

ENLARGING CITIES' PUBLIC DOMAIN. A PERSPECTIVE ON INCLUSION FROM BARCELONA

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The Inclusive Cities project has focused, at least to date, more on the fields of culture and the public space and domain than on those of economic promotion, employment, wealth distribution, social services and housing, all of which are absolutely crucial to defining the social fabric of cities and to detecting fissures in it. Since there can be no doubt that social and cultural development is rather more than the trio formed by "employment, shelter and service delivery", the approach adopted may certainly be highly useful, as long as we take its limits into account.

In this new version of the text, based on reflections generated at our latest meeting in Barcelona, I felt it was particularly important –among other changes– to rewrite and extend Section 4 and some parts of Sections 6 and 7 ahead of the Johannesburg debate. This, in the understanding that the final draft of the article with a view to its publication will require a new structure, a new translation and the inclusion of archive and bibliographical references.

1. The sphere of the city. 'Centres' and 'peripheries' in the definition of the metropolis as "polis"

Reflection about cities often has an implicit backdrop in which they are considered as mere "local concretions" of States' economic, social and cultural trajectories. However, the truth is that the cities, and most particularly the large cities, do not only form part of a "national" history. They are political subjects with their own substance, "polis" with a shared identity forged in day-to-day life. *Their potential for inclusion does not come from their being places without history; on the contrary, it comes from their being places of interpersonal contacts, where the social contract has gradually built up, layer upon layer, with trajectories as long or longer than those of the States in which they take their place.* A clear example of this is provided by many cities in Eastern Europe, whose social and cultural fabric has continued to develop constantly despite frequent changes of State, in a geopolitical area marked by frequent border changes. This, not to mention many more possible examples.

Whilst the city as a whole is a substantial political entity, this status is by no means shared with the subsection that is the neighbourhood, and which is only intelligible and has meaning in reference to the urban complex considered globally: any proposal for inclusion or representation that operates *only* at neighbourhood level inevitably falls into assistentialism or culturalism. This is where the problem resides in referring to autonomous "units" such as suburbs, more or less distant, rich or poor ghettos, as if they did not form part of the city that has engendered them. In many places all over the world, large cities do not have legal and political status as such. Urban growth has spilt over the old local political boundaries, and cities find themselves divided amongst many

municipalities of which only the central municipality, which gives its global name to the city, has specific weight. ‘Centres’ and ‘peripheries’ are *interdependent parts of the same city*, which is why efforts to achieve maximum adaptation between consistently conurbated space and the political boundaries of the city is such a crucial struggle for democracy and inclusion.

The urban development plans which have aimed to make Barcelona more inclusive have been precisely those that have referred to the city as a whole as it existed at the time, whether this is the Cerdà Plan of 1860 (which led to the unification of the entire Barcelona Plain into a single municipality in 1898) or the General Metropolitan Plan of 1976 (which led to the establishment of Barcelona Metropolitan Corporation, a second-tier political body formed by 27 townships). This General Metropolitan Plan formed the essential and indispensable basis for recent transformations of the city, particularly the most successful ones, such as the policy for creating public spaces which became famed all over the world nearly twenty years ago now. The subsequent abolition of the metropolitan government by Catalonia’s conservative government was, without doubt, one of the causes behind the difficulty in maintaining the cohesive spirit of urban development policy after the 1992 Olympic Games.

Is this viewpoint also of interest in the USA and other countries where the quest for social and fiscal differentiation has exacerbated to the extreme the creation of *ex-urbs*, with the consequent erosion of the very concept of the city? And, on the contrary, what might be the long-term effects of the establishment in South Africa of huge metropolitan municipalities which embrace the central city and its suburbs in local areas of between one thousand and six thousand square kilometres? What seems clear, in any case, is that we need to consider as the basis for moving towards more inclusive large cities the formulation by States of *laws on large cities*, which enable the territory to be adjusted more in order to take into account the relations between different parts of the city and to extend the fiscal and regulatory powers of the large cities as a way of returning once more to the idea of the “polis”.

2. The public space. The crucible *sine qua non*

The public space is not the polis, but it is the sine qua non for the polis. The situation of the public space is the best X-ray photograph and the best indicator of a city’s social health. Without the fight for the public space, in the most physical sense of the word, the public domain itself becomes something corrupted by stagnation, incapable of guaranteeing the polis. The media are without doubt decisive, as are the new possibilities for social exchange through virtual spaces. However, the sedimentation of the social process in an inclusive *urbs* would be impossible without a public space materialised in the very physical configuration of the city. And it would not appear that this conclusion can be limited, as has sometimes been asserted, to the European urban tradition.

The two most important periods when *surplus* public space was created in Barcelona (the application of the Cerdà Plan a century ago, and the period of the so-called Barcelona Model, based on the General Metropolitan Plan a few decades ago) occurred when an urban planning approach covered the entire urban space and took the constitution of a reach network of public space as a fundamental cement in the attempt to conciliate citizenship and investment. The dissolution of the public space towards

collective spaces (Ramoneda) and community spaces (Hannigan) also signifies that the city is no longer considered as a single unit. The integrating public space is one that can operate on different scales: when neighbourhood public spaces are decent and interesting enough to attract people from other neighbourhoods or when there is, at least, a main network of public spaces frequented by people from the whole city.

Barcelona's remarkable success in the 1980s and 90s, in what was one of the most outstanding contemporary operations to create public space, was based on action that was at once local and global in the city, ensuring spaces of confluence for the whole citizenry for many years. On the other hand, the failure of the Forum 2004 urban development operation shows clearly in the difficulties, even formal difficulties, that exist to connect the new public spaces and facilities with the neighbourhoods in their most immediate environment.

The test of an inclusive city is the capacity of newcomers to claim new public spaces in the more recently-developed neighbourhoods and to acquire a presence in public space throughout the city without this causing upsets. To this end, the formal quality of the space is enormously helpful. Good examples in Barcelona are the new sea front promenade from the Barceloneta to the Poblenou districts, and the Raval Plan, in Ciutat Vella district. Under the latter, the new allochthonous Pakistani petite bourgeoisie has replaced the autochthonous petite bourgeoisie that was expected to use the street and acquire premises, without this causing the district to cease to be frequented by people from other parts of Barcelona.

3. The production of meaning. Need for a change in paradigm

The great city is a complex world with the critical mass necessary to generate just as many narratives and imaginaries as has the national culture defined by the State. If the feeling of belonging to the city – *to the whole city, not to be confused with the community feeling of a neighbourhood* – can be successfully achieved, then it becomes much easier to negotiate around cultural differences and national identities. “Feeling like Barcelonans” was, for all immigrants to the city in the 20th century, from the southern and western Spain, the step prior to “feeling like Catalans”. And there are indications that a good part, if not more, of the recent immigrant waves are following in their footsteps (beginning with the shared celebrations in squares and streets in the city centre when FC Barcelona wins an important victory).

It is difficult to disconnect personal representations, urban representations and political representations from each other: *without urban representations there is no link between personal representations and political representations*. Urban history is – as long as it can escape localism to situate itself at the confluence between the “micro” and the “macro” – so explicative of the configuration of the contemporary world as the history that takes State frameworks as its sphere of reference. They are different and strictly complementary focuses, just as we could say urban geography or sociology are in relation to other geographies and sociologies. However, these *urban* focuses and knowledge actually don't form part of education curriculums.

The cognitive and emotional equipment that can be provided by appropriation of the city having been left out of the formal education curriculum, this equipment can only be obtained in a fragmentary way by practical routes. This being the case, the more

differentiated the social space in a city and the less its young citizens, rich and poor, travel around it from one side to the other, the greater will be its failings in terms of knowledge and comparison and the greater will be its potential for excluders and excluded: ignorance undermines the capacity for public reasoning. Herein lies the advantage for young people who at least take part in sports leagues that oblige them to travel around the whole city, as has been demonstrated by the mental maps drawn by Barcelonan adolescents.

On the contrary, the neighbourhood, that small local community, does have a place in education and in cultural policies aimed at “proximity”. The equation “neighbourhood” (as a space for co-existence) plus “nation” (as the ideal community), without including the variable ‘city’ (as intermediate economic, social and cultural crucible), may end up guiding the “inclusive community” in the opposite direction to the “inclusive city”.

4. From the home to the public space. The historical sequence in creating a “citizen surplus” in Barcelona

The possibility of making a living is, without doubt, crucial to an inclusive city. When migratory growth greatly exceeds the absorption capacity of the employment market, both formal and informal, the situation changes completely. This is an important difference, a threshold separating very different urban situations, though it is also a difficult threshold to define, because there are always informal circuits for work and the provision of services that urban growth itself contributes to creating, and which it is not easy to learn about. This threshold is not only crucial when it comes to assessing the situation in different cities; it is also fundamental to differentiating periods in the trajectory of a single metropolis.

Our reasoning is of interest only over and above a basic threshold: some better than others, but nearly all citizens can be at least fed and clothed. From this point, the field of social inclusion is partially displaced to the housing, services and urban space front (the social reproduction front). And here, the experience of Barcelona as a metropolis in the 1960s and 70s, with the incorporation into the city and the citizenry of more than one million immigrants, is no doubt relevant, precisely because it was successful in conditions far removed from those in what were the developed countries at that time.

Industrial growth generated enormous immigration, and urban growth stimulated construction. This was during Franco’s dictatorship, not an easy time by any means for the lower classes, but a period of easy money for industrialists, who did not reinvest in their factories, their inaction paving the way for many problems encountered in recent times, and for builders, who delivered apartments to residents on new housing estates before even the streets had been urbanised. This was a period when chaotic urban growth went ahead at breakneck speed, when scant attention was paid to a general urban development plan that had been established in 1953. Times, too, when the chance to leave the slums behind to move into an apartment entailed paying a large proportion of one’s wages for two or, very often, three decades (we should remember that there was also an almost complete lack of any rented social housing at this time).

None of this is anything not found in many other cities. What is of interest to the subject we are concerned with is a fact that was already the subject of considerable literature in the 1980s (cf. Mulk Raj and Peter Niented, *Housing and Income in Third World Urban*

Development, 1990), when the realisation dawned that, more than housing quality, whether self-built slums or public or private housing estate developments, what mattered when it came to constructing social networks, creating a public space in both the political and the physical sense, was the feeling that this was one's place in the world for some time to come.

What characterises Barcelona (and what makes it a very different case from those most studied cases in the Anglo-Saxon literature) is that, as soon as its inhabitants secured somewhere to live that they could consider their own for the foreseeable future, an important process of urban change was set off, a process in which the citizenry participated. As this housing was largely owned rather than rented (even if publicly developed, through a 30-year payment system known as "deferred access to property"), and as it was the only important asset owned by families, the only asset, moreover, that was not devalued by inflation, personal and social interests converged when it came to organising to demand all the things that were missing: services, particularly education, and the urbanisation of areas lacking the most basic infrastructure.

And so it was that, taking advantage of the restrictive law on association passed by the Franco regime in 1964, movements began to appear that were linked to a wide range of territorial problems, from basic services or traffic lights to challenging urban development plans. Over time, the model tended to become territorially-based, with groups firstly covering the administrative map of the periphery and the run-down centre and finally the entire city.

These *associacions de veïns* (literally "neighbourhood associations"), these *residents' associations*, which were private organisations with wholly public concerns, active intensely since the 1970s, provided an essential mechanism for the inclusion of the city and its citizens and for building a public space in all senses of the word:

1) Firstly, as tools for building more extensive social networks. Not only because a Federation of Residents' Associations soon emerged to act in the entire city, but also because it was through residents' associations that parties, unions and professional associations came into contact with urban issues. They provided a mechanism, not only for relations between the different social organisations in the same social strata, but also for fostering a powerful inter-class network. This was partly because they liaised with similar organisations in other neighbourhoods which were of different social compositions but also, and above all, because it was through residents' associations that professional organisations such as architects and town planners and sociologists and other social scientists came into direct contact with people's problems through the concrete channel of the territory. And vice versa: contact with these professional organisations gave the residents' movement a vision of the city that went beyond the close community, a perception of urban issues on different scales.

2) Secondly, because it was through residents' associations that the great battles for social inclusion into the environment where people actually lived took place: the fight for services, most especially education, and the fight for urbanisation, for the public space. A space seen as a space for relation, for celebration and for protest, and which, as a result of earlier urban debates, was imagined in new urban development plans as a space on different scales. The complex between the fight for services and the fight for the public space, generated in the 1970s, has lasted even until today. And their capacity

for political interlocution was very important for ensuring that public interventions were effective, particularly during the early days of Barcelona's great transformation under what has become known as the "Barcelona model", discussed below.

3) Thirdly, because the legitimacy accrued thanks to all that described in the above two paragraphs helped to make residents' associations tools for socialisation and for building citizenry. Tools that were particularly important to people who had only recently arrived in the city and who were able to find a place for themselves thanks to these networks. A place that would have been much more difficult to build if the only organisations at hand had been the likes of cultural, sport, mutual help or religious groups, of unions (who did play a relevant role, but one centred particularly on large enterprises), and of parties (with very low levels of militancy). In fact, all these converged in the residents' movement, because residents' associations were also leading promoters of the use of the public space: it is they who organise not only protests and demonstrations, but also local activities and festivities. They have also often provided a forum for participation in larger-scale civic events in the large central public spaces in the city.

The existence of federations bringing together these organisations in the different metropolitan municipalities, the best-known being Barcelona Federation of Residents' Associations, helped to quicken the convergence of more local issues with overall city planning.

This great network has operated for more than 30 years now, and played an important role in drafting the great territorial, social and political pact that was the 1976 Metropolitan General Plan. Now, three decades later, residents' associations have lost much of their vitality because their most active members have been co-opted by local authorities, because since each is concerned with a small, well-defined territory, they have focused more and more on small problems affecting the local community -losing sight of issues affecting the general interest-, and because the local administration has done everything in its power to restrict them to the status of associations of local public service consumers. The composition of the bodies that run these associations, moreover, has remained practically unchanged for years, making it difficult to bring in the new generations and renew their organisational structures, enabling them to respond to new problems such as those presented by immigration which is increasing once more after a period of demographic stagnation.

Within the residents' movement itself, new formulas are emerging that are, perhaps, more appropriate than that of associations closely linked to a small territory for dealing with questions of a variable urban scale and for taking new issues and new citizens into account, without this implying that the existing network should be dismantled. Particularly interesting among these new formulas is the complementary nature of new emerging forums (places for debate about urban issues without a predefined territorial scale, and in which organisations and individuals of all types take part) and platforms (mechanisms for agreeing action by a variety of players over a specific issue). The results have yet to be seen.

In any case, one conclusion is inescapable: the creation of a public domain and a highly significant public space has gone hand-in-hand in Barcelona, and was one of the keys to the successful urban transformation in recent decades (this point is dealt with

immediately below) and to the inclusion into the city and the citizenry of the great migratory wave from the 1950s to the 1970s, mostly from southern Spain. In this way, then, in a context marked by rapid urbanisation, as the newcomers moved in, finding a place they could consider their “stable” place of residence, the emergence of these rapidly-spreading associations, responding to urban problems relating to lack of services and a public space -in both the physical and political senses of the word-, led to the establishment, in the long term, of a highly stable, uniform territorial system for political interlocution, something that was particularly important in the new neighbourhoods and in the city’s run-down centre but which has, over the years, extended to cover the entire metropolitan territory.

So: Having a secure home for the long-term future (one which, being *owned rather than rented in most cases*, at least psychologically provided an economic reserve in case of family emergency) and more or less effective schooling for children formed the minimal basis on which the policy for regenerating the neighbourhoods of Barcelona, implemented within a commitment to the public space in the broadest sense of the term, generated *considerable surpluses in social inclusion and political legitimacy* just at a moment when the dramatic increase in unemployment, only in part palliated by unemployment subsidies, might have led one to fear the opposite. Seeing improvements in the urban environment and having hopes for the future of one’s children boosts one’s confidence in overcoming the difficulties of the present. The interest in Barcelona’s experience here lies in the fact that, even during a period of great economic recession in the 1970s and 80s, the social crisis was much less powerful than might have been expected.

At present, sharp rises in housing prices and the crisis in the public education system are no doubt eroding the implicit social pacts which so helped to give Barcelona cohesion in the past. However, this only highlights even more the importance that attaches to the process of creating a public domain and a public space as described here, since it is through this process that a “reserve” of citizenship has been built up, and this now enters into action as the city receives a new wave of immigration, this one much more diverse in origin, acting as a social shock absorber. At least at first, this has served to lessen tensions and to provide a guideline for newcomers to the city.

