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Emerging Urban Spaces

A Planetary Perspective

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About the Book

Urbanisation no longer simply refers to the territorial and demographic expansion of cities. Instead, new urban spaces are emerging in areas traditionally conceived of as non-urban settings, often associated with 'nature', 'tradition', 'rurality' and specific marginalised, disempowered single-ethnic groups and local communities. This edited collection combines various urban expressions and conceptualisations, namely neo-Marxian accounts on planetary urbanisation and post-colonial and post-structuralist approaches, with the aim of supporting and inspiring a research approach which allows understanding the complex characteristics of different emerging urban spaces, locally and globally.

Drawing on in-depth case study material from different regions of the planet (including Central Asia, Europe, Latin America & the Caribbean and the Baltic & Barents Seas), the nine substantive chapters in this book offer an empirical contextualisation of currently dominant urban theory projects. They apply and, at stages, combine theoretical approaches to generate a research framework that captures the context-specific challenges faced within emerging urban spaces situated in distinct geopolitical contexts. Taken together, the contributions presented in this edited volume allow us to view emerging urban spaces in constant interaction with other settings, continuously producing and encompassing several natures, and offering opportunities for social inclusion and for the development of new political projects that are able to acknowledge and embrace difference.

This timely contribution is essential reading for those working in the fields of urban studies, planning, architecture, area studies, development geography and sociology.

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Chapter 1
Introduction

Philipp Horn, Ana Claudia Cardoso and Paola Alfaro d'Alençon

Abstract The first section of this introductory chapter offers some empirical and theoretical background to this edited volume. It is argued that in our contemporary world urbanisation not only refers to the territorial expansion of cities but to processes occurring in previously non-urban settings. So far, this has been studied through a variety of distinct theoretical perspectives, including Neo-Marxian accounts on planetary urbanisation, which understand these processes as inevitable outcomes of capitalism, and alternative 'Southern' projects based mainly on post-structural and post-colonial approaches, which emphasise local particularities of emerging urban spaces. The second part of this chapter outlines both the extent to which the different contributions in this edited volume engage with these different theoretical perspectives, mainly through empirical contextualisation, and how they seek to overcome problems of universalism and particularism in the study of emerging urban spaces. Reflecting on the different contributions of this edited volume, the final section proposes guidelines for future research. It calls for an 'open reading' of Henri Lefebvre's *ouevre* and the need to mobilise what is referred to herein as (1) the right to the urban, (2) difference and pluralism, and (3) the naturalisation of the urban. Taken together, we argue that this enables us to view the urban as a relational and co-produced configuration, which is in constant interaction both with other urban settings elsewhere and with the environment in which it is situated.

Keywords Emerging urban spaces · Right to the urban · Difference Pluralism · Naturalisation

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1.1 Emerging Urban Spaces and Research Questions

We begin this book with some worn-out words: official data inform that more than half of the world's population already live in cities and that even more live in areas affected in some way or another by urbanisation. At this stage, we will not provide a detailed discussion on the underpinning causes for urbanisation which, despite regional variations, mainly relate to processes of economic growth and shifts in economic and employment trends, from agriculture to industry and services (Castells 1977; Harvey 2013).

Instead, we shall briefly reflect on a number of trends that are worthy of mention. Urbanisation is occurring at a faster pace in the global South, where three-quarters of the world's urban population currently lives (Mitlin and Satterthwaite 2013). Urbanisation no longer simply refers to the territorial and demographic expansion of cities. It also refers to a variety of processes occurring in areas traditionally conceived of as non-urban settings, often associated with 'nature', 'tradition', 'rurality' and specific marginalised, disempowered single-ethnic groups and local communities. Here, it is possible to, for example, observe the emergence of new peri-urban settlements and polycentric configurations which attend to a variety of processes, including the development of productional clusters for natural resource extraction, retailing structures, highways and secondary residences (Monte-Mór 2005). In this context, transformations in the use and control of land occur at an unprecedented pace and, with this, appear new urban geopolitical configurations, which remodel and challenge previous forms of regulating, controlling and experiencing cities, urbanisation as well as non-urban environments (Rokem and Boano 2017).

The fast-accelerating emergence of new urban spaces and the blurring of rural/urban boundaries challenges established bounded conceptualisations of the urban and calls upon the need to pose new and challenging questions:

(a) What are the forces which produce emerging urban spaces?
(b) How can we learn from different emerging urban spaces situated in the global South and North?

At present, these questions are addressed from distinct theoretical perspectives, each characterised by its own strengths and limitations. Below, we discuss in greater detail some of the more dominant current perspectives.

