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THE URBAN FORM IN THE POSTCAPITALIST CITY**LA FORMA URBANA EN LA CIUDAD POSTCAPITALISTA**Horacio Capel¹

Abstract: We are in a time of great threats to the Earth and the Mankind, making it urgent to initiate a reflection on alternatives to the current city and to make proposals on the organization of a possible post-capitalist society. We could also say that we need utopias that enable imagine a new social order better than the current. We must prepare and substantiate the concrete alternatives that we think, so that they are as solid as possible, always willing to confront our views and with the will to reach agreements. We can think of reaching a post-capitalist society from capitalism and from democracy. Therefore, we must develop and propose laws to be democratically adopted to reach a new social, economic, political, and urban order. In the transition to the new economic system we will have to make major economic reforms. We can think of profoundly transformative laws to be widely approved by society. The priority aspects will be discussions on the property and the financial system, as well as the control of the means of production. The criticisms of the capitalist city can serve as a starting point to conceive what may be the non-capitalist city. The paper reflects on this in different dimensions: the physical city built with its morphology (what the Romans called *urbs*), the city of citizens and their behaviors (the *civitas*), and administrative and political organization (the *polis*).

Keywords: city, capitalism, postcapitalism, urban form

Resumen: Estamos en un momento de grandes amenazas para el planeta Tierra y para la Humanidad, lo que hace urgente iniciar una reflexión sobre las alternativas a la ciudad actual y realizar propuestas sobre la organización de una posible sociedad postcapitalista. También podría decirse que necesitamos utopías, que posibiliten imaginar un orden social nuevo y mejor que el actual. Es preciso preparar y fundamentar las alternativas concretas en que pensamos, para que éstas sean lo más sólidas posible, dispuestos siempre a confrontar nuestros puntos de vista y con la voluntad de llegar a acuerdos. Podemos pensar en alcanzar una sociedad postcapitalista desde el capitalismo y desde la democracia. Por tanto, hay que elaborar y proponer leyes que sean aprobadas democráticamente para alcanzar una nueva

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situación económica, política, y urbana. En la transición al nuevo sistema económico habrá que realizar importantes reformas económicas. Se pueden proponer leyes profundamente transformadoras, que sean aprobadas ampliamente por la sociedad. Los aspectos prioritarios serán los debates sobre la propiedad y el sistema financiero, así como el control de los medios de producción. Las críticas que se hacen a la ciudad capitalista pueden servir como punto de partida para concebir lo que puede ser la ciudad no capitalista. El artículo reflexiona sobre ello en diferentes dimensiones: la ciudad física construida con su morfología (lo que los romanos llamaban la *urbs*), la ciudad de los ciudadanos y sus comportamientos (la *civitas*), y la organización administrativa y política (la *polis*).

Palabras clave: ciudad, capitalism, postcapitalismo, forma urbana

Introduction

The invitation made by the organizers of the congress was to give a lecture based on my own work on urban morphology². But when I started writing this text in June, the XIV International Geocritics Colloquium, dedicated to “Utopia and the construction of the future of society” had just been held³ and in the closing speech of said congress he had announced the theme of the XV Colloquium, which will be held in May 2018, namely: “The social sciences and the construction of a non-capitalist order”⁴.

These two circumstances encouraged me to address the issue I will discuss in this conference: an initial reflection on the urban form in the post-capitalist city, if it ever comes into existence. It is a big challenge, and surely excessive right now; but with this exercise I try to stimulate others to decide to undertake it; always with modesty, without dogmatic attitudes and willing to modify their own opinions and proposals, if it is shown in the debate that this is necessary.

It seems an opportune moment to open new lines of reflection and debate, both in the International Seminar on Urban Form (ISUF) and in a more general way. Lucid diagnoses have been made, and much is already known; But we need to discuss the alternatives. In the congresses held by ISUF since 2007, there is increasing attention to the current problems of urban organization, including those related to sustainability and climate change, and to the possibilities of developing a practical and applied morphology. As the rapporteur, Kiril

² Text prepared for the plenary conference at the Hispanic Congress of ISUF-H on “Urban form: past, present and perspectives”, held in Toledo on September 15 and 16, 2016.

³ Proceedings edited by Benach, Zaar and Vasconcelos Junior (Eds.) 2016.

⁴ Capel 2016 b.

Stanilov, pointed out at the 2010 Congress in Hamburg, the evolution of morphology and its approach "to the urgent needs of contemporary urbanization is a very timely and welcome development."

I will address the problem in several parts. First, I will deal with the need and even the urgency of changing the current system, and the role of utopias; then, of the fundamental reforms that should be introduced; and finally of the urban form in the post-capitalist city (which we could also describe as transcapitalist, for the connotations that the previous term has acquired) in the different dimensions that have to do with the urbs, with the civitas and with the polis.

1. The urgency of changing the current system and building utopias

The urgency to start a reflection on the alternatives to the current city is very great, due to the seriousness of the situation we are living. All diagnoses indicate that we are in a moment of great threats to the planet Earth and to Humanity. Much is known about it, following the controversies about the limits of growth and the debates about the economic and social evolution of the last half century.

There is evidence of the negative scope of the ecological footprint, the loss of biodiversity, the consequences of pollution on the planet and its influence on climate change. You can also read sharp criticisms about social inequalities, about poverty and exclusion and about other serious problems that are raised in cities and in society in general.

In the debates about the causes of all this, great responsibility is attributed to the capitalist economic system, and especially, in what refers to the current crisis, to the result of the neoliberal policies that have been applied, with its emphasis on deregulation, the questioning of the public and financialization. Many academic studies carried out highlight the responsibility of capitalism; among them, David Harvey, Edward Soja, Neil Smith, Ana Fani A. Carlos, Jordi Borja, Jean Pierre Garnier, and many others are very well known⁵. But economists, politicians and businessmen who recognize the causes of the problems are also very abundant.

We need to present alternatives, and make proposals for the organization of a post-capitalist or non-capitalist society; preferably in the form of political and economic programs. Could also be said that we need utopias, which make it possible to imagine a new and better social order than the current one. Utopia has allowed us to conceive of fairer and better

⁵ There are already many authors making proposals that may be of interest; for example Jordi Borja, in his book *La urban revolution*, 2013, where he cites a wide range of critical and propositive studies.

organized societies that can stimulate action; surely we must examine those that have been developed in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, to see if there are valuable ideas that can help build the future.

We have to imagine concrete proposals and utopias about an egalitarian Humanity, without poor or excluded, with all the ideals that we assign to a better world: with economic, social, ethnic and gender equality, without private property, or reduced by the limitation of its transmission, with respect to the commons, with the control or collective ownership of the means of production, agrarian reform and the collective exploitation of agricultural land, all supported in the transition to a public financial system, and in the broad dissemination of production and consumption cooperatives⁶.

We have to build proposals on the desirable economic, political and social structure, on the reduction of consumption, on how to distribute work and stimulate forms of labor collaboration, on basic income for all, on the defense of biodiversity and sustainability. Also on zero-sum growth, which allows us to think of an increase in growth rates in less developed countries, at the expense of the level of the most developed, since the existing data show the serious inequalities that exist in the situation of cities worldwide, and the need for decisive action to redistribute resources and resolve the large gaps that exist between them⁷.

Also on the urban form of the city of the future, theme of this conference. We have to imagine measures for the predominance of the use value and the limitation of the exchange value, the public control of capital gains, the management of municipalities and metropolitan areas. The planning has to be imposed, as well as the follow-up of the same for its adaptation to the new situations; the city open to all must be defended, with the ban on condominiums and closed towns. Or public health, and public school for all in order to ensure coexistence and quality education.

It is necessary to prepare and base the concrete alternatives in which we think, so that they are as solid as possible, always ready to confront our points of view and with the will to reach agreements.

It should be remembered that this is a very difficult task. There are many complications with capitalism. Not only among the upper classes who benefit directly from it, but also between the middle and popular classes, who try to benefit; through investment in the stock market, buying and renting apartments for companies such as Airbnb, avoiding taxes, cheating the treasury, getting rich in any way.

⁶ I have talked about it in the inaugural session of the XIV International Geocritical Colloquium (Capel 2016 a), and in the Closing Capel 2016 b.

⁷ Data in UN Habitat 2016, chap. 9 and 10.