Despite the variety in their places of origin, the global immigration we are seeing these days seems to follow in Barcelona the same paths as earlier immigrants, even as regards the trajectories taken by successive changes of residence within the metropolitan space and within the education system. It is true that dynamic followed lately by the property market, added to the natural tendency for people of similar background to group together, has led to a rapid increase in numbers of people of the same origin in some neighbourhoods, but there are very few cases, for the moment, of new cultural ghettos being created. As for education, the proportion of new immigrants at schools varies greatly from one area to another and from one centre to another. Administrative measures aimed at achieving a better distribution of pupils among public and private schools has, at least to date, produced rather little in the way of positive results, and there is a great concentration of new immigrants within the public system. Nonetheless, there are at present relatively very few school environments in which “ethnic factors” decisively condition relations between pupils in everyday life, even where there is a very high percentage of newcomers at a school. Meanwhile, in day-to-day life and in social and cultural associations, new alternatives are emerging, frequented by the new

Barcelonans, in some cases connected to residents' associations and other existing organisations, though this is as yet very much an incipient phenomenon.

How will things go more in the long-term? It is very difficult to say, since the mass arrival of immigrants from all over the world to the metropolis began less than a decade ago. There can be no doubt that worrying signs exist, particularly in neighbourhoods in the great metropolitan periphery, where families from the earlier wave of immigration from the rest of Spain that have not yet taken their place on the wheel of social promotion and have few contacts with the exterior see the newcomers as unwanted competitors. How will things turn out when the children of the new immigration grow up?

The risks are high, though we should also mention, again, that there are some signs that the new immigrants are largely following the pattern laid down by earlier migratory waves, both territorially and socially. As things stand, it would be unwise to attempt to predict future results, but we can indicate one present conclusion: the establishment in the recent past of a public domain intimately linked to the constitution of a public space not limited to the community sphere, to the neighbourhood, but articulating different scales of the urban space, has made a positive contribution, at least at first, to the reception of new immigrants to the city.

5. Urban social contract and 'management' models

Barcelona's success in achieving more or less satisfactory social inclusion for broad sectors of the population that arrived in the city some decades ago, and whose most visible manifestation is the creation of an important public space and public domain in the 1980s and 90s, has led to the misleading conclusion that there were merely technical, 'managerial' solutions for achieving such an ambitious goal. This is not the case.

The effective management and implementation of the project are just the visible tip of the iceberg; the hidden part is the implicit metropolitan urban contract between the working class (largely made up of immigrants and organised in neighbourhood associations) and middle-class professionals and skilled workers (who ensured consistency between neighbourhood objectives and the broader objectives of the city) forged in the 1960s and 70s and accepted as a lesser evil by an elite which, having enjoyed 40 years of protection under Franco's dictatorship, feared the return of a city dominated by conflict.

This has been the social basis for Barcelona's social democrat government and its outstanding achievements in those years, before it entered into crisis in more recent times, when 1) the loss of the metropolitan framework (which ensured that the city and citizenry as a whole were more taken into account), 2) the increased dependence on private resources and property development projects and 3) a certain complacency of municipal officials and political leaders led to something of a distancing between the local authority and citizens which is now a theme of debate in the city.

Barcelona, then, did not create a model, but took a historic opportunity, taking advantage of favourable circumstances. This is what Nico Calavita and Amador Ferrer describe in *Behind Barcelona's Success Story. Citizen Movements and Planners' Power*

(2000). The conclusions we can draw are that shock policies may be the fruit of administrative management, whilst plans that look to the mid-term require broader social support and institutional frameworks if they are to take effect. This distinction between rhythms is crucial, just as is also the scale of action: action by neighbourhood area was most productive whilst this formed part of plans embracing the entire municipality if not the metropolitan area as a whole (see Juli Esteban, *El projecte urbanístic. Valorar la perifèria i recuperar el centre* – The Urban Planning Project. Valuing the Periphery and Reclaiming the Centre). The very concept of “darning urban development”, as the mayor at the time, Pasqual Maragall, used to call it, implied this idea of acting in spaces more able to form an urban fabric between the neighbourhood community and the great city.

6. Old and new phenomena in urban exclusion and inclusion. Transmigration

What is new and what not so new about the present situation? Galloping urban growth, the arrival of people with different languages, customs and beliefs, the extension of slum dwellings, the misery in the very old neighbourhoods and the new suburbs that today affect many cities all over the world are not such recent phenomena. On this point, it is very important to distinguish between problems already known, with a huge range of policies already tried and tested, and situations that really are new, those deriving from the technological shrinking of the world and the new global rules of the game.