1.2 Emerging Urban Theory Projects: From Planetary Processes to Particularities

Emerging urban spaces are often studied through a planetary urbanisation perspective (see for example Brenner 2013; Brenner and Schmid 2014, 2015). This approach is rooted in the writings of Marx (1973: 479) who noted in his 'Grundrisse' that '[t]he modern age is the urbanization of the countryside'. It was developed

further in the 1960s by Henri Lefebvre in 'The Urban Revolution'. Lefebvre (2003 [1970]: 5) defines the urban revolution as 'transformations that affect contemporary society, ranging from the period when questions of growth and industrialisation predominate […] to the period when the urban problematic predominates'. While Lefebvre's *oeuvre* represented an early warning of the complete urbanisation of society, later studies proofed how such trends have become reality particularly in regions conventionally associated as belonging to the global South. Writing on Brazil, Monte-Mór (2005) noted that urban features, for example, in the form of roads, decentralised political infrastructure, labour legislation, electric powerlines, communication and infrastructure, had appeared in the country's Amazonian region from as early as the nineteenth century. He refers to this as extended urbanisation, a process that 'occurred beyond cities and urbanised areas, bearing with it the urban-industrial conditions for production (and reproduction), as well as urban praxis and the sense of modernity and citizenship' (Monte-Mór 2005: 947).

Current advocates of planetary urbanisation, most notably Neil Brenner and Schmid (2014, 2015), highlight that Lefebvre's prediction has become very much real not just in different regions of the world but across the entire planet. They also call for a shift in urban studies from studying urban form and specific features of cities, [1] to investigating urbanisation processes. Following the wellsprings of this theory project, Marx, Lefebvre but also Monte-Mór, it is understood that the planetary urbanisation process takes place along a double movement, namely that of concentrated and extended urbanisation. The former refers to the concentration of population, infrastructure and politico-economic control and resistance within particular places, including cities, while the latter refers to urban features in non-urban settings leading to the disintegration of 'hinterlands' and the end of 'tradition/wilderness'.

While certainly offering important explanations for the rise of emerging urban spaces, interpretations of planetary urbanisation are also characterised by a set of limitations. For example, some advocates of this approach are, at times, guided by a rather neo-Marxian definition of what causes urbanisation, thereby restricting their analysis to a focus on selective structural and agential forces. Take, for example, Brenner (2013: 95)[2] who states that

> The urban [is considered] as 'concrete abstraction' in which the contradictory socio-spatial relations of capitalism (commodification, capital circulation, capital accumulation and associated forms of political regulation/contestation) are at once territorialized (embedded within concrete contexts and thus fragmented) and generalized (extended across place, territory and scale) and thus universalized).

Understood like this, then, the 'context of context' and the main driving force of planetary urbanisation is nothing else but global capitalism (Brenner et al. 2011). Consequently, everyday urban struggles are equally considered to mainly represent anti-capitalist struggles. While acknowledging the need to explore local variations

[1] For a review of advocators of a city-centric approach, see Scott and Storper (2015).

[2] For an even more capitalocentric reading, see Wilson and Bayón's (2016) work on planetary urbanisation, here defined as a process of universalising 'black hole' capitalism.

and inevitable specificities in capitalist urbanisation through rich empirical research (Brenner 2017; Diener et al. 2015), such capitalocentric interpretations of planetary urbanisation leave hardly any room for deciphering other particularities (historical, cultural, environmental, etc.) of potentially different and qualitatively distinct emerging urban spaces and, therefore, only offer a partial understanding of contemporary urbanisation (Buckley and Strauss 2016; Derickson 2015; Shaw 2015).

Such limitations are acknowledged and addressed in a variety of other emerging urban theory projects which have developed separately and independently from planetary urbanisation, and have mainly drawn on post-structural and post-colonial modes of analysis. As Derickson (2015) notes, these different approaches are pluralist and distinct from each other since they theorise urbanisation processes from different intellectual and philosophical traditions and are grounded in different empirical experiences. What these approaches do have in common, however, is that they have moved beyond a purely Marxian political economy analysis of the urban, offer a critique of 'Northern' and 'Western' schools of urbanism, and seek to deconstruct global urban theory by emphasising uniqueness and particularities of urban spaces anywhere in the world, although particularly at times in the understudied global South and East (Leitner and Sheppard 2016; McFarlane 2011; Robinson and Roy 2016; Simone 2010; Watson 2016).

As an example, Robinson (2006, 2011, 2016) considers each urban space as 'ordinary', characterised by a unique combination of social, cultural, political and economic configurations. She argues that such urban diversity may not simply be captured by an approach that focuses on only one dimension—such as the economic, or one overarching paradigm—such as Marxian political economy, or one specific set of cities—such as, for example, promoted by Knox and Taylor (1995) