

* Paper presented to the Urban and Regional Research Committee, RC 21
International Sociological Association Forum of Sociology ISA,
August 1- 4 2012 Buenos Aires.

Urban Inequalities and Segregation In Montevideo*

Danilo Veiga**

* Professor of Urban and Regional Sociology. School of Social Sciences, Universidad de la República. Montevideo Uruguay. Member of Latin American Council of Social Sciences CLACSO, Red Iberoamericana Globalización y Territorio RII, LASA and RC 21 International Sociological Association ISA. daniloalbertoveiga@gmail

ABSTRACT

This Paper illustrates the interrelationship between urban inequalities and segregation in Montevideo. The analysis is based on an atypical city in Latin America that despite its characteristic "Welfare State" background, during the last fifteen years, has gone through contexts of crisis, social inequalities and economic growth. On this regard, it is an interesting "case study", to integrate for comparative analysis.

The research findings presented contribute to the analysis of social processes, considering trends from statistical data and indicators, as well as the perception and images of the city from the local actors, related to the "subjective construction of the city". Both perspectives are necessary to study the fragmented social and spatial map. The analysis shows that Montevideo and its Metropolitan Area configure a heterogeneous society, which includes neighborhoods and areas with specific patterns and dynamics.

Although Montevideo is not a global city, it is interesting to remark - as shows comparative research - , that has been an increase in social inequalities in the urban space, within a heterogeneous social structure and also an expansion of sectors of the middle class in the peripheral areas (Taschner, Bogus 2001, Preteceille, Cardoso 2008, Leal, Veiga 2008, Koch, and Valdes 2008).

On this regard, both poor and upper classes established in homogenous social spaces, while the middle classes are scattered throughout the city. This reflects the influence of economic restructuring and labor changes, new family roles, cultural and consumption patterns, which induce diverse stratification cleavages, particularly among the middle classes, and their spatial differentiation. In the case of Montevideo both social indicators analysis and qualitative study match these trends. In sum, this Paper analyzes the social structure of urban segregated areas and its changes, as well as the role of public policies in the socio-spatial transformations.

On the first section, hypotheses and theoretical assumptions concerning social inequality, segregation and urban fragmentation are introduced. In the second part, we illustrate the socioeconomic characteristics of main areas in Montevideo, arisen from statistical data and social indicators. Thirdly, we present the images about social inequalities and segregation according to public perception and qualitative analysis; finally some conclusions are set forward.

1) SOCIAL INEQUALITIES IN THE URBAN AREAS

Uruguay has been traditionally known in the Latin American context, because of its high relative levels of equity and social integration, during the 1990s, new forms of social differentiation and vulnerability, resulted in increasing social inequalities, which strengthened economic and socio cultural fragmentation. One of the main consequences of these processes has been growing social exclusion and the residential and educational segregation of the population. In this perspective, we analyze the interplay between social inequality, exclusion and urban segregation in Montevideo, according to several trends and studies (Veiga and Rivoir 2008, Alves et al 2009).¹

The following analysis is based on an atypical society in Latin America, considering the "welfare state" implemented since the first decades of the twentieth century. However during the last twenty years, the country has been inserted into domestic and external contexts that involve alternatively economic restructuring, privatization, socioeconomic crisis and economic growth and redistribution. On this regard, it is known that since the assumption of the Frente Amplio Government in 2005, new social and economic policies were encouraged, particularly in fighting poverty, and improving socio-economic progress, facing the deep socioeconomic crisis that Uruguayan population suffered during the years of 2001 to 2003.

Initially, it is necessary to highlight certain aspects of urban restructuring that influenced the socio economic structure of our capital city. On this regard, it should be considered that during the seventies and eighties, the price of housing and transportation, grew faster than average consumer prices, and declining of real income influenced population displacements, leading to migration to the inner city areas with differential growth. Later on, during the nineties, there were significative displacements of middle classes to suburban residential areas, appearance of shopping centers in areas of higher socioeconomic status, like the East Coast, private security, etc.

¹ Uruguay Income distribution showed a change in its trend toward the middle of 1990 (UNDP, 2008), a period that began in the early eighties, followed a gentle but continuous increase in inequality. These increases that accompany an expansion cycle and then continued in recession. Despite its location in the regional context, various studies have indicated the position of relative advantage that holds Uruguay in the Latin-American context (Vigorito 1999). Since the late 80's many Latin American countries experienced significant increases in levels of inequality, but not Uruguay (Alves et al 2009).

These phenomena implied different levels of space appropriation and socioeconomic differentiation, as well as urban changes, particularly in the population behavior, reflecting changes in consumption, social relations and collective strategies, which respond to diverse situations, expectations and values of different social classes.

During these years, there has been an increase in Montevideo urban segregation between different social classes and strata, as a result of inequalities in living standards, accessibility and services in various residential areas and environmental quality. Population movements stimulated segmentation and the consequent changes in life styles, implying a sharp residential segregation in a society that has been characterized by its proximity and integration between different social classes, but that has strongly changed during the last twenty years (Katzman and Retamoso 2005, Social Observatory IMM 2007 and Veiga 2010).

Furthermore, it is known that emerging global networks simultaneously articulate individuals, sectors and areas, while exclude many other persons, groups and territories. As a result, urban spaces are crossed by this logic in the emerging transnational networks of dynamic components of globalization, while discriminating and excluding different social groups. Eventually, societies in the information era, involve structural changes in production relations, which generate increasing inequality and social exclusion and fragmentation of employment. (Castells 1998).

In this context, we recall that according to one of the central assumptions about the so-called "global cities", industrial transformation and expansion of services, would lead to a dual social structure in employment and population income (Sassen 1991, Castells and Mollenkopf 1991). However, research conducted in different countries, contrasts this bipolarization trend, and show that there is an increase in social inequality between the two extremes of the urban population, but in a non-dual and fragmented pattern, with a diversified social structure and an increase of the middle classes in the outlying areas. (Taschner and Bogus 2001, Leal 2008 and Preteceille 2008).

This finding is important, as it reflects the influence on everyday life, of economic restructuring and changes in employment, the new composition of household and family roles, and diversity of cultural patterns. These processes induce significant changes in social stratification, and particularly in the middle classes which are expressed in their fragmentation and situation in the urban space.

From this perspective, we assume the hypothesis of case studies on "Globalizing Cities", concerning that most cities receive impacts of the globalization process, but the extent of its effects, is not the result of their position in the international order, but depends of the nature and extent of that process, and there is no uniform or singular model of global city (Marcuse and Van Kempen 2000). Furthermore, comparative research on Latin American metropolises, has confirmed increasing polarization and social inequality as major events in the context of globalization (de Mattos 2004).

When we analyze the interrelationship of these processes with public policy and particularly social policies, it appears that its impacts and consequences on population groups and social classes differ according to their influence on living standards. The combination of these elements and patterns of location, within the cities, led to significant cleavages and segregation, between the population living in different areas, involving restrictions, according to degrees of "social risk", which affect the vulnerable groups. On this regard, during the past two decades, there were structural changes associated to increasing inequality and social exclusion. Thus, the following trends may be highlighted:

- Economic restructuring, involving social and territorial diversity, to the extent that local communities are embedded in unequal development scenarios and consequent socio-economic fragmentation.
- Labor market trends during the early years of the decade (2001-2003), - unemployment, informality and precariousness - along with the decline and / or loss of income, determined "new forms of poverty" and impoverishment that stimulated social disintegration and segregation.
- Consequent social and urban heterogeneity is not a simple consequence of social inequalities, but is the result of social differentiation in space and feedback these processes.

- Cultural components of segregation and inequality are relevant factors of social exclusion, as they reflect perceptions and behaviors, through which some groups ignore others, reproducing exclusion through real and symbolic barriers.

In addition, within this context arise diverse processes associated to significant impacts at the urban and local areas, as:

- Diffusion of new information technologies and social networks.
- Expansion of new cultural and consumption patterns.
- New family strategies and forms of appropriation of the urban space.
- Socioeconomic polarization patterns.
- Emergency of actors with conflicts and demands for public management.

On this regard, these trends reflect the distribution of classes in the urban space and also of social exclusion, as revealed research in Montevideo (Veiga and Rivoir op.cit.) and other Latin American cities (Torres Ribeiro et al 2004, Portes et al 2005). It also has been demonstrated that growth of lower and middle low class and particularly the fragmentation of the middle class, was a result of the impoverishment of the population during the crisis, closely linked to the increasing inequality in Argentina and Uruguay (Filgueira 2002, Boado and Fernandez 2006).

From this perspective, we remind that "fragmentation of individual experiences that belong to various places and times", is a fundamental feature of modern life, as suggested several years ago Alain Touraine (1997). This balance economics' approaches in the analysis of globalization, emphasizing the cultural diversity within relatively homogeneous societies - like Uruguayan and Montevideo's -. In this sense, the analysis of relationships between globalized cultures versus local cultures, may contribute to a better understanding of these processes (Featherstone 1998). For instance, several processes configure new social relations and everyday life situations for urban population, such as:

- The loss of "frameworks and traditional socialization agents", by changes in the family, education, neighborhood and increasing urban segregation.
- The withdrawal of the national state and municipal levels, through increased privatization, outsourcing and loss of public space.

- The globalization of consumption, and their differential expression between social classes and within the urban space.

On this concern, there is a complex interrelationship between the main components and dimensions that influence social inequality. It may be inferred that the profound changes produced during the last two decades in the traditional core "agents of socialization" - family, school, neighborhood and labor –, have relevant effects in the transformations of norms, values and social behavior; reproducing isolation and segregation among different social classes in the cities.

On the other hand, the perception and images of social inequality, have academic and policy relevance, and are closely related to public policies and the discussion on "development models", that civil society and governments have undertake in several countries in South America (cf. Scalón 2004, Reis 2004 and Wortman 2007). From this perspective, the following diagram, illustrates the complex interplay between social inequalities and spatial processes, and the role of perceptions and stigmas that social groups and classes operate, and feedback urban segregation and exclusion.

URBAN INEQUALITIES AND SEGREGATION DIMENSIONS AND INTERRELATION

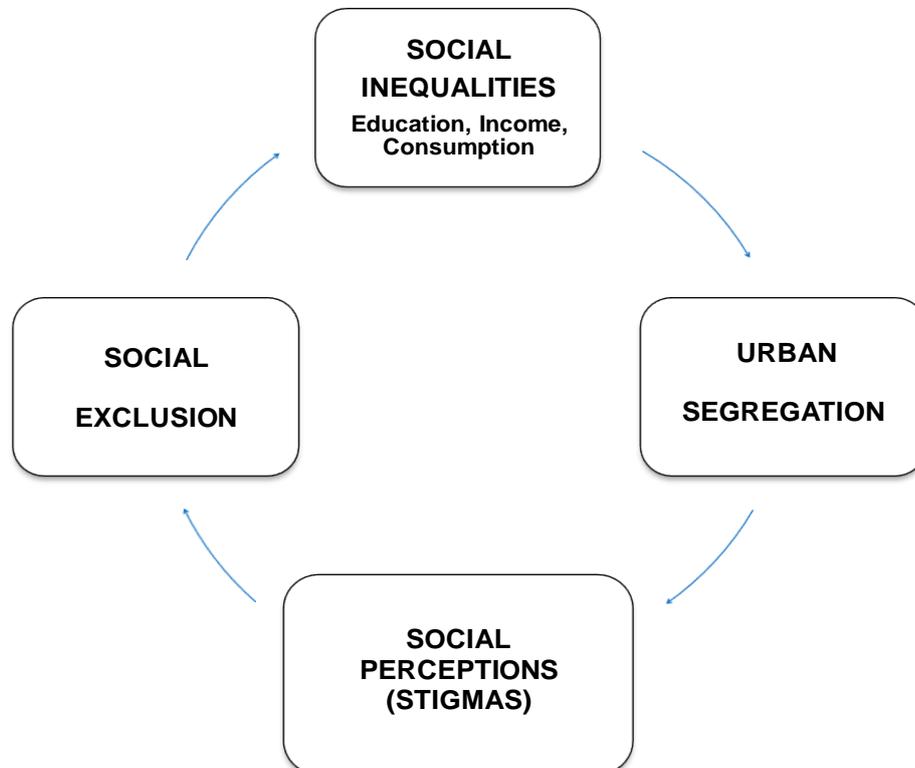


Figure 1

Within this frame of reference, it should be mentioned that several significant trends observed since the mid nineties to 2004 in the labor market - increasing unemployment, informality and precariousness – have been crucial factors in the emergence of "new forms of poverty and impoverishment of the middle class." It is known that, when these conditions persist for a long time and generations, changes in employment - and lack of social security - affect every day lives, stimulating social disintegration and urban segregation.

For instance, the "impoverishment of the middle class" produced during these years in countries like Argentina and Uruguay, assumed diverse forms and consequences on families organization, social interaction, insecurity, etc. (Wortman 2007, Minujin and Anguita 2004, Veiga 2010 op. cit.).

In this context, the research findings presented in this Paper confirm trends that Montevideo shares with other Latin American cities – as increasing residential segregation and social polarization - as well as some features of the Uruguayan case, according to its peculiar social and demographic structure in the region – lowest inequality and elderly population -. For this purpose, a classic methodological approach in sociological studies was used: Construction of social indicators from main statistical sources. (Census and Household Surveys National Institute of Statistics)² .

2) SOCIAL INEQUALITIES IN MONTEVIDEO

2.1 Social inequalities and urban segregation

We assume that urban segregation is not a simple consequence of social inequalities, but is the result of social differentiation within the cities. Actually they are processes that feedback, the position and identity of a given area, conditioned by the socio-economic structure. Thus, the various forms of residential and educational segregation represent the distribution of classes and social exclusion in the territory.

² We are grateful for the data processing and maps elaboration for this research, conducted by our colleague Prof. Susana Lamschtein of the Sociology Department and Data Bank of the Faculty of Social Sciences.

From a sociological perspective, socio-spatial segregation may be characterized as a form of social differentiation, which expresses the distribution of the social structure in the urban space. Furthermore it is understood that determinants of urban segregation stem from three levels, corresponding to different organizational domains: the collective level of social interaction, the physical-space and the level of symbolic and psychological processes that shape individual behavior.³

Socio-spatial segregation traditionally refers to the existence of differences and social inequalities, within the urban community and social groups according to specific attributes with a tendency to reduced interactions with other groups. Spatial isolation and alienation between groups would promote social disintegration, which is considered harmful, especially for low classes, who show a worsening of social problems such as poor school performance, unemployment, lack of social protection, precarious housing, insecurity and poverty.

In this context, even in societies like Uruguay - with high relative levels of equity in the regional context -, social deficits feed the cycle of poverty and urban segregation -. On this regard, we recall that increasing poverty levels during the crisis of 2001 and 2003 consolidated diverse forms of inequality and vulnerability; which were strongly compensated by public policies implemented since 2005 by the Frente Amplio government, that stimulated economic recovery and then poverty levels significantly decreased ⁴ (Tables 1, 2, 3 and Figure 2).

It is known that one of the main consequences of the mentioned processes is social exclusion, through forms of segregation. On this regard, certain strategic dimensions, such as access to education and knowledge induce fragmentation among the population that does not reach them (PNUD UNDP op.cit.). From this perspective, the following social indicators demonstrate distinctive characteristics of socio-economic areas within the urban space. For this purpose, we elaborated a socio-territorial typology - classifying Montevideo neighborhoods according to social structure and stratification levels - in four main areas: Suburban Periphery, North West, Center and East Coast. (Maps).

³ A recent and comprehensive research about social inequality and segregation in México, gives an excellent example of quantitative methodological approach about these complex processes (Rubalcava et al 2012).

⁴ According to recent data from the INE and Minister of Economy, while in 2004, there was 40% of poor population, in 2012 this figure has declined to 14%. Moreover, the Gini index of income concentration decreased: and while in 2004 the richest 10% of the population was 19 times the poorest 10%, in 2012 this indicator has decreased by 13 times. (Budget Committee of the Parliament July 10th 2012).

On the first place, table 1 illustrates the evolution of social stratification in the period 2001-2011. The data are eloquent and indicate the profound changes experienced by the different social strata in these years; with increasing poverty in the first part of the decade, and the subsequent reversal of this trend towards 2011. Secondly, table 2 enables to appreciate the characteristics and evolution of the main great socio-economic areas in Montevideo and reflects the changing distribution of social classes in the urban space⁵.

Table 1

SOCIAL STRATIFICATION IN MONTEVIDEO
EVOLUTION 2001 - 2011 (% Population)

Socioeconomic Strata	2001	2004	2011
Low	16,1	19,4	7.4
Middle low	23,5	25,1	15.5
Middle	29,3	28,7	31.6
Middle high	15,5	13,5	21.0
High	15,6	13,2	24.6
Total %	100	100	100

* Source: Stratification Index that combines income, education and consumption levels. Sociology Department Data Bank FCS UDELAR, based on Household Surveys INE Instituto Nacional de Estadística.

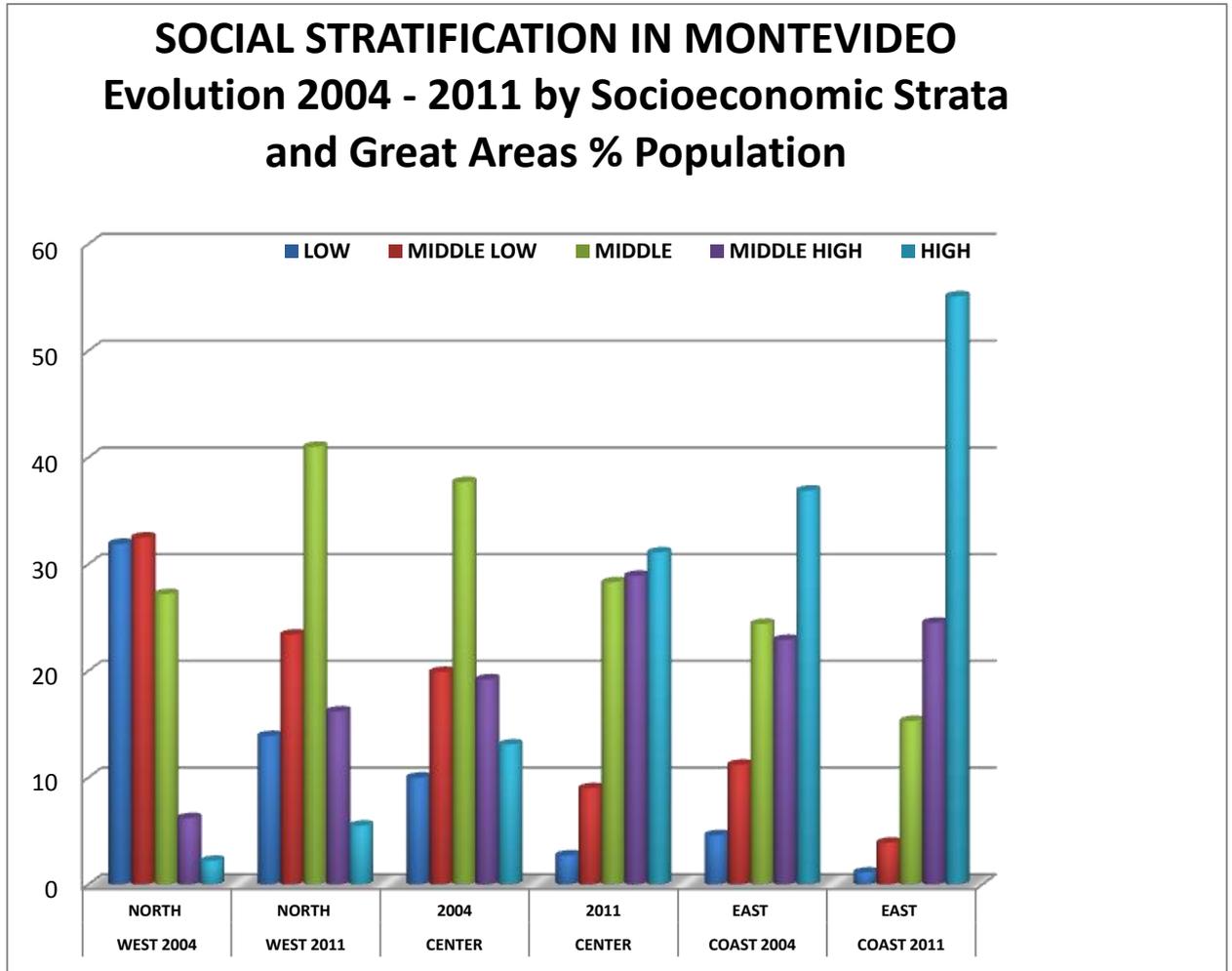
⁵ Certainly in this Paper we do not address the complex discussion of sociological literature on social classes and stratification. Therefore for operational and analytical purposes, it was elaborated an index of social stratification, as a "proxy variable" of social class, which is illustrated in the tables, figures and maps.

Table 2

SOCIAL STRATIFICATION IN MONTEVIDEO
Evolution 2004 - 2011 by Great Areas (% Population)

Social Strata	North West	North West	Center	Center	East Coast	East Coast
	2004	2011	2004	2011	2004	2011
Low	31.9	13.9	10	2.7	4.6	1.1
Middle low	32.5	23.4	19.9	9	11.2	3.9
Middle	27.2	41	37.7	28.3	24.4	15.3
Middle high	6.2	16.2	19.2	28.9	22.9	24.5
High	2.2	5.5	13.1	31.1	36.9	55.1

* Source: Stratification Index that combines income, education and consumption levels. Sociology Department Data Bank FCS UDELAR, based on Household Surveys INE Instituto Nacional de Estadística.

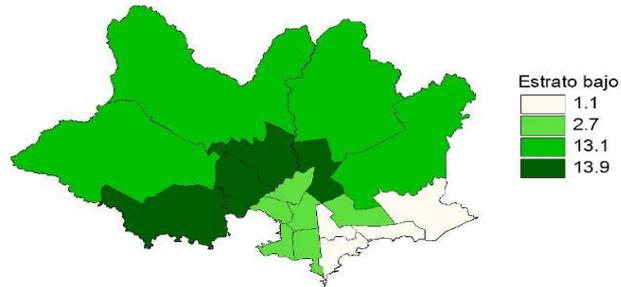


* Source: Social Stratification Index that combines income, education and consumption levels. Sociology Dept. Data Bank FCS UDELAR, based on Household Surveys INE.

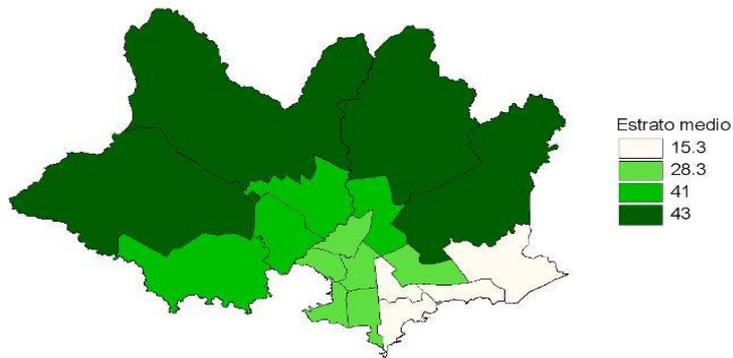
Figure 2

MAPS 1, 2, 3 Population in low, medium and high stratum (%) 2011 Suburban Periphery, North West, Center and East Coast

Porcentaje de personas en el estrato bajo según grandes áreas de Montevideo 2011



Porcentaje de personas en el estrato medio según grandes áreas de Montevideo 2011



Porcentaje de personas en el estrato alto según grandes áreas de Montevideo 2011

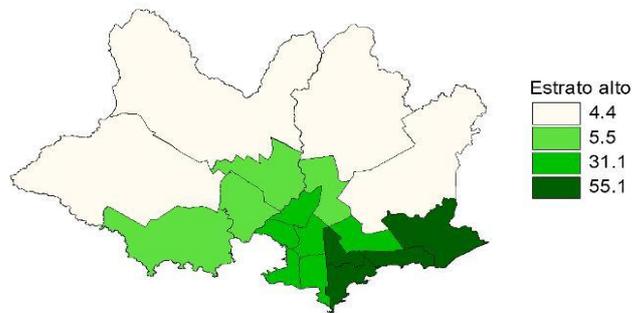


Table 3 **INCOME DISTRIBUTIONS IN MONTEVIDEO (%) Households**
Evolution 2004 - 2011 by levels and Great Areas

Areas	North West	North West	Center	Center	East Coast	East Coast
Income Levels	2004	2011	2004	2011	2004	2011
1 Low	31.8	12.1	9.8	2.2	4.5	0.9
2	39.1	32.5	31.4	12.6	17.7	5.8
3	14.1	19.1	18.2	14.7	14.2	7.7
4	13.2	30.7	31.3	47.2	38.7	39.7
5	1.2	3.4	4.1	10.1	8.3	15.4
6	0.3	1.2	2.2	5.4	5.9	9.8
7 High	0.3	1.1	3.0	7.7	10.8	20.5

* Source: Income levels from Data Bank FCS UDELAR, based on Household Surveys.INE.

On the other hand - while unemployment has fallen since 2005 and continues falling in 2012 to its lowest level in many decades - some indicators of exclusion in the labor market (Table 4) illustrate the unemployment rates of the EAP (Economic Active Population), showing the high rates of women and particularly young unemployment in the North, West and peripheral areas.

Moreover, Table 5 shows the evolution of educational levels of the economic population in the period 2001-2011, according to the main urban areas.⁶ While global figures reflect the expansion and improvement of education produced in these last years, particularly at the tertiary level, still educational levels inequalities particularly in sectors of low and lower middle class residents may be appreciated. This has direct relation to the prevailing socioeconomic status in their respective areas and neighborhoods, as illustrated.

In brief, these indicators reflect the inequalities among the main areas of the city and the limited social capital of residents in many neighborhoods, which in turn suggest the socio-economic barriers that face population segregated.

Table 4

UNEMPLOYMENT AND EDUCATION LEVELS
by Great Areas Montevideo 2011(%)

AREAS / Social Indicators	North West	Suburb. Periphery	Center	East Coast
Unemployment 14-25 years	14.1	15.7	10.1	12.6
Unemployment Women	9.3	9.7	6.0	5.8
% Low Education EAP	22.7	24.7	7.2	3.9
% Secondary Education EAP	64.5	64.1	48.9	35.6
% Terciary Education EAP	12.8	11.2	43.9	60.5

* Source: Sociology Dept. and Data Bank FCS UDELAR, based on Household Surveys INE.

⁶ One of the outstanding achievements in education concerning public policies implemented by the Uruguayan government after 2005, - oriented to reinforce equity in education and technology in the information society -, is the "Plan Ceibal" based on the Program *One laptop per child* (Nicholas Negroponte of MIT, USA). According to recent statistics, more than 80 % of primary public school children during the years 2008/2010 have been provided with a laptop, and the objective is to reach the totality of school children and it is presently expanding the Program to secondary schools.

Table 5 **EDUCATIONAL LEVELS ECONOMIC ACTIVE POP. (% EAP)**
Evolution by Great Areas Montevideo 2001- 2011

Year	AREAS / Educational Levels	North West	Suburb. Periphery	Center	East Coast
2001	Primary	33,1	36,4	15,2	8,9
2011	“	22.7	24.7	7.2	3.9
2001	Secondary	56,9	56,9	54,3	43,9
2011	“	64.5	64.1	48.9	35.6
2001	Terciary	10,0	6,7	30,5	47,2
2011	“	12.8	11.2	43.9	60.5

* Source: Sociology Dept. and Data Bank FCS UDELAR, based on Household Surveys INE.

2.2 Social stratification and urban fragmentation

We have previously presented a set of social indicators that illustrate the socio-economic inequalities within Montevideo, and basic patterns of social stratification evolution were evaluated, in order to approach us to social class's distribution in the period 2001 to 2011. The results obtained show the existence of significant differences in the social and spatial structure of Montevideo (distribution, weight and evolution of social strata in great areas of the city). It should be emphasized as a singular phenomenon, the “fragmentation of the middle class”, regarding the differentiation of the middle strata in different areas of the city, with magnitudes that enable to characterize Montevideo as a society of "middle classes", as much as they represent between 50 and 60 % of the population, depending on the limits or operational definitions used.