2. The democratic transition to the post-capitalist city

There are apocalyptic visions about the city and the future that awaits you, dominated by the chaos and violence. Also other positive ones that recognize that there has never been so much wealth and well-being like today, and that reaches so many people⁸. The city is a factor of development and culture; It is undoubtedly the best place to live, and has always influenced positively about economic development and innovation, which has been recognized by numerous academics and by international organizations, such as the UN in the Objectives of Millennium. That does not mean that there are no problems, which are very serious; actually in the cities are many of the keys to the problems posed by Humanity and the planet Earth⁹.

In the UN-Habitat study on the State of Cities in 2016, they are remembered and reiterated the diagnoses that were made in the first (1996): the two reports separated by twenty years unequivocally show that “the current urbanization model is unsustainable in many aspects, puts many people at risk, creates unnecessary costs, negatively affects the environment and is intrinsically unfair ”; to which is added that “urbanization patterns they must change to better respond to the needs of our time ”¹⁰.

Many authors predict that tensions and conflicts caused by injustices, inequities, poverty, segregation and all the problems that occur in the city are going to generate a state of violence, before moving on to another situation. But that step has to be peaceful or it won't be, since violence can break down social systems, and it shouldn't accept for the serious and negative consequences it has¹¹.

After the failure of communist systems, we don't know if there really is a alternative to the capitalist system, or if, in this sense, we have already reached - as I intended Francis Fukuyama - the end of the story. We do not know if capitalism will be able to reform and become less exploitative and more beneficial, or if the collapse of the capitalist system by the same internal contradictions and the problems it generates.

⁸ Capel 2002 b and Borja 2013. According to Bradford De Long, former Deputy Secretary of the United States Treasury (El País Negocios September 4, 2016, p. 16, citing the latest PennWorld Table 2016 report, <<http://www.rug.nl/research/ggdc/data/pwt/pwt-9.0>>), “It's very easy to be pessimistic, but we are three times better than our great grandparents”.

⁹ Capel 2004.

¹⁰ Declaración de Joan Clos, Director ejecutivo de UN-Habitat 2016, p. IV,

¹¹ Capel 2016 b.

We have to be confident in the possibilities of action of men and be optimistic, since that only from optimism can you have the strength to try to change the world. Harvey speaks in a well-known book of spaces of hope¹²; and there are, no doubt, truly in the city.

In any case, when considering the post-capitalist city, we are talking about a world without capitalism and not of a world with a different capitalism.

For my part, I think we have to think about reaching a post-capitalist society from the Capitalism and from democracy. Therefore, we must develop and propose laws that are democratically approved to reach a new economic, political, and urban¹³.

There are already some precedents for this in the evolution of the liberal states, and in the passage from autocratic regimes to a democratic situation. For example, in the transition democratic in Spain after the death of Franco in 1975, which was made “from law to law and to through the law”¹⁴. It was an exemplary process, which was carried out with a broad agreement and without serious social issues, despite calls for violence from the extreme right and the extreme left.

I am sure that this is possible also in the questioning of society and the capitalist city and in the implementation of another economic and social order. Of course very difficult, because of the pressure capacity of those who control the economic and political structures current; but possible, anyway, if there is everyone's pressure and the presentation of reasonable alternatives. It is increasingly evident that we are on the edge of a world catastrophe, and that only the ideals of the left can save the world, that if the arguments are properly presented, they will convince a large majority of the population, of left, center and even right.

Some authors speak that the rules must be violated to promote revolutionary transformations. In democratic countries, it is possible that in some cases, eventually, maybe yes. But it would be better to say that in these countries they should (and can) be reformulated with other norms, through the elaboration of new laws and ordinances.

In this process, you can also reform the structure of the State with deepening of the formal and broad democracy we already have, to get more participation active from citizens.

3. Measures on property, financial capital and the means of production

¹² Harvey (ed). 2003.

¹³ Capel, 2010.

¹⁴ Mayordomo Pérez 2002, Tamames, 2015.

In the transition to the new economic system, major reforms will have to be carried out economic, with the elaboration and democratic approval of a new legislation. He they can propose revolutionary, coherent and attractive laws that are approved widely by society. Starting with simple questions about which you can get a broad agreement; Other measures can be added to them. The aspects Priorities will be discussions about property and the financial system, as well as the control of the means of production.

You could quickly find a broad consensus on small individual property or family, which will probably remain in the new post-capitalist world; for example, the Small farm properties, small businesses and regular home ownership. He can start by setting limits on the transfer of said individual property and, first place, of the private property of the house. Which seems reasonable that can be transmitted to the children and, perhaps, also to the grandchildren, but never beyond, to great-grandchildren or great-great-grandchildren. What once legally approved, which would be possible, would allow raising the problem more general transmission of other properties.

Indeed, once these limitations to the inheritance of family property are approved, to one or two generations of descendants, you can ask questions about the transmission of the great property, which must be eliminated through fiscal measures, and the tax of successions, as well as with expropriations.

Surely an easy agreement on collective property could be reached, in the field and in the city, and on agricultural and industrial production cooperatives; that is, there will be a recognition of community ownership of land, of common ownership, of property communal It has already been discussed whether in the industrial society there can be an exploitation collective resources, as an alternative to the current situation that magnifies and It sacralizes the principle of individual private property. Facing criticism that goods commons have been exploited irrationally ("the tragedy of the commons"), has been put manifest that in many cases they were correctly, both in societies preindustrial as in contemporary¹⁵. The essential thing is that there are clear rules, and a conviction about the benefits obtained from compliance with the agréments collective.

There have been many proposals in the past that can be exhumed. For example, that people can only own what they have created, and what is provided by the Nature must belong to all man kind, as the Georgians defended. Also, can dust off and reexamine multiple plans and projects that made numerous philanthropists, utopian socialists and social reformers during the 19th and 20th centuries.

¹⁵ Capel 2003 a, and Harvey 2012, cap. 3.

In the post-capitalist city, urban land municipalization will be recognized and extended. It has been applied in some countries throughout the 20th century, sometimes through agreements with the owners, with expropriations or high taxes. In Barcelona, during the war civil, the municipalization of urban land and the construction sector was decreed in 1937.

Control of capital gains is important, in particular those generated by the performance public Landowners have benefited from public interventions and reclassifications made by urban planning plans, and have been able to press for achieve them, thus obtaining penguins benefits with the capital gains generated. A strict public regulation, and rigorous regulations should also try to limit the urban growth in oil stain over the territory. There is also a need for preserve agricultural land and natural areas of interest, to value the natural landscape local and regional, avoiding uncontrolled diffusion of exotic species, maintaining biodiversity and sustainability, and to respect, in a general way, respect for natural dynamics

Other essential measures have to do with financial capital. Can defend the nationalization of banking, since the functions that banks fulfill can be performed best by public entities of the State, regions and public entities local.

With regard to large national and international companies, measures will have to be taken to that are strongly controlled; what can be done through expropriation processes or for the significant participation of public capital until having a decisive weight in the decisions.

4. The study of urban morphology and the economic system

Much is known about the urban form, about its genesis and evolution, with contributions from Different disciplines And you are also aware that the subject cannot be studied from One disciplinary vision It is necessary to incorporate an interdisciplinary perspective, although you can, at some point, privilege, for specific reasons, a certain look. In a discipline like geography, long concerned with the study of forms surface and landscape on the earth's surface, there are a number of significant milestones in the study of urban morphology from at least the 1920s. But the attitude interdisciplinary is essential in the study of the city and urban morphology, since that it would be impossible to talk about it regardless

of the studies carried out by architects and urban planners, by sociologists, by social and art historians, by economists, by semiologists and other specialists¹⁶.

From the 1960s onwards architects made important contributions on the forms of urban growth of the Spanish cities, of which those of the Urban Planning Laboratory of Barcelona, directed by Manuel de Solá-Morales.

The debates in the last years of the 1960s allowed us to accept that space and city are a social product, and the relationship between conditions was explicitly recognized of the capitalist system and the characteristics of urban morphology¹⁷. It is an aspect fundamental of the urban criticism, and necessary step for the elaboration of alternatives.

In the study of urban morphology different dimensions must be taken into account. Before all, the two superficial dimensions that are expressed in the plane, in the plot and in its evolution; then the third dimension of the buildings; and finally, the agentes urban that build the city. That has been the scheme that I have followed on my own work on the subject¹⁸.

The study of the plan must include the factors that influence morphology and constitution of complex urban tissues. In relation to the possible planes to structure the tissue urban, it can be said that almost everything has already been invented throughout urban history.

Specifically, during the 19th century they were designed both in the United States and in the countries emancipated Americans from Spain and Portugal numerous cities with geometric models, sometimes imaginative heirs of Renaissance and Baroque designs combined in a way creative, and many totally unpublished until that moment: orthogonal with diagonals, with triangular apples, with avenue of hexagonal designs, with converging avenues in a center with square or circular square, adapted or not to the layout of a river, with plots homogeneous or heterogeneous, uniform and combined, with single chess orientation or with different and juxtaposed, with regular or irregular distribution of places and gardens, with a compact central part and suburban areas of single-family houses with garden, with straight streets and curved streets, with attention or not to the layout of the railway. The vision of These plans in specialized works¹⁹ produce astonishment.

¹⁶ Capel 2002, chap. one; see also the bibliography prepared by Peter Larkham for ISUF with the title Consolidated Urban Morphology reading list, 20 p. <<http://www.urbanform.org/bibliography.html>>.

¹⁷ See Capel 1975.

¹⁸ Specifically in the three volumes of the work The morphology of cities, Capel 2002, 2005 and 2013.

¹⁹ As can be that of John W. Reps, 1992.

Hundreds of new cities were designed and promoted; only 40 in California in the Spring of 1887²⁰. The abundance of land and the flat character of many of them allowed any imagination, regardless of the topography or adapting to it.

As regards the study of the third dimension, that is to say the buildings, they must be consider both homes and buildings with specific functions; since the dedicated to social control and temples, to those dedicated to health, culture and education, leisure, various economic functions. As well as paying attention to legal and urban regulations that have been elaborated on them.

In addition to the study of forms, a fundamental aspect is, as I said, that of agentes urban that build the city, and that have a decisive weight in the configuration of the morphology. These agents are different, and each one has its influence on the creation of the urban form. Among the essentials are the owners of the land, the builders and real estate, industrialists, merchants, public administration, as a regulator and as an agent²¹. Also the creators of networks, which have a great influence on the organization of space and morphology²². Turn inside all agents there are also conflicting interests and different strategies on the urban form, which They have an impact on the final design.

The creation of the International Seminar on Urban Form (ISUF), gave a great boost to the morphology studies; first, with the launch of congresses or conferences to since 1994, the year since twenty-three meetings have been held, the last one in Nanking, China last July²³; on the other hand, with the foundation of Urban Morphology magazine, directed by Jeremy Withehand from 1997, which has been a great instrument value for the development of these studies²⁴.

Meetings and publications have shown the consequences of globalization on urban fabrics, relocation of productive activities, growth of the mobility and flows and the emergence of new mobility patterns (from the railways of varied speed and fast cars on highways, up to the bicycle and the pedestrian movement). It has also highlighted the need to reflect on peripheral developments, including fragmentation and incoherence of new urban configurations and building typologies that emerge from all this, and the need for pay attention to urban planning and design.

²⁰ Reys 1992, p. 378.

²¹ Capel 2013.

²² Capel 2011.

²³ Conferences, ISUF <<http://www.urbanform.org/conferences.html>>.

²⁴ Urban Morphology. Journal of the International Seminar on Urban Form, Birmingham <http://www.urbanform.org/online_public/>

They have also pointed out the desirability of stimulating international comparisons, and the diachronic or historical analysis, taking into account local cultural traditions, exchanges that have been established in contemporary times, and the production of city as a result of collective work. There has also been a greater incorporation from new technologies to morphological research, which expands the capacity of Interpret and generalize the results. The abundance of aerial photographs provided by Google Earth, and the availability of information on flows, mean a milestone important, as long as your analysis is aided by previous theories and appropriate questions²⁵.

The evolution of studies towards the understanding and management of students is increasingly valued current urban environments. As stated at the Hamburg congress, it is necessary decisively incorporate the themes of energy and change into the study of urban form climate, which until 2010 were little treated. In the last ISUF congresses, they have added topics such as the new urban revolution, the weight of metabolic flows in urban configurations, the role of design, urban agriculture, the incorporation of solar technology in new urban environments, or the configuration of urban peripheries. New developments in urban morphology have also been highly valued, the growing attention to current problems and new urban realities. Various ISUF congresses have had special interest in the subject of this conference, such as Montreal on Urban morphology and the post-carbon city (2011), Delft on New urban configurations (2012), and that of Porto about Our common future in urban morphology (2014).

In this context, the convenience of presenting alternatives to problematic or unfair situations, and even the need for social scientists look resolutely towards the future²⁶.

5. The postcapitalist city. Its form and content

Speculating on how the post-capitalist city could be has, from the outset, a path forced and that seems promising: the criticisms that are made to the capitalist city can serve as a starting point to conceive what the non-capitalist city can be.

In general, there should be more equity and wealth distribution; and less aggression to the nature. The ideal is that there are no inequalities in the quality of life, in health, in

²⁵ Urban Team 2007 a and b, Bonastra and Jori 2009 a and b.

²⁶ Capel 2009; and as the ISUF has done, especially at the 22th ISUF Conference, Rome, September 25, 2015 <rome2015.isufitaly.com/>.

education, which means, in short, a similar per capita income for the entire population of the world.

The entire population must have the right to the equipment that today focuses on the cities, that is, the right to the city, as Henri Lefebvre called it. There will be services groups widely distributed and accessible to the entire population of urban areas. This has been defended in congresses on the right to the city, including in Quito of 2004, where the World Charter of the Rights of the City was approved. We can talk about it below, as well as speculate with other features that is possible to imagine in the post-capitalist city.

The city, as conceived in Roman times, has two dimensions: the *urbs*, the city physics built with its morphology, and *civitas*, that is, citizens and their behavior; to which we can add the *polis*, the administrative and political organization²⁷. We will try to all of them in the rest of this text.

6. The *urbs* in the Generalized Urbanization

As is known, the *urbs* designated in the Roman world "the material factory of the city"²⁸, that is to say the concentration of houses with a certain density, and the infrastructures corresponding. That characterization of the city was clear when the distinction city-country It was clear, but it has been less and less since the Industrial Revolution.

The city with diverse forms

Today the urban does not have a unique physical form, but extends widely in the territory with different forms. The traditional *urbs* is the compact city, and still owns numerous advantages; but next to it the dispersed city has developed, with plots and very different buildings, some manifestly urban, due to the density of buildings and infrastructures, and others far removed from the traditional concept.

The compact city is not homogeneous; includes the preindustrial city, the expansions that are were produced during the Modern and Contemporary Age, the city-garden

²⁷ See Capel 1975 y 2003 c.

²⁸ As Isidore of Seville in his *Etymologies*, he summarized Roman thought in the sixth century (Ramírez 1998, p. 4); see also Cervera Vera 1994.

neighborhoods, the neighboring towns annexed, the suburban peripheral areas with continuity, of different types according to the social class to which they are directed²⁹.

The attraction of the center for office and management activities and for residence was carried out as a natural process, through the real estate market, and through urban policies of renewal, which have frequently favored gentrification. At the same time, it they created new inner suburbs with the increasing arrival of poor immigrants, who They are located in the compact city in aged buildings.

To this has been added the process of decentralization of industrial activities towards the periphery: due to the need for greater spaces for the expansion of factories, or for better access to fast means of transport. And at the same time, there was the exit to the peripheries of diverse social groups: poor expelled from the center, middle classes and popular looking for larger homes or following the transfer of factories; groups different attracted by the ideology of contact with nature and the model of the city garden, and who wish to live in single-family homes; immigrants who create neighborhoods of self-construction; upper classes that move to new exclusive and prestigious neighborhoods controlled by them, and that have been increasingly equipped with greater measures of security to become closed villages.

Living in low density with the advantages of agglomeration has been something of the time contemporary, as a consequence of the suburbanization allowed by the transformations generated by technical advances in means of transport (railways, cars) and of communication (telegraph, telephone, radio). These forms of diffuse or dispersed urbanization, which they developed with the diffusion of the car and intensified strongly in Europe and other continents since the mid-twentieth century, led to the extension of áreas low density peripherals over areas up to that moment of a rural nature³⁰.

These transformations resulted in the creation of a new scale of urbanization and metropolitan areas, which include different municipalities, and integrate urbanization dispersed or diffuse, that some author has not hesitated to qualify as ‘diffuse city’³¹ because it possesses, although dispersed, all the constituent elements of a city, from the houses of various types, production facilities and services, to new polarities. It reflects a new form of city, at a time when, in addition, the urban, before reduced, It has come to dominate throughout the world.

²⁹ Solá-Morales 1997, with reference to the Spanish case, identified: historic centers, widening, parceling peripheral, garden city, public promotion 1940-60, public promotion 1960-75, private promotion 1975-90, public promotion 1975-90, annexed villages, marginal parcelation, mixed periphery, mixed middle periphery.

³⁰ Monclús (ed.) 1998.

³¹ Indovina 1998, which has not hesitated to speak that ‘diffuse urbanization produces a diffuse city’.

Indeed, we are already in a world of Generalized Urbanization. More than half of the population is statistically urban, which is about 4,000 million people³²; but the figure is even higher, since urban behaviors - that is, attitudes, family structures, access to services, information or forms of consumption - are widespread throughout the territory³³. It can be said that the future of cities it is the future of Humanity³⁴. Therefore, we must forget the distrust of the city, and even rejection, which some Marxist authors experienced; for example, Friedrich Engels, who in 1873, reflecting on the housing problem, claimed that it could only be solved with the disappearance of big cities and the abolition of capitalist mode of production³⁵.

The passage to the Generalized Urbanization, which has also been called the constitution of the Pantópolis³⁶, is, in fact, a new great urban revolution after the creation of the industrial city.

At the end of the 20th century, some authors announced the end of the metropolitan phase. Among them Edward Soja, for which the city was in a restructuring phase with the appearance of what he called postmetropolis or postmodern metropolis. Subsequently, the same author he went on to think that change is even more significant, and that, in reality, in recent fifty years there has been the transition to a new urban revolution.

The new thing, he estimated, is the Regional Urbanization, the Region-city, polycentric, which includes several cities of different type, size and complexity, large and small networked cities. It is a change of scale, but also of nature, which implies the passage to the city without limits or unlimited³⁷, with very different forms and constitution of vast urbanized peripheries, diverse and heterogeneous, growing by migration from the central city to the periphery and from the outside; even in the areas where it does not exist “the future is likely to be the Regional urbanization more than metropolitan urban development ”, giving rise to numerous gigantic urban realities, which exceed 100 million inhabitants; among which are already significant the Pearl River Delta, the Yangtze Delta, and the urban region of Tokyo-Kyoto, or the Megalopolis of the northeastern United States.

³² UN Habitat 2016, p. 6; in 1990 the population living in urban areas worldwide was 43% (it is say 2 billion), and in 2015 it had become 54%.

³³ ONU-Habitat 2012.

³⁴ Capel 2004.

³⁵ Engels 1873, ed. 1974, p. 47-48

³⁶ Gercía-Bellido 2003

³⁷ Soja (2015) stated that, contrary to what he said in Postmetropolis, there is a Fourth urban revolution in March: 1st, 12,000 years ago; the 2nd, the appearance of the city-state in Mesopotamia 6,000 years ago; the third, the industrial city at the beginning of the 18th century; today you can talk about a fourth, because the city that emerges in the last 50 years is totally different.

Urban Regions include traditionally rural and sometimes continuing áreas having such an aspect, but that they become urban by the location in them of functions of this nature (industrial, logistics, services), by the penetration of capital, and for the residence of urban dwellers, or even behavioral farmers urban by their way of life and by the way they perform their activity, almost in a way industrial. Many people dedicated to agriculture live in areas that can be considered urban, both morphologically and from the point of view of behavior of the inhabitants and the information they possess; even those who live in small nuclei such as villages and in isolated houses will have, or already have, access to numerous services that were previously urban specific.

Urban extension could be intensified in the last three decades by policies neoliberals. Thus, for example, the Spanish Urban Land Law of 1998, approved by the Conservative government of the PP, which declared the entire developable territory, unless it was formally protected. With that legislation, the configuration of the urban, both the territory occupied as the built forms, ends up being decided and carried out by the agents private urban (land owners, real estate companies, builders, industrialists, network builders...)³⁸.

The separation of rich and poor in the city is sometimes very strong, with the grouping and inbreeding of the rich classes and, at the same time, the proliferation of housing areas precarious, or slums. In increasingly large cities, suburbs and slums are away from the center; but frequently they are in physical proximity to richer others with that there is little social relationship; that is, closed neighborhoods next to favelas. It has been criticized many times the current trend towards the self-segregation of the rich, who are held in closed urbanizations, at the same time that there are urban spaces of social exclusion and physical, poverty, informal residence, such as barracks and shacks, favelas, the bidonvilles and others. In many cases, also informal settlements or areas with aged residential park they are becoming authentic ghettos³⁹.

At present there is no urban form but multiple, with the possibility of being chosen by the population; each of them with its advantages and disadvantages, which can be enjoyed at from different individual choices accepted by the community.

The compact city attracts certain population groups, while dispersing it with houses individual to others (or in certain periods of life, and not in others). Urban forms existing and new constituted, or in constitution, affect the lives of citizens. The Compact is relatively heterogeneous in population and activities, which stimulate contacts and relationships⁴⁰, and

³⁸ The negative consequences of this lack of planning in Spain can be seen in Burriel 2008, 2009 and 2011.

³⁹ Berescu 2011, with the example of the evolution of Rome.

⁴⁰ See about it Borja 2013, p. 259 ss, and conclusions.

also has many advantages in terms of energy saving and the social relationship. And since that conviction, some time ago in some countries, and for part of international institutions, policies are designed to favor and support it. The Compact city allows a greater and more efficient provision of services, lower cost of transport, multiple mobility options and diversity of social relationships. It is important to implement policies in this regard to strengthen the compact city; densify diffuse areas of low density, multifunctionality (versus specialization and simplification), and establish minimum density requirements in the planning of New neighborhoods.

But there are cultural traditions that influence the different perception of the advantages of high and low densities, with a strong appreciation of these, and of single-family homes, in the Anglo-American world⁴¹, while in other areas of Europe, Latin America and Asia preference can be given to concentrates. The dispersed urbanization attracts those who prefer this way of life, although it may be more difficult to access services, that will have to pay reducing other advantages that will have those of the compact city.

There are frequently citizens who want to have, in addition to their own house in the city, a (or sometimes two) in other non-urban places (rural peripheries, beaches, mountains ...). In the postcapitalist city may be allowed, as said, home ownership principal; but secondary schools will enter into a cooperative set to be used successively by different families; what is fully justified, since they are used only a part of the year.

The forecasts are that by 2050 more than two thirds of the world's population will live in urban or urbanized areas, a figure that has already been exceeded in European countries and of some another continent⁴². In this situation, measures may need to be taken to stop peripheral expansion processes of suburban areas and extensions perimetropolitanas, to reduce the dispersed, diffuse and fragmented city, peripheral áreas or peri-urban with intermediate empty spaces, which acquire strong capital gains and can give place to large real estate operations.

It has been argued again and again that land consumption by dispersed urbanization it produces devastation, a part of the territory is subtracted from agricultural use, the balance is broken between man and nature, it is attentive to the beauty of the landscape, and is “one of the most threatening serious to the patrimony”⁴³. Numerous studies have argued about the need to stop that fragmented urbanization process, which has negatively affected rural space,

⁴¹ Hall 1996, and Dempsey, Brown & Bramley 2012 can be seen about it.

⁴² Nel-lo & Mele 2016, introduction.

⁴³ As Camagni, Gibelli and Rigamonti 2006 have written, with reference to the cost of urbanization dispersed in Italy; a work that even includes a proposed law for urban planning.

and which has given rise to spaces with expectations of urban dedication, and areas of agriculture residual. Urban dispersion represents, in effect, more occupied space and more land agricultural destroyed; many cities were located in very fertile lands, because these allowed to feed a part of its population.

The area occupied by scattered single-family housing developments is superior in some large cities occupied by multi-storey homes, where 80 or even normally lives 90 percent of the population. This form of urbanization decreases diversity, increases the artificialization of space, produces greater consumption of energy, water and others resources⁴⁴. Municipal management problems of these dispersed areas are also raised and difficulties to meet the demands of its inhabitants. From the social point of view, the segregation and isolation problems with respect to the general community, minimizes social relationship; in some cases, the cost of living in low density areas doubles that of The compact city.

Regulation in the post-capitalist city

The dispersed city thus produces an incoherent pattern of urban uses, against which demands greater control and regulation, greater intervention by public administrations in space management, with strict urban planning regulations. The city Post-capitalist will have to have these regulations very strictly. Most of the territory will be protected in its natural character and in its biodiversity and rurality. Dispersion means more individual transport time, increase of cars private, generates unacceptable costs for municipalities and public administrations which are normally unable to build and maintain all public transport networks necessary. And it increases social discrimination, since there are families that cannot dispose of an individual car.

Mobility has a great responsibility in pollution. From the point of view energy has clearly shown the relationship between the growth of the areas urbanized and carbon dioxide emissions. Measures that try to limit the growth of urbanized space, and especially of dispersion, as well as limiting the use of private cars and the reinforcement of public transport will have an impact decisive in limiting such emissions by transport⁴⁵.

The design and construction of the city in the post-capitalist city will not be a business private. Limiting excessive land use will reduce the consequences of natural hazards

⁴⁴ The negative impact of dispersed urbanization, with the analysis of examples of Spanish cities, in Rueda 2002, Magrinyà and Herce 2007 and García-Coll 2011.

⁴⁵ Bart 2011, in a study conducted on the EU; also Steemers 2003. See also European Commission 1999 that indicates the growth of the dispersion and its negative consequences (p. 65).

(such as floods, fires, erosion ...), will reduce the consumption of water and energy, will make possible public transport networks that avoid the use of the car private, and there will be a greater facility to provide municipal services, and improve the coherence between uses, avoiding the existence of unordered, fragmented and disjointed.

There will be no spontaneous and irregular occupation of space, no spaces of interest will be invaded natural or cause risks (as happens when building in river áreas flooding). Chaos or banalization of space and landscapes will not be allowed. A Tidy landscape provides greater environmental and visual quality, and is more sustainable in environmental terms

Urban enclaves, which are so significant from the current fragmented city, will be avoided, insular, segregated and socially disjointed. Especially, there will be no closed neighborhoods, how much extension they have acquired in some cities, for the desire for protection and security, by the will of exclusivity and location in a socially environment homogeneous, with proximity to similar social groups, and separated from others that are considered different and inferior. These closed neighborhoods exist today in many cities, with different denominations (gated communities, fenced, armored, privatized ...) and have been well studied, especially in North and South American cities⁴⁶; frequently they intend to have exclusive services and be administratively separated from the rest of the municipality, with specific regulations controlled by them, with limited access routes, and systematic elimination of public transport. The search for the safe city has generated an important real estate sector that offers these products first to the senior classes income, and then also to the middle classes and some popular groups, by mimicry and pressure from real estate companies.

In the post-capitalist city, those neighborhoods will disappear, since private urbanism is not will allow - or be rigorously controlled - and physical enclosures will be impossible or virtual and forms of social separation and polarization between wealth and poverty.

All urban planning and urban growth require the previous construction of the infrastructure of urban technical networks. The legal framework and urban regulations are essential for the regulation of urbanization, and certainly in the post-capitalist city the regulations only it will allow building in the indicated places and when the necessary infrastructures exist.

The organization of the space can be achieved by planning and organizing the territory for public control, which have been so insulted by neoliberal policies and sometimes described as a proliferation of bureaucratic regulations, which limits local innovation Faced

⁴⁶ For example, Vidal-Koppman 2005 et al., Vidal-Koppman, Sposito e Goetz 2013, Capron and Esquivel Hernández 2016, Especially in metropolitan spaces, but also in many other cities of medium and small size.

with this, it must be affirmed that public control can prevent Land privatization and real estate speculation, promotes equity, and can establish that a part of the land is undeveloped.

Zero-sum growth policies will decrease the living standards of rich countries, and parallel to that of the less developed. The Urbanization situation Generalized will spread in a homogeneous way worldwide, both in countries developed as in the less developed; that will mean, for example, that we will have to build more infrastructure and equipment in less developed countries, which have inadequacy of each other, and less in developed countries, where they have sometimes been excessive, due to the pressure of the big construction companies.

The polycentrism will be widely distributed, with small and medium cities that they maintain services concentration functions and will have many attractions. Many services so far concentrated in city centers or in compact cities, they will spread widely in metropolitan or regional territories.

Where there are no centralities can be created new plant, so that the entire population have accessibility to services. It is important to organize balanced city systems, and disjointed growths have to be avoided, which requires regional planning and territorial.

The proliferation of shopping centers in the periphery will stop with the new assessment of the Urban public space as a meeting place and leisure, the strengthening of commercial equipment of the city streets, and the valuation of leisure not commodified.

The post-capitalist city must be sustainable, which means that consumption must be reduced of energy, resources and waste produced. Consumption and leisure are today space merchandising service.

The reduction of consumption will allow limiting the quantities of products that are manufactured and the energy expenditure for it. Which will mean major changes in lifestyles, more frugal and sober. The obsolescence programmed by the companies will disappear completely.

Producers Commercial equipment is likely to decrease due to the general reduction in consumption and the increase in electronic commerce. Because of this, changes are occurring important in the commercial activity. Internet sales are increasing strongly, and commercial companies competing to deliver the products in a short time. Which can significantly affect commercial equipment, more and more turned towards logistics.

In the Metropolitan Areas, new areas of economic activity have been created; for example, industrial estates increasingly associated with logistics equipment. Polygons

industrial ones have to be preserved and new ones created when they do not exist; and also preserve Urban industrial locations in the city.

The post-capitalist city will surely have a reasonable amount of zoning and mixing functional. Public ownership polygons will be maintained, avoiding, except for reasons justified, the diffusion and industrial dispersion throughout the land; carefully planned not to affect the landscape very negatively. With different infrastructures that they allow different mobilities too; as it allows to realize the urban planning reflection from of the Modern Movement, and the seven-way theory (hierarchical and capable of ordering the circulation and mobility).

In post-capitalist cities, work, residence, services and leisure must be approximated to minimize transport costs and energy consumption. When it comes to tourism, as a culture and leisure, travel in the immediate environment must be favored and reduced Drastic cheap travel, increasing its cost and taxes. Yes, as it seems fair, all people must have the right to do tourism, that means, taking into account the total population of the world, reducing the number of long trips that can be made for each person, which will surely have to be limited to one or two throughout life; the rest of the places you can visit with virtual reality in 3D.

In the post-industrial city, the basic principle must be that all citizens must have access to means of public transport, which implies the domain of the compact city, which It makes it possible. As indicated, active policies to reduce private cars, with emphasis on public transport.

It will also be established that all citizens have the right to mobility in all their functions: mobility for work, for access to services, for social relations, for leisure, for commerce, for knowledge of the world and heritage. Everyone they will be entitled to mobility at all scales, from the local to the global, justifiably, although local and regional mobility will tend to be privileged; the social use of space must be deeply democratic, but content. In addition to public collective transport, there will also be individual transportation through community-owned cars and available privately, when needed for travel not covered by public transportation. Parks will be created where use cars are available staff for cases where they are justifiably needed; and the use of media will be favored with low energy consumption, such as bicycles.

The post-capitalist city will be configured from the existing urban realities that it has different history and characteristics throughout the world. We will have to be attentive to those differences and value and preserve them.

7. The House

An essential aspect of the urbs is housing, whose distribution and scarcity has been a problem in the past and in the contemporary era. Since the beginning of the 20th century, reports on their deficit in cities have been repeated and made increasingly intense by the growth of The urban population.

The right to decent housing for all appears in some political constitutions of different countries, and in the same Universal Declaration of Human Rights. In spite of This could not be assured.

Housing is an essential social need. It constitutes a coat, but it is also space of intimacy and identity. As has been shown in many studies, from the house itself builds the configuration of the spatial images and the same conception of the world Instability in the use of housing produces anxiety states, that have negative effects on affective and personal stability.

The study of the relationship between home ownership and private and municipal rental, have it has been widely revealed that the Urban Leasing Laws must give priority to long-term contracts, preventing those limited to a few years, by the insecurity that creates in the use of housing. In any case, in the post-capitalist city the use of housing will always be guaranteed.

The increase in national and international mobility today raises new needs for housing in the receiving areas and abandonment of others in those of emigration. That causes new demands in the receiving countries and decrease of them in the emitters. Be it is necessary to organize the management of these new housing needs, as well as the abandoned heritage.

It is convenient to pay attention to both formal housing and informal housing or self-built It is what we will do next.

Formal housing

We must make decisions about the policies of mass production of housing for the population; priority will be given to the role of public agents in the construction of the city, and the problem of which can act in the post-capitalist city, the ways such as the city must be built socially when the search for a benefit is not allowed for real estate companies, the

construction of a non-segregated city and where not there are social classes that appropriate the advantages of living in certain parts of the urban space.

Agreements must also be reached on the factors that affect land distribution for residential construction, and the establishment of the cost of housing, as well as the articulation between industry and housing.

It should be clear that there must be a policy of renovation of old homes that they are deteriorating physically, which leads to the improvement and rehabilitation of the park existing in already consolidated spaces. In this sense, the general principle must be that new work and rehabilitation must go hand in hand; that is, you cannot build a new roof without accept that it is not linked to the reuse of existing buildings, since it must exist Always a link between one and the other. No refunctionalization operations will be performed of space, or renewal processes without the agreement of the inhabitants of the sector, who have rights, if they wish, to remain in the same place where they live, keeping the established social relationships. It must also be recognized that diversity is a value in The urban fabric.

The housing market today has decisive consequences in social segregation, influences in social inequalities and urban social exclusion.

During the 20th century there were considerable efforts to solve the housing problem, to through the construction of social housing by the public administration, both in Europe as in America⁴⁷. The construction of massive housing was very intense after the Second World War, in a context of strong urban growth, with residential estates (grands ensembles, housing estates...) and even “new cities” (villes nouvelles, ACTUR ...), both in Western Europe and in the block of communist countries until 1989. Built with the architectural and urban principles of the Modern Movement They constituted an important and positive contribution to the solution of the housing problem. The experience of what were called the Thirty Glorious Years (1945-1975)⁴⁸, as after the following years, it shows that it is possible to massively build large numbers of housing and give a good answer to the problem of homelessness in cities, building hundreds of millions of accommodations. But such experience shows also that it cannot be done in the same way in the post-capitalist city.

Housing complexes have received much criticism since 1960 (Jane Jacobs, Christopher Alexander, Aldo Rossi and many others), which got worse with the questioning of the Modern Movement and the reappearance of anti or post-modern and historicist tendencies. Constructive quality has sometimes been poor, so these housing estates are have

⁴⁷ In Latin American countries there is a wide tradition in this regard, starting in the early twentieth century, Jawbone 2011 a, b and c.

⁴⁸ As Jean Fourastié 1979 called them.

degraded physically; what has made it necessary to make strong public investments for rehabilitation

On the other hand, design, lack of equipment, spatial segregation, has not helped times to collective social life and social relationship; the inhabitants of these sets have also been very affected by economic crises and unemployment, aging, drug addiction, and population change, with the arrival of new immigrants, so They became very vulnerable. It has also criticized the uniformity of the sets of homes built in the USSR, under the principles of the Modern Movement, which was also followed in that country and in other socialists after World War II, and especially after Stalin's death, with the new plans promoted by Krutschev, which gave rise to sets that in many cases were of debatable quality⁴⁹.

Despite the criticisms, these large massive housing operations have been followed building as a solution to the problems of homelessness; for example, in China, Korea, Japan, Brazil and other countries⁵⁰. The real estate business has become the force essential for the construction and reconstruction of urban spaces in all countries, as the studies carried out show again and again.

In concrete studies, it has been pointed out that real estate speculation has become the greater source of investment and accumulation for families, and that the hope of profit with real estate has caused the gentrification of many sectors. These processes of urban renovation “are based on the flat tab, the replacement of existing buildings by apartment complexes without any consideration of preexistence or contexto urban; the geography of speculation prioritizes perpetual renewal rather than concern for preservation or sustainability”⁵¹. Critics force us to rethink the architectural and urban principles in the sense of making these sets more human.

In the post-capitalist city, criteria for these homes have to be designed and discussed. There is need to know the construction practices applied and the quality of the materials employees, the criteria for the allocation of housing to users and people selected, the urban location of the polygons and the way in which it has influenced their evolution⁵².

The houses must be well connected to the rest of the city, and be social and morphologically heterogeneous. The public action of the State, of the regional and municipal public bodies, and apply various forms of municipalization ground; as well as facilitate and strictly control the action of the promoters.

⁴⁹ Marozas 2015.

⁵⁰ There is an extensive bibliography on it, among which Hall 1996 can be cited, and recently Díez Medina (coord.) 2015.

⁵¹ Brossa 2015, p. 105, with the example of Seoul.

⁵² Montaner 2015 in the special issue of ZARCH magazine coordinated by Díez Medina 2016.

There will be no segregation motivated by the occupants' income, and it will be assured, as we have said, stability in the use of housing. Often sets of massive houses of great extension and homogeneous population, and very far from the city compact, and discontinuous with the rest of the urban fabric, and with bad communications through of public transport, which lengthens the trip considerably. Critics point to need to build housing complexes not so uniform, more flexible, varied and adaptable, who know how to adapt to the conditions and traditions of the place where it is built.

Utopian thinkers in the nineteenth century already opposed individual family homes and they advocated collective houses, which would facilitate mutual social relations and provision of services. There are also numerous proposals for common services for families, from washing machines and cooking to dining rooms and meeting rooms. No doubt, they have to explore all these options.

The buildings will have to be built with maximum energy efficiency, reducing the use of energy for air conditioning, which means adapting to the environment, minimizing energy losses by walls and advantages, improving ventilation, adaptation to the sunstroke, and other means. Architecture and buildings must be sustainable, and it will favor, when possible, the use of local materials and traditions.

The technical evolution allows, and stimulates, the construction of buildings in height, with what Increase compactness Skyscrapers are imposed, and there are cities today where You can find several hundred of them, not only for offices, but also for residences There are already 800 m high in some city, and more buildings are projected still high, more than 1,000 meters. But they cause many shadows, which will force separate them. Office and housing towers demand costly procedures of air conditioning, but must be open to the outside environment and use the air conditioning in absolutely essential situations⁵³. On the other hand, they can seriously affect local conditions, due to their weight⁵⁴ and the consequences on the circulation of the masses of air.

Informal housing

⁵³ Steemers 2003, and other articles published in the magazine Energy and Building, whose subtitle An International journal devoted to investigations of energy use and efficiency in buildings.

⁵⁴ El País August 30, 2016, p. 33: “the huge [Shanghai] buildings weigh so much that the street falls every year seven centimeters”.

Another problem of the current city is the informal housing that exists, and the criteria for act on it and its associated characteristics, such as lack of services urban, among others.

The importance of housing figures in informal housing, built by the inhabitants themselves. Some jobs have estimated that in the areas of precarious housing, or slums, one billion people stay; which, no doubt, is much quantitatively, even less than in the past in relative figures⁵⁵. After the 2008 crisis, the population growth unemployed or with informal and unstable work, and the impoverishment of broad layers of the population, the situation has worsened; and has affected in an increase in inequality, inequality and exclusion. 75 percent of cities of the world have higher levels of inequality than twenty years ago, and with forms new exclusion and marginalization⁵⁶.

Informal housing in the current urbanization, raises two different aspects: one, that of the improvement of existing informal areas; another, the policies to prevent the formation of New informal areas. Both are interested in acting in the post-capitalist city.

In the 1950s and 60s, measures to eradicate informal sectors, relocating its inhabitants in housing estates. Then he took awareness of the inconvenient nature of some of these measures, and opted for improve informal housing neighborhoods. The investigations carried out since the years 1960⁵⁷ served to defend the convenience of housing can accommodate in relation with the changes of its residents. It was considered, above all, suitable for housing self-built on land owned, which from those years acquire a valuation new, for adaptable and flexible.

There are many strategies that have been applied to improve the sectors of self-construction (barraquismo, shanty towns, favelas ...). The acting principle fundamental is the consolidation and improvement of these homes. Political will is needed and urban planning, investment and public administration assistance, equipment community, public services, environmental improvements, roads, equipment, solution of constructive problems, family credits. It is necessary above all the security in the possession of the land, which does not mean ownership but simply guarantee of use, without sales possibilities.

There must be clear criteria on the hierarchy of investments within the sector, which they can introduce inequalities in them; for example, in the pavement quality of the streets

⁵⁵ UN Habitat, 2016, p. 13, estimates that in 2001 there were 924 million, 31.6 percent of the urban population total; in developing countries the proportion of the population living in slums increased from 46.2% in 1991 to 39.4 % in 2000, and 29.7% in 2014, but the absolute figures grew: from 689 million in 1990 to 880 in 2014, p.14.

⁵⁶ UN Hábitat, 2016, cap. 4, p. 69 y ss.

⁵⁷ See John Turner since 1963..

What makes the participation of neighbors necessary in decision making, to Share them collectively.

The careful study of the experiences that have been launched in many countries Show your interest. For example, those that were applied in Madrid, Barcelona and other cities Spanish during the years 1980⁵⁸; or those of Brazil, Chile, Nicaragua and others, to resolve the housing problem, especially in the marginal areas of poor groups⁵⁹. The policy followed in Brazilian cities, as a result of the application of the measures adopted by the government of Inacio Lula da Silva and his successor in the presidency affects the natural risk correction, the extension of minimum urban services (energy, water, sewerage), the construction of road and communication infrastructure, and the creation of social, cultural, community and sports services⁶⁰.

As stated in the acknowledgment made about this effort: “start treating the favelas as neighborhoods and their inhabitants as citizens is a huge exercise of urban inclusion, without the informal and spontaneous nature of the favelas being forced, which has become “A new urbanization paradigm for informal settlements, thanks to which the áreas marginals of self-built sub-housing can become cities with citizens ”⁶¹.

The granting of microcredits aimed at improving precarious housing, and count on the collaboration of the inhabitants, associated in neighborhood movements, supporting the implementation of participatory systems and mutual aid, solidarity and cooperation.

As for the land, long-term tenure must be ensured, but also guarantee inability to do business with her, and with the capital gains obtained. I mean there are to explore, or recover formulas to ensure the public nature of the land in the long term, without being sold to other people.

You can also plan the construction of self-construction spaces, which can Modify with family growth. It has been done since the 1970s in officially promoted operations, promoted by local, state and government governments international institutions, such as the World Bank and then by the Inter-American Bank of Developing. The objective has been the implementation of public policies to prevent informal settlements, and the planned regulation

⁵⁸ References can be seen in numerous publications of the Urban Planning Laboratory of Barcelona (LUB), and in Capel 2002 and 2005.

⁵⁹ Valuable experiences in Brazil (Smolke and Larangeira, 2009), in Nicaragua (Pérez Casas, 2016) and in others countries

⁶⁰ The case of Rio de Janeiro is particularly important, and has received international recognition with the City to City Barcelona Fad Award in July 2011.

⁶¹ Criticisms have also been made of some of the measures taken since the 1990s, Marques Gomes and other 2013.

of urban expansion; organize áreas of plots with services (water drainage, electricity, streets) and attribute them to families for that they self-build homes.

These policies may have been supported by the questioning of the principles of Modern Movement, and the valuation of the idea of ‘assisted self-built housing’; in the that homes are being built and transformed by users over time, changing according to your resources and needs. With different strategies on contributions of the families for the plots they receive: payment in installments for the acquisition of the property, with fixed or changing fees with the economic evolution of family income, land municipalization and long-term transfer, land use rentals.

In these policies it is essential to stimulate the systems of self-help and cooperation, as well as the technical advice and the provision of cheap, standardized and prefabricated materials. There have even been extensive and diverse experiences in the same way promoted by private companies, which facilitate the construction of houses with supplies of materials and technical assistance⁶². In all cases, it would be about setting up public systems and similar cooperatives and carry out a minimum initial urbanization with provision of plots to low price, and energy, water and drain indispensable. It's about organizing cooperation community, with integral visions for the solution of problems: economic, social, urban planning, with general legislation and local measures. These lots are provided to families that, with help, they can build their homes; first briefly, and then improve them on successive years. Technical advice is provided for this, and eventually help economical.

The application of these principles to the post-capitalist city can be justified from the valuation of the incomplete city. Some authors have pointed out the desirability of the design Incomplete city, and the positive aspects of the indeterminacy of the form. Han insisted on the importance of the built city being incomplete, not totally built and formal, and have defended that the city is in a constant struggle between balance and imbalance, rigid environments in the form, static, condemned to death in the weather; against this they believe that urban development, the possibility of change is a fact favorable, since it allows for transformation and improvement⁶³. Others have highlighted the absence of urban complexity⁶⁴.

In the post-capitalist city, when inequalities disappear or reduce, all inhabitants They will have the same rights and access to services and housing. In space, there will be no favelas, areas considered as lacking urbanity, marginal, informal, illegal, precarious,

⁶² Like the American Weekly, which allows the client to choose between one hundred types of plants and materials.

⁶³ Richard Sennett 2007.

⁶⁴ Monclús y De la Cal 2012.

disorderly, irregular, or poor, excluded, with social segregation, with bad collective image, lacking basic services, located in locations with environmental risks, with vulnerability. In any case, if you have to take some measures (for its demolition...), it will be done with the participation of the inhabitants.

The problem of informal settlements will be solved with control of urban growth and territory management. This will provide an equitable provision of services, avoid spatial segregation, exclusion, citizen insecurity that is maximum in some of these areas, the informal economy (which is also dominant today in them). And access to health and education⁶⁵.

In the post-capitalist city the problem of informal settlements can be solved with control of urban growth and territory management. But the housing of self-construction surely cannot exist, due to specific technical and technical requirements. building. In the post-capitalist city all the technical elements of comfort and well-being, such as heating and air conditioning, they will be equally distributed so that reach the entire population; and rigorously regulated taking into account the Strong their impact on the environment.

8. The civitas in the post-capitalist society

The city, in addition to buildings and infrastructure, is also constituted, and in a way essential, for citizens, with their behaviors, attitudes and knowledge. It is like collected Isidoro of Seville in the Etymologies, “the crowd of people united by society links ”; are the social, cultural and economic relationships that life in the city makes it possible, and that was traditionally expressed in an urbana urban culture ’different from that of the peasants. A community of inhabitants who live together, but may have unmatched interests, as anarchist thinkers have observed since the 19th century and Marxists, who theorized about the divergences of businessmen and workers living in the city.

In the Generalized Urbanization phase, the contacts, the relationships, experience, culture and education, job opportunities and promotion Social. It is possible that all this continues to be better produced in the compact city than in the dispersed, both in large -which before had undoubted advantages- and in the means and little. But it can also occur in more dispersed areas, especially when they are well connected and interrelated in Urban Regions.

The post-capitalist city must be equitable and ensure the dignity of all inhabitants equally, it will facilitate and allow coexistence, collective solidarity, mixing, social heterogeneity, acceptance and exchange with others. Behaviors urban social will be

⁶⁵ Thus, in the program promoted by the Inter-American Development Bank IDB, carried out in Nicaragua, in 14 precarious neighborhoods of 9 cities Pérez Casas 2016, p. 25.

generalized and will become similar in many parts: structures demographic, culture and general education, information; collective services will be created to help families, the sick, the old, those who have problems.

Many architects value the physical framework as the starting point for life. Collective life should be comfortable, fair, rich, balanced and democratic. But maybe he can defend himself also that if society has these traits, it can solve the problems of shape. Citizen wisdom, in intimate relationship with the work of experts, can create forms adapted to the new needs that arise.

The inhabitants of the post-capitalist city will be less consumerist and wasteful. During the contemporary era there has been the diffusion of the consumer society, at Capital service. The impulse to consumerism will not act in the post-capitalist city, since it will be controlled, and the inhabitants will strive to live frugally. It will try to put emphasis in local and regional solutions; for example, local agriculture could reduce commercial exchanges or activated at a lower cost.

The places of encounter, coexistence, and non-mercantile leisure will be valued. The importance of public space in the city is today widely recognized. Complaints about the progressive loss of urban public space are constant; although it is not safe that are always successful: probably there have never been so many equipments and space public and intervention in it, promoted by municipal, regional and state governments, especially in periods of abundance of public money.

In the post-capitalist city, family privacy will be protected, but also life public and the encounter, the unexpected, for those who want it and when they want it; will abound everywhere public spaces used and occupied without fear.

The public space is both a place of coexistence and conflict. Studies on Parks and gardens make it clear: mothers with children, old, disabled, young, drug addicts, immigrants of various nationalities and cultures. It is not always easy to coexistence. For example, there are conflicts in a public square between pedestrians and roller skates, in the sidewalks between cyclists and pedestrians, and others, which will have to be resolved. At the same time, the experiences of creating public spaces by different groups, the role that the municipal public power must have in it, the design collective and cooperative of public spaces.

The labor problem has to be solved, which, given its frequent shortage, demands the implementation of cooperative initiatives, which will have to be encouraged and helped to manage. He employment may be linked to residence, which will be facilitated by the abundance of available floors.

That can also be useful for travel after retirement to those who want move from place to others more appropriate for advanced ages. They will increase remote contacts, although face-to-face importance may be maintained for important decisions.

In the 1990s the "death of distance" was announced, and even the death of the city, with the possibility of instantly transmitting large amounts of information. He Work could come to one and the cities would stop making sense. But it's not like that. He Telecommuting has many advantages, but also disadvantages; in fact, a scarce Percentage consider that the house is a good place of work⁶⁶; it's a way of working isolated, lonely, which contrasts with the advantages of being together. There are those who come to rent a Office to see others. The interaction between urban agents and actors is essential⁶⁷.

The personal relationships established in the city are basic for the development of the economic activity, both in industry and in services. The studies of a complex industrial like the one in Barcelona, made by M. Tatjer, shows how much of that complexity Increasingly arises from the relationships that are knotted in the cities⁶⁸.

The jobs will have to be distributed, incorporating the population of active age to those who exist. Regarding young people, it is necessary to create mandatory social service systems, which try to extend to adults voluntarily or whenever they receive social salaries, for unemployment or unemployment.

It will tend to appreciate the traditions knowledge and skills of the population, which sometimes They are very useful, without devaluing them. Some professions especially hard or useful they must have strong economic or other compensation: nurses, teachers of first and secondary education, miners, etc.

The post-capitalist city has to face the coexistence of groups with different cultures, and to the problems generated by the different religions, intimately linked to the cultural, and frequently confronted with each other, since frequently each one tries to be exclusive and impose on everyone. Religious beliefs will be reserved for consciences private, without public demonstrations. Against this, secularism will be defended, the secularization, consensual social ethics, legal regulations approved by all. There will be similar citizenship rights for all, without anyone having lower social rights economic or legal; which will force the implementation of integration policies that must necessarily go through collective education in public school, to avoid racism and Xenophobia

⁶⁶ In Nel-lo and Mele 2016, p. 163 (M. Claudel & C. Ratti, Dimensions of the future city).

⁶⁷ Nello and Mele 2016, 212 and 213 (L. Carvalho & Leo Van den Berg, The city as economic engine).

⁶⁸ Tatjer 2014.

The post-capitalist city will also have reasonable rules on sport, which will break with Many of the practices currently accepted. It will be prevented by all means the commodification of sport. For example, football teams that are named after a City will be nurtured only by local players. The current situation in which financial of other countries acquire equipment from different cities of the world.

9. The polis: the political organization and the government of the urban

With the urban growth and generalization of the diffuse city, the political structure is It made more complex. Peripheral municipalities that were not annexed by the city central remained autonomous, and this raised the need for coordination of services and even of municipal governments on the set of what was called the metropolitan area. Some towns or small cities encompassed were reinforced their centrality, and gave the urban area a polycentric arrangement, which, as we have seen, was accentuated in the middle of the twentieth century with the new centers created from the congestion of the traditional center.

In the post-capitalist city, the municipalities will maintain and strengthen their autonomy. Those who are close, which are already associated to manage common problems, will intensify and they will formalize their relationship at regional, state and international level, to cooperate and exchange experiences

In the current capitalist city, a fundamental principle is competition: of companies to invest, of individuals to have work and consume, of countries to impose their economic and political interests of cities to be located in the world or in the country, with the in order to attract investments and have a better image and accessibility. In the post-capitalist city that competition will disappear, and will be replaced by collaboration and solidarity. There will be no need to provide facilities for international capital (reducing wages and supporting companies with economic facilities of soil), but rather it will stimulate the collaboration between the different cities of the world for exchange and development. He will try to distribute the investment among all the cities: “to each one according to their needs”, according to the population they concentrate and the problems to be solved or addressed.

Urban areas will have an increasing weight and interaction capacity. Are already being created embryos of collaborative structures, such as city conferences and mayors, or congresses for the right to the city. Surely they will intensify and They will contribute to the implementation of new political structures. Yes, in the middle of the century XIX could

imagine Universal Unions of Workers and Associations Internationals of them⁶⁹, let's figure out what can be done today with the facilities of the communications It is possible to imagine universal leagues of cities, for collaboration.

That will not affect the continuity of the States, which will continue to exist because they defend and they protect everyone, including the poor and the rural population. It is the only political structure that has been created capable of obtaining resources and distributing them to the population that needs them. The that can be linked to the deepening of democracy, through new mechanisms of citizen participation.

New forms of social organization will appear, with economic and political associations. New citizen movements related to each other to discuss international problems and of a global nature, exchange information, cooperation in projects of common interest defense of rights and claims. That relationship and international collaboration will be essential in post-capitalist society, since to achieve the sum growth zero mutual agreement and the decision of supranational organizations are necessary. The numerous citizenship ties allow international action today, thanks to the relationships cultural and information that exist. Not only the local and the state, but also the supranational and global.

The strong mobility capacity of capitals allows them to blackmail states, regions and, above all, local media; those who control those capitals threaten to lead other places the investment and leave the specific place threatened without employment. That's why Cities and regions are willing to accept even environmental risks. He Capitalism thus brings environmental degradation to the places it needs.

The environment and ecology today constitute a new, used business opportunity for the most dynamic companies. In the post-capitalist city, strategies will have to be designed for the location of the facilities and the polluting processes, which contribute to degrade nature (petrochemicals, wastes of all kinds, industrial and urban. Today they are the poorest countries are those that carry this equipment. In the future we will have to discuss and agree on the location criteria and appropriate compensation.

Another way of building the city and of urban planning is necessary, with the collaboration of technicians and citizens. Many cities around the world are not prepared to respond to the challenges associated with urbanization, as recognized by the organizations international⁷⁰. And you will have to increase your training. But they should not only be

⁶⁹ Like the proposal he made, in the Hispanic world, Flora Tristán in 1848 (in Carlos M. Rama, *Utopismo socialista*, 1977, p. XXI).

⁷⁰ The number of professionals in urban matters is 38 per 100,000 inhabitants in the United Kingdom and 0.23 in India. UN-Habitat 2016, chap. 7, p. 121 et seq. There is therefore an urgent need to reinvent planning urban, and

applied urban technical knowledge, but you should also hear the voices of those who do not they have a voice, with participation; this is necessary in all phases, that is to say in the analysis, in the diagnosis, in the elaboration of proposals, in the application of these, and in the evaluation of process.

Participation in urban planning - and in political activity in general - is not easy. Needed a more active democracy, with new avenues for this; but it is essential to configure it and practice it It requires great effort, and will; and the dedication of politicians, technicians and citizens in the future city the activity of neighborhood associations will be more intense, neighborhood movements, new political parties that capture the aspirations of society. What requires policies and citizenship, which will have to start teaching at school and developing with practice.

Another teaching of architecture and urbanism is needed. There are numerous disqualifications Shallow by some architects to the architecture that is made. So Oriol Bohigas; in the prologue to Fernando de Terán's book, *The Past Active* (2009), he has talked about "the bad architecture suburbial "and" the new anti-urban movements that the Star System gives us to order of advertising and mercantilism ". Urban planning is necessary; but surely the Basic issues are coexistence in equality, work, school and health. Then we can consider urban planning, which contributes to improving the conditions of life, housing, transport, public space and facilitates coexistence.

Faced with the current teaching of architecture, the solution is, it has been written, instilling values different from those spread in the Schools of Architecture, "encouraging development of judgment, but in the perspective of a human being, not a professional "; just being aware of the "power structures that control them and society in general", They will be able to negotiate within those structures.

Surely it is true, as some author thinks, that they have more resources than ever to build the city, but they are not used creatively⁷¹. The reason is that there is a overdetermination, both of the visual forms of the city and its social functions. But it is not true that with the rigid images of urban design, with delineations precise technicians "urban imagination lose vitality." It all depends on how it is Make the design. The diverse, mixed city is necessary; as you also have to be open to changes that occur, to the unforeseen.

extend technical knowledge to all countries, since many cities lack them in Enough dimension to address problems.

⁷¹ See Sennet 2007.

We must also think that science and technology are used in a positive way and emancipatory, and there is no inappropriate or evil use of them⁷². What requires a great surveillance of the instances of power and social in general. On the other hand, in the social field, political and human in general, social, political, and human progress in general can get lost, as has happened on many occasions, which also requires being very vigilante.

Not everything can be allowed in the city. Not only because the freedom of each individual ends when it negatively affects others, but also because there are public behaviors and attitudes that are incompatible with the civic spirit. On this we must be very clear. They may be even behaviors of ancient origin, and rooted in popular culture, but that cannot accept for example, in relation to the treatment of women; but also because they are Unacceptable, such as drug use, responsible for drug trafficking. We will have to be clear about it and incorporate it into laws and civic ordination.

The rights that are recognized in some constitutions and legal texts of various countries, they have to come true in all; such as housing education, non-discrimination, participatory democracy and others. It has been criticized again and again that they are not met and have to be it With the regulations, the city can be fairer and more equitable. But it will not be exempt from problems. There will be unforeseen problems, especially related to it human condition You see there is a lot of work to do.

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⁷² See John Gray 2007 and others Works.

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