New Conceptual Perspectives in the Analysis of Social Vulnerabilities: the Local Advanced Marginality for the Sustainable Development of Global Citizenship

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Abstract: This article is limited to the field of social research by conducting a qualitative exploratory study in order to analyze the relationship between advanced marginality and the construction of social spaces, and its subsequent extrapolation applied to the advanced local marginalization to implement social cohesion and empowerment. For this purpose, we adapt the data interpretation technique of documentary content analysis of the scientific literature for a better understanding of this new perspective of social research.

Key Words: Urban Marginality, Poverty, Social Cohesion, Social Vulnerability, Social Spaces.

1. Human Development and New Risks to Social Cohesion

The current phenomena, such as globalization (Ortiz, 1997, Zolo, 2000, Stiglitz, 2015, Rampini, 2016, Pendenza, 2017), and mundialization (Sen, 1992; Giddens, 2001; Beck, 2000; Held and Mc Grew, 2001), may lead to a progressive dissolution of social cohesion, making it essential to rethink new instruments of social inquiry and, at the same time, new social policies (Archibugi, 2002, González, Bújanos and Rodríguez, 2016). They have also caused, in agreement with Izquierdo, Escarabajal and Latorre (2016), economic and social changes, so dizzying and so difficult to digest by the great majority of the populations that have increased the poverty, the vulnerability, and the

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social exclusion in spaces, groups, and people, unthinkable decades ago. In the European space, there has been an increase in unemployment, labor instability, generating a cohort of precarious workers, inducing them to abandon their traditional life systems for other more insecure, unstable and irregular social alternatives (Stiglitz, 2003; Escarbajal, 2010).

Consequently, a society impregnated with a diffuse crisis in the socio-economic and political spheres is constituted by individuals for whom the possibilities of personal and social development, and even survival, are at stake (García and Cruz, 2010). And, therefore, social welfare –that system of rules with which the State seeks to eliminate social and economic inequalities between citizens and which proposes to offer and guarantee services considered essential by a decent standard of living– has entered into crisis, from the 1980s and 1990s, as a consequence of profound economic, political, social, and cultural changes (Ferrera, 1993, Huber, Stephen, 2001, and Pisarello, 2007, Serrano, 2014, UN, 2015, Bifulco, 2015, Gómez Galán, 2016; Actionaid, 2016).

In this sense, the Welfare crisis has been mainly due to the appearance of new risks: such as the protective capacity of employment, the differentiation in the family structure, and the diversification of the social demand; productive decentralization, flexibility of work relations, and differentiated consumption; family instability and the crisis of the nuclear family; demographic changes; such as the aging of the population; the redefinition of women's rights; migration flows; The end of full occupation and job insecurity (Bertin, 2009, Bernardoni, Fazzi and Picciotti, 2011, Del Forno, 2016).

In the time of over-modernity (Augé, 2013), the social sciences have as a new challenge a particularly complex responsibility: to analyze a reality so voluble and changing, whose only possible definition seems, paradoxically, to be non-definitional (Bauman, 2008).

The lack of social cohesion has thus become a dimension and structural product of our society. Social Sciences’ important responsibility in the attempt to break down mechanisms of reproduction of inequalities is to identify, understand, and intervene in those dimensions of social contexts that produce it - by constructing symbolic, social and physical spaces that feed vulnerable conditions - to reconstruct spaces of Cohesion by recognizing the partisan links of politics, economics and society (Wacquant, 2008).

The word crisis in its etymological sense indicates a rupture, and indirectly and with a positive and constructive connotation, the need for action for change. Social action is conditioned by access to the definition of reality –that symbolic power to do (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992)– which influences the local production of social order (Bonolis, 2014).

In this sense, the present theoretical-reflective work aims to describe and analyze the effects of globalization on social cohesion and emphasize the need for a change in social intervention under auspices of the human devel-
development paradigm in symbiosis with the new concept of local advanced marginality that from a polyhedral perspective allows the analysis of contexts of social vulnerabilities.