Although during the crisis years of 2001-2003, poverty strongly increased and the lower classes migrate to the periphery of the city; on the other hand middle-class sectors have spread to most urban areas, suggesting the economic and social fragmentation that these important sectors of the Uruguayan society have been and are still exposed. Behaviors, lifestyles and values of these population sectors are changing profoundly, and considering their influence and the role they play in our societies, they must be subject of further research and analysis.⁷

Likewise, the following maps illustrate as indicator of urban segregation – the distribution of resident's occupational categories (occupation groups of high, medium and low categories) -. These express the socio-economic fragmentation in the urban space and show the dispersion of main socioeconomic groups.⁸

Finally, we analyze – as another relevant social indicator of segregation -, the consumption levels of the urban population, confirming their significant increase during the last years. As it was mentioned before, improvement in economic and social conditions of Uruguay, - even considering differences among social classes -, illustrate the progress in living standards in Montevideo (Table 6). On the other hand, consumption changes indirectly reflect population lifestyles and complement the socioeconomic trends, related to stratification patterns, social mobility and economic recovery during the last eight years.

On this concern, it is interesting and consistent with the Uruguayan case and trends, the analysis put forward in the article “Crece y cambia la clase media en América Latina” (Franco et al 2011), showing the growth and changes that middle classes are having in many countries, as well as their characteristics associated to new consumption patterns and the redefinition of its role in our societies. With a similar perspective a recent Paper by Nora Lustig (2012), indicates that around 36% of middle classes growth, is due to redistribution policies implemented during these last years in our countries. Despite the obvious differences, this is clear in Brasil and Uruguay, where social mobility for sectors of the lower classes has enabled large contingents of people to become of middle class, during the last eight years.

⁷ Among the comprehensive studies on social classes in Latin America, it may be highlighted the work of A. Portes and K. Hoffman (2003), R. Franco et al. (2007) and recently Ruth Sautu (2012).

⁸ A study on segregation in Sao Paulo, Rio de Janeiro and Paris, using socio occupational categories in disaggregated areas of these cities, makes an important contribution to the analysis of segregation in the urban space (Preteceille and Cardoso 2008).

MAPS 4, 5, 6 (%) Occupation categories by Groups Montevideo 2011
North West, Periphery, Center and East Coast
High, Medium and Low Occupational Groups

Porcentaje de directivos, profesionales y técnicos según grandes áreas de Montevideo 2011



Porcentaje de trabajadores calificados y empleados según grandes áreas de Montevideo 2011



Porcentaje de operarios y trabajadores no calificados según grandes áreas de Montevideo 2011

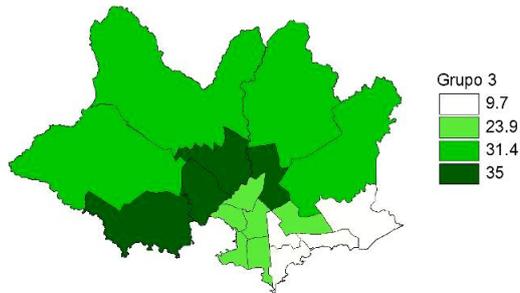


Table 6 **CONSUMPTION LEVELS IN MONTEVIDEO***
(% Households) 1998- 2011

Levels of Consumption	1998	2004	2011
Low	2,1	2,2	1.4
Middle low	45,5	38,5	16.6
Middle	27,2	11,3	14.2
Middle high	21,7	41,7	61.9
High	3,6	6,2	5.9
Total	100	100	100

* Source: Consumption Index levels that combines a set of electro domestic items.

Furthermore as mentioned before, the Uruguayan case is consistent with the findings of comparative analysis in other Latin American countries, showing that changes in social stratification have been associated with reduced public sector and stagnating employment in the formal market, which stimulated the growth of self-employment and precarious forms. These had significant impacts on living standards of the lower and middle classes, and although those processes were produced during the nineties, some of their consequences still persist (Portes and Hoffman 2003 op.cit.).

At last as J. Leal argues regarding housing and segregation in European cities, segregation is a process that reflects social change, and which distances away social groups (Leal 2007). On this concern, we emphasize that in the case of Montevideo, the various forms of residential and educational segregation are manifestations of social exclusion in the territory. Moreover, it is interesting to remind in relation to the growing urban fragmentation - that isolation and segregation in our cities -, it is generally more acute in the upper classes than among the poor (Preteceille 2007). This has profound implications on the living conditions of different population strata, as well as in social capital and interaction, privatization of the urban space, etc.

For instance, the growing problems of isolation, intolerance, violence, insecurity, etc., which occur among different social classes and areas of Montevideo, constitute crucial examples of urban segregation. To that extent, different levels of discrimination have been identified within the population of Montevideo, according to a study by the Municipality of Montevideo (Program URBAL European Union - IMM 2007). On this regard, this research finding indicate that social intolerance is significantly higher among upper classes and upper middle residents in neighborhoods of the East Coast, compared to other social strata in the city.

In addition, the referred Study of URBAL – IMM also analyzed the perception of residents in different areas, according to their socioeconomic level. This survey confirmed "material and symbolic boundaries", in Montevideo where individuals from different social classes, have difficult access to other areas of urban life. These complex issues are undoubtedly hard to measure empirically, but ultimately some "proxy variables", help to understand some of these problems. (See maps with patterns of social stratification in different areas of Montevideo).

It is known that after 2005, the Uruguayan government implemented a series of public policies of "Emergency Plans" (food, health, education and citizen income) for the poorest sectors, as well as wage increases and jobs generation, which alleviated the difficulties and basic needs of important sectors of the population. However, beyond the economic and social policies adopted, the effects of the crisis coupled with the structural problems and changes in the labor market, induced changes and consolidate patterns of distribution of the social classes in urban areas.

Likewise, other significant processes to remark concern some patterns of gentrification produced in the Central area of Montevideo, arisen from the migration of middle high and high strata population during the last years. This well known process in other developed societies and in Latin American cities represents a significant change in the social and spatial structure of Montevideo⁹ (Preteceille 2009, Herzer et. al. 2008).

Traditional gentrification usually involves residential displacement within existing housing stocks, while broadly defined gentrification includes housing redevelopment and mixed-use consumption patterns accompanying it. Studies on gentrification have mainly focused on localized processes, nevertheless, it has been suggested that analysis of gentrification should go beyond the local context, dealing with wider issues of urban change, such as the impacts of globalization and changes in the urban space (Marcuse and van Kempen 2000).

On this regard, in the context of post-Fordist and globalization, gentrification has become even a characteristic of the emerging "global cities" (Sassen 1991). Moreover, as cities experience socioeconomic, political, and geographical transformations since the late 1970s, linked to processes of economic restructuring and urban changes; a broader definition of gentrification reflects capital accumulation and reorganization of the labor market in cities (Smith 2005). On the other hand, the process of gentrification involve a variety of players, including builders, municipalities, real estate agents and tenants, with an important role of public policy and local state dynamics influencing the gentrifying process, modulating the market and intervening in economic activities.

⁹ To some extent, also in Montevideo, the gentrification process induces more homogeneity in the urban society, whereas upper middle class sectors migrate to these central areas and mix with other social classes. (E. Preteceille op. cit.).

Originally, Smith (1979) had argued that the process of gentrification is initiated not by consumer preferences, but by forms of collective social action at the neighborhood level. Likewise, the State, initiated most of the early schemes of gentrification, and although it plays a lesser role today, is still important. On this regard, besides the demands for inner city housing from the middle class, market opportunities in central area neighborhoods and public policies, are also essential to induce gentrification. The academic discussion and the sociological implications about urban policies are complex and multidimensional and there are interesting contributions about these phenomena and process (Debate on gentrification IJURR 2008).

The case of Montevideo corresponds to this frame of reference and elements, in regard to the implementation of public policies (municipal) jointly with private interests for urban renewal and socioeconomic improvement in the Central areas; that were promoted during the last ten years. To that extent, the trends of population dynamics and growth in these neighborhoods indicate patterns of gentrification. On this concern, data from previous figure 2, table 3 and maps, illustrate the increase and the population displacements of middle high and high strata population towards the Central areas of the city.

In synthesis, according to previous data and trends, there has been an increase in social inequality between the two extremes of the urban population, but in a non-dual and fragmented way, with a diversification of society and a raise in middle class in the outlying areas of the city (maps and tables 2 and 3).

On this regard, it is necessary to remark that upper-class sectors consolidated in the East coast, reaching 55% of the population in these neighborhoods in 2011, with a significant increase in the period 2004-2011. In brief - beyond the global impoverishment of population produced during the first years of this century -, two outstanding phenomenon in the recent period have been: the significant increase of the lower classes and middle low, and the fragmentation of the middle class, distributed among different areas in Montevideo and its metropolitan area.

In the next section, complementing the former analysis, we examine the perception about social inequalities within the city, arisen from the local actors. Both perspectives provide different and reliable approaches concerning socioeconomic changes in the urban space.

3) THE PERCEPTION OF SOCIAL INEQUALITIES AND URBAN SEGREGATION

In addition to previous social indicators and trends, in the following pages we introduce the images and public perceptions about social inequalities and urban segregation in Montevideo. On this context, it arises different and complex perspectives about several problems presented before, which illustrate socio-territorial inequalities and segregation. Likewise, these research findings complement the quantitative data and indicators and help to configure the scenario reflecting social processes and urban changes (Veiga and Rivoir op.cit.).¹⁰

Moreover, the complex interrelationship among the variables intervening in social perceptions about local changes may be illustrated with the following quotation from R. Sampson (2009), - within a similar frame of reference and perspective, to our study in Montevideo -, representing the diverse dimensions that influence public perceptions about social structure. *"The perceptions of social issues reflect a fundamental dimension of social inequality in the neighborhoods, these perceptions of social problems was formed from the socio-cultural conditions, making representations and images that reinforce stigma and influence the future trajectory of neighborhoods"*.

On this regard, local informants in Montevideo acknowledged that during the crisis of 2001-2003, many people suffered problems like deterioration in housing conditions, health and education; together with their subjective perception - feelings, hopelessness, violence, insecurity, lack of enthusiasm and future perspectives -. According to them, these phenomena led to the fragmentation of the society and urban space, and it was expressed as a fracture of existing social ties and a breakdown of symbolic nature and sense of insecurity.

Concerning the public perceptions throughout these last years, the mentioned social inequalities match the dynamics of metropolitan areas in other Latin-American countries (de Mattos op.cit.), such as new forms of exclusion and marginalization caused by structural dynamics. In this context, the assertions illustrated in the following Table 7 reflect the main issues, representations and images of population living in different areas of metropolitan Montevideo.

¹⁰ The interviews with qualified informants - by their institutional affiliation (government and civil society), and expert knowledge of their area -; provided relevant information (though not statistically representative), and enables to visualize the representations and social perception of public opinion.

Likewise, several problems highlighted reveal diverse socio-economic changes, internal migration and situation of the lower classes that created or aggravated social and urban problems and saturated the existing social services, which usually they contained or resolved. In addition, it should be pointed out that during the last twenty years, there has been an important growth of precarious settlements (at annual rate of 10%) - and more recently of gated communities -, which have contributed to residential segregation and social polarization.

Table 7

SOCIAL INEQUALITIES PERCEPTION
By Sub Areas METROPOLITAN MONTEVIDEO

<p>A) City of the Coast</p> <p>Infrastructure damaged by decades of lack of policies.</p> <p>Pollution and poor sanitation.</p> <p>Growth of informal settlements.</p> <p>Social barriers between areas.</p> <p>Schools overburdened with population growth.</p>
<p>B) Peripheral North East</p> <p>Poverty and socio-cultural exclusion.</p> <p>Industrial pollution problems.</p> <p>Disorganized urbanization.</p>
<p>C) Peripheral Center</p> <p>Population dispersed.</p> <p>Large and heterogeneous area.</p> <p>Lack of services.</p>
<p>D) Peripheral North West</p> <p>Lack of public services and sanitation.</p> <p>Lack of recreation places.</p> <p>Family disintegration.</p>

Source: Veiga 2010 on field survey in Metropolitan Montevideo.

Furthermore, Table 8 illustrates the perception about major changes in lifestyles; concerning the changes identified, they involve structural changes and public policies. On this regard, it should be remarked that socio-economic trends identified previously, generated long-term effects on family values, norms of coexistence, education, discrimination, etc. On the other hand, social perceptions about changes in lifestyles, culture and consumption, are related to structural transformations previously mentioned such as economic recovery, social mobility, new family arrangements and diverse life strategies.¹¹

Table 8

**SOCIAL INEQUALITIES AND PUBLIC PERCEPTION
CULTURAL CHANGES AND LIFESTYLES**

Mistrust and less solidarity.
Family disintegration.
TV and new technologies become central elements
Decreased social interaction.
Changing cultural values and consumption patterns.
Increased consumerism.
Increasing insecurity, marginalization and violence.
Loss of local identity.
Emergence of new middle-class sectors

Source: Field Survey in Veiga 2010

¹¹ On this regard, it is interesting to consider an ethnographic study of Buenos Aires which illustrates the diverse images about the “real and the imaginary city”, arisen from different classes and social groups (Sarlo 2009).

Similarly, it is perceived by public opinion that new family arrangements and loss of social interaction, are to a large extent consequence of globalized cultural patterns, mass media and new technologies. This is a central feature about changes prevailing in contemporary societies, that combined with social exclusion constitute risks for many population groups. Moreover other Case Studies undertaken in Uruguay indicate that many people tend to perceive these changes, as loss of values reflecting the complex interaction between socio-economic transformations and cultural patterns (Veiga et al 2012).

In sum, changes in education levels, individualism, new consumption patterns and loss of local identity, are identified as relevant elements during these last years. However cultural and social diversification at the local level, are rooted in structural processes produced in recent decades. Similarly many social changes in lifestyle and culture that contribute to or reinforce feelings of insecurity still prevail in the labor market and the socio economic conditions of many people.

On this concern, as previously referred the Uruguayan middle class has long been a distinctive component of the country and it has been a benchmark in socio-cultural and political terms. Thus, based on the country socioeconomic structure and heritage of "Welfare State"; the middle class has always been a symbolic reference and great part of the Uruguayan population "feels as belonging to middle class."

In summary, the perceptions of local actors in Montevideo, exemplify the process of social heterogeneity in their material and symbolic dimensions, and in most cases are consistent with the statistical indicators shown before. However, the reversal in trends of increased poverty and exclusion that social indicators show, sometimes do not match the social perception. Although recognizing the positive impact of the public policies implemented from 2005 onwards, the previous deteriorating socio-economic crisis has been of such magnitude, - that despite the results of social policies implemented -, some of its impacts still continue emerging and therefore are mentioned by the public opinion.

4) CONCLUDING REMARKS

The previous findings and analysis, arisen from trends of statistical data, social indicators and qualitative perceptions, from local actors in relation to the urban changes, contribute to the better knowledge and interpretation of social process and inequality. Undoubtedly both perspectives are needed to configure a map of the city - socially and geographically segregated. On this regard, it should be emphasized - that in contrast to other Latin-American cities -, in Montevideo the patterns and components of segregation are mainly explained by social class, education and income levels.

Social indicators show that Montevideo and its metropolitan area are socially heterogeneous and complex, with specific characteristics and dynamics. In this context, we argued that while one of the central assumptions about the "global cities", stated that the industrial transformation and expansion of services, lead to a dual social structure in level of employment and income of the population; research conducted in different countries, contrast this bipolarization trend, showing an increase in social inequality between the two extremes of the urban population, but in a fragmented social structure, with a raise of the middle classes in outlying areas. In the light of the case of Montevideo, these hypotheses are confirmed.

Moreover, analysis of similar cities - to Montevideo -, in Brazil (Porto Alegre) and Argentina (Cordoba), confirm these trends, that poverty manifests in the urban space with upper classes and strata occupying areas of low social mixture, while the middle classes are scattered throughout the city (Koch and Valdes 2008). These findings reflect the influence of processes such as economic restructuring and changes in employment, new composition of household and family roles, cultural diversification and consumption patterns, which induce significant changes in social stratification, particularly among the middle classes. On this concern, it may be acknowledged that the diverse changes and lifestyles prevailing in our modern cities, promote diverse forms of exclusion and urban fragmentation.

In brief, considering the elements analyzed, it seems necessary to reinforce social policies, for different target groups and social classes, according to their characteristics, needs and specific demands. Thus, policies should be not only directed to the "poor" and the lower classes, but to other segments of the population, considering the importance of the middle classes and the processes of socio-economic fragmentation in many Latin American countries.

Furthermore and within this perspective, the issues of urban culture and the "reconstruction of the citizenship," constitute key elements to achieve less fragmented and more equitable cities. That implies a full recovery of citizenship, with a redefinition of the public and private sectors and the need to create an environment encouraging the development of more democratic cities.

Finally, it seems important to remind that a set of articles analyzed social segregation and spatial effects of inequalities and globalization in several cities in Latin-America (Buenos Aires, Porto Alegre, Cordoba, Montevideo, Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo) and in Europe (Madrid, Barcelona and Paris), (Leal and Veiga 2008 op.cit). Examining the impacts on the social structure of each case study, the authors found not only changes in their respective societies, but especially in the urban space. On this regard, the conclusions face the impacts on the social structure of each city and changes in the urban space.

In this sense it is clear that in these cities of Latin America and Europe, there is a process of clear and sharp population segregation, but with different dynamics. Most referred studies tend to support the thesis that changes do not have a dual nature, finding a simultaneous distancing of social classes at the extremes of their societies, but with an increase in social and spatial inequalities, determined by a growth in size and resources of upper and middle classes, which enlarge their distance with the rest, and improve the concentration and patterns of residential change, with distinct strategies depending on the cities.

Therefore, two conclusions are intertwined indicating inequalities increase that implies a division of social classes, reflected in their spatial distribution and in the development of differentiated peripheries, distinguishing upper and low-classes. Both characterized by an uneven distribution of available resources in the settled areas. Between the two extremes, there is a developing middle class, which would be predominantly of low to middle-class nature in Latin American cities and medium-high classes in the case of Europe.

We have assumed that urban segregation is not a simple consequence of social inequalities, but is the result of social differentiation within the cities. Actually they are processes that feedback, the location and identity of a given area, conditioned by its socio-economic structure. Thus, the various forms of residential and educational segregation represent manifestations of the distribution of classes and social exclusion in the territory.

On the other hand, from a sociological perspective, socio spatial segregation may be characterized as a form of social differentiation, which expresses the distribution of the social structure in the urban space. Furthermore it is understood that determinants of urban segregation stem from three levels, corresponding to different organizational domains: the collective level of social interaction, the physical-space and the level of symbolic and psychological processes that shape individual behavior.

Moreover, cities have grown rapidly both in its physical aspects – as residential segregation-, as in less visible dimensions (social networks, urban management, environment, life styles). To that extent, local governments and civil society face increasing complexity and difficulties dealing with these changes and their intervention. The response to social inequalities and urban issues, both from the State and civil society, has been to assume the urban problems from a territorial and thematically fragmented look.

On this concern, the State and particularly the municipalities are coping with diverse targets (streets, traffic, urban development, etc.), while the civil society assumes and demand or take initiatives also focused on different problems (recreation, neighborhood, land occupation, transport and health services, etc.). Furthermore, it should be emphasized that since the early nineties, growing inequalities and social exclusion have been among the most important challenges to face, - from both the State through public policies and by civil society-, in relation to urban segregation, intolerance and violence, increasingly emerging in our cities.

However, in relation to civil society and the State overlap another problem: the vision of the city “as a city of fragments”, or at the best, as a set of urban fragments. In most cases, although there are more or less comprehensive views of the city, these are not expressed in a political project, or even in a territorial model, and consequently there are partial, fragmented and antagonistic images of the city, (which hardly overcome the neighborhood scale), and do not match the neighborhood as cultural-territorial entities.

In sum, it seems necessary the construction of an imaginary city and even more to build an imaginary city integrated, inclusive as a scenario focusing on the right to the city for all citizens and the quest for a more integrated and satisfactory quality of life (CLACSO GT Forums 2008-2009 and Cuervo 2010).

In conclusion and according to the trends previously seen, regarding social inequalities and urban segregation, some themes require further research towards the definition of an agenda of social intervention that contributes to improve quality of life and urban management with more equity and social integration. Among these issues emerge the analysis of: a) Factors that strengthen social inequality, b) Process of social disintegration, c) Perception of the elites and middle classes about inequality. Undoubtly, the implications of these issues are many and complex, considering the definition and implementation of adequate policies for the population of our fragmented cities.

REFERENCES

- ALVES, ARIM, SALAS Y VIGORITO** (2009) Tendencias de la distribución del ingreso en Uruguay entre 1981 y 2007. I. Economía FCEA UDELAR.
- BADCOCK, B.** (2001) Thirty years on: Gentrification and class changeover in Adelaide's inner Suburb, 1966-96. *Urban Studies* 38 (9).
- BOADO M. y FERNANDEZ, T.** (2005). "Una mirada a la crisis, las clases y la pobreza en el Uruguay 1998-2004". Paper Presented at the Seminar México- Uruguay sobre Medición de la Pobreza y Políticas Sociales." FCS UDELAR.
- CASTELLS, M.** (1998) "*La era de La Información: Economía, Sociedad y Cultura*". Vol.3 Fin de Milenio Alianza Ed. Madrid.
- CLACSO** (2008 - 2009) "Mesas Diálogo: Hacia un Proyecto alternativo para la ciudad". Declaration Working Group on Urban Development, Latin American Council of Social Sciences. Buenos Aires Octubre 2008 and Montevideo August 2009.
- CUERVO, L. M.** (2010) "América Latina: Metrópolis en mutación". ILPES CEPAL. Paper presented at the XI Seminario Internacional Red Investigadores Globalización y territorio. Mendoza Argentina Octubre.
- DE MATTOS, C.** (2004) "Redes, Nodos e Cidades: transformação da metrópole latina americana". Em *Metrópoles: entre a coesão e a fragmentação, a cooperação e o conflito*. L.C. Queiroz Ribeiro (coord.) Ed. F.P.Abramo Rio de Janeiro.
- FEATHERSTONE, M.** (1998) "A globalizacao de complexidade: Posmodernismo e cultura de consumo". *Rev. Brasileira de Ciencias Sociales*, No. 32.
- FILGUEIRA, C.** (2002) "Estructura de oportunidades, activos de los hogares y movilización de activos en Montevideo. En R. Katzman y G. Wormald "Trabajo y Ciudadanía: los cambiantes rostros de la integración y exclusión social en cuatro áreas metropolitanas de A. Latina". Ed. Cebra Montevideo.
- FRANCO, R. LEÓN, A. y ATRIA, R.** (2007) Estratificación y movilidad social en América Latina. Ed. LOM, Naciones Unidas, Santiago de Chile.
- FRANCO, R.HOPENHAYN, M. y LEON, A.** (2011) "Crece y cambia la clase media en América Latina: una puesta al día". *Rev. CEPAL* 103 Santiago.
- HERZER, H. et al.** (2008) *Con el corazón mirando el sur*. Ed. Espacio, Buenos Aires.
- IJURR** (2008) Debate on Gentrification. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*. Vol. 32, No. 1. Oxford.
- IMM – U.E. Programa URBAL** (2007). Observatorio Social de Inclusión Social, Intendencia Municipal de Montevideo.
- KATZMAN, R. y RETAMOSO, A.** (2005) "Segregación espacial, empleo y pobreza en Montevideo". *Rev. CEPAL*, No. 85. Santiago.
- KOCH, M. y VALDÉS, E.** (2008) Una mirada a la segregación residencial en ciudades latinoamericanas: El caso de Porto Alegre (Brasil) y Córdoba (Argentina). Paper X Seminario Internacional Red Iberoamericano Globalización y Territorio, RII, Querétaro México.
- LEAL MALDONADO, J.** (2007) *Vivienda y segregación en las grandes ciudades europeas*. Ed. Gobierno de Madrid. Área de Urbanismo, Vivienda e infraestructura. Madrid.
- LEAL MALDONADO, J. y VEIGA, D.** (2008) "Espacio social y segregación en nueve ciudades de Europa y Latinoamérica, Presentación" *Rev. CIUDAD Y TERRITORIO Estudios Territoriales* Vol. XL. Tercera época N. 158, invierno 2008, Madrid.
- LOMBARDI, M. y VEIGA, D.** (1989) "Las ciudades en conflicto, Una perspectiva latinoamericana". Ed. Banda Oriental, EBO CIESU, Montevideo.
- LUSTIG, N.** (2012) Conference delivered at the Latin American Association Studies International Congress LASA, San Francisco May 23-26. USA.

- MARCUSE, P. y VAN KEMPEN R.** (2000). "Globalizing Cities: a new spatial order". Blackwell Press. London.
- MINGIONE, E.** (2009) Paper on Panel 2 of the ISA RC21 Sao Paulo Conference 2009.
- MINUJIN, A. y ANGUITA, E.** (2004) *La Clase media seducida y abandonada*. Ed. Edhasa, Buenos Aires.
- MOLLENKOPF, J. y CASTELLS, M.** (1991) "Dual City" New York, the Russell Foundation.
- PNUD** (2008) Informe Nacional de Desarrollo Humano. Uruguay.
- PORTES, A.** (1989) "La urbanización de América Latina en los años de crisis". In Lombardi M. y Veiga D. 1989.
- PORTES, A. y HOFFMAN, K.** (2003) "Latin American class structure: their composition and change during the neoliberal era." in *Latin American Research Review*, vol. 38 No. 1.
- " " **et al** (2005) *Ciudades latinoamericanas: Un análisis comparativo en el umbral del nuevo siglo*. Ed. Prometeo Buenos Aires.
- PRETECEILLE, E.** (2007) "Segregación social, inmigrantes y vivienda en el Área Metropolitana Parisina", en J. Leal Maldonado (coord.).
- " " (2009) Paper on Panel 2 of the ISA RC21 Sao Paulo Conference 2009.
- PRETECEILLE, E. Y CARDOSO, A.** (2008) *Rio de Janeiro y São Paulo: ¿ciudades duales? Comparación con París.* "Rev.". CIUDAD Y TERRITORIO Estudios Territoriales Vol. XL. Tercera época N.º158 invierno 2008, Madrid.
- REIS, E.** (2004) "A desigualdade na visão das elites e do povo brasileiro", in C. Scalón 2004 op.cit.
- RIBEIRO, A.C.T.** comp. (2004) "O rostro urbano de América Latina" Ed. CLACSO, Bs. Aires.
- RUBALCAVA, R. y SCHTEINGART, M.** (2012) *Ciudades divididas: desigualdad y segregación en México*. El Colegio de México. DF.
- SAMPSON, R.** (2009) "Disparity and diversity in the contemporary city: social (dis)order revisited". *The British Journal of Sociology*, Volume 60 Issue 1. Oxford Press.
- SARLO, B.** (2009) *La ciudad vista. Mercancías y cultura urbana*. Ed. Siglo XXI Buenos Aires.
- SASSEN, S.** (1991) "The Global City". Princeton Univ. Press. Princeton.
- SAUTU, R.** (2012) "Reproducción y cambio en la estructura de clase". En *entramados y perspectivas* Vol. 2, N° 02 Revista de la Carrera de Sociología. Univ. De Buenos Aires. UBA.
- SCALON, C.** Org. (2004) "Imagens da desigualdade" Ed. UFMG IUPERJ, Rio de Janeiro.
- SMITH, A.** (1979). *Toward a theory of gentrification: A back to the city movement of capital, not people.* *Journal of the American Planning Association* 45.
- " " (2005). *The new urban frontier: Gentrification and the revanchist city*. 2nd ed. London: Routledge.
- TASCHNER, S. y BOGUS, L.** (2000) "A cidade dos anéis: São Paulo", em *O Futuro das Metrôpoles*. L.C. Queiroz Ribeiro (Org.). Ed. Revan Rio de Janeiro.
- VEIGA, D.** (2010) "Estructura social y ciudades en Uruguay: tendencias recientes". Ed. Facultad de Ciencias Sociales Universidad de la República Montevideo.
- " " **et al.** (2012) *Crecimiento económico y desigualdad social en Maldonado*. Ed. I.M. Maldonado y Facultad de Ciencias Sociales Universidad de la República. Maldonado.
- " " **y RIVOIR, A. L.** (2008) *Fragmentación socioeconómica y segregación urbana en Montevideo* Rev. CIUDAD Y TERRITORIO Estudios Territoriales Vol. XL. Tercera época N°158, Madrid.
- VIGORITO, A.** (1999). "La distribución del ingreso en Uruguay entre 1986-1997", *Revista de Economía*, Banco Central del Uruguay, Vol. 6 (2), noviembre. Montevideo
- WORTMAN, A.** (2007) *Construcción imaginaria de la desigualdad social* Ed., CLACSO, Buenos Aires.