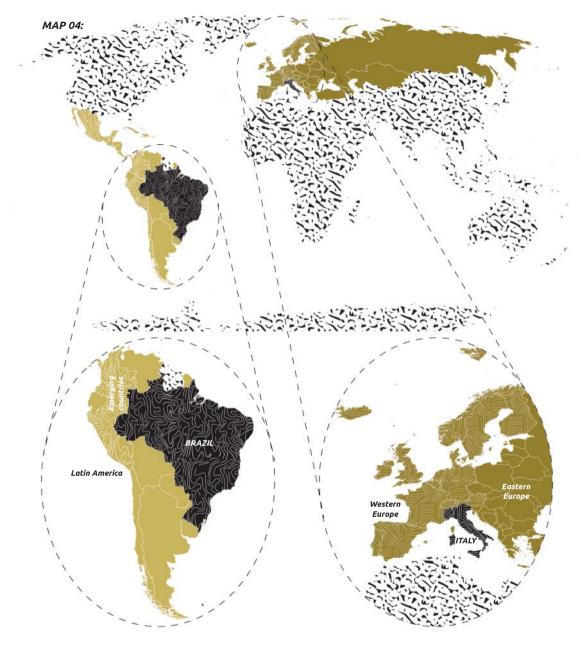
The selected contextualization chosen to be analyzed in this chapter is from Italy, in the western European continent – the origins of the welfare discussion ^{37 38 98 100} – and with an interesting welfare spaces situation, in terms of different experimentations; and Brazil, commonly agreed as an emerging economy,^{44 46} therefore having what is argued to be a new welfare typology,⁵⁰ inserted in Latin America, where there is also a growing concern for urban lifequality, focusing on people as the main feature.^{107 108} Representative cases of the current Brazilian panorama with regards to spaces of urban welfare are presented, and representative case studies of what is considered successful experiences in the Italian landscape. The study is exploratory and aims to identify to what extent and how those two countries incorporate the principle of social sustainability in welfare spaces and if one is related to the other or can be taken as a positive referential.

The methodology used to select the case studies is based on relevance in the national contexts and in terms of innovation. Welfare spaces can vary from typical facilities of a city, like schools, hospitals, parks, sports centers, civic centers, libraries,¹⁹ and spaces related to social protection services, providing the services or even orientating people.²³ The methodology of analyses for each case study is from a variety of instruments put in place, including extensive bibliographic research, a thorough analysis of the official websites, maps, architectonic drawings, and rich photographic material.

Since "the social issue is historically related to the development of national states and the notion of citizenship, and is part of the political institutionality of a country's context",⁴⁶ an historical overview with some of each country's perspectives on social policies is first given, as a mean to understand how the presented case studies came to be made possible, how is the national welfare structure, in order to establish the analyzed types of spaces of urban welfare.

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¹⁰⁷ GUDYNAS, E. (2011). **108** BALCH, O. (2013).



World map, highlighted European continent, and Italy; Latin America, and Brazil.

by author.

3.1 Historical overview of welfare policies in Italy

As described in the last chapter, the European continent is where the term welfare originated, and it was popularized during the years of the second world war (WWII).³⁸ The following three decades were when the welfare systems were consolidated and developed, considered the 'glorious' years,²³ and with a dynamic balance, described metaphorically by Colin Crouch (2001) as of riding a bicycle.²³

Europeans are proud to characterize their social model as unique in combining efficiency and solidarity.³³ Even when recognizing remarkable diversities within the European Union (EU), it is agreed that the western European nations fundamentally differ from other regions in the world.³³

Generally, inside the EU, social rights have followed categorical criteria, and their historical matrix is in the protection of labor,¹⁰⁹ with the exception of the Scandinavian welfare systems, that have in common being from a universalistic approach, promoting individual rights,³³ not necessarily linked to labor, but to a citizenship condition.³⁰

In Italy's case, described in chapter 2 as the 4th welfare typology, known as 'stato sociale' (social state) and centered in familialism,¹¹⁰ the country displays some distinctive features, with room for uncertainties as to rights, resources, and rules.⁷⁷

Historically Italy has an institutional paradox between "too-much State" and "too little State".¹¹¹ When there is the centralizing logic, it privileges a hierarchical and top-down approach, while suffering from weak coordination, and the predominance of particular interests over the general interest; ⁷¹ on the other hand, Italy is highlighted¹¹² to have tendencies in the direction of an active local welfare, decentralizing the State, and with basis on citizens' empowerment, promoting their autonomy, and an enhancement of their role with reference to services as well as to decision-making processes.⁷⁷

A country with a long history of publicprivate relationships, anyhow, particular attention is paid to approaches based on reciprocally oriented behavior able to favor integrative dynamics.⁷¹ The general logic is that the arrangements between multiple actors should be open and transparent, conducted in accordance with principles of accountability.⁷¹

As briefly described in the topic about 'Territorialization', after the oil crisis in 1979, there were significant changes in market dynamics, and that, associated with technological changes at the time, created a new risk pattern,⁸⁸ and public policies

¹⁰⁹ CASTEL (2003); SARACENO (2013a) apud BIFULCO, L. (2015).

¹¹⁰ SARACENO (1994); ESPING-ANDERSEN (1999) apud BIFULCO, L. et al. (2008).

¹¹¹ CASSESE (1998) *apud* BIFULCO, L. (2016).

¹¹² PACI (2005) apud BIFULCO, L. et al. (2008).

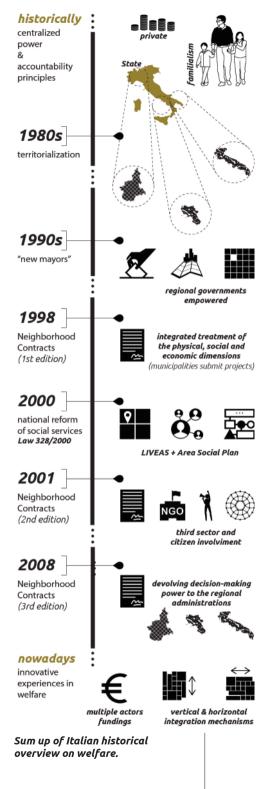
in Europe have undergone an increasing process of territorialization.⁷¹

This phenomenon gave rise to a significant resetting of the political space, creating new political arenas with new political actors, and since then, regionalization has been a central axis of change⁷¹ in the process of rescaling, which in Italy simultaneously involves politics, state structure, and welfare policies.33 The regions started to have a prominent role in national and even in the EU context, by experimenting with new forms of collective action and territorial regulation in guantitative terms, but also with approaches and philosophies of intervention, objectives and policy tools, organizational and coordination methods.²³

In the 1990s some changes were made in the Italian electoral system and the mechanisms of local representation, creating the "new mayors", whose powers were increased.⁷¹ These changes affected both the 'substance' of policies, as well as their 'operational' aspects.¹¹³ Integration between policies and services was key, conceived as a mechanism to compel citizens' rights in terms of social protection.⁷⁷

This territorial reorganization, gave power to regional governments to legislate on certain matters, including policies,⁷¹ and was also accompanied by a subsidiarization process, with a multiplication of actors,¹¹⁴ furthering collaborations between public and private sectors in urban development and renewal programs.⁷⁶

113 BORGHI and VAN BERKEL (2007) *apud* BIFULCO, L. et al. (2008). **114** KAZEPOV (2008) *apud* BIFULCO, L. (2016).



by author.

The relatively loose structure of relations between the center and the local level typical in Italy ended up fostering new ways of thinking about social policies and putting them into practice, which has the advantage of opening the landscape for "democratic experimentalism"¹¹⁵ with active local welfare in the different regions of Italy, at the same time that ended up creating a fragmented policy landscape, difficult to recompose.⁷⁷

Nonetheless, the Italian case has two territorial governance instruments with specific significance for the themes investigated: Area Social Plans and Neighborhood Contracts.⁷¹

The introduction of Neighborhood Contracts in 1998 was through a national program promoted by the Ministry of Public Works to regenerate public housing neighborhoods, but the main goal was to overcome the centrality of architectural intervention and promote an integrated treatment of the physical, social and economic dimensions of the regeneration process.¹¹⁶ The municipalities were the appropriate actors to submit projects, although they were urged to involve other public and public actors.⁷¹

The next significant event on Italian history regarding welfare, was the reform of social services and interventions in 2000, which aimed at hopefully put an end to a historical weakness of rights, the residual nature of interventions and institutional fragmentation in Italy,¹¹⁷ and was the first comprehensive measure on social services since the end of the nineteenth century.⁷⁷ The reform addresses two essential and connected objectives:

1 to promote the well-being of all citizens according to a principle of 'selective universalism'; ⁷⁷

2 to assign precise powers to the state while setting conditions for a decentralized and negotiated public action.⁷⁷

To the first target was introduced LIVEAS, defining basic standards of social services, fixating typologies of supply that had to be guaranteed across the entire nation, aiming at an overcome of the limitations of excessive localism, by positively combining local autonomy and national regulation.⁷⁷

For the second objective, the reform promoted a new governance architecture, allocating political administrative responsibilities to state, regions, and municipalities on a principle of vertical subsidiarity. It was defined many instruments for governance, among which the most important being the Piano di Zona (Area Social Plan), recalling social citizenship, via citizens' participation (and local actors as a general) in planning the local system of social services and interventions.⁷⁷

Area Social Plans should, therefore, support the creation of open, integrated and inclusive arenas for participatory planning, able to match the resources, and

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¹¹⁵ SABEL and DORF (2006) apud BIFULCO, L. (2016).

¹¹⁶ BRIATA et al. (2009); BRICOCOLI (2007) apud BIFULCO, L. (2016).

¹¹⁷ FERRERA (1996); MINGIONE (2000) apud BIFULCO, L. (2016).

respond to the needs, of a specific territorial domain, with emphasizes to consensual methods of decision-making, alongside with an administrative direction, that should guarantee coherence and continuity in institutional structures.⁷¹

The 2000 reform was intended as defining an organizational structure in which the state is to guarantee a principle of universalism, while the local governments are called to address the specificities of people and places.⁷⁷ Before this national regulatory framework, the traditional structure used to be based on the municipal administrations' reliance on central and regional financing, and the marked unevenness of local choices.⁷¹ In general terms, the reform's emphasis was in line with "the idea that decisions based on cooperative that agreements are preferable to ones based on authority or on aggregations of preferences." 71

This intensified process of territorialization and active local welfare was also expressed in the second edition of Neighborhood Contracts in 2001,⁷¹ where it was reinforced the involvement of citizens, and highlighted the role of local resources and networks in action, including third-sector local organizations.⁷⁷ Moreover, with regional legislative power, a consequence was that localities could adopt laws differing greatly from one another, and sometimes in conflict with the reform itself, which risked increasing inequalities.⁷⁷

The third edition of Neighborhood Contracts in 2008, was devolving decision-making power to the regional administrations, trying to tackle this potential for inequalities, with a greater role played by the public actor.⁷¹

The philosophy behind the Contracts is that they should favor the responsibilities of the actors and transparency of decisionmaking processes, although they are not obligatory instruments.⁷¹ Areas Social Plans, on the other hand, are mandatory and have been implemented throughout the country.⁷¹ Despite some differences, both instruments are aimed at giving importance to cooperative methods of consensusbuilding as a base for legitimizing decisions, yet, several factors complicate this picture.⁷¹

The current regulatory architecture of social policies in Italy had a pivot designed to assure vertical integration mechanisms (among central, regional and municipal levels) and horizontal ones (among administrations, and between administrations and citizens), however, still suffers from a lack of defined national standards and problems of coordination among levels/responsibilities.⁷¹

Nowadays, there is in Italy two particularly delicate questions: the first is whether and how it is possible to reconcile with the universalistic framework, in other words, if it is possible to achieve local rather than localistic welfare; ⁷⁷ and the second is the challenge for all local welfare systems to provide welfare services (in particular, of care) without falling back to refamiliarization practices⁹⁰ that are more difficultly sustained by vulnerable families.⁸⁹

3.2 Some innovative practices with local welfare in the Italian territory

3.2.1 WeMI, Milano



WHAT: welfare system (city of Milano) + orientation-point spaces, with partnerships WHERE: Milan, Italy WHO: Comune di Milano (public entity) + 16 partners (non-profit, private, including PoliMI) WHEN: 2015+

HOW MANY: 11 spaces throughout the city (June 2019)

The previous topic generally described the Italian situation of welfare provision, it was described the structural organization, which is distributed in the territory in regional and local scales, and it means that each city can have a completely different system to provide social services from the other.

Regarding the social sustainability of welfare framework, the region of Lombardy and the city of Milan stands out as an exemplary case. WeMI is an acronym to "Welfare di tutti" (welfare of all) and is considered an unprecedented project born in 2015, representing a viable way to face new social challenges, altogether with promoting integration between different actors, and extending access to welfare services.⁶¹ It was conceived as a cornerstone in reforming the welfare system of the city of Milan,¹⁰² and was co-financed by Fondazione Cariplo, who proposed funding under the "Welfare in Action" program.⁶¹ Was promoted by the Municipality of

Milan, together with 16 partners (public, private, social enterprises) including two departments of the *Politecnico di Milano* (PoliMI) for scientific and methodological support in composing the project.¹⁰² The Department of Architecture and Urban Studies played a role of consultancy, helping to recompose the existing territorial social organization, as well as idealize new solutions;⁶¹ and the Design Department contributed notably with the creation of the WeMI visual identity.¹¹⁸

The first core activity of the project was the creation of a digital platform, intended as a vehicle to meet demand and supply of welfare services provided by accredited bodies. The second field of action consisted in experimentation with the so-called "territorial platforms", called WeMi spaces, or physical places, deputies to the concrete meeting with the citizens, their orientation towards the resources and services present in the city. The main objective of the experimentation was an attempt to innovate the image and the modality of welfare access to the citizens.¹⁰²

The welfare system of the city of Milan was historically organized on a sectoral basis meaning skills, responsibilities, and resources strictly divided, with a rigid and separate articulation. 61 In this organizational model, each category representing a socio-demographic profile or a need (minors, elderly, disabled, adults in difficulty...) corresponded to a municipal office with its own staff and a certain number of offices in the territory.⁶¹

At the intersection of policies and organization of social services, urban regulation, urban and architectural project, communication design, Milan has found a development ground.¹⁰² This strategic tool of the municipal administration was thanks to the welfare plan of the city of Milan (which corresponds to the local Area Social Plan), developed by the Department of Social Policies and Culture of Health.⁶¹

In 2012 began the implementation phase, with the first level focused where basic access takes place, open to all citizens who express a need, in various locations in the city, no longer distinguished by category of citizens.⁶¹ **"The drive towards** *a rather generalist organization of services and which is more oriented to connect and organize the subjects and resources present in the territory is marked here.*"⁶¹ A second level sees the maintenance of those specializations when they are necessary to give specific answers to specific needs.⁶¹

A critical aspect of this reformulation project was to put the public sector as head of the network of partners, but in line with this, support a local active welfare model **"able to involve the community and to reconnect resources and forces of the territory to better respond to the needs of people and families."**⁶¹

The choosing of the title came to allude the notion of community, taking it from a possible correspondence with a specific territorial and identity context, considering as recipient all the citizens and attributing to the territorial dimension a relevance rather in terms of contextualization, and rooting of experimental projects that can be generalized and used as referential.⁶¹

WeMI proposes itself to overcome the previously existing fragmentation and update service response methods with respect to increasingly diversified questions and needs. From different user profiles for the WeMI spaces, those who need social services, that hardly reach the formalized traditional offer (and offices), also from that growing number of citizens who, despite having economic resources, and therefore lacking title for social assistance, they express social and care needs.⁶¹

WeMI spaces are concrete places where to welcome citizens, listen to their needs and direct them to the offer of home services and where therefore experiment new forms for welfare spaces.⁶¹



WeMI spaces in Milano, Italy (June 2019).

bv author.

"Working on the quality of the spaces and, through it, on the despecialization of their functions can therefore represent an effective mechanism for reducing or preventing the stigma: reducing the perception of marginality to which the typical users of social services are exposed; to increase the attractiveness to those who would find resources for them useful but have so far been excluded; improve the work environment of social workers."⁶⁷

The concern for the spatial quality of the space is a very pro-social sustainability argument but is not exactly a simple task, and there are different lines of tension to consider. In some initial experimentations, Milan took an interesting approach to that task, by a co-planning process that had the participation of a large and diversified group of people involved in various ways, including operators of the local social services and third sector partners. The training course realized was entitled "Spaces and Places of Welfare". The participants were questioned about the multiple meanings and the ambivalent interactions between welfare and territory and between welfare and space. Some group visits took place in emblematic spaces of Milanese welfare, with an ethnographic objective of changing the point of view. The course was understood as a fundamental phase of the extended co-planning activity of the WeMi spaces. The main discussions came from the traditional desk configuration and the first meeting moment.⁶⁷

One idea generated was to replace a desk that spatially pre-defines an asymmetry in the relationship between operator and user, with a table around which, chairs are arranged in an equivalent manner. This substitution requires an essential maturation about the meaning and value that is given to the professional role of the social worker and about the recognition of users as bearers of resources as well as needs.⁶⁷

The theme of access, in its material and immaterial sense, constitutes a key aspect in the reorganization of the welfare system of the municipality of Milan and a founding element of actions. The WeMi Spaces have been conceived to incorporate those changes and are being configured as places for meeting and listening to citizens and their needs, as well as for orientation towards existing services, and for designing of innovative individual or shared solutions.¹¹⁹

The WeMi Spaces are therefore designed with the aim to lower the threshold or place the service in an inclusive perspective.¹¹⁹ They are located in rather heterogeneous contexts of the city, including partnerships with local organizations and their existing physical spaces in historic structures, multifunctional centers, in the suburb, or historic central districts.¹¹⁹

The WeMi spaces were envisaged as a piece within larger structures, and consequently, they needed to be markedly recognizable. The partnership with the design department allowed the creation of a visual sign, a graphic device (the WeMi wall) that allowed the display of flyers, communications and small objects of use, while also helping recognition of the *Welfare di Tutti* structure in the territory.¹²⁰

Many ambiguities and risks were raised from this project, in terms of effectiveness of social inclusion measures, however, the intensive collaborative process between the municipal administration and the actors of territorial governance (including public, private, different sectors, specialization, and profiles of citizens) have opened up the possibility of more dynamic relationships.⁸⁰ The experimentation on the WeMi spaces exposure a more proactive orientation of social services that literally gain a view on the street, not exclusively designed as showcases for home services, but conceived as real meeting places and informal forms of interaction with social services.⁸⁰

"The activation of services today takes place where a space is freed, where it is possible to reuse existing buildings, not necessarily publicly owned, by a multiplicity of actors (public, private and non-profit) that move smoothly and often free from planning and programming."⁸⁰ The resulting map is therefore one in which the presence and location of services can change in a relatively short time, in correspondence with the activation/ deactivation of initiatives, projects, services (whether residential, assistance, integration or care) and that depend on often discontinuous resources (usufruct spaces, temporary uses, project financing).80

This involves a definite change of perspective, where it is possible to play much of the potential for accessibility, inclusiveness, effectiveness, generativity, and attractiveness of welfare services and spaces. This project also represents potentials for integrating urban policies with the design and organization of social policies and services, at the same time it rises more criticalities of local welfare in terms of increasing inequalities and social inclusiveness of local welfare systems.⁸⁰

¹¹⁹ MARANI, B. (2017).

¹²⁰ CONSALEZ, L. (2017).

WeMi VOLTRI - Milano Sei l'Altro.



WeMi CAPUANA - Spazio Agorà.



WeMi LORETO - Nuovi Orizzonti Cooperativa Sociale.



WeMi STELLINE - Punto Service.



WeMi PIAZZETTA - Associazione La Strada.



WeMi ORNATO - Cascina Biblioteca Cooperativa.

















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WeMi VENINI - hug.



WeMi TRIVULZIO - CuraMI.



WeMi SANGOTTARDO - RaB.



WeMi VALLA - Consorzio Solidarietà in Rete.





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WeMi PACINOTTI - Sociosfera Onlus and Cooperativa Sociale Farsi Prossimo Onlus.

PHOTOS

05 WeMI official website; *La Strada* Facebook page; 06 *Cascina Biblioteca Cooperativa* Facebook page; 07 *hug* Facebook page; and *hug* official website; 08 WeMI official website; and *CuraMI* Facebook page; 09 Courtesy of *Consalez Rossi Architetti Associati;* 10 *Consorzio Sir* Facebook page;

11 WeMI official website; Sociosfera Facebook page.

01 *Milano sei l'altro* official website; 02 WeMI official website; and courtesy of DePonte Studio Architects; 03 WeMI official website; and *Nuovi Orizzonti* Facebook page; 04 *Punto Service* official website; and *Punto Service* Facebook page;

WeMI visual identity

WHERE<mark>:</mark> Milan, Italy WHO: Valeria Bucchetti (PoliMI Design Department) WHEN: 2015 HOW MANY: - The WeMI project set itself to construct a welfare system not just linked to the resolution of primary needs, but also able to spread the so-called culture of wellbeing.¹¹⁸ It was with that in mind, that the partnership with the Design department of PoliMI was used to develop a dynamic system of identity, suitable to reconcile physical and virtual, online and offline.¹¹⁸

"The communication project of the spaces must respond to the identification function and must know how to characterize the subject, but it must also be able to integrate with the existing structures. Assuming this horizon, the graphic apparatus was designed so that it extended into the space, making the arch-graphic dimension." 118

The composition is made from variously recombined signs and composed modules, combining the varieties of the logotype, and defined circles, paginated with a certain degree of variation and according specific rules. The system of symbol-signs (star, triangle, crown circular, cusp, square, arithmetic symbol of multiplication, etc.) have the function of representing institutional values (valuing, evolving, socializing, orienting, supporting, welcoming, educating), and are anchored in a perceptively basic grid, which recall to the territorial surface of the city.¹¹⁸

It is intended to declare the space as part of a system, while receiving and organizing information to help in transmitting it to citizens, facilitating everyday activities and interactions.¹¹⁸



10.10

MEMI ABCDEFGHILMN

WEMI

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MEMI ABCDEFGH

R IL WELFARE

I.MN



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WEMI

MEMI ABCDEFGHILMN

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WEMI

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PHOTOS

81

01, 02, 04, 05, 06 courtesy of ADI official website; 03, 07 by Valeria Bucchetti.

WeMI San Gottardo - RAB "this is not a bar"

WHERE Navigli neighborhood - Milan, Italy WHO: Consalez Rossi Architetti Associati

WHEN: 2016

HOW MANY: 104 m²

WeMI San Gottardo is a pilot project for innovating forms and places for access to welfare services.¹²⁰ When choosing the space, some active cooperatives in the area reasoned about what would be the representative features of a new welfare space. It was outlined as fundamental criteria for the creation of an innovative welfare service four points: ¹¹⁹ *1* the street view; 2 proximity to places of sociality of the neighborhood; **3** contained dimensions; 4 accessible costs and the coexistence of social service and commercial activity (managed by a non-profit social cooperative, which would guarantee the economic sustainability of the project).

The design process was a participatory one, including a variety of subjects, from local organizations and citizens, with architects and the collaborators from PoliMI.¹¹⁹ Participation was chosen as an aptitude to develop project hypotheses through listening to users, organized independently or as part of a process of formalizing questions.¹²⁰

Before its actual opening, some strategic promotion and dissemination initiatives of the project were organized, which helped to define its identity and to test its potential role in the neighborhood.¹¹⁹ The result is a functional-hybrid space,¹¹⁹ with a dual identity of the place, including an area dedicated to the social services (main meeting and working table) and a literary coffee called "*RaB*, this is not a BaR".¹²⁰

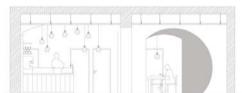
The place has become a real point of reference for the neighborhood, frequented by students, young workers, and budding artists eager to exhibit their creations inside. The rationale of the project is to explore and exploit the added value of this mixing of functions and people.¹²⁰



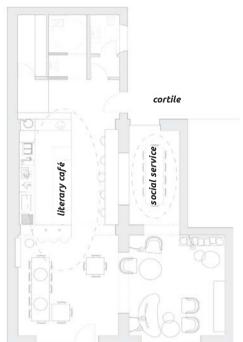
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03, 04 by Benedetta Marani; 01, 02, 05, 06, 07, 08, 09 courtesy of *Consalez Rossi Architetti Associati*.



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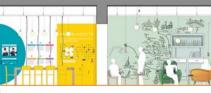
\\06











PHOTOS

Activities in the WeMI spaces:

It is possible to notice that WeMI is a complex welfare system of the city of Milan, involving a variety of different spaces, with many different partnerships between public and private actors, especially third sector (non-profit) associations and cooperatives. WeMi is structured in different actions, designed and developed in parallel by different diverse work groups in terms of professions and skills.⁶¹ Also, the experimentation character of the whole reform has provided in each case, the activation of a specific access point to the service's systems. The spaces were from the beginning indicated as a 'territorial platform', complementary to the digital platform for access via web.61

Therefore, the range of activities realized in WeMI spaces is vast but always associated with the goal of the project to change the assistencialistic direction of welfare provision, to a more pro-active one, more personalized interventions.⁶¹ By the side were collected Facebook events from the official WeMI page, to exemplify some of the activities possible to have, like for example orientation on how to deal with non-self-sufficient people, family communication courses, art courses, cultural parties, reading and music laboratories, lectures, tours about the city, and different actions related to health.

events. (BY THE SIDE)



Corso Magenta, 63, 20123 Milano MI.

Italia

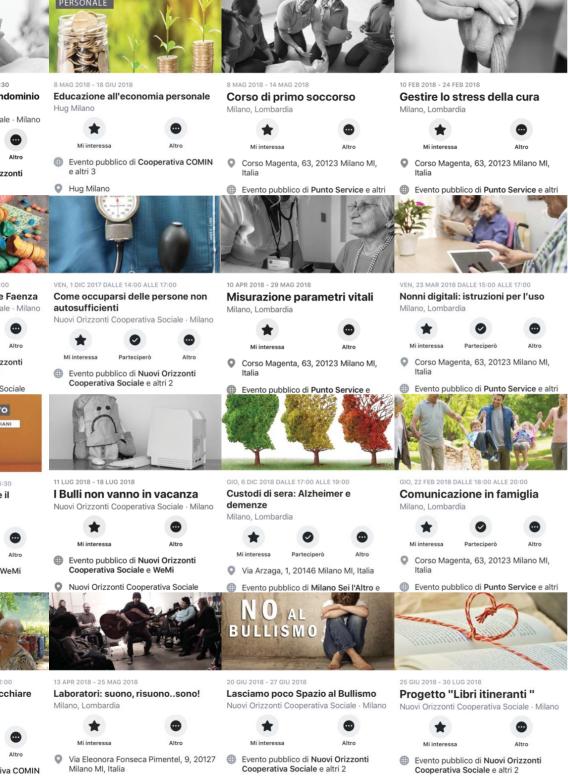
Evento pubblico di Cooperat

e altri 3

WeMI general page Facebook

retrieved by author.

92



Evento pubblico di Cooperativa COMIN

0

e il

Nuovi Orizzonti Cooperativa Sociale

Nuovi Orizzonti Cooperativa Sociale

3.2.2 Casa del Quatiere, Torino

WHAT: "community spaces, proximity generators" 121

WHERE: Torino, Italy

WHO: social promotion association - born from Comune di Torino (public entity) + Compagnia di San Paolo (private investor)

WHEN: 2012+

HOW MANY: 8 spaces throughout the city

'Casa del Quartiere' is literally translated as 'neighborhood home', and according to the project's manifesto,¹²² they define themselves this way because of the "feeling at home" these spaces intend to convey but in the neighborhood scale. As it was explained in the previous topic, the welfare organization in Italy is constructed in the municipal/regional scale, which means different cities can have completely different experiences.

The case of Torino and the *Piemonte* region is also emblematic regarding the social sustainability of the process since it incorporates many values cited as innovative trends on welfare nowadays, and are considered to represent a possible response to the crisis of traditional welfare systems, through a local, horizontal and tailor-made approach.¹²³ The project started from the end of the 1990s when European institutions invoked cities to experiment and realize ideas and projects with the contribution (and creativity) of citizenship for urban regeneration policies.¹²⁴

In 2007 the first *Casa del Quartiere* (CdQ) was born in the outskirts of the city, and it was named *Cascina Roccafranca*. In the following years, new experiences were developed in other districts, through different paths but with the common idea of creating requalified spaces for public use, created in collaboration between public institutions, banking foundations, social enterprises, associations and citizens, places that should become collective spaces for the population.¹²⁴

"The CdQs of the Torino are open and public spaces; social and cultural

- 123 BRAGAGLIA, F. (2017).
- 124 Manifesto CdQ network (2015), available on Rete delle Case del Quartiere official website.

¹²¹ *Rete delle Case del Quartiere* official website.

¹²² A manifesto is a published declaration of the intentions, motives, or views of the issuer.

laboratories, in which collective thoughts and experiences are expressed; spaces to burst experiences of participation, involvement and selforganization." ¹²⁴

They intend to contribute to a cultural policy where citizens are protagonists of social action and territories are the local resource.¹²⁴ They are places of everyday life, with an open social dimension, where it is possible just to be socializing, and at the same time be creating, participating in activities, become promoters of projects and initiatives.¹²⁴ The CdQs intentionally encourage relationships between people, the knowledge exchange, the meeting and comparison between realities, different ideas and programs, creating synergies and collaborations.¹²⁴

In 2012 the City of Torino, together with the *Compagnia di San Paolo* (a private banking foundation) invited the managers of the existing welfare spaces in the city to gather around a table and coordinate their activities through the consolidation of a network.¹²⁴ The purpose was to create an organized direction path to be followed, and in 2014 they won the first prize in a national call for culture called "*Che Fare 2*", with the project named "*Di Casa in Casa*" (or 'from one home to the other').¹²⁴

It was also created an official document to work as a guideline for all the network, containing ten elements that should characterize the spaces: ¹²⁴

01 places open to all citizens, organized to accommodate, through intercultural activities, all citizens, from the youngest

to the elderly, without gender, nationality, social background, or religious affiliation. The CdQs promote popular initiatives taking care of the quality of the proposals and intertwining culture and social life;

02 spaces of active participation,

in which new ways of doing welfare are sought and experimented, developing proximity networks and the search for collective solutions to common needs. The houses are spaces that can accommodate and support:

____individual citizens propositions
____informal groups that are developing
common interests

____formalized associations and institutions, (or groups of associations and institutions;

03 accessible, welcoming places, and generators of encounters, therefore the spaces should be attractive, well-kept, and easily accessible. Accessible intended as: _____affordable, need to offer many free activities and practice popular or reduced

____functional, need to be designed to allow free entry to the structures and direct contact with the operators

prices

____culturally diverse, need to be respectful of the various orientations, and cultural and gender differences;

O4 belongs to everyone, but headquarter of no one, welcoming numerous organizations, giving them space for activities and meetings, but also paying attention not to let exclusive use of the space prevail. The premises and areas should be organized and structured to meet the different needs of users;

05 hosts of multiple projects,

accompanying and supporting those who intend to promote projects and events internally; making available skills, spaces, tools, and resources so that they can be carried out adequately, satisfactorily and with an ever-increasing level of autonomy and self-organization;

06 operators: competent social

artisans, the CdQs need to be managed by work teams that carry out planning and organizational functions, coordinated by managers who take care of the overall direction, experimenting with models of shared management. The teams of each CdQ should include skills in the cultural, organizational and administrative fields, care of relationships and knowledge of local social realities;

07 places in-between the public

and the private, they are the result of participatory administration actions for the regeneration of urban common goods, the result of a collaboration between public entities and active citizens; places where personal needs can be met collectively and in which participation, relationship, and collaboration are stimulated;

08 researching for the right relationship between economic autonomy and public support, the CdQ exercise entrepreneurial skills in managing

their resources, in developing ancillary and functional commercial activities for the project, in involving citizens to achieve a balanced budget, through fundraising and collective contribution initiatives. The CdQs, however, are not intended to be completely autonomous from an economic point of view, this would entail the risk of falling into the logic of the market and of distorting its popular and social character;

09 places rooted in the territory,

they need to be configured as part of the surrounding territory in which they are born and developed. They promote within themselves and with profit and non-profit organizations, opportunities to share thoughts and methods in activating new synergies. Also, in order to broaden its action to the territory, the CdQs should seek collaboration with the realities and structures already present in the neighborhood, designing a "diffuse home" perspective;

10 structures with its own form of governance, management models that are able to learn from experience, to constantly verify the adequacy of the various initiatives activated, to grasp and analyze needs and expectations, to continuously update their project, adapting it to new needs.

Therefore, the CdQ propose themselves as new subjects providing welfare services and, even though they are so different from each other, they nevertheless present some common characteristics, which substantially distinguish them from the traditional actors of welfare.¹²³ There are currently 8 structures organized in different neighborhoods of Torino,¹²¹ most of them from previously dismissed buildings.¹²³



Casa del Quartieri network in Torino, Italy.

Each CdQ offer the possibility to rent spaces for events of any kind (that are in line with their principles), support and assistance to individual citizens, local associations and informal groups that wish to promote initiatives aimed at the social and territorial context in which their reality is inserted.¹²³ All of the physical welfare spaces are intended as places where very heterogeneous people and groups meet and share experiences, initiatives, knowledge, problems.¹²³

It is conceived as promoting of a community welfare system strongly areabased, a joint economic commitment, but also of human and social resources, seeking cooperation of its various subjects as the main strength.¹²³

The purpose of the creation of the network and manifesto is not to standardize the CdQ model, the many spaces are actually profoundly heterogeneous, in the way they are managed, in their architectural design or disposition of spaces, and also the by author. type of services and activities they offer. This diversity is determined by the fact that each house responds to the specific needs of the territory on a local scale of the neighborhood.¹²³

Nonetheless, one aspect that is worth underlining is the fact that these realities are, as mentioned, largely carried out by local actors, realities that therefore trigger forms of self-empowerment.¹²⁵ Moreover, reinforce the active involvement, with a basis in self-organization.¹²³

This project changed the reality of welfare provision of the area, and it is an interesting point of reference to the socially sustainable perspective because another vital aspect of the CdQ is that they give centrality to art, artistic processes and cultural activities as the vehicles to spread welfare, creating synergies between social, economy and culture as these are dimensions that need each other and complement one another.¹²⁶

¹²⁵ BRUSCAGLIONI (1991) apud BRAGAGLIA, F. (2017).

¹²⁶ BERGAMASCO, M. A. (2016).

736 cultural events



121 educational and assistance services

61 social services onsultation counters



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Bagni Pubblici di Via Agliè - Barriera di Milano neighborhood.



Barrito - Nizza Millefonti neighborhood.



Casa del Quartiere di San Salvario - San Salvario neighborhood.

La Casa nel Parco. La Casa del Quartiere di Mirafiori sud a Torino



Casa nel Parco - Mirafiori Sud neighborhood.



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Casa di Quartiere Vallette - Vallette neighborhood.







Cascina Roccafranca - Mirafiori Nord neighborhood.



Hub Cecchi Point - Aurora neighborhood.



+SpazioQuattro - San Donato neighborhood.



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PHOTOS

01 Bagni Pubblici di Via Agliè official website; Rete delle Case del Quartieri official website; 02 Rete delle Case del Quartieri official website; Barrito Facebook page; 03 Agenzia per lo Sviluppo Locale di San Salvario Onlus official website; Casa del Quartieri San Salvario Facebook; 04 Fondazione Mirafiori official website; Casa nel Parco official website; 05 Casa di Quartiere Vallette official website; 06 Rete delle Case del Quartieri official website; Museo Torino official website; 07 Hub Cecchi Point official website; 08 +SpazioQuattro official website.



Cascina Roccafranca

WHIRE Mirafiori Nord - Torino, Italy

WHO: Crotti + Forsans Architetti, Arch. Antonio De Rossi, ATC Projet.to, Studio GSP

WHEN: 2007

HOW MANY: 2720 m²



\\03







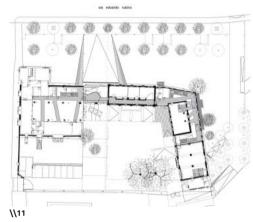
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PHOTOS

01, 02, 03, 04 by Giulia Caira; 05, 06, 07, 11 courtesy of Crotti + Forsans Architetti, Arch. Antonio De Rossi, ATC Projet.to, Studio GSP; 08, 09, 10, 12 *Cascina Roccafranca* official website.

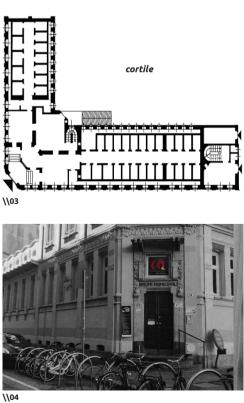
CdQ di San Salvario

WHERE San Salvario - Torino, Italy

WHO3 Camillo Dolza (original structure) // Comitato di Progetto Agenzia per lo Sviluppo Locale di San Salvario (restructuring design)

WHENR 1910s (original structure) // 2003 (restructuring design)

HOW MANY: 600 m^2 + 470 m^2 (cortile)







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PHOTOS

01, 02, 03, 05 Agenzia per lo Sviluppo Locale di San Salvario Onlus official website; 06 by Lorenzo Attardo; 04, 07, 09, 10, 11 Casa del Quartiere di San Salvario Facebook page; 08 Rete delle Case del Quartiere official website.

Activities in the CdQ spaces:

As it was described above and exemplified by the presented photos and drawings, the CdQ are conceived as "container-spaces", designed and organized to be capable of collecting and enhancing a range of cultural, artistic, social and recreational activities and initiatives, plus information and consultancy counters, they offer paid courses, free workshops, services for families, shows, conferences, exhibitions.¹²⁴

The activities of the various groups are carried out freely and autonomously, contributing to the overall construction of a community identity.¹²⁴ Some of the many different types of activities and services can include: a cafeteria, a bicycle shop, a small urban garden, a co-working office, information desks, and listening areas, art workshops, dance, music and singing courses, language courses for foreigners and computer science courses.¹²³

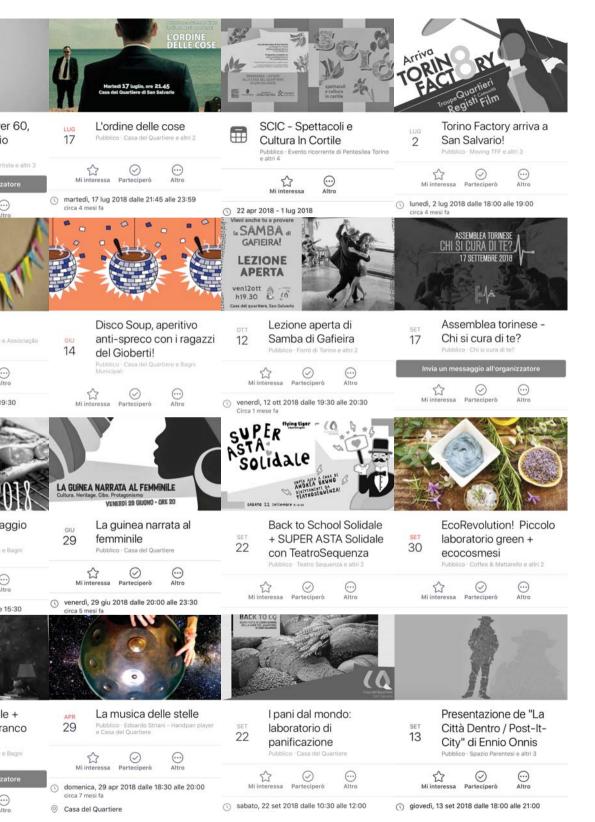
Like can be exemplified by the Facebook events from CdQ di San Salvario during the year 2018 here shown, the purpose is to make culture accessible for all parts of the local population. The organizers argue¹²⁷ that you should breath 'proximity with others' when you are using the spaces.

Case del Quartiere San Salvario Facebook events. (BY THE SIDE)

retrieved by author.

127 Youtube video "*Che cos*'e *la Rete delle Case del Quartiere*?" by *Rete delle Case del Quartiere* official channel.





3.3 Historical overview of welfare policies in Brazil

After reviewing some Italian practices of welfare, the Brazilian contextualization is very different and generally follows what was described in chapter 2 as what would be the 5th typology of welfare model, born in emerging countries, because of their unique position of social policies strongly related to development condition.^{45 46} The argument of this new typology also includes the tendency for universalistic ideals^{45 68 83} with the duality of compensatory policies predominating,^{45 49 66 98 99} and massive social programs used as political power internally.^{48 49 66 100}

On top of being in this distinctive market condition, Brazil is the biggest country in Latin America, and therefore share some characteristics of welfare development with other countries from this same contextualization.^{49 66 98 100} Lechner¹²⁸ already establishes as the biggest challenge of Latin American countries how to reconcile integration in the world economy with internal social integration, in other words, how to make compatible democracy and development.¹⁰⁰ All that while facing a fragmented society, because it is a contextualization of non-homogeneous society, with a multicultural and ethnically diverse population, with important cultural differences, from diversity in religious, regional geographic characteristics, and even 'traditional people', denoting a category of culturally distinct communities, usually in 'remote' areas.¹⁰⁰

This characteristic of having to make compatible social policies model with economic growth, associated with this cultural diversity, is a result of the models of development that these countries experienced: from slavery to the late industrial ("developmentalist") period.⁹⁸

Briefly, the analysis of the emergence and main development of welfare regimes in Latin America (LA) in general deals with three distinct periods: ⁴⁹

1 is the emergence and constitution of the regimes, with the capitalistic rapid industrialization model in the region, following the pattern of social policies centered on corporate models;129 2 the second period is characterized by neoliberal reforms, constituting a bifurcation path of significant changes that the systems underwent in the 1980s and 1990s, with an expansion of the universalization, in the case of Brazil, or the more radical commodification, in the case of Colombia, for example;49 **3** and the third period is identified with the introduction of economic models called neodevelopmentalists, focusing on state intervention and broadening social policies.49

"The common tendency for LA was the introduction of the issue of poverty in the public agenda of governments, with the creation or expansion of programs of income transfer, and expansion of

128 LECHNER (1993) *apud* COHN, A. (1995). **129** FILGUEIRA (2011) *apud* LOBATO, L. de V. C. (2016).

coverage for education, health and social security systems. The common result was the significant reduction of inequality, if considered the historical pattern of the region, besides economic growth not registered in other regions." ¹³⁰

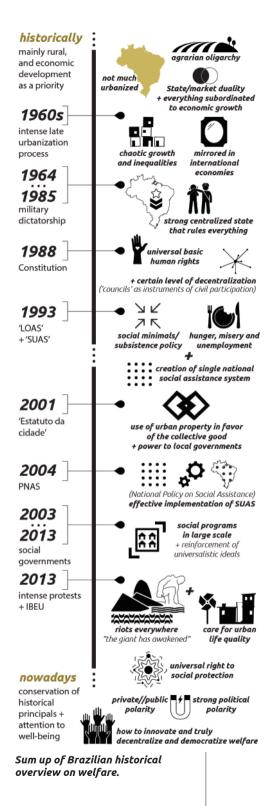
Since the European model is still the main reference for the construction of comprehensive welfare systems, it is worth to mention the differentiated path the Latin American case took when had the inflection in the neoliberal trajectory, or what is the third period mentioned above.⁴⁹ The specific Brazilian contextualization presents distinctions and similarities both with the European case and with the LA case. The initial intention was to construct a welfare apparatus similar to the western European welfare states, with a constitutional regulatory framework, although it was late in relation to the central countries.49

On the other hand, Brazil had a similar context to the Latin American with the acute economic stagnation of the 1980s, a political transition, and a resumption of democracy. During the 1990s, there were several proposals issued by international agencies to confront this economic crisis. However, Brazil's distinction is that it did not fully follow the reforms carried out in Latin America during the 1990s, in this matter, Brazil has followed the process of retrenchment of the original welfare systems.⁴⁹ In consequence, going deeper in Brazil's social policies contextualization, it is important to emphasize that historically the country was not much urbanized until the 1960s, when there were rapid urbanization and large-scale migration process, causing chaotic growth and inequalities in the urban territory. Brazil has a history of social policies being "strongly dependent on economic development projects of different political regimes, leaving to a secondary plan to adopt strategies for the effective improvement of living conditions and the creation of minimum standards of social equality. Citizenship was based on the need to legitimize different regimes, which meant that social rights had developed in a fragmented and unequal way." 49

For most of the construction of the Brazilian's welfare system, social policies were developed more during authoritarian periods, leaving a legacy of a high degree of centralization, low population interference, little transparency, and bureaucratized organizations. Even though there has been already a long democratic period since the end of the military regime, these characteristics still permeate the sectoral structures of social policy.⁴⁹

The State was (and still is) responsible for policies in a federal (national) scale and before the urbanization process, this central power was mainly the expression of the agrarian oligarchy, which meant a selective inclusion of strategic and mobilized social groups on decisionmaking processes.⁹⁹

¹³⁰ DRAIBE and RIESCO (2011) apud LOBATO, L. de V. C. (2016).



From this configuration in the 1930s (marked as the end of the Old Republic and the first authoritarian period in Brazil political scene) ⁹⁸ until the beginning of the military dictatorship in 1964, the social protection system expanded, incorporating new "selected" social groups as beneficiaries, but with fragmented institutional and financial plans.¹³¹

In the context of the establishment of an authoritarian and technocratic regime in 1964, the system of social protection in Brazil was consolidated, with the definition of the centralized apparatus of the social intervention of the State, opening space for universalizing tendencies (at least formally) and broadening the coverage of social programs.⁹⁹

The Latin America contextualization as a general was suffering a State-induced accelerated economic expansion process from the 1950s, and with the military dictatorship, some universal solutions to emerging social problems were being delineated.⁹⁹ The profile of state intervention in social areas, organized in this period, must be understood in the context of profound economic and political transformations that took place in Brazil during that period. What happened was an absolute and excessive centralization and bureaucratization of decisional processes in the federal scale,⁹⁹ and a marked tendency for the privatization of policies,¹³² associated with a lack of social and political participation.99

by author.

¹³¹ DRAIBE, S. (1988) apud DE PAULA, L. F. R. (1992).

¹³² ABRANCHES, S. (1985) apud DE PAULA, L. F. R. (1992).

The social and economic criteria for the allocation of resources was based on aspects that were not compatible with the effectiveness of social policies, since resources should be necessarily remunerated.¹³³ This inefficiency, associated with a lack of transparency in government actions, open space for *"privileged connections between state bureaucracies and certain private segments that end up maximizing their private interests to the detriment of the interest of society as a whole."* ¹³³

The following period was therefore categorized by insufficient resources to meet growing demands for social services, as well by the uncoordinated existence of a multiplicity of organs in each sector "pulverizing" the scarce existing capital.⁹⁹

With the defined "New Republic" in 1985, marking the end of this authoritarian period in Brazilian political scene, social policies against the military dictatorship were reorganized.⁹⁸ Although the social role played a prominent role in the discourse of the Federal Government for that time, the welfare ideals were not able to be truly executed, since the exclusionary profile of the previous intervention did not change much, and a low level of resources applied in social programs was kept.⁹⁹

In that scenario comes the so-called "lost decade of the 1980s", with an aggravation of the social and economic crisis, with an increase of poverty and misery, and the struggle for trying to the democratize the

country. The relationship between State and society and the public character of social policies become an important topic of discussion. In contrast with that intense period of social inequalities, it is also a time dialectically marked by democratic achievements unprecedented in Brazilian political history.⁹⁸

All that culminated in the Federal Constitution (FC), enacted in 1988, called "the Citizen Constitution", and based on parameters of equity and universal social rights.⁹⁸ **"The notion of citizenship was the basis for building the new welfare model expressed in the Constitutional text**,"⁴⁹ with a dedicated chapter for recognition of social rights, with universal access to health, assistance, education, housing, security, leisure, and work.⁴⁹

The FC reinforced state responsibility but included innovative political dynamics, based on federative integration between national, regional and municipal scales,¹³⁴ and the participation of society.⁴⁹ It established mechanisms for participation and implementation of policies, on top of pointing channels for the exercise of participatory democracy, through direct decisions such as referendums, and popular initiative projects.⁴⁹

In this perspective, the Constitutional Charter instituted the creation of councils, composed by representatives of various segments of civil society to collaborate in the implementation, execution, and control of social policies.⁹⁸

¹³³ FAGNANI, E. et al. (1986) *apud* DE PAULA, L. F. R. (1992).

¹³⁴ COUTO (2008); FLEURY (2006) apud LOBATO, L. de V. C. (2016).

The legal guarantee of the creation and implementation of these councils did not though, guaranteed the implementation and operation of popular participation, which is configured as to need proper monitoring and evaluation. Because systematic monitoring of council practices can signal the danger of bureaucratization and centralization of decisions in the hands of government power, which can neutralize or weaken the autonomy of councils in their actions and decisions.⁹⁸

"Among the principles enumerated in the new 1988 Constitution, political decentralization establishes a new political order in society, once society is guaranteed the right to formulate and control policies, provoking a redirection in the traditional relations between State and society."

After the constitutional declaration, the citizen comes to understand that he/she has rights and can claim for its effectiveness.⁹⁸ However, the basis was fragile and associated with a high degree of corruption, so the constitutional model had to coexist with the past of social policies.⁴⁹

The 1990s saw 'the dimension of poverty' take a prominent place in the public debate and to resolve the legacy of the previous decade, there were different experiences of decentralization of federal social policies, with different degrees of success and sectoral rhythms.¹⁰⁰

One important consequence of the FC from the point of view of the politicalorganizational apparatus was the Law n.8742 of 1993 - Organic Law of Social Assistance (LOAS),⁹⁸ which was vastly based on directives from international organs to end hunger and misery, and "to move the axis of the social question from the line of regulating labor relations (minimum wage, retirement, unions, etc.) to the line of service of the basic social needs of the consumer in general: water, sewage, housing and education." 99 The LOAS also marked the creation and configuration of a Unified Social Assistance System (SUAS).49

In 2001, a new important document was created, called '*Estatuto da Cidade*' (City's Statute), establishing **"rules of public order and social interest**, **regulating the use of urban property for the collective good, security and the well-being of citizens, as well as environmental balance**",¹³⁶ which increased a bit the power of local authorities and argued for **"cooperation between governments, private initiative and other sectors of society in the process of urbanization, in order to meet the social interests."**¹³⁷

From 2003 until 2013, the country was under what is called the 'neodevelopmentalist' growth model, or what is known as the social governments period. With large public social programs

136 Art. 1° - single paragraph, chapter I - General Guidelines, from Law n. 10.257 of 2001 – denominated *Estatuto da Cidade*. **137** Art. 2° - paragraph III, chapter I - General Guidelines, from Law n. 10.257 of 2001 – denominated *Estatuto da Cidade*.

¹³⁵ STEIN (1997) apud PIANA, M. C. (2009).

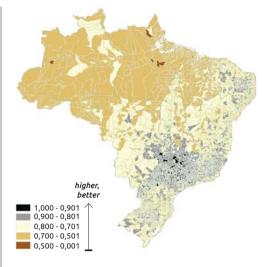
as a central part of the political landscape (used as a political power),⁴⁹ and putting welfare and citizenship into the public debate again.

This was also a period defined by an escalation of political polarity in the country, which was intensified by massive scandals of corruption, and culminated in a collapse of social sustainability and social order on a scale rarely before witnessed in the country's history. 2013 was an intense year of riots everywhere that naturally provoked a huge wave of public debate and the role of social policies programs.¹³⁸

The big wave of protests started against an increase on public transport but ended as reclaims about general life quality in Brazil, and eventually corruption scandals, against the ruling government, which resulted in the much controversial impeachment of the president Dilma Rousseff.¹³⁹ Moreover, the year of 2013 is marked by a growing concern for urban life quality, with the creation of the '*Índice de Bem-estar Urbano*' – IBEU (Urban Well-being Index).¹⁴⁰ The IBEU is a synthetic index, calculated from the national database (IBGE),¹⁴¹ divided into five dimensions:¹⁴⁰

01 urban mobility, that considers time people spend on daily routes home-work;

O2 urban environmental conditions, considering arborization, open sewage and accumulated litter in residential areas;



Brazilian municipalities IBEU 2010 (latest available data).

> by RIBEIRO; RIBEIRO (2016).

O3 housing conditions, composed by other five indicators that are subnormal clusters, household density, bathroom per resident proportion, household external wall material and type of household;

04 collective urban services, including adequate water supply, sewage and energy service, and adequate collection of waste;

05 urban infrastructure, that englobes public lighting, paving, sidewalk, curb/ guide (on the side of the road), manhole or wolf's mouth (to drain rainwater on the streets), accessible wheelchairs ramps on public areas and lastly free spaces.¹⁴⁰

It is possible to notice from the IBEU map that an uneven distribution of resources categorizes the Brazilian territory, and

¹³⁸ VELHO, D. (2018).

¹³⁹ EXAME (2013).

¹⁴⁰ RIBEIRO and RIBEIRO (2016).

¹⁴¹ *Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística –* IBGE (Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics).

despite all the above-described evolution of social policies in the country, it is still focused on poverty alleviation, with more immediate policies, focused on assistance for the most vulnerable social groups.¹⁰⁰

With a diversity of directions that social policies have been taken in the country, strongly dependent on the ruling government, indicates that the Brazilian welfare is composed and recomposed, preserving in its execution the fragmentary, sectoral and emergency character.¹⁴²

In fact, in a country with a high degree of social inequality, the issue of State versus the market is very complicated and controversial, when it should not be.¹⁰⁰ Public should not be understood as restricted to the State and should be made more permeable to society, as it is defined in the constitutional text.¹⁰⁰ "Addressing the issue of poverty means formulating social programs and policies that distinguish between those focused on poverty alleviation and overcoming poverty."¹⁰⁰

It is agreed between most authors discussing social policies in Brazil today, that to overcome poverty with a mediumand long-term horizon means prioritizing an articulation between economic and social development.^{46 83 98 99 100} "A central issue that is presented today is (...) to shift the focus of social policies from the axis of necessity to that of citizenship."¹⁴³ Since the Constitution in 1988 there has not been other explicit continued political project for the expanded reconfiguration of the social rights envisaged in the Constitution.⁴⁹ It is known nationally that, despite many different shifts of direction in welfare policies in Brazil (some positive, others not so much), the principles proclaimed did not leave the level of intentions, it did not happen a real national policy of decentralization that guided reforms on the social protection system.⁹⁸

There have been signs of a progressive overcoming of several dichotomies that have permeated the debate (and clash) around social policies, such as public versus private, state versus market, centralization versus decentralization, universalization versus targeting, and state versus society.¹⁰⁰

Over time, there also has been a significant change in the understanding of the term 'social' which originally meant in the Brazilian contextualization as "charitable", referring to help marginal or nonprivileged people, to being interpreted as "belonging to society", to collective social well-being.¹⁴⁴ However, there is a substantial **"challenge of discussing and deciding the importance of decentralization and participation as a strategy for the democratization of power relations and access to public goods and services."**¹⁴⁵

This democratization of power intended as a fairness of citizens' access to social

144 ROLANDO, F. (1982) apud DE PAULA, L. F. R. (1992).

¹⁴² VIEIRA, E. (1997) apud PIANA, M. C. (2009).

¹⁴³ The original text is from COHN, A. (1995) but the quote it is still up to date, according to the extensive bibliography analysis referenced in this work.

¹⁴⁵ STEIN (2000) apud PIANA, M. C. (2009).

rights, regardless of income level and other defining characteristics,¹⁰⁰ and the construction of spaces for discussion and participation of civil society in the political dimension.⁹⁸ "Through this dynamic conception of society, it is possible to believe that the spaces of social representation in the organization and management of social policies should be expanded, seeking the participation of new and different social subjects."⁹⁸

This idea expanding democracy was presented in the Constitutional text with the created 'councils,' but those still have a marginal role in decision-making processes, and they need to learn to be deliberative, truly defining things, aiming at "the conquest of citizenship". ⁹⁸

A project that incorporates those ideals exists today in Brazil, however, is being carried out in the midst of a serious political crisis in the country, and it is attempting not to be based on any elected program for that reason. Most amazingly, it is receiving reasonable social support from the middle classes, which are more involved politically, since the outburst of political participation in the country in 2013. *"It is, in fact, a project of rupture with the trajectory that had been outlined and with the model of social welfare state drawn in the Constitution."*⁴⁹

Controlling this challenge of democratizing decisions, necessarily involves governments and society, since, as put by POLANYI (2000), *"the market it is not an*

abstract or autonomous entity, but reflects, in its logic of functioning, the characteristics of the political and social institutions of the countries."¹⁴⁶

Regarding the Latin American continent, it is argued that a fourth period of welfare regimes is delineating itself, characterized by economic recession, but also political crisis and notable growth of conservative governments, whose agenda includes big changes against social policies in force.49 Nonetheless, once again welfare play a central role in public debate and parallel to that, there has also been an uprise of concept of 'Buen Vivir', which is the Spanish name for the philosophy of 'sumak kawsay', that is literally translated as 'well living', rooted in the indigenous traditions of the Quechua peoples of the Andes. It describes a 'cosmovisión' (or world-view) of doing things that is community-centric, ecologically-balanced and culturallysensitive.108

Eduardo Gudynas argues that this term is what sits closest to the western notions of welfare or well-being, but differ because the Latin American vision is not only about the individual, but the individual in the social context of their community and in a unique environmental situation.¹⁰⁷ It is a philosophy that was recently incorporated in the constitution of Ecuador and Bolivia, and goes against incorporating colonial values in South America, rescuing indigenous origins. It makes the case of a collective and culturally rich diversity for a high quality of life, incorporating social sustainability as a mean for development.¹⁰⁸

¹⁴⁶ POLANYI (2000) apud SIMÕES, A. (2014).

3.4 Some traditional and innovative practices in the Brazilian territory

3.4.1 CRAS and CREAS

WHAT: national system of "reference centers for social assistance" ¹⁴⁷ WHERE: many different cities in all the 27 federative unities of Brazil WHO: regional governments (public entity), following national federal directives WHEN: 2004+ HOW MANY: 8360 (CRAS) ¹⁴⁸ + 2577 (CREAS) ¹⁴⁹ CRAS/CREAS

The previous topic generally described the Brazilian situation of welfare provision and social policies strongly related to the country's political and historical contextualization. It was established that in 1993 there was a complementing law to the Constitution Charter of 1988, which defined (among other things) the creation of a national system of social protection called "Unified Social Assistance System (SUAS)". The SUAS was born with the intention to be followed nationwide, but with some autonomy for local governments, however, this last ideal was never indeed achieved.¹⁵⁵

The CRAS and CREAS are the physical spaces of this framework, having as a referential to organize its actions, the territory where people live, considering their local demands and needs.¹⁵⁰

The SUAS was only implemented in 2005, and it is defined as a **"nationally constituted system with a single** direction, characterized by shared management and co-financing of actions by the three federated entities, and with social control exercised by the Councils of Social Assistance of the municipalities, states and the Union." ¹⁵⁰ ¹⁵¹

The SUAS divides its actions into two types of social protection: basic and specialized, to be developed and coordinated by the public territorial units of CRAS ('*Centros de Referência da Assistência Social*' or Reference Center for Basic Social Assistance), CREAS ('*Centros de Referência Especializados de Assistência Social*' or Reference Center for Specialized Social Assistance). There are also some

149 According to Censo SUAS/CREAS 2017 (latest available data).

¹⁴⁷ Official name by the Ministry of Social Development (MDS).

¹⁴⁸ According to Censo SUAS/CRAS 2018 (latest available data).

¹⁵⁰ MDS (2017).

¹⁵¹ The "Union" is the legal entity of Public Law representative of the Federal Government, meaning the national scale of Brazilian government. It is defined in *art. 18* of the Federal Constitution.

other possible types of centers, derived from those two that are the: 'Centros de Convivência' translated as Conviviality Centers, for the elderly population or people with mental disorders; the POP Centers ('Centros de Referência Especializado para a População em Situação de Rua'), to shelter population in risk-situation on the streets: the called 'Centros Dia' or Day Centers, destinated for people with disabilities and their families; and lastly the CEU ('Centros de Esportes Unificados') translated as Unified Sports Center, mainly for sports activities for teenagers and children.¹⁵⁰ All of those are government organized units under the Ministry of Social Development (MDS),¹⁵² that can be served in a complementary way, by the private socio-assistance network, according to the constitutional text.¹⁵⁰

According to the MDS, the Basic Social Protection is the set of services, programs, projects and benefits structured to prevent situations of vulnerability and social risk, seeking the insertion of families and individuals in the social protection network, aiming at the strengthening of family ties and community ties.¹⁵⁰

"The Reference Center for Basic Social Assistance (CRAS) is the public unit of municipal-based social assistance, located in areas with the highest levels of vulnerability and social risk, aimed at providing services and social assistance programs (...) to families and to the articulation of these services (...) in order to strengthen the coexistence with the family and with the community." 150

The services provided at the CRAS are mainly the Service of Protection and Integral Assistance to the Family (PAIF),¹⁵³ and others that can be developed outside of their physical space but necessarily have to be referenced to the center. The target audience of the CRAS are families and individuals in situations of vulnerability and social risk, people with disabled persons, the elderly, children removed from child-labor, persons enrolled in the '*Cadastro Único*'¹⁵⁴ or Single Registry, beneficiaries of the '*Bolsa Família* Program' and the Continuous Benefit Program (BPC), among others.¹⁵⁰

The MDS categorizes as Specialized Social Protection the provision of specialized services, programs, and projects for families and individuals in situations of personal and social risk, with violation of rights. It aims to contribute to the reconstruction of family and community ties, considering different levels of

¹⁵² Yet another type of center that we have in Brazil are the CAPS centers ('*Centros de Atenção Psicossocial*' or Psychosocial Care Centers), but those follow under the Ministry of Health (MS) and are destinated for people with mental illness or suffering from it, including those with needs arising from the abuse of alcohol and other drugs. They are proposed for crisis situations or for the process of psychosocial rehabilitation and are renowned for being substitutive to the asylum model in Brazil. However, going in deep within this case study would mean following too far out of the scope of this work, therefore this is a point that yet deserves to be sought.

¹⁵³ The MDS defines the PAIF as with the "objective of contributing to the coexistence, recognition of rights and possibilities of intervention in the social life of a family. This work can stimulate the potential of families and communities, promoting collective spaces for listening and exchange of experiences."

¹⁵⁴ According to the Ministry of Citizenship: "The *Cadastro Único* is the gateway to various Social Programs of the Federal Government, such as the Bolsa Família, the Social Electricity Tariff, the Continuous Benefit Program (BPC) and *Minha Casa Minha Vida*. It also functions as a map for the government to identify the needs of the population."

LOAS Law n.8742 of 1993 - Organic Law of Social Assistance suas Unified Social Assistance System structured as National Council of Social Assistance Ministry of Social Development National Social Assistance Fund (CNAS) (MDS) (FNAS) deliberate on the policy federal level of financial resource that policy management to be followed allocates to regional and municipal funds agency in the territory CRAS Basic Social Protect services, programs, projects and Specialized Social Protection services, programs, and projects families and individuals in situations of personal and social risk (with violation of rights) benefits families and individuals in situations of personal and social risi

Sum up of the national social protection framework in Brazil.

by author.

aggravation, the nature and the specificity of each case necessity. There are generally two levels of complexity: medium and high, and both of them are performed in the CREAS centers or one of the complementary centers cited above.¹⁵⁰

"The CREAS is a state public welfare unit whose role is to become a reference point in the territories to offer specialized social work for individuals and their families in personal or social risk, with violation of rights. The offer of social work in the CREAS presupposes the use of several methodologies and techniques necessary to operationalize the specialized monitoring. It also requires the construction of reference links and trust of the user with the unit and the team of professionals, as well as a welcoming attitude of these, based on ethics and respect for the autonomy and dignity of the subjects. CREAS can have municipal or regional coverage, and its implementation considers indicators of a violation of rights situations in its territory." 150

The services provided at the CREAS are: Service of Protection and Assistance to Families and Individuals (PAEFI); Service of Social Protection to Adolescents, while in compliance with socio-educational measures of assisted freedom and community service; Specialized Service in Social Approach; Special Social Protection Service for Persons with Disabilities, the Elderly and their Families; Specialized Service for Street People.¹⁵⁰

In addition to these above mentioned fixed public facilities, there are also the 'equipes volantes' (literally translated as 'flying teams') that can reach the most remote communities in rural areas or from traditional populations (such as indigenous, quilombolas, artisanal fishermen communities, extractivists, pantanal, and others). Some use cars, or small vans and others even use small boats to reach the *Ribeirinhas* communities, that are small villages living along the edges of rivers.¹⁵⁵

155 FIGUEIREDO, K. A. (2016).

Being derived from a national structure of social protection, there are CRAS and CREAS located in a wide range of locations all across the country, and according to the latest available data^{148 149} the regions with the higher number of structures are the southeast (most concentrated main cities of Brazil, like São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro) and the northeast, this last being considered the economically poorest region.^{148 149}

Some other interesting data is that more than 50% of the units are located in small cities, and the position in the territory is almost equally divided between central urban areas and peripheral areas; most of them work for 8h/day and 5 days/week, even the CREAS units that supposedly shelter people in risk situations work in business hours; most of the CRAS units are on owed governmental buildings (near 90%), while most of the CREAS (about 80%) is located on rented spaces; and about half of CRAS units declare to have public participation on the projects. but happening only informally and occasionally.148 149

In 2009, a notebook was drawn up by the MDS called 'Technical Guidelines for the Reference Centers for Social Assistance', which deals, in a didactic way for an easier understanding from the municipalities, on how to implement a physical unit of CRAS or CREAS. This compendium addresses issues from the functions, the standard of care, among also suggestions of content and physical distribution of spaces, establishing a pattern of the physical structures, and equipment identification.¹⁵⁵ The MDS also made available basic architectural (and complementing fixtures) projects, that are of optional use but they already follow current regulations and comply with the model defined in the Manual of Instructions, Guidelines and Operational Procedures for Contracting and Execution of Programs and Actions of the National Secretariat of Social Assistance (Manual of Agreements), approved by Administrative Rule 452 of 2010-MDS.¹⁵⁶

Even with the SUAS being this nationally structured system that in theory sets universality and gratuity access to benefits and services, in a non-contributory nature of rights, with the ideas of redistribution in regards to funding mechanisms, and has a decentralization and participative ideology, its execution methods were printed on selectivity character.¹⁵⁵

The subordinate condition attributed to the population served historically by social protection in Brazil neglects the potential of the SUAS, and it is represented by the way policies are organized in the territory¹⁵⁷ and how the community perceives the CRAS and CREAS spaces as "social work"¹⁵⁵ spaces, adapting residual buildings constructed in previous decades and with no particular attention to the aesthetic and material quality. The traditional social protection spaces in Brazil are generally in degraded structures, with generic characters, with little or nonexisting attention to the user experience while using or needing the space, not contributing much to the overall social sustainability.

¹⁵⁶ PITA , M. (2011).

¹⁵⁷ SILVA (2014) apud FIGUEIREDO, K. A. (2016).

CRAS



40W MANY: approx. 200 m² (500 families/year) // approx. 260 m² (750 families/year) // approx. 360 m² (1000 families/year)

Ø d ď ... 6 ē 6 5.13 145 99999 red red red r \\01 Typical Floor plan - 1000 families (ministerial suggestion). 717 11 \\02 Typical Sections - 1000 families (ministerial suggestion). 44 11 11 11 515 11 $\langle | \rangle$ 11/ \\03 Typical Facades - 1000 families (ministerial suggestion).

2



External Facade - CRAS Touring building (DF).



\\10 External Facade - CRAS Cabo de Santo Agostinho (PE).



\\11

Reception area - CRAS Tobias Barreto (SE).



Internal space - CRAS Menino Jesus (RS).

PHOTOS

01, 02, 03 courtesy of MDS; 04 by Patrick Grosner; 05 courtesy of MOBS/PBH; 06, 07, 11, 12 by Solange Albernaz; 08, 10 by UNKNOWN; 09 by Natalia Gorgulho.



Social orientation activity.



\\05 Social Mobilization Theater Group (MOBS), presenting to the community what is a CRAS.



\\0e

Music Workshop - CRAS Menino Jesus (RS).



\\07

Industrial-sewing Workshop - CRAS Rubiataba (GO).



\\08 Women in construction Workshop - CRAS Contagem (MG).

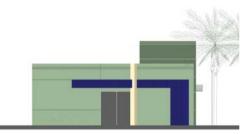


CREAS



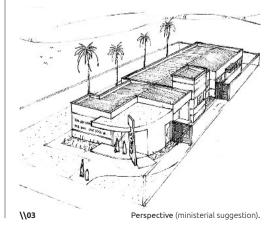








Typical Facade (ministerial suggestion).





\\04

Social orientation activity.



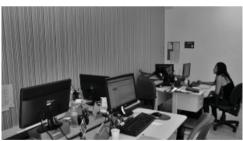
\\05

Reception area - CRAS Itaquera (SP).



\\06

General working area - CRAS Itaquera (SP).



\\07

General working area - CRAS Blumenau (SC).



Kids area - CRAS Blumenau (SC).



External Facade - CRAS Farroupilha (RS).



\\10

External Facade - CRAS Itaquera (SP).



\\11

External Facade - CRAS Mooca (SP).



\\12

External Facade - CRAS Vila Prudente (SP).

PHOTOS

01, 02, 03 courtesy of MDS; 04, 09 by UNKNOWN; 05, 06, 10 by Fábio Arantes; 07, 08 by Eraldo Schnaider; 11, 12 by Wágner Origenes.

3.4.2 sescs

WHAT: culture + health + education + social protection + leisure WHERE: multiple cities in Brazil WHO: "Social Service of Commerce" (third sector organization) WHEN: 1946+ HOW MANY: 638 units

Before the existence of a national social protection system in Brazil, the SESC centers already existed as spaces of welfare. However, they have a peculiar organizational structure that has, for a long time been at the heart of many social discussions in the Brazilian context.¹⁵⁸

SESC is an acronym for 'Serviço Social do Comércio' (or Social Service of Commerce), which along with other nine corporate institutions, form what is known as 'Sistema S' (or S System), due to all the names of the organizations beginning with the letter S.¹⁵⁸ The S System emerged in 1942, during Getúlio Vargas government, when he decreed the creation of an institution aimed at training professionals for the growing national industry, that was developing itself mainly due to a migration process from European and American businessmen, escaping from the war.¹⁵⁸ Thus, the first institution of this system was SENAI (Serviço Nacional de Aprendizagem

The president had also established that were to be implemented a percentage of mandatory contributions from those sectors (industry, commerce, rural and agribusiness, transportation, and cooperativism) to the Union¹⁵¹ to invest on services for professional development and well-being of the workers.¹⁵⁸ Therefore, the assets of such entities may be public or private, that is, may come from public funds transfers from the national organ to each company or private funds. The mandatory contributions come from regularly intake from the payroll of the workers of each sector, in the case of SESC,



Industrial or National Service of Industrial Learning), and after that, all the other corporations were created in the following years, with the shared logic of being characterized as third sector organizations (private, non-profit), aimed at social activities inclined to public utility, wellbeing and professionalization.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁸ TEIXEIRA, L. B. (2018). **159** RAMONITA, D. (2015).

entrepreneurs from the commerce sector, and are categorized as public funds.¹⁵⁹

These organizations fulfill areas of public services that are not exclusive of public organs, and each service body has its niche of actions, purpose, internal statute, organizational structure and of resources.¹⁵⁹ The SESC is the one defined as responsible for the leisure and affiliations area,¹⁵⁸ which include everything related to culture, health, education, and social protection.¹⁶⁰

The Federal Constitution of 1988, which is the basis for the creation of the SUAS system (Unified Social Assistance System), recognized these institutions and declared that the current compulsory contributions should be kept as they were.¹⁵⁸ The companies pay the tax contribution to the government and part of the resources is passed on to the employer, that transfers it entirely to the system S.¹⁵⁸

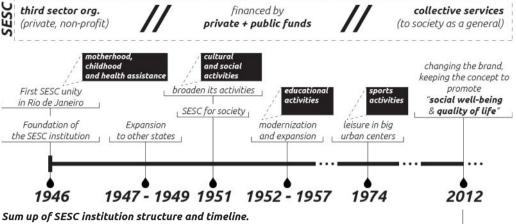
The first unit of SESC was constructed in 1946, at that time, to provide health services only to employees of the SESC institution and their families.¹⁶⁰ At the end of this same decade the centers already spread across the country, and in 1951 the corporation included other services of cultural and social nature, 160 reinforcing the idea of its idealizer that the SESC was for society and social progress, not only to relieve unfavorable individual situations.¹⁶¹ In the 1950s the centers started to incorporate also educational activities, and in in the 1970s, sports.¹⁶⁰ "The work of SESC was part of the country's history, adapting to the new needs of its clientele, having even expanded its area of action, with projects that benefit communities lacking basic services, within a commitment to collaborate with the development of Brazil." ¹⁶⁰

Nowadays, the SESC is considered part of the country's current socioeconomic scenario, as providing socio-educational services, acting in the sense of collective social well-being, and aiming to contribute to the improvement of the living conditions of its clientele, and facilitating the means for its cultural and professional development.¹⁶¹

The institution defines as its objective to "create opportunities for people to develop their full potential, through access to culture, education, health, sports. leisure. and care." 160 Even if they are entirely created and maintained by entrepreneurs from the commerce sector, the SESCs have *"greater values*" that guide its actions, such as the stimulus to the exercise of citizenship and the love of freedom and democracy as the main paths of the search for individual and collective well-being." ¹⁶¹ They argue for the private participation on welfare provision if pondered that "the capital should not be considered merely as a profitproducing instrument, but mainly as a means of economic expansion and collective well-being." 160

¹⁶⁰ SESC official website.

¹⁶¹ SESC official document: Diretrizes Gerais de Ação.



The social sustainability of the SESC centers as welfare spaces in Brazil is controversial, though, due to the funding of the projects being shared by private and public institutions. In 2008 the educational minister questioned if the S System was no longer fulfilling what had been proposed in its creation, since most of its services were now paid, therefore, not enabling widespread access to them.¹⁶² The impasse was softened in July of that year, when an agreement was made, declaring that 1/3 of the resources received would have to be converted in free courses and actions for the general population.¹⁶² In December last year (2018), there was also some turbulence from the new minister of economy Paulo Guedes, saying he would considerably cut the public resources destinated to the S system.¹⁵⁸

Nonetheless, with more than 600 fixed units, and even some mobile units to cover non-urban areas, the SESC centers can vary a lot one from another, in square meters, program, and services provided for the reason that the institution itself embraces an extensive range of actions. They can be schools, administration offices, sports center, health facilities.¹⁶⁰

by author.

The first physical buildings of SESC emerged in a period of a growing nationalism-thinking in Brazil, and development of what would be known as the Brazilian modernistic architecture. As a positive consequence, many SESC units are designed by renowned Brazilian architects, who include in their project a substantial concern for the urban-environmental insertion and an intention to properly represent the country's culture in these facilities. The two examples chosen here to illustrate that, are in the region of São Paulo, due to its importance, and where the SESC project is most successfully recognized.

The first presented example is the SESC 24 de Maio, located in a central area of the city, and designed by Paulo Mendes da Rocha + MMBB, who are significant in the Brazilian architectural scene, with internationally

¹⁶² MACHADO, M. C. (2008).

recognized projects, like for example the renovation of the *Pinacoteca do Estado de São Paulo* (one of the main museums of the country), and Paulo Mendes won the Pritzker Prize in 2006.¹⁶³

The second example is the SESC Pompéia, located a neighborhood within the metropolitan area of São Paulo but not in the heart of the city. It was designed by Lina Bo Bardi, who was married to an Italian art curator called to work in the MASP art museum, and they both were naturalized Brazilians after living in the country for many years. Lina is an architectonic symbol for Brazilian architecture and also designed one of the most iconic buildings of São Paulo, the MASP.¹⁶⁴

This selection of two projects represents the importance these SESC units have gained in the national architectonic scenario, which is significant if compared to the other case study here presented of the typical welfare spaces of the national system, which usually are marginalized buildings. Both SESC spaces presented on the next pages are re-use of an existing structure, so they both had the added project variant to adequate the building to its new functions. The SESC 24 de Maio is the adaptation of an office building, changing first the vertical circulation, creating a continued ramp that helps to connect the different floors better; the plan variates depending on each floor, from more closed spaces to accommodate dance classrooms, offices, to more openplan spaces for restaurant, library, study

tables, a collective pool, and even a contemplation area with a water-mirror to improve the micro-climate.¹⁶⁵ Lina's project was a steel barrel factory dismissed in 1973, which remained abandoned until 1982, when it was performed a regualification of internal areas, and two new vertical external volumes were added to accommodate new sports facilities; the main old factory building includes a very aesthetically pleasant lounge area, meeting, reading, library, exposition areas, a restaurant, bar and a hall of conversation, small theater, photographic and ceramic laboratories, and some administrative offices.166

Those two projects had a concern about the ground access, with intent to invite people in with a private-public square on the entrance, and most importantly, the architects thought about representing the Brazilian culture even in the design of the furniture going inside the buildings. The SESC Pompéia is characterized as a modernistic construction, with strong presence of exposed concrete, one highlighted color (red in this case), typical of Lina's architecture and a lot of wood elements, natural to the region. The SESC 24 de Maio can be considered a fine example of a contemporary building, renovated in 2017, with still a big glass facade and metallic elements, however, including any Brazilian-characteristic elements, such as the exposed concrete, the design of the furniture and the presence of a watermirror for example.

¹⁶³ ENCICLOPÉDIA Itaú Cultural de Arte e Cultura Brasileiras - Paulo Mendes da Rocha.

¹⁶⁴ ENCICLOPÉDIA Itaú Cultural de Arte e Cultura Brasileiras - Lina Bo Bardi.

¹⁶⁵ VADA, P. (2018).

¹⁶⁶ FRACALOSSI, I. (2013).

SESC 24 de Maio

WHERER center of São Paulo, Brazil

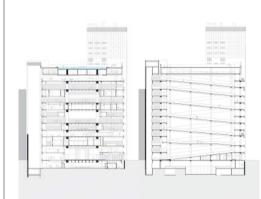
<mark>WHOR</mark> Paulo Mendes da Rocha + MMBB

WHEN: 2017

HOW MANY: 27865 m²



\\03, 04



\\02



\\01







\\06



\\07

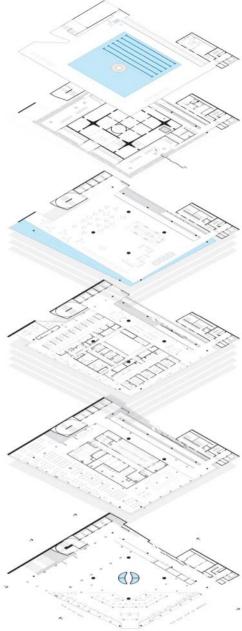


\\08



\\09





\\11

PHOTOS

01, 02, 05, 06, 07, 08, 09, 10 by Nelson Kon; 03, 04 courtesy of Paulo Mendes da Rocha + MMBB; 11 courtesy of Paulo Mendes da Rocha + MMBB, adapted by author.

SESC Pompéia

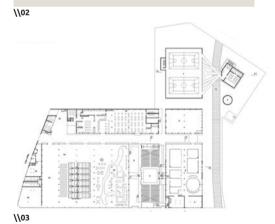
WHIRR Pompéia neighborhood - São Paulo, Brazil

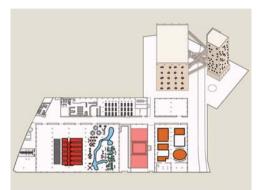
WHO: Lina Bo Bardi

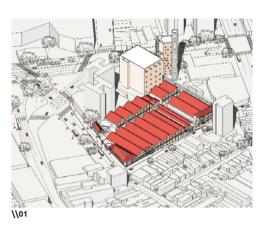
WHEN: 1986

HOW MANY: 23571 m²











\\07

\\06

\\05



\\08





\\10





PHOTOS

01, 02 drawings by Yiqing Liu; 03, 05 via wikiarquitectura; 06 Flicker victortsu (CC BY-NC-ND); 04, 07, 08 by Pedro Kok; 09 by author; 10 by UNKNOWN; 11 by Paula Alvarado.

\\09

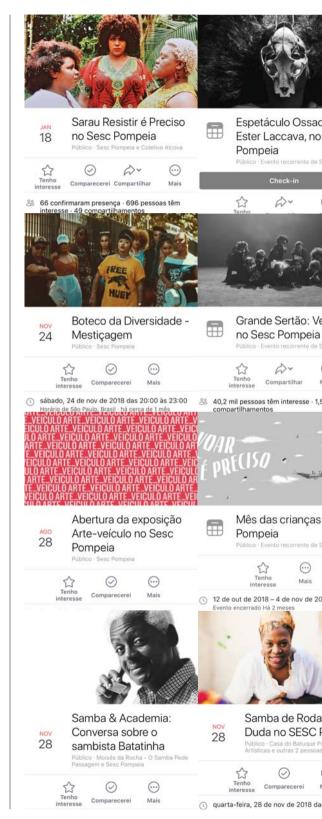
Activities in the SESC spaces:

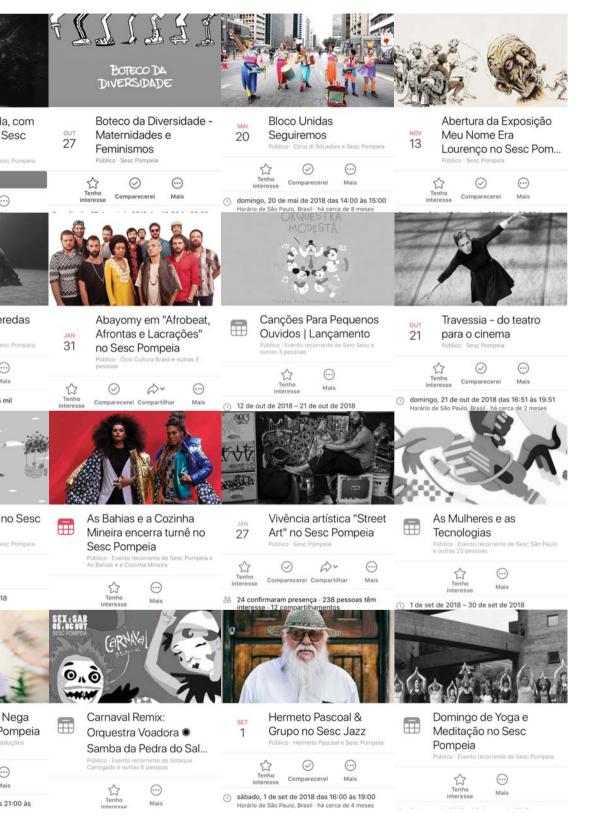
The actions of SESC are for propagating humanistic and universal principles, promoting a better life-quality and offering services that strengthen the exercise of citizenship and contribute to socioeconomic and cultural development.¹⁶⁰ The activities follow models of action built by specialists in several areas, ensuring that each action is adequate to the needs of society as a general.¹⁶⁰

They include in terms of social protection: works with local groups to integrate different people and discuss daily life matters, such as family, urban life, work, social relationships; social activities with the elderly population; the called "community action" to qualify urban parks, squares and public centers; and Mesa Brasil SESC (or Table Brazil SESC) that is a national food bank network against hunger and waste. In leisure: concerts, sports lessons, vacation camps for children and teenagers. In health: activities related to nutrition, odontology, and health education. In the education section, they have capacitation centers and schools from various levels. In culture: they promote performing arts, libraries, visual arts (expositions), music, cinema, and literature. Most of them for free or at affordable prices, according to the 2008 agreement.^{160 162} Next there is some example of events from the SESC Pompéia.

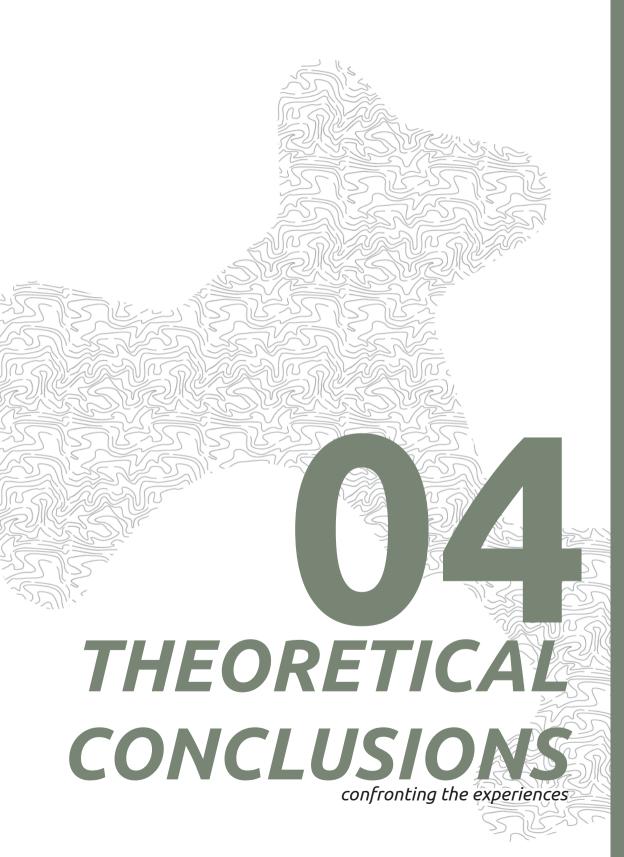
SESC Pompeia Facebook events. (BY THE SIDE)

retrieved by author.









This research is about spaces of urban welfare, and how careful attention to the spatial quality of social protection services can represent a positive contribution to the way people perceive welfare.²³ Consequently, a positive contribution to social sustainability aspects as well, creating spaces for socialization, citizenship, collective perception of wellbeing, and furthering the well-functioning of the collective urban daily life.^{7 11 19}

The first chapter of this research succinctly describes the concept of social sustainability and socially sustainable spaces, arguing that the existing literature on this matter is still fragmented, without one clear definition,⁹ however, it is agreed that the focal point is humans and their living environment,⁷⁹ how the physical space that surrounds us define the relationships we are creating.^{11 12}

In the last topic, the argumentation is made for considering this theory in the perspective of welfare spaces, which can be taken as infrastructural services of the city,¹⁹ and therefore are most interestingly relevant when discussing the production of a collective wealth for society.²⁸

The second chapter makes the point for an ambivalent and heterogeneous understanding of welfare,³⁰ meaning it is a context-depend concept, that depends a lot on the historical and political framework of a specific country.²⁹ It is presented that welfare can be firstly understood with regards to two meanings: well-being or social protection systems and services. ^{30 31} The four categorial typologies commonly present in the relevant literature are conferred,^{30 39 40 41} a consequent evaluative dimension translated as political polarity,^{30 35 42 46} and lastly, the question is also raised for a new fifth typology,⁵⁰ characteristic of emerging economies and their unique position of using social policies for international recognition of the country's relevance in world economy,^{45 46} and internally as political power in election processes.^{48 49 50}

The chapter continues with an illustration of this typology-based division and national contextualization needed to understand what it is incorporated with the concept of welfare.^{45 48 51} Following this the argument is to bring welfare debate into the urban scale, where it is possible to confront it with social sustainability matters.^{19 23 26 30 59}

This chapter ends the theoretical base of welfare with a topic about contemporary matters and issues related to innovating welfare provision,^{30 39 45 46 61 66 67 68 71 83 88} and the last point made is the definition of an understanding of welfare trends, with regards to social sustainability of the physical spaces.^{9 10 23 24 66 67 68 83 88 98 99 100}

The following third chapter presents an overview of the situation of welfare provision systems in Italy and Brazil, and two case studies of welfare spaces for each, as a way to understand if all the theory presented before is consonant with concrete spaces in these two countries. It is a descriptive chapter, presenting the two situations and four case studies, aiming a possible application of the theoretical basis. The objective of this fourth chapter is then, to directly confront these two experiences, constructing a careful parallel between them, in order to understand if some features of one can be taken as a positive reference to the other, considering of course limitations of exportability of such context-based situations.

Therefore, first, an analysis of how Italy and Brazil have similar or different aspects of the welfare; second, what are the potentials and limitations of each one of the four case studies presented, with reference to innovation for social sustainability; and lastly, the final concluding remark is about the current Brazilian situation and how we can face the subject of social sustainability in spaces of urban welfare.

4.1 Similarities and differences between the Italian and the Brazilian welfare

The Italian institutional welfare structure can be summarized as first of all, being part of the origins of the welfare terminology in Europe during the 19th and 20th century,³⁷ ³⁸ and secondly, categorized as the fourth welfare typology, known as known as *'stato sociale'* (social state),^{30 39 41} mostly centered in the principle of familialism,¹¹⁰ the family as the primary agent responsible for producing welfare.

However, as seen on the presented case studies, Italy had a welfare framework strongly influenced by the territorialization process and active local welfare principles,^{61 71 77 80} that combined with welfare mix ideas, puts in question principals of accountability⁷¹ and the role of the State,³⁹ depending on each regional organizational structure. The regional and municipal governments have the authority to formulate and implement different experimentations of policies and spaces.^{71 77}

The Law n.328 of 2000, known as the national reform of social services.77 was elaborated with the intent to deal with this territorial fragmentation and hoped to put an end in the historical weakness of rights in the Italian welfare.¹¹⁷ Aiming at universalistic principles of access, promotion of well-being to all citizens, and assigning precise powers to public institutions as the main responsible for setting conditions for a decentralized and negotiated action.77 The reform was successful in creating a new governance architecture, positively combining local autonomy and national regulation,⁷⁷ however, still suffers from a lack of defined national standards and problems of coordination among levels/ responsibilities.71

The problems faced today are mainly about reconciling the universalistic framework with a local (rather than localist) model, meaning adapted to the local scale in needs and experimental solutions,⁷⁷ and secondly, but equally important, a concern for not falling back to refamiliarization practices,⁹⁰ which means recognize the importance of the public body as the provider of minimal standards for most vulnerable individuals and families.^{77 89} As far as Brazil is concerned, it is argued that in emerging and developed countries (sometimes considered as poor peripheral economies)¹⁶⁷ it is not possible to have a complete Keynesian Welfare State.¹⁶⁷ As a result of deep class inequality, the policies are not guaranteed as with universal access or based in citizenship and residence in the country but become "categorical", that is, target in specific categories of the population, strongly dependent on governmental management, according to clientelistic and bureaucratic criteria.⁹⁸

That is the reason Brazil falls into the above mentioned fifth welfare typology, trying to integrate welfare development with economic development,¹⁰⁰ at the same time it is inserted in the Latin American continent, with a historical formulation of policies during authoritarian periods, having as a consequence the central role of State at a national level as the main actor in organizing, defining and controlling policies.^{98 99}

The base for Brazil's national Unified Social Assistance System (SUAS)⁴⁹ was the Federal Constitutional of 1988, known as "the Citizen Constitution", and based on parameters of equity and universal social rights.⁹⁸ The text established the creation of councils,⁹⁸ aimed at pointing channels for the exercise of participatory democracy⁴⁹ but the basis was fragile and that associated with a historically high degree of corruption in the country,⁴⁹ made this ideal of a national framework organizing a decentralized provision of services, intended to better adapt to local needs, to never actually be implemented.⁹⁸ One of the main consequences of having this unified system is to have a standardization, and become known as "social-work spaces",¹⁵⁵ those ending up neglected and perceived as marginalized, as are the main users of the spaces perceived as marginalized of society.⁹⁹

The main challenge for Brazil's social protection nowadays is changing the perspective of welfare seem as "charitable", referring to help non-privileged people, to welfare associated with principles of citizenship, "belonging to society", aiming at a collective social well-being, not individualized and restrictive well-being.144 The country always has had a universalistic approach to welfare as the ideal one, arguing that it is within the intrinsic rights of every population,^{68 83} and although Brazil is experiencing a turbulent political moment,^{138 139} it has also witnessed some growing concern for urban life-quality¹⁴⁰ and the return of 'well-living' principles of traditional Latin-American populations.^{107 108}

After this brief summarization of both countries contextualization on welfare, the next page presents a table, with a vertical organization of a column for Italy another for Brazil, but organized horizontally by the same categories, in order to allow a more direct understanding of these two different and opposing paths, yet, in some aspects, similar understandings and objectives for a socially sustainable welfare.

Sum up of the Italian and Brazilian welfare. (NEXT PAGE)

| | taly | 👋 Brazil | |
|----------------------------------|--|---|--|
| based on | familialism
(historically) | universalism
(historically) | |
| access to services
and spaces | based on categorical aspects
(contributions and work condition) | based on rights
(basic living conditions) | |
| policies
defined at | regional and municipal scale
(autonomy to define and implement) | national, standardized scale
(only implement, following general model) | |
| decentralization
process | effectively implemented
(model based on local needs
and locally available solutions) | residually implemented
(trying to focus on local needs,
but lacking decision-making power) | |
| national
landscape | fragmented | unified | |
| in the
urban scale | experimentations
(regarding inclusion of new users
and types of shared spaces and activities) | marginalized perception
(of users, and spaces,
known as "social-work") | |
| fundings | public + private + third sector
(welfare mix concepts) | entirely public <i>or</i>
public + private + third sector
(strong critics to market participation) | |
| contemporary main
challenges | territorial fragmentation
(difficulty to recompose the existing
structures and creating inequalities)
accountability principles
(main responsibility for social risks
and the important role of the public actor) | changing perspective
(stop seem as "charitable", to help non-privileged
people and dependent of political scene)
growing concern for urban life-quality
(local scale autonomy, decentralization and
participation as a strategy for democratization) | |

It is possible to notice that the Italian and Brazilian situation on welfare has some similarities regarding the intention to build a decentralized welfare system to recognize better and deal with social risks in the local scale, however, they diverge almost in opposite paths after that intention. Italy has successfully implemented the decentralization process, creating a scenario with different experimentations of active local welfare, while Brazil does not truly allow the municipal autonomy but successfully creates a national framework that allows less fragmented accessibility to welfare services.

This national structure helps Brazil with its universalistic principles to oppose the substantial socio-economic inequalities the country still has, regarding infrastructural services as a general, but had the result of social services being perceived by the population as restricted to just a parcel of society (those in need of the social assistance), creating this duality of universal right to welfare, but restricted use of the physical structures, the welfare spaces. From the perspective of social science, some researchers argue that Brazil needs to include a more dynamic conception of society, expanding social representation and management, seeking the participation of new and different social subjects.98

A very positive aspect of the Italian experience is the experimentation character welfare took in the country, generation many possible different solutions that can be taken as a reference for other cases. At the same time, Italy has been struggling to elaborate this national point of reference to reduce the regional inequalities created by this active local welfare, the role of the state emerges as crucial through a common regulatory framework and the stable funding of local authorities.⁷⁹ Just the same, a lack of any control over resources, means citizens' activation can hardly be directed at a longterm strategy of promoting well-being.⁷⁷

4.2 Potentials and limitations of case studies regarding social sustainability in spaces of urban welfare

The four presented case studies are very different one from the other, beginning with the territorial scale they are applied and respond to. Both the Italian case studies (WeMI and *Casa del Quartiere* -CdQ) are applied in the municipal/regional scale, while the Brazilian case studies (CRAS/CREAS and SESCs) are both applied all across the country at a national scale. The next page presents a summary table confronting these experiences through the same criteria of analysis, ending with a highlight of how each case study can be considered innovative in terms of social sustainability.

Sum up of the studied case studies of welfare spaces. (NEXT PAGE)

by author.

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| structure as | Each area of Milano has a
WeMI space, that can be a
completely new structure
or the WeMI wall is
incorporated in an already
existing space of a private
(third-sector) organization
present in the territory. | Each neighborhood have
its own CdQ and the
responsibilities may vary
according to partnerships
made with local
associations and citizens,
guaranteeing though, the
same principles. | CRAS/CREAS
CRAS/CREAS | The SESC institution
(categorized as third-
sector) is responsible for
all the organization, what
is going to be included
in the physical program,
what kind of spaces and
activities. |
|-----------------------------------|---|---|--|--|
| funded by | Comune di Milano
(municipal public entity)
together with Fondazione
Cariplo (private) co-funded
the initiative to reform the
city's welfare system; and
each space manages its
day-to-day operations. | Comune di Torino
(municipal public entity)
and Compagnia di San
Paolo (private) co-funded
the initiative to create the
network of existing spaces;
and each CdQ manages its
day-to-day operations. | The Union (national public
entity) co-finances with
the municipal Councils
(representatives of various
segments of civil society,
non-profit and public) the
creation and day-to-day
operation of each unit. | The SESC institution
(categorized as third-
sector) is responsible
for funding and receives
transfers from the Union
to create units; and the
day-to-day can come from
private events in each unit. |
| activities | Necessarily includes social
orientation services, and
can include other functions
in the same space, such as
a literary coffee, a hostel,
retirement homes, cultural
events, medical care, etc. | Focused on listening
to citizens propositions
for social experiences,
providing social
orientation, food banks,
ethnic events and courses,
co-working spaces, etc. | Main activity is social
assistance, by registration
in the SUAS system, and
practices for family an
community re-insertion for
venerable individuals, also
temporary housing. | Mainly focused on cultural,
educational, health, leisure
and social protection,
with cultural events,
libraries, sports facilities,
schools and capacitation
workshops, etc. |
| stands out as socially innovative | for challenging the
traditional organization of
a social service desk;
for incorporating
unexpected functions in
the same physical space;
for creating a strong
visual identity to be
recognized all across
the territory within the
different spaces;
for creating a digital
unified platform that also
uses the visual identity;
for including different
actors in planning, such as
university departments,
and citizens participation. | for focusing on
citizens empowerment,
recognizing them as
carriers of resources not
only needs;
for including arts and
cultural aspects as an
intrinsic part of policies;
for experimenting
with models of shared
management;
for being intended as
a place to all, inclusive
in terms of cultural,
generations, gender,
religious, and nationalities;
for the feeling like a
collective home. | for being a nationally
unified system, which
guarantees universal
access (not necessarily
universal use of spaces);
for successfully including
the three spheres of the
public entities in Brazil
(which proves difficulty
given the over bureaucratic
nature of it in the country);
for dividing into basic
and specialized assistance,
adapting to different levels
of social risks and needs;
for the inclusion of
even traditional native
populations (with the non-
fixed units). | for changing its initial
intent to be exclusive and
currently intending to act
in the sense of collective
social well-being, and
aiming to contribute to
improvement of the living
conditions of all;
for providing access to
culture, education, health,
sports, leisure, and care;
for having this unique
condition in the country
to actively integrate public
and private participation;
for having many of
its buildings known as
architectural symbols,
valuing Brazilian culture. |

fulfill guidelines presented as fundamental treats for innovating spaces of urban welfare:

| 1 | yes 🗸 | yes 🗸 | no $	imes$ | yes 🗸 |
|---|-------|-------|------------|-------|
| 2 | yes 🗸 | yes 🗸 | no X | yes 🗸 |
| ς | yes 🗸 | yes 🗸 | yes 🗸 | yes 🗸 |
| 4 | yes 🗸 | yes 🗸 | no X | yes 🗸 |

Obs.: 1 non-sectoral; 2 socializing condensers; 3 logical location; 4 spatial quality

The analysis here presented does not mean these case studies are definite solutions and should, therefore, be copied as outstanding examples of social sustainability in spaces of urban welfare. It is sufficient to say they can be taken as positive references, each with its own innovations, sometimes overlapping between them, and sometimes with unique features, like is the case for example of the de-specialization of the WeMI spaces or the mobile units to provide social services for traditional populations of the CRAS/CREAS.

Most importantly, all of the four case studies argue that to successfully respond to social needs, it is vital to incorporate the local scale needs and disponibility of resources. Hence, each case study presents a contextualization that determinates whether a characteristic is a potential or a limitation of the project, and when taken this idea to another context, the results could be different. Nonetheless, what connects all of these experiences is the proposition to focus on people's well-being, even if with specificities.

Considering the appropriated literature about each of the case studies, the WeMI present the potentials of being an experimentation in with regards to the aesthetic material quality of these spaces, the way the physical configuration and the other activities involved in the same space can change the perception of the welfare services offered, and the inclusion of people that do not necessarily need a social service in a welfare space. Some of the limitations are that they can end up increasing inequalities and segmentation rather than inclusiveness, meaning it can create a class-A of services that will juxtapose the ordinary B-series; and a second point to be raised is the critic that if the availability of resources is limited, it may not be right to dedicate some of it to the aesthetic aspects, however, the argument is that is necessary to wonder about hidden costs of poor functionality, inadequacy, obsolescence and how the material quality of the space can affect the way people feel while inside those places.^{23 67}

A potentiality of WeMI that can be taken as a positive reference for other spaces, even in the Brazilian contextualization is that it is not a matter of additional resources, instead, it is a matter of reviewing principles that guide the design of places destined for services within a perspective that sees the quality of places acting in a complementary and synergistic way with respect to the objectives that the more advanced front of social policies innovation indicates.

The CdQ case study overlaps with the WeMI in many aspects, like the focus on citizens' empowerment, working with the principle of activation in a local scale adopted in Italy, and also, in the limitation of creating a better than ordinary quality of service that cannot be accessible to all (at least initially) right because of that local scale. Nevertheless, the most critical potentiality that could be taken as the example of good practice is the idea of creating a collective home, a perception of belonging and living together with a multi-person environment, coexistence with the other, the socialization and quotidian negotiation.

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The CRAS/CREAS case study presents the significant limitation of being still perceived as "charitable" and marginalized spaces, only for those who need the social assistance, and also demonstrates an almost complete lack of attention to the spatial quality, with the reuse of neglected structures, sometimes with poor functional conditions. However, it presents great potential in terms of hierarchic organizational and availability of access unrestricted to anyone interested.

The SESC presents the potential to have good quality and beautiful spaces, that represents the Brazilian culture even, but that results in the limitation of many activities and services being provided to middle or upper classes, on top of the ones that are already restricted to those associated with the SESC institution. Nonetheless, the potentiality of already presenting national coordination of spaces and recognition all over the country as spaces for a collective good life-quality is essential to be acknowledged.

Both the Brazilian solutions were elaborated as a first response to welfare state construction and development in Brazil, while both the Italian solutions can be considered a reformulation of traditional policies. Even so, all four of them are currently working as relatively successful spaces of urban welfare, therefore are facing the contemporary issues related to social risks, like demographic changes, globalization increasing competition, growing informal labor force, and family condition changes. In Italy and Brazil there were efforts to include the contemporary tendencies of bottom-up approaches to urban planning, participatory design in the decision-making process, it happened a process of territorialization of welfare (in different levels as it was mentioned on the last topic), and ideals of activation are present in both contexts, in Italy with principles of welfare mix, and in Brazil with sharp critics to private participation and individualization of social risks, but the objective of empowering citizens is nonetheless the same.

With regards to the scheme that ended chapter two, about innovative and socially sustainable welfare trends, it is possible to affirm that at least in the intentions plan, all of the case studies here presented incorporated the two meanings of welfare, well-being together with social protection, applied to the territory, in the urban scale, involving actors of the public sphere, urban planners and architects, third-sector organizations and empowered citizens. The four points appointed as fundamental treats for innovation in welfare spaces providing social protection services are in different levels incorporated by each case study, as it is presented at the table and the further analysis that follows.

Moreover, considering the unique moment in the history of Brazil with great political interest from all economic levels of society and the massive welfare programs being a central point of the current discussions, the country shows potential for a change in the crystalized existing interpretation of welfare as charitable work.^{49 88 98}

4.3 Final elucidation for the Brazilian context

At the beginning of this work, when justifying the research's motive, three inquiries came to mind: **1** is Brazil further from a socially sustainable innovative welfare? **2** Do we need a structural change to achieve that or just a change in perspective? **3** Can we use some of the existing cases in Italy and Brazil as a positive reference for that change?

After furthering the knowledge about what configures a socially sustainable space, how that can be interpreted in terms of spaces of urban welfare, how the concept of welfare itself can be ambivalent and contextually-depend, and what all that theory means when translated into case studies, a confrontation of the case studies and the welfare system that led to them was made on the last topics. At that point, it is possible to respond to these initial questions.

1 Is Brazil further from a socially sustainable innovative welfare?

According to the researched literature, not necessarily. As stated by PIANA (2009), the complexity of today's society requires a continuous rethinking of theoretical and methodological knowledge in order to enable a critical reflection about principles like the expansion of citizenship and social risks. The national framework reveals the emergence of primary policies for the most impoverished and excluded population, and for that matter, we have a quite strong unified national structure of social assistance. However, that does not mean is it a perfect welfare state and now we can move on into new questions of lifequality and collective well-being for future generations, it only means we should focus on identifying weak points and discuss how we could improve those.

Brazil has a historical characteristic of proactive learning from international influences, using the European (especially the Scandinavian) welfare model as a basis, however developing a more autonomous path, adapted to the country's reality. The Federal Constitution (FC) of 1988, brings innovations with regards to creating a welfare model that is based on universal access and a natural right of every citizen, however, what ended up happening was an excess of acronyms when it comes to the public power (generally speaking, but also about the social matter), making even more complicated the understanding and popular participation.

Nevertheless, the process of decentralization suggested in the FC is one of the most innovative principles against the traditional centralization of policies in the country, but this presupposes the existence of democracy, autonomy, and participation in decision-making of social policies.⁹⁸ Within that reality, the strategies for implementing a decentralized welfare are several. They can range from a strong State providing goods and services, to a society that is held accountable for social risks, with networks of philanthropy and solidarity.⁹⁸ Brazil followed the first path, while Italy decided for the second, but the challenge of discussing the importance of the public sphere for more emergent needs and democratization as a strategy for the relations of power are present in both countries.

2 Do we need a structural change to achieve that or just a change in perspective?

As it was possible to interpret from the authors read to understand the Brazilian welfare and case studies in chapter three, the country has firm foundations about the social matter and do not necessarily need a structural change, what we need is pivoting the way the general population sees the provision of welfare services and spaces.

Social policy studies need to focus more on understanding collective dynamics as a result of the expansion of our welfare state, and this allows identification of future strategies.⁴⁹ The notion of citizenship, which was the political basis for the construction of the constitutional model, does not seem to have reached the foundation of its social solidarity. The prevailing notion is that of rights, right to education, health, social assistance, and the responsibility of the State to provide that.⁴⁹ However, this right is not necessarily accompanied by the notion of equality and collective immaterial gains that can come from a notion of society, instead of individual rights.

Although all types of people widely use public systems, this varies on different segments of public services in Brazil, and nonetheless, the social stratification present in society is usually reproduced in these protection systems. It is the case, for example, of the differentiation in the access to superior public school or the welfare directed preferably to the vulnerable population.

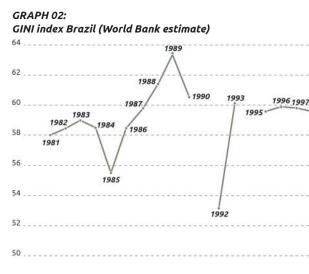
The construction of our state of democratic social welfare, provided for in the 1988 Constitution, did not count on a class pact.⁴⁹ For social assistance, this lack of consensus is even more problematic because reinforces the notion of assistance as a form of policy for the poor. Despite some normative advances of social assistance, changing the relationships with voluntary service entities, and the SUAS creating the structure of basic and specialized protection, breaking the typical logic of attention by segments, the social protection system in Brazil is still marginal to the countries development model.⁴⁹

The country is currently living a political time with an interest in politics and social programs that embraces different socio-economic classes and has been experiencing a significant drop of inequalities if analyzed the historical pattern (GRAPH 02).

Notwithstanding, welfare models may be less dependent on political parties, unions, and social movements when they are consolidated, with the support of users and service's professionals.⁴⁹ In the Brazilian case, coalitions between those stakeholders was a successful strategy for social policies because even if welfare was considered marginal to economic development, public protection systems played a political role for different governments.⁴⁹ Whether as part of the state's 'modernization' project - as in the case of the government of President Fernando Henrique Cardoso in the 1990s - or as part of a 'neodevelopmentalist' project - as in the governments of President Lula da Silva and part of the government of President Dilma Rousseff from 2003 to 2013. However, the limitation is the structural weaknesses of low insertion in economic policy, and the absence of egalitarian values.⁴⁹

While in the scale of regions and municipalities, instances of these coalitions as innovative mechanisms of negotiation in social policies have not been able to face the federative conflicts and the model of partisan competition.⁴⁹ There are constant debates following opposite directions in the areas of financing and policy management, with regards to the relationship between welfare and the financial market. Nevertheless, the Brazilian Center for Health Studies (CEBES) has indicated the need to integrate well-being as a mechanism of economic development.⁴⁹

"The social order instituted in the 1988 Constitution inaugurated an advanced model of the welfare state, exerting an important impact on the living conditions of the population until now. However, structural elements to the support of such a model could not be altered or did so timidly. Given the successive contexts unfavorable to the consolidation of the model, its development prioritized state dynamics, mainly at the federal level, through sectoral policies, services, and benefits. (...) Even the so-called neodevelopmentism [phase] found



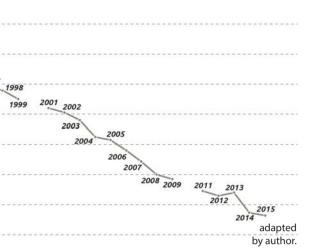
A According to The World Bank: "Gini index measures the extent to which the among individuals or households within an economy deviates from a perfect while an index of 100 implies perfect inequality.

B The sudden changes from 1990 - 1993 are due to the fact that we had the f in 1990), but a extremely high inflation, changes of currency and corruption f

no place for the expansion of the universalization in the social area, being more active in the incentive to consumption and the markets and the priority to the programs of transfer of income."⁴⁹

In light of all those arguments, it can be said that the Brazilian welfare needs only a change in perspective, we need to stop seeing welfare as only social assistance intrinsically connected to specific political views and include well-being and citizenship of all as an infrastructural part of urban necessities. In order to achieve a sustainable welfare development model cities and communities need to work as places for people.¹⁸ All the argumentation about the structure of welfare is present in the social science area, the role of architects and urban planners can have in the debate it is profoundly related to the spaces, the territorial physical dimension of policies, which lead us to the last question.

144



e distribution of income (or, in some cases, consumption expenditure) ly equal distribution. (...) Thus a Gini index of 0 represents perfect equality,

rst directly elected president after the military dictatorship (Fernando Color candals period, that caused his impeachment in the end of 1992.

3 Can we use some of the existing cases in Italy and Brazil as a positive reference for that change?

Established that the change we need is about perspective, it is argued that we need to learn from our old lessons, as well as try new ideas that have not yet precipitated into national canons.⁸⁸ The starting point of incomplete development and inequalities is usually pointed as the obstacle towards the constitution of a state of social welfare. On the contrary, Brazil's current debate on the matter shows the development of a collective well-being is fundamental to overcoming incomplete development and elimination of inequalities, and that affirmation can be based on international historical experience.⁸⁸

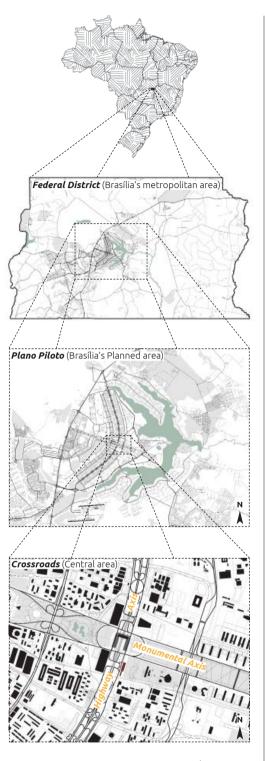
It is imperative to identify and analyze the latest experiences, imitate, adapt, create. However, it is needless to say these are models of society and not of inert matter and prototypes to assemble, therefore the learning process is complex.⁸⁸ The case studies here presented in the Italian reality and the Brazilian reality can positively work for that change of the viewpoint, according to everything that was argued in this concluding chapter.

An overall conclusion is that in terms of making socially sustainable welfare spaces, not only the Italian cases can help Brazil, but the country's own successful experiences need to be considered to improve the way social assistance spaces can work as contributing to the effective progress of daily civil life, socialization and confrontation with the different, sense of appropriation, belonging and safeness of space, and contribute to a collective perception of well-being, and the wellfunctioning of the collective urban daily life.

It is essential to enumerate areas where learning seems to be fruitful: thinking about social policy in interaction with economic development (and the democratic dimension of it) and change the focus of welfare policies in Brazil from the axis of necessity to citizenship.88 A further possible application of the concluded theoretical argument of this thesis may be the design of a space of urban welfare that incorporates the existing organizational structure of the Brazilian case studies here presented, and include positive referential aspects of the two Italian experiences as well (to be adapted according to Brazil's reality). This next chapter is an additional starting point for continuing this research upon the author's return to Brazil, designing a new type of welfare space in Brasilia, the modernistic capital of Brazil.



Contractions of the concluded theory with an initial design proposition



Situation & location maps.

by author.

5.1 Choosing an area in Brasília, the modernistic capital of Brazil

The theoretical research realized for this thesis brought the overall conclusion that the spatial quality of welfare can contribute to the social sustainability of policies in both contextualizations presented. Even if this theme appears to be an obvious one, it is a matter not much discussed in the academic field, and it is especially pertinent in the case of Brazil, an emerging economy, where researchers argue that the development of welfare should be along-side economic development.

Each country proved to have its own structure with regards to territorial scale, funding and types of activities in spaces that provide social services, however, the four fundamental treats for innovating welfare spaces, was proved applicable for the different experiences. As it was defined in chapter two, the guidelines to face the challenges represented by appropriateness and sustainability of social services today are: **1 overcoming sectoriality**, 2 socializing condensers, 3 logical *location* in the corresponding territory, and **4 spatial quality**, intended as aesthetic and material quality, improving the working and experiencing conditions of these spaces.

Since one of the topics is precisely about choosing an adequate location to where the space is to be constructed, giving meaning to it, and worrying about visibility of the space in the urban environment, allowing it to work as socializing condensers, to satisfy these needs in Brasilia, the modernistic capital of Brazil proves to be a yet more complicated than usual task.

The city was idealized by Lucio Costa, major Brazilian architectural-historian and urban planner when he won the national contest for the design of the new capital of the country in 1957. He presented his ideas in a succinct and poetic descriptive report with some drawings and 23 points of the modernistic-city called '*Relatório do Plano Piloto*' (Report of the Pilot Plan).¹⁶⁸ Brasilia is considered one of the major achievements of the Athens Charter, incorporating in its conception the sectorization based on functions: living, working, circulating, and recreating.¹⁶⁹

The project is born from the crossing of the two main road axis, which are called 'Eixão' (Highway Axis) and 'Eixo Monumental' (Monumental Axis). The first is sided by the residential neighborhoods called 'Superquadras' (literally translated as 'superblocks'), and the second is where the official functions of the city are organized, mainly in the 'Esplanada dos Ministérios' (Ministerial Esplanade). In his report, 168 Lucio Costa defines the city to have four very distinct scales: 1 monumental, civic and symbolic; 2 residential, Superguadras and complementing local functions; 3 gregarious, most densely urbanized, favoring meetings; and 4 bucolic, configured in extensive, green and densely

forested free areas all over the city.



\\01

Brasília's monumental scale (Esplanade of Ministries



\\02

Brasília's residential scale (Superquadras)



\\03

Brasília's gregarious scale (Central Station).



\\04

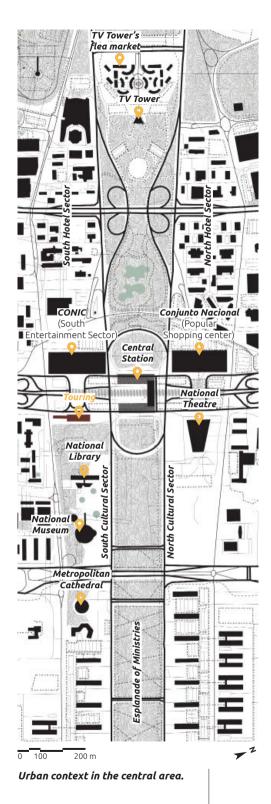
Brasília's bucolic scale (scattered constructions, incorporating big free areas and local vegetation).

PHOTOS

01 by Ana Volpe 02 by Acervo Seduma 03 by Buenno 04 by Hélio Rocha.

¹⁶⁸ COSTA, L. (1957).

¹⁶⁹ REZENDE, R. (2014).



by author.



The central area of Brasilia (from the TV Tower).

As a consequence of this spatial segregation, Brasilia has, with everything organized in sectors, the immense scale of free areas, and cars locomotion being a priority, it is difficult to determine an area where it is possible to create a non-sectoral and socializing condenser space for welfare. In Brasilia, many times it is difficult to easily recognize the pedestrian scale, creating the view that the city is cold and lifeless.¹⁶⁹

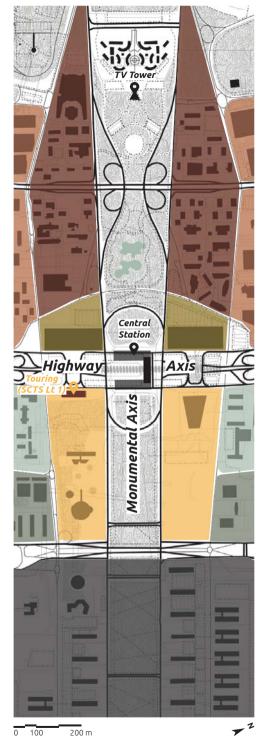
One of the strongest critics to the modernistic ideals is the premise to rationally reorganize the traditional city, decentralizing its functions, which means not having a real city center.¹⁶⁹ Costa's project, however, challenge that logic when he creates the central station platform in the heart of the city, in the convergence of the urban fabric. For that central area, the architect took over traditional elements of the urban composition of cities, such as the density and variety of buildings and uses, as well as ease of access, meaning it is actually where urban vitality would be achieved.¹⁶⁹



by Joana França.

In this sense, the centrality of Brasília acts as an area that converges a population coming from the most diverse points of the Federal District (DF), other than only the population of the planned area, called 'Plano Piloto' (or Pilot Plan), where the monetary power is considerably high. The central area becomes representative of this physical/social conformation and assumes regional importance, favoring the intensification of the flow of people that represents the social diversity of the population of DF as a general. With the cultural and entertainment sectors adjacent to the central crossroad platform, the diversified social conformation of this region favors this space as an aggregating and cosmopolitan place.¹⁶⁹





Sectors in the central area of Brasilia.

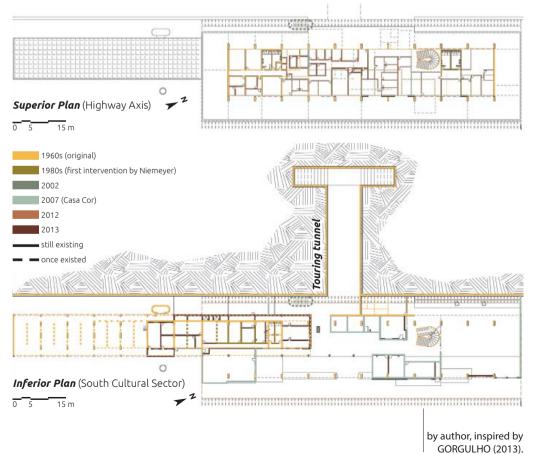
by author.

5.1.1 The Touring building

Localized in South Cultural Sector (SCTS), the Touring building was one of the first constructed buildings in the new capital, and like many other constructions in the area, was designed by the architect Oscar Niemeyer in 1962. It is symmetrically equivalent to the National Theatre, signifying its importance in the urban landscape, but regardless, it has been a long-time neglected structure.

With an area of approximately 6000 m2, it is a pavilion building with 100 m in length and organized in 2 levels with a height difference of 5/6 m, having its superior floor on the 'Highway Axis' and the inferior floor opening up to the South Cultural Sector. It was intended exactly as a connecting element to compensate the level difference between the *CONIC* (popular name of the South Entertainment Sector) on the central station platform, with the cultural area of the National Museum, National Library.

It has two main access points, one from each level, and to connect the two floors, in the original design the architect predicted an internal stair element, and an external tunnel, that ends in a superior small garden and a public square. The first function to be hosted in the building was the headquarters of the Touring Club of Brazil, nominated official organ of tourism by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, but since then, the building has undergone many transformations, invasions, and de-characterizations.



















Photos during construction of the capital, Brasilia. (BLACK AND WHITE)

Photos of the building, inserted in the contemporary Brasilia. (COLORED)

UNKNOWN author.

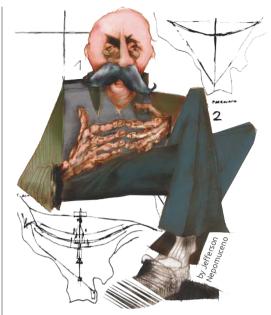
by Natalia Gorgulho.

5.1.2 Lucio Costa's plan and the building through history

To serve the gregarious scale defined in the report of the *Plano Piloto* (1957), Lucio Costa established the areas immediately adjacent to the intersection of the Highway axis and monumental axis for leisure and recreation activities. He envisioned the central station platform not to have many constructions and argued for the intention to construct **"a low height pavilion leaning over the gardens of the cultural sector and intended for restaurant, bar and tea house."** ¹⁶⁸

The original function of hosting a tea house or a restaurant was changed even before the construction of the building, but Niemeyer nonetheless kept the directives of Costa's plan and designed a low longilineous building, discreet and transparent in the landscape, in order to interfere the least possible with the view to the Ministerial Esplanade.¹⁷⁰

The construction was from 1963-1967, and presented: in the inferior plan, a gas station, mechanical workshop spaces (reason for the annex and second volume on the left) and other administrative offices, bathrooms, living spaces, and a bar, intended for the function of the building outside commercial hours; in the superior pavement, services from the Touring more connected to tourism activities were incorporated, with a small auditorium (140 people) located on the right in the plans, in the central portion a free exposition area, and on the left, press room, meeting



Lucio Costa and his drawings in the contest winning report 'Relatório do Plano Piloto', 1957.

collage by author.

rooms, archive and a library, all that surrounded by a continuous external balcony.¹⁷¹

One of the most distinctive characteristics of the building is the clear perception of its structural system and free facades. Both floor plans were organized to be minimalistic, with clean straight wall lines, without reentrances, and were modularly organized, following the structure of pillars. The structure is entirely executed in apparent reinforced concrete, distributed in 11 pairs of rectangular pillars, where each longitudinal line of pillars has one longitudinal master beam, which gives support to the 97 transversal beams that are separated by 1m from one another, and were designed following the curves of the beams bending moment diagram, and which constitutes the superior roof.¹⁷⁰

¹⁷⁰ JUNIOR, F. A. de C. (2014).

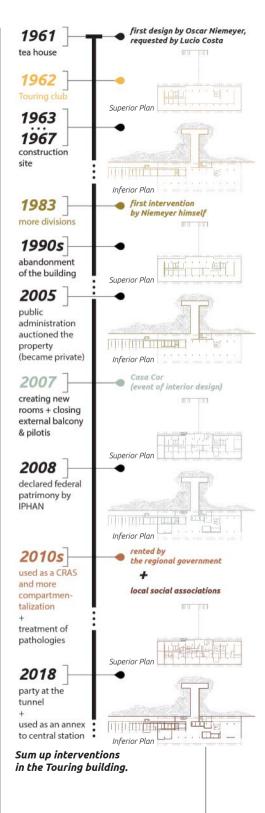
¹⁷¹ GORGULHO, N. (2013).

The general design follows modernistic principles: a predominantly *free plan*; *strip windows* with long and short glass facades from floor to ceiling; *free facade*, with the big surrounding balcony on the upper floor; and an open *pilotis* area on the lower level. The only principle proposed by Le Corbusier that the design of the Touring building does not incorporate is the roof terrace, that is not even a possibility here, because of the unique roof composition from the structural beams.

The architect poetic vision for a bourgeois leisure center with cultural activities happening was not formalized, with the activities inside the building varying a lot over the years. The first intervention was made by Niemeyer himself from 1983 to 1985, just adding a few more internal divisions to incorporate new necessities, but already partially de-characterizing the initial idea of a free plan.¹⁷²

Until the 1990s the Touring was still the entity responsible for the building, but after that period, the building was closed and remained unoccupied, accelerating its physical deterioration process. In 1998 functioned even an informal parking space and flea market on the open part of the lower floor where the building was not enclosed. With a complete abandonment of the structures and a growing occupation of illicit activities, Niemeyer himself suggested the demolition of the building,¹⁷³ and in 2005 the public administration auctioned the property, becoming now privately owned by a gas station company.

172 MEDEIROS, A. E. de A. and FERREIRA, O. L. (2012).173 SCHLEE et al. (2007) *apud* MEDEIROS & FERREIRA (2012).



In 2007 an important interior design exposition was realized there (Casa Cor), with intentions to bring back the population's attention to the building and trying to recuperate somehow the general structure. However, no attention was given to the original architectonic characteristics, the plans were complete compartmentalized, the *pilotis* and external balcony were closed to allow more exposition areas, all the exterior was painted in white, and new tiles were added to the existing and new walls, the original floor was also partially removed and replaced. The exposition left the building not much better than before, except for renovating the windows and sewage system. 172 174

In parallel to that, because of the outrageous transformations that were being made to the building, it was declared federal patrimony, in provisional character first, and permanently in 2008 (along with other 23 works of Niemeyer), as a tribute the 100th anniversary of the architect.¹⁷²

Nonetheless, after that, the building again goes through a forgetfulness and abandonment phase, with many debris/ trash inside. In 2014, the Touring was noticed again when physical changes were being made to accommodate even a church in the upper floor, but this was considered an absurd by the population and the works stopped when activists found out the responsible for the works did not have official authorization to intervein in a national patrimony structure.¹⁷⁵ The general neglect for the building continued until 2015, when the regional government rents out the building, initiating a recuperation process, but still, adding more internal divisions, randomly changing spaces to adapt the new uses and adding outdoors on walls that were supposed to be free. Due to its relevance in terms of social risks, working as a child prostitution and drugs selling point, a CRAS was installed there, along with other local public associations, all related to social services, like the digital inclusion program, or LGBTQ+ orientation and support point.¹⁷¹

The building is indeed a discrete construction, which allows the negligence of its existence, however, due to its highlighted central location, the building was never truly unnoticed by the local population. It presented informal occupations like temporary commerce in the surroundings, and some very culturally interesting appropriations, with events like 'chorinho' performances (a typical Brazilian rhythm),¹⁷¹ and, even a party was organized in the tunnel structure (not included in the privately owned property) in January 2018, as part of a popular movement to occupy and value public spaces in Brasília.¹⁷⁶

The building today seems to have its pathologies problems resolved, however, works as part of the central station transportation hub and is gridlocked, opening to the public only during the hours of operation of the services provided there, failing to exercise the function of urban connector provided in the original project.

¹⁷⁴ ALBERNAZ, A. C. R. (2011).

¹⁷⁵ LIMA, R. (2015).

¹⁷⁶ ACHA, R. (2018).







Niemeyer's stair to connect the two levels (painted).



Closing of the pilotis and previously existing CRAS.



Popular appropriation with informal commerce on the surroundings.

PHOTOS

01 by Leonardo Finotti 02 by Finissimo 03 by Natalia Gorgulho 04, 05, 06, 07 by UNKNOWN author 08 by Oscar Luís Ferreira 09, 10, 11 by Natalia Gorgulho.



Appropriation for interior design exposition, (Casa Cor) external view, 2007.



Appropriation for interior design exposition, (Casa Cor) internal environment, 2007.



After the appropriation for Casa Cor, 2007.



\\04, 05



Appropriation of the tunnel by the population for a party, external view 2018.

\\06



Appropriation of the tunnel by the population for a party, internal view 2018.

\\07

5.1.3 Brief overview of the discussion about modernistic patrimony in Brazil and current legislation on the Touring building

Contradictions and complexities surround the debate on how to preserve and intervene in the modernistic patrimony,¹⁷² and it is especially pertinent in Brazil since the country was a prominent representative of this movement, and in Brasília, known as the ideal modernistic capital. The design followed the architect's conceptual ideas on how it should function as a city, but it was based on ideals of that moment in time. It considered the important role of cars, changing the entire scale of spaces, and the city drawing and most of its buildings incorporated the maximum of 'form follows function'. 172 However, in the contemporary Brasília, recognized as UNESCO World Heritage, form no longer follows the function, it precedes it.172

The modernistic movement itself imposes some complications when discussing its conservation. Firstly, because the typical modernistic materials have an accelerated decay process, requiring periodic repairs (sometimes even substitutions), challenging the authenticity principle.¹⁷² Secondly, the vulnerability of modern constructions lies in the resistance of recognizing them as patrimony susceptible to protection, worthy of conservation. This is partly due to its relative temporal proximity to the present, and certain difficulty to identify it as representative of cultural reference for society, regardless of its age.171

In Brazil, everything related to patrimony is the responsibility of The National Institute of Historical and Artistic Heritage (IPHAN). The organ was created in 1937 and is the public agency responsible for identification and documentation, preservation and inspection (in collaboration with regional, municipal government and local communities), and also promoting all of the cultural patrimony of Brazil. We adapted the Portuguese word "tombamento" (fall) and re-signified it, meaning to officially (through laws) declare something worthy of preservation. The cultural assets are classified according to the four books of Tombo: 01 Archeological, Ethnographic and Landscape; 02 Historical; 03 Fine Arts; 04 Applied Arts.¹⁷⁷

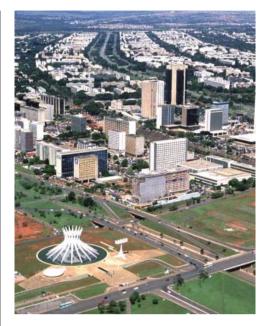
For something to be "tombado" is the first step to start discussing how to preserve it. However, the categories are very vast, including the possibility to "tombar" something with immaterial value, like the Brazilian capoeira, for example (traditional dance/martial art). Consequently, for each asset, the evaluation process takes into consideration different approaches, and for intervention matters the agency argues for approaching case by case differently, with any justification supported by international directives of John Ruskin, Viollet-le-Duc, Camillo Boito, Cesare Brandi, and the documents like the Athens Charter, the Venice Charter, the Declaration of Amsterdam. For the modernistic patrimony, the agency also takes into consideration with value, arguments following Prudon (2008) Preservation of Modern Architecture.

¹⁷⁷ IPHAN official website.

For the modern, 'form follows function', but a problem much faced by modernist works is functional obsolescence, meaning an eventual crystallization of uses in the physical building.¹⁷¹ In this way, functional obsolescence can be understood in two ways: either that function is no longer necessary and the building becomes dismissed, or the building becomes outdated to attend to that type of function due to spatial incapacity, technological changes, lack of accessibility, security, among other reasons.¹⁷¹

The case of the Touring building can represent both these functional obsolescence situations, since it goes through processes of disuse and changes its internal functions many times through time, and it represents the intrinsic complications of discussing modernistic patrimony conservation in Brazil.

The recent preservationist practice has stimulated an approach with an emphasis on the use change interventions, using the Declaration of Amsterdam to justify new uses for heritage buildings as the best way to allow their inclusion in contemporary life.¹⁷² A general directive that is possible to notice when talking about the modern architecture, is that no longer the historical or physical evolution defines the patrimonial value since compared to the traditional works, the modernist architectural product is considered recent, and few changes have been made in it. The original concept and the architect's views are the most relevant. Even so, the pertinent current legislation for intervening in the Touring is presented next.



Brasília urban landscape.

by Acervo Seduma.

"(...) Brasília cannot be seen any longer as a designed and listed city. It's possible to go far beyond the exaltation of the original architectural and urban designs and reflect about Brasilia from the perspective of a city experienced daily."

Ordinance nº 420, 22nd of December 2010 - IPHAN

Where defines intervention in national or regional patrimony as "any alteration of the physical appearance, the visibility conditions, or the environment of a wellbuilt property or its surroundings, such as maintenance and conservation services, renovation, demolition, construction, restoration, renovation, installation, assembly and dismantling, adaptation, excavation, urbanization, parceling and placement of advertising;"

Ordinance nº 314, 8th of October 1992 - IPHAN

Which talks about the national recognition of the urban landscape of the city of Brasília (national patrimony) and says:

<u>Art. 2</u>: "The maintenance of the *Plano Piloto* [planned area] of Brasilia will be ensured by the preservation of the essential characteristics of the four distinct scales in which the urban conception of the city translates: monumental, residential, gregarious and bucolic."

<u>Art. 3, Incision VII</u>: "(...) the Cultural Sectors South and North, are destined to public constructions of cultural character (...);"

<u>Art. 7</u>: "For the preservation of the gregarious scale (...) the following provisions will be obeyed: I. The Road Platform [central station] will be preserved in its original structural and architectural integrity, including in this protection its squares, currently located in front of the South and North Entertainment Sectors;"

Plan for the Preservation of the Urban Complex of Brasília (PPCUB),¹⁷⁸ 2012

Regarding devices for land use and occupation in the cultural sectors, the activities allowed are:

"COMMERCIAL: retailing of cultural, recreational and sports articles;

PROVISION OF SERVICES: restaurants and other food and beverage services;

INSTITUTIONAL: artistic, creative and performing activities; activities linked to cultural and environmental heritage, only: library and file activities; museums and exploration activities, artistic restoration and preservation of historical places and buildings and similar attractions. (...)

NOTES:

01 Conservation of the morphological, architectural and constructive characteristics of existing buildings, according to the original designs of the architect Oscar Niemeyer.

02 With regard to SCTS Lt 1 [Touring plot], the increase in the occupation rate and the construction potential of the lot, as well as the expansion of its range of activities, is conditioned to the recuperation and restoration of the existing building as an articulating element of the Road Platform [central station] with the Monumental Axis.

03 (...) When positioning buildings in the lot, it must be considered the visualization of the Ministerial Esplanade and National Congress."

•

¹⁷⁸ The PPCUB is a controversial plan, discussing guidelines to the development of the *Plano Piloto* (the planned area of Brasília). Its text it is still pending as a law, but it is already widely divulged and used as a reference by architects and urban planners in the city.

There have been a few studies on how to propose an intervention on the Touring building,^{171 172 179} each with its own directives, but what it is agreed and follows the current legislation and patrimonial tendencies is that the architects' original ideas must be rescued. In this case, the form follows function is a truth in the conception and first materialization of the building, but this principle is lost with many interventions that most times disrespected intrinsic values of the building.¹⁷²

The current use of the Touring Club as an extension of the Brasilia central bus station completely escapes the intention of the architects Lucio Costa and Oscar Niemeyer, by obstructing the route to the cultural sector with a physical barrier of parked buses.¹⁸⁰ This recent function allows the transitional and public spirit of the building to be rescued. Nonetheless, the functioning of the superior pavement with limited access is provocative to the relations between the urban scales that characterize the monumental and gregarious nucleus of Brasília.¹⁸⁰ Worse yet is the deprivation of the flows and uses, since the building was conceived to be a connecting passage between levels, evoking a broader sense of fluidity and gradual interaction with the urban environment.¹⁸⁰

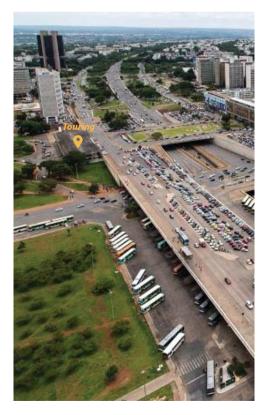
The new proposition of this space as a welfare space seeking social sustainability can mean bringing back the social significance of the building and can incorporate the cultural and socialization character originally proposed.



\\01 Inferior pavement of Touring today in Google Street view.



\\02 Superior pavement of Touring today in Google Street view.



Touring urban landscape.

¹⁷⁹ MELLO, A. (2008).

¹⁸⁰ GOMES DE SÁ, C. (2015).



Following all the theoretical research realized in the first part of this work, the premise is to create an innovative welfare space, aiming at contributing to the social sustainability of the surrounding central sector of Brasília. The four points presented in the second chapter as fundamental treats for innovating spaces of urban welfare are the first guidelines for a project concept:

1 overcoming sectoriality, 2 socializing condensers, 3 logical location, 4 spatial quality.

The logical location and overcoming sectoriality was dealt with in the previous topics, choosing to work with the Touring building, localized in the Cultural Sector in the central area of Brasília. The construction is one of the few places in the city where there is some flexibility in terms of sectors and allowed functions, and also, the proximity to the central station means it is localized in almost the only area (in this very segregated urban configuration) where different kind of people cross each other on a daily basis. To achieve socializing condenser and spatial quality, the analyzed case studies are used as references. The project is first the design of a social services orientation **point**, so the proposition of a new kind of CRAS (Reference Center for Social Assistance). The second intention is to call it 'Casa do Cidadão' (Citizen's House), inspired by the Casa del Quartiere (CdQ), where there is the argument of 'feeling like home' atmosphere, *a collective home of all* to promote citizenship. From the SESCs example, the idea absorbed is to *create a* space that represents and incorporates Brazilian architecture and culture. especially since the building chosen is a recognized modernistic patrimony designed by Oscar Niemeyer. The fourth principle, based on the WeMI case is to **mix** different functions in the same space, giving a reason for people to go there other than receiving social services.

Since the ultimate goal would be to attempt the creation of a socially sustainable space that can is focused on people and can connect them to their living spaces, other ideas incorporated are: a space for socialization, collective activities, to contribute to a collective perception of well-being and the wellfunctioning of the urban daily life, where people feel safe and belonging, where we are confronted with the other, and this entitles quotidian negotiation; a welfare space that is infrastructural to the city, necessary for its basic functioning and produces community wealth, community senses.

Since the chosen area is an *intervention on national patrimony*, when designing this kind of innovative space of urban welfare, it proves necessary to consider directives proposed by the studied references when analyzing the building in accordance with international patrimonial principles and charters.

MEDEIROS and FERREIRA (2012) question the 'form follows function' principle and contributes to the current status of the heritage conservation in Brazil from the case studies the Touring Club and Brasília Palace Hotel (another recognized Oscar Niemeyer patrimony In Brasília), and they argue for:

"in view of the tension between tradition and modernity, accept the restoration within a creative intervention capable of generating the new, aesthetically and technically, respecting preexistences in their essence (...) it is proposed that freedom of intervention be taken as a process of reintegration into the present necessarily committed to the past, to the present, and the future." MELLO (2008) discusses the building as a case study of deteriorated modern monument and says:

"For the preservation of the Brasilia Touring Club building, according to a significance assessment, it is crucial to resolve two issues concerning its vulnerability: its usage and ownership.

Considering the conflict of interest concerning the usage of the building, the following is recommended: _for the building to be converted into public administration building _for the building to have its own administration unit _for the building to house incomegenerating activities, initiated by private entrepreneurs

Considering the redefinition of the building use, in agreement to the usage suggested by Costa, and considering the original project from the 1960s, the following program is recommended: _customer service center for tourists, administration, exhibitions and events, with multimedia room on the first floor _restaurant in the mezzanine _shops, cafes, and bars distributed in boxes that were originally designed for technical assistance for cars in the ground floor

Considering the architectural significance and image of the building, contemporary to the first phase of Brasilia and designed by Oscar Niemeyer, author of the most monuments built in the eastern part of the Monumental Axis, the following is recommended: _recovery of the concrete structure as in the original project

_recovery of the building transparency through the recovery of the light glass facade in the upper floor

_restoration of the passage that links the ministerial esplanade in the lower level with the bus station platform on the higher level (...)

The restoration plan should be carried out based on the existing original project from the 1960s (...):

_removal of the painting and treatment of the reinforced concrete structure

_removal of the grid protecting the main entrance on the upper floor

_rehabilitation of the central hall for exhibitions and events in the upper floor _design of the multimedia room, customer service center for tourists and administration in the upper floor _design of the restaurant in the mezzanine _design of the commercial center (shops, cafes, and bars), distributed in the boxes originally intended for technical assistance for cars, in the ground floor restoration of the passage that links the

ground floor and the bus station platform (...)

The Touring Club building is part of the monumental setting of Brasilia, defined by Costa in the Report of the Pilot Plan. In addition to its intrinsic significance, the value of the building is strengthened by the spatial setup. Thus, for the preservation of the building and its cultural values, it is essential to consider not only the architectural definitions of Niemeyer but also the intentions determined by Costa, what justifies the rescue of its use as a bar, café and restaurant, 'a possible tea house.''' GORGULHO (2013) proposes the restoration of the building step-by-step and refunctionalization of the space as a Cinema, but this project was never materialized. Nevertheless, some of the guidelines she used that are also pertinent for this work are:

"_to ensure the permanence of the building as a federal heritage [recuperating its original four out of five modernistic principles: free plan, strip windows with glass facades from floor to ceiling; free façade, with the big surrounding balcony on the upper floor; and an open pilotis area on the lower level]

_represent the collective character of the building suggested by the Gregarious Scale _continue the cultural use determined by the sector proposed by Lucio Costa (...) _to ensure an understanding of Oscar Niemeyer's design intent when he designed the building (...)

_to encourage the generation of income using functions that stimulate the cultural sector outside the hours of operation of the institutions

_reactivate the transition between the central station level and the Ministerial Esplanade

_take advantage of the panoramic views offered by the building (...)

_to improve safety in the area of intervention

_preserve existing vegetation (...) _promote the continuous functioning of the sector (...) so it can attract people from various social classes and different interests."

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In this thesis is argued that there is a strong connection between the quality of social infrastructure and the well-being of a community;¹⁸ social and cultural factors are identified as an essential element to social sustainability because of the contribution they make to building vibrant and inclusive communities;¹⁸ and that a material and aesthetic quality to spaces of urban welfare can mean a beauty that works in contrast or, even better, in prevention of the stigma that too often accompanies the places of welfare, identifying them in the eyes of most as places of assistance and, as such, places exclusive for clients and assistants.²⁴

Hence, the main needs for the design of

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incorporating the innovating welfare principles, the socially sustainable places' characteristics, and the guidelines for intervention on this modernistic patrimony in Brazil are:

_____provide spaces for **social protection services** in an informal settlement, and more reserved meeting options;

_____making the place **part of the everyday urban life**, making people notice the space when they go by it, and becoming curious with what is happening inside;

_____to achieve that, includes other activities linked to culture (as

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intended originally by Lucio Costa), such as *exposition space and free area for promoting events* connected to the exterior area in the Cultural Sector;

_____also, commercial activities to promote income that should be managed by existing local associations (preference for third-sector, non-profit), such as a *cafe and a communitarian restaurant*;

______providing physical space necessary to citizen empowerment, enabling people to be an active agent proposing activities and solutions, such as **multipurpose rooms** in various sizes (for dance classes, *capoeira* classes, collective readings and other activities that already happen in a CRAS but usually in third parties conceded spaces);

_____all that with the concern for a **material aesthetic quality** of the space and consequent focus on the **well-being** of the users inside the place and the immediate urban micro scale;

______and the main goal to *bring back vitality to this important building that has been neglected* by the population, sometimes forgotten in the urban landscape, despite its noble location (used for secondary and annex functions);

_____allowing that, through the recuperation of the building, connected with a landscape design (inspired by Burle Marx original plan for the central area of Brasília) and well-designed urban public furniture, encouraging the use of the public space surrounding it.

FINAL REMARKS

The argument of this work is about social sustainability in spaces of urban welfare, the physical dimension of social policies and the quality of it with concerns for the people, the typical and non-traditional users of those places. It advocates for a theme that may seem obvious, saying that a concern for the spatial quality can potentialize the efficiency of policies, yet, both the subjects here presented are often neglected by academic researchers.

This work brings the contribution to put together these two complex matters, proposing a scheme of socially innovative welfare trends (end of the second chapter). It uses a descriptive methodology to analyze four case studies from the Italian and Brazilian realities (two of each), and complement the knowledge with an historical-analytic method to find information on the contextualization of these types of welfare spaces, based on: different interpretation of the word each country has, who is held responsible for social risks, how the welfare systems are structured, what led to each model, and possible consequences attributed.

It concludes the theoretical part evaluating the two realities and four case studies presented with regards to this welfare trends scheme and includes other innovative aspects that can be taken as a positive reference for a change in perspective on how to deal with welfare spaces, usually marginalized in investigations and also physically in the urban environment. The relevance of the research to the general academic field is to bring up this discussion, which is already argued by European authors as unusual themes. The study is experimental, seeking knowledge on the matter, and the idea is to plant the seed of talking about the quality of welfare spaces to potentiate policies, especially in the case Brazil, an emerging economy that it is still developing its welfare and economic conditions.

Possible practical developments of the research may be a projectual application of the concepts apprehended, with the design (although only as an academic study still) of such a space of social services, as it is presented in the last chapter. Moreover, another possible continuance is the analysis of more cases studies from other contexts and definitions of welfare, using the same methodology of integrating these concepts.

Due to the interdisciplinarity that the subject demands, it becomes difficult its exhaustion. Thus, through a thematic clipping, this work has tried to make a small contribution to the development of this field of knowledge. It covers questions on welfare and social sustainability, as well as the relations that these two aspects have with urban physical space. However, in order to truly understand public policy's impact on well-being and growth, it is critical - and, of course, more challenging to look beyond individual schemes.

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