2. Social transformations and marginalized urban communities.

The city is defined as the main actor of the social dynamics that influence the production of the evident increase in the rates of failure of the political-economic system launched by post-Fordism and—specifically—of the welfare crisis understood as a practice of social protection of the citizen (Hurber and Stephen, 2001, Pierson, Castles and Naumann, 2014, Fondazione Zancan, 2015). The postmodern city became subject-object in the new definition of relation in the models: dominance of economic organization, territoriality and power distribution (Held, Mc Grew, 2001, Berger, Huntington, 2002 and Gonzalez, 2008). Under this urban prism the dynamics of globalization seem to be abandoning its role of integration mechanism and place of democratic relation (Abrahamson, 2004; Wacquant, 2006). Likewise, the great European cities are undergoing major transformations in the last decades. One of them has been the increase in social vulnerability and the weakening of community ties that have led to social differentiation and concentration of social disadvantages in certain parts of the city, with a high prevalence in peripheral neighborhoods (Paugman, 2007, Wacquant, 2008 and García y Cano, 2012).

At the same time, evidence of processes of urban and residential segregation coupled with signs of school segregation sharpen the divisions and ethnic-racial tensions that occur mainly in disadvantaged neighborhoods (Cano, 2012). The outsiders, the inhabitants of the modern slum, become in the new context of globalization the precarious, urban underclass (Wilson, 1996; Sassen, 2016), those who because of a constant state of unemployment, or underemployment and isolation, suffer a condition of advanced marginality.

One can speak of a new class of subjects, the urban underclass, which lives in spatially isolated areas, whose difficult existence oscillates between unemployment and chronic underemployment. The difficulty in finding a stable job and isolation make the self-production process of exclusion grow in a closed circuit of poverty (Wilson, 1997; Gouverneur, 2007).

In the urban centers are registered the conceptualization of functions of control, of financial activities, and of an inter-crossing of the main networks of powers. On the one hand, the city has consolidated itself in the knowledge sector, which needs high levels of education, and on the other, the supply of precarious and low-profile work has grown (Sassen, 2004).

Additionally, the impact of neoliberalism is not only limited to the economic sphere, but has also had clear influences in the social, political and cultural spheres (Table 1).
**Economic**

Public deficit and debt, fiscal imbalances and excessive public spending, along with the internationalization of production, financial flow, and the globalization of areas of specialization (Bernardoni, Fazzi and Picciotti, 2011), are decisive in the whole picture.

The "destabilization of the stable" (Castells, 1997), which involves new actors, normally considered stable workers living in a state of floating (Sassen, 2004).

**Political**

Neoliberism reduces the scope of democratic politics as the market pushes these values to the margin (Gonzalez, 2008).

The triumph of speculative finance disarms politics and economics, dismantling societies (Touraine, 2010).

The phenomenon of decentralization is presented as an attempt to resolve the inability of a state to sustain the pressure of social demands through a delegation of powers to sub-state territorial entities (Wacquant, 2006).

The urban underclass (Wilson, 1997), which due to a permanent state of unemployment or underemployment and isolation, suffers a condition of advanced marginality (Wacquant, 2006), and the general crisis of welfare (Del Forno, 2016).

**Socio-cultural**

A hyper-individual world where community feeling, or obligations on the other hand, disappear (Cohen, 2011).

Relationships are always made more instrumental and calculated (Weber, 2002).

Surveillance, in the broadest sense, has expanded in all areas of life apart from the market (Garland, 2001, Wacquant, 2012).

One of the paradoxes of late modernity is phenomena such as cultural pluralism and social complexity, there has been a shift of centrality from society and roles to subjects and the construction of identity (Giddens 2001).

'Work' no longer represents a security element that allows us to fix definitions of the I, identities and projects of life (Bauman, 2003).

Subjectivism- or individualism - expresses the consequence of a society of risk and uncertainty (Beck, 2000) and liquidity (Bauman, 2008).

The contemporary disorientation derives, not only from the discredit to which the higher values have arrived and the decay of the meta-
physical foundations of knowledge, of law, of power, but also of the disintegration of the most common and elementary social points of reference, provoked by a new organization of the world (Lipovetsky, 2006).