Amongst these last we can mention the appearance, in times of highly efficient, often cheap global communications and telecommunications, of new barriers to access to information and knowledge and in the movement of certain people due to their origin and status. But we should also mention its reverse side, the accentuation of the *transmigrant* condition of a large part of the urban population: people who have been in the city for some time, but who remain in regular contact with their place of origin, sometimes thousands of kilometres away, thanks to falling communication and telecommunication prices: a symbol is the proliferation of satellite dishes.

The condition of *transmigrant* is becoming more and more widespread amongst the working classes, with widely differing effects. From the return for holidays to the place of origin, to the constant coming and going of people who form human, cultural and economic networks straddling two or more continents, and the split of children and grandchildren between two identities poorly soldered together, a particularly severe problem when they have few opportunities for social promotion in the country where they were born and even more difficult to overcome if they do not accede automatically, through birth, to citizenship of the State in which they reside.

This is the internationalisation of the disinherited, powerfully present in many large cities and insufficiently studied, but it also has to do with the emergence of a new, allochthonous middle class with small businesses firmly inserted into the global network, no doubt nothing new in America, but a novelty in many European cities, such as Barcelona, which still ignores the potential of these groups – very active recently as regards tradespeople of Pakistani and Chinese origin who recently arrived in the city – when it comes to building bridges to promote social inclusion. The Fondo neighbourhood in the metropolitan municipality of Santa Coloma de Gramenet, of which it is usual to speak in terms of ‘multiculturalism’ due to the proportion of Chinese

among the local population, should rather be considered in terms of the ‘new metropolitan economic centralities’, above all due to the ties they have with wholesalers in central Barcelona (Carrer Trafalgar) and other towns (Badalona, etc.).

The crucial question is whether this process will end up generating parallel economic and cultural developments based on community structures, as occurs in so many cities all over the world, or whether the ‘Barcelona melting pot’ will be capable of achieving, even in the case of a social fabric with strong internal and external ties such as the Chinese community, a blurring of borders to the benefit of new economic and cultural realities. To this end, the political and urban construction of a public domain and a public space that embraces both the neighbourhoods and the metropolitan area as a whole, is crucial: if, in a global world, ties are established directly between ethnic communities concentrated in some particular quarters and the exterior, *without addressing the city as a whole*, the fragmenting effects are serious both for the city understood as *polis* and for the establishment of broader, state-wide territorial solidarity.

7. Inclusive city and individual condition. The local citizenry

Any consideration of the different groups and social agents present in the city would be distorted if attention were not given to the condition of the individual. The presence in the city of people of different legal status is nothing new; women only recently in history won the right to vote, and immigrants have had to wait some time before obtaining nationality. Today, though, the obstacles are manifold and the differences in legal status amongst individuals are tending to increase, to the extent that there are even calls to extend the *ius sanguini* to the detriment of the *ius soli*.

Myriad forms of “legality” and “illegality” establish a fragmenting taxonomy amongst personal conditions, with dramatic effects. Consider, if not, the situation in Barcelona of certain families with “legal” parents and children who arrived later and whose situation is irregular, whose right to schooling is even restricted once they have completed compulsory studies and who face the risk of expulsion when they come of age... all as a result of the “complexities” of current immigration law.

The passport or national identity document issued by States should cease to be the only source of citizenship through the creation of a voluntary document of universal citizenship which administratively guarantees the protection of the human rights of all people (especially important to protect refugees and migrants in transit), as well as a document of local citizenship which administratively materialises the right to the city, including full participation in its political institutions (this debate is currently taking place in Barcelona. See Jordi Borja, *La ciudad y la ciudadanía* – The City and Citizenship).

In a global world where there are huge movements of people, the distinction between different plans in the legal status of persons is a promising way of avoiding pitfalls in the advance towards an inclusive city which it will be difficult to consolidate without recognising in some way minimal legal safeguards and basic political rights for all citizens. This, and no other, was the basis behind the well-known medieval motto according to which “*Die Stadtluft macht frei*”.

Hence the interest of proposals for city charters of rights and, also, of the aforementioned experience of political union and budget centralization among South African greatest metropolis once the formula based on creating mere associations of townships had failed: what was a mechanism for overcoming the fractures caused by Apartheid could place South African big cities in an enviable situation as we enter the new century. Not only from the efficiency viewpoint, but also with regard to the democratic effectiveness of increased social inclusion.