A diffuse risk that threatens the subject in "Each possibility of ascribing a social value to its own capacity" (Honneth and Fraser, 2003, p.23). The speed of development of rationality (Habermas, 1976) at the cost of human development (Nussbaum, 2012).

Table 1. *Main transformations related to globalization and mundialization.*

In Castells's (1997) line of argument, we can see a process of destabilization of the stable, which involves new actors normally considered stable workers living in a state of floating: there is a disruption of the life cycles that entail an increase in the risk of instability and social insertion outside of work, a de-socialization of the wage relation that involves the labor crisis as a social force integrating urban contexts.

The disappearance of the state in the life of the subject –through a precise policy of marginal inclusion policy– is one of the main causes of the generation of territories of depravity and abandonment, a dimension of exclusion that is legitimate both from the middle-high levels of society, and by those who live in these areas. The city, in this perspective, is creating spaces of discharges for subjects no longer useful and functional to the new dominant economic order, progressively relegation place for subjects in social decline, precarious and unemployed (Maurin, 2004; Wacquant, 2006).

In this social context, marginality appears, fueled by phenomena of labor and social decomposition, under the pressure of a tendency towards fragmentation rather than the union of subjects found in lower regions in social and urban space. Subjects that have a lower visibility are tending more to a reduction of levels of claim (Arriba, 2002; Astarita, 2009).

The new forms of domination and labor exploitation hitherto exposed briefly demonstrate the decline of the city as a place of social promotion.

The power structure has created, then, specific social spaces where –after the transition from welfare to workfare—a mechanism of disqualification of the capacities of the individuals— and of access and production of social capital— understood as the means with which they have to fulfill their various purposes in the exercise of their freedom. The concept of social capital allows us to articulate the relations between the conditions defined as the cause of the reproduction of marginality and the relationship with other agents of social space (state, social and economic policies) (Bourdieu 1990, Dur 1993 and 2000, Fukuyama, 2000, Santos, Montalbá and Moldes, 2004).

With this social conception, protagonism is returned to the subject (Hernández, 2010), and to the territory in the specificity of its local context, to analyze in a multidimensional way the vulnerabilities that challenge social

In each metropolis of the first world, one or several municipalities, districts or concentrations of social housing, are known and recognized as urban hells where violence, vice or abandonment are but normality. Some even acquire the status of national incarnation of all evils and dangers. At the same time, the policies of some governments can aggravate the structural conditions of poverty by feeding mechanisms of violence, hunger and unemployment.

In a socio-reflexive effort it can be inferred that on some occasions the urban space, under the dynamics of globalization, seems to be abandoning its role of integration mechanism and place of democratic relation in symbiosis with new policies that, instead of including, tend to isolate (Wacquant, 2006, 2007a).

In summary, in the urban centers the conceptualization of functions of control, of financial activities, crossing of the main networks of powers is registered. On the one hand, the city has consolidated itself in the knowledge sector, which needs high levels of education (Ponce, Pagán and Gómez Galán, 2016), and on the other, the supply of precarious and low-profile work has grown (Sassen, 2004). In this sense, Paugman (2007) refers to it as the process of spatial disqualification, concept of vicious circuits (Mingione, 2004), or ultimately, advanced marginality (Wacquant, 2001, 2006, 2010, 2013 and 2015).


In light of these dynamics, the need arises to adapt the dimensions of conceptual analysis as an essential budget to solve current problems and to understand them in their complexity (García and Cruz, 2010).

Recent studies show that economic development has not reduced the level of poverty or exclusion (García Lizana, 2008), supporting the view that economic growth is a necessary but not sufficient condition to overcome social vulnerabilities. Conversely, reducing the rate of exclusion is a necessary measure to generate more opportunities for economic development: vulnerabilities are not simply a revenue product, but are connected to the "health" of the environment in which the individual - with their networks - lives (Castells, 1997, Subirats, 2001, García and Cruz, 2010, Fraser, 2013).

In this research, in fact, one has preferred to use the concept of marginality in that it offers a change of perspective in the analysis of social cohesion, because it not only takes into account the explanatory dimension of the crisis in social cohesion, the "vulnerable" individuals within the social system. This meaning has been introduced –especially in the 50s and 80s– according to different perspectives: ecological-urban, cultural, economic or different com-
The term marginality shows that vulnerabilities are not only produced by an accumulation of economic fragility (in participation in production and consumption), but also in politics (political and social citizenship) and social (absence of social ties and relations, social perversion) (García Lizana, 2008).

In this sense, the concept of marginality also highlights the lack of integration of groups that are not excluded from the global society, but which occupy an unfavorable position. Recognizing the situation of marginality as a way of occupying a role in the system breaks the margin-center perspective, considering subjects within and not outside the system (D'Amato and Porro, 1985).

At the end of the 1960s, the Center for Latin American Economic and Social Development (Deseal) pointed to the following dimensions of this term: the ecological dimension (circle of localized marginality); the sociopsychological dimension (lack of participation in the benefits and resources).

Social, in social networks, their groups lack internal integration; the sociocultural dimension (living standards, health, housing, educational and cultural); economic dimension (the marginal are considered sub-proletariat because they have subsistence and informal jobs); (they do not participate, they do not have political organizations that represent them or take part in the tasks and responsibilities that must be undertaken to solve social problems) (Vekemans and Giusti, 1969).

Also, a study of the factors of marginality can be referred to the dimensions used in the studies of exclusion, but not forgetting the different perspective: they are not dimensions of broken links but subject to vulnerability (Table 2).

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<th>Axes</th>
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<td>Economic</td>
<td>Participation in production</td>
<td>Exclusion of the normalized wage relation</td>
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<td>Participation in consumption</td>
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<td>Political</td>
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The analysis of marginality can not only take into account the question of income, but also the process of reintegration in the social structure and the balance in the networks of social relations.

Social marginality reflects the idea that the organization of society is not only based on inequality in terms of access to social rewards or hierarchy of social positions (as assumed, for example, from theories of social stratification), but also the existence of different degrees of social integration. The marginal individual is the one who is far from the center of the social system to which he belongs, and is next to the boundaries that separate the system from the outside. The notion refers, on the one hand, to the existence of a limit that separates the system from the environment - or different systems between them - and on the other hand the existence of different degrees of integration within those limits (Ranci, 2002, Zamagni, 2007, Alonso, 2012).

It is also embedded in the productive structure of society; It is for this reason that marginality must be understood as a structural, functional and stable phenomenon of capitalist societies, by virtue of which an important sector of the population is at the margin or in the margin of the social system without being able to fully enjoy the benefits which generates social wealth such as education, housing, health, etc. (Castells, 2010).

Another important contribution that enriches this concept is the so-called social disqualification. The disqualified are those who live in an extremely precarious condition and therefore are situated outside social exclusion, which only social support from the institutions can solve (Gallie and Paugman, 2000).

Marginality, being a non-contingent but structural factor of our time, has to contemplate a social treatment of risk of exclusion not only among the excluded but in society as a whole, and in its dimensions. Although precariousness is one of the factors that produces marginality, thinking of a policy of insertion, by itself, does not lead to a reduction of inequalities or exclusion. Labor insertion cannot be a state but a stage, a necessary element, but not sufficient to realize the well-being of people. A policy of coercion between politics and economics is needed (Laville, 2015).

Equally, this is a dynamic and contextual concept, related to the contingent socio-economic conditions. The weak groups of societies are no longer
individualized in relation to the traditional concept that evidenced a personal deficit of the subject. The emergence in society of new marginal people are the result of demands of hyper-competitiveness accompanied by a drastic reduction of traditional jobs, which transform it into non-functional to the development of the current economic system. "Some people (no matter how terrible it is to just write it) simply do not work: the economy can develop without their contribution; On any side that we want to consider, for the remaining part of society, these are not a benefit, but a cost "(Dahrendorf, 1995, p.36, a.t.).

The growing marginality in our society (Wacquant, 2006) is reflected in a low level of social cohesion and integration (D'Amato, 1985), and affects individuals and groups that no longer find space in terms of a rational organization of society.

In this sense, it can be understood as the condition of vulnerability that puts the individual at the border between cohesion and exclusion: there is a thin line separating the social bond that precedes its rupture and the exclusion zone.

The three different areas of social cohesion are interconnected in relation to the occupational and relational insertion positions: an area of social integration, one of vulnerability, and one of exclusion (désaffiliation). This taxonomy must be understood not as impermeable shelves between them, but as a possible dynamics conditioned by ongoing social processes, characterized by the drift of the regime of Fordist accumulation and its regulative rules (Honneth and Fraser, 2003, Utting, 2015).

Marginality can be defined as the temporary state of having been brought into relative isolation, at the edge of a system (cultural, social, political or economic). Socio-economic marginality is a condition of the socio-spatial structure and the process in which the components of society and space in territorial units are observed, lag behind an expected level of performance in economic, political and social terms, which are compared with the average condition in the territory as a whole (Sommers et al., 1999; Brodwin, 2001, Davis, 2003, Leimgruber, 2004 and WWI, 2010).

Under this view, the phenomenon of marginalization is not only the result of a low income level, but a product of different forms of freedom, avoidable suffering, premature mortality, illiteracy, disease prevention, social exclusion and insecurity and denial of political freedom. Redistribution of income is only one aspect of the struggle against marginalization (Sen, 2000).

It is not possible to solve the problem of marginality as an automatic result of economic development, that is to say, through the more egalitarian distribution of income, but also to analyze the structurally disqualifying factors characteristic of social organization, reinforcing social and protective networks (Paugman, 2013).
Under this multidimensional perspective it is considered pertinent in the following lines that constitute this scientific study to explain its evolution towards the local advanced marginality.

In this sense, advanced marginality is a diffuse risk that threatens the subject in the possibility of linking a social value with his own capacity and his possibilities of personal development, which Castells (1997) defined as ascension of vulnerability.

4. Local Advanced Marginality: New Models of Social Cohesion.

In the light of current social transformations, it is necessary to introduce a conceptual framework that constitutes the narrative that determines the rethinking of social policies (Paugam and Gallic, 2002, Piesteau, 2006; Goerlich Gisbert, 2009), and the evolutionary trend of the term marginality to the local level may be a new path for the sustainable development of global citizenship.

The increase of social, political and economic vulnerabilities, following the perspective of Local Human Development, makes one recognize the importance of curing dimensions such as social capital - and in the networks of relations according to a perspective of the subject - that occur in a specific urban context (Habermas, 1976, Bourdieu, 1990, Simmel, 1995, Putnam, 2002, Robeyns and Brighouse, 2010, Atkinson, 2016), and the territory understood as a resource and services, building new contexts of citizen empowerment, avoiding feeding marginal structural contexts.

From this social perspective, the term local advanced marginality seems functional insofar as it allows a change of perspective on the lack of social cohesion and the consequent intervention on the problem.

The concept introduced offers a more adequate potential compared to terms such as poverty and exclusion, taking into account the complexity of the current context and allows for a more effective and focused intervention on the real social problems:

1. The term Marginality allows a multi-dimensionality reading of the lack of social cohesion: it has to be evaluated not only in terms of poverty, but in terms of the three political, economic and relational axes.
2. Being that the lack of social cohesion, produced by different dimensions, is a process of accumulation of vulnerability and not a status of the subject: it will be fundamental to look at the relationship between subject and territory, it being useless to intervene only in the territory without taking into account the Subject and the reverse.
3. The term marginality puts the subject within and not outside the social system, leading us to define the lack of cohesion as a phenomenon not punctual but structural: we must think social poli-
cies extended to the entire social structure and not just a sector of it.

4. The marginality thus understood offers the recovery of the subject in its specific territory, promoting the need for social policies oriented to protection, but also to the freedoms and autonomies of citizens.

The current policy does not seem to be aimed at strengthening a democracy understood as an aspiration to happiness in freedom (Arendt, 2001), which is expressed, above all, through the possibility of individual action.

Democracy, in fact, should guide the implementation of a being that does not respond in terms of utility, but to the possibility of life and freedom. Freedom is not only immunity and independence, but above all, the possibility of action and choice in alternative combinations equally accessible to all. To offer what Sen defines as the capability (Sen, 1993; Artigas, 2001; SEDESOL, 2003; Concha, Ximena and others, 2001; Bebbington, Anthony, 2003), of implementing a mixture of rights and opportunities that can make the individual truly free.

The choice of the Human Development paradigm allows the investigation of marginality in its multidimensionality (García and Cruz, 2010). It transposes the economic question from the main element—almost mono-explanatory—of the phenomenon in one of the different factors that affect the process of vulnerability of the individuals. Well-being is represented by the active role of the person, in his free access to a good and his free choice (Robeyns and Brighouse, 2010).

From this perspective policies oriented to the well-being of the person need a change of perspective: it is not the person who has to adapt to the resources that the territory offers, but rather the resources have to be linked to the needs and capacities of the subject. The well-being of the people is not linked to the endowment of economic goods but to their capacities, as an individual and component of a given social network (Sen, 2000) that takes place in a specific territory (local space).

In fact, from a perspective that starts from the subject—and not the other way around—and its protagonism, the strengthening of social capital can constitute a tool of confrontation of marginality in advance, through the recovery of urban social spaces (Bourdieu, 1990, Sen, 2007, Augé, 2009).

In the connection and proximity of the characteristics and values of space, and of the same relativity of time, social space is for Simmel (1995), a foundational dimension of society, place of the condition and symbol of the incessant flow of life in social forms in which individuals are recognized and through which their relationships are structured. The conditions and position of the subjects with respect to the social space in which they are located reveal the limits that regulate participation in collective activities (Simmel, 1995, Martí, 2002, Eyre De Lorenzo, 2016).
According to the reflections that have been made above, it can be inferred that the advanced marginality is the set of basic forms of disqualification of the capacities of the individuals - that is to say, of the means with which they count for accomplishing its diverse ends in the exercise of their freedom (Sen, 2007) and their happiness (Arendt, 2001) - the creation of social capital in a given social fabric - the local social space - becomes a tool to favor spaces of social cohesion (Castells, 1997; Vázquez Barquero, 2000), and in the literature (Carroll and Stanfield, 2003). Thus, the spatial dimension - in which historical factors, social practices and public policies converge - has, then, a great explanatory power on the particular dynamics of inclusion and social exclusion (Subirats, Gomà and Brugué, 2005).

From this social aspect, the problem of social well-being cannot be represented only by the economic capacity of the individual, but by its capacity, that is to say, its capacities, and is strongly connected to elements such as social capital and territory (Kumar-Giri 2000; Robeyns, 2003, Alexander 2008, Robeyns and Brighouse, 2010).

In this sense, the problems of urban marginality –understood as a significant concentration of precariousness, immigrant population, official housing, low quality schools, situations of spatial and social isolation– lead to a deep sense of frustration and lack of expectations (Lagrande and Oberti, 2006: 243), is an increasingly visible element in socio-political agendas as they threaten to be chronic problems and to question traditional modes of citizenship (Lagrange and Oberti, 2006; Wacquant, 2007b; García y Cano, 2012).

Ultimately, we would like to close our reflection by indicating that local advanced marginality seems to be the term that best synthesizes the confluence of all these dynamics related to current transformations.

In order to break these mechanisms, it is essential to understand the phenomenon in its complexity, leading to the influence of the local dimension, as a producer of social order, and the urban dimension as a synthesis of the triangle of social space, symbolic and physical, in which the social reality is constructed and that constitutes the field of action and promotion of social change (Wacquant, 2008, Farias, 2017).

The term, in fact, makes it possible to show –among others– the structural relationship that is determined between the processes of capitalist accumulation and the increase of social inequalities; points out the fragmentation and precariousness of the socio-labor structure, and emphasizes the need to legitimize the presence of a surplus population component to guarantee the integration of the system (Salvia, 2012). In addition, with the connotation of "advanced" measures to highlight two other important aspects of the new poverties. On the one hand, the strong connection of the phenomenon –as already evidenced - with other effects of post-Fordist transformations in the most advanced sectors of the economy. On the other hand, it wants to show
how it is a typically urban phenomenon, and in continuous progress, and the need for public and social inclusion policies (Davis, 2006; Wacquant, 2006).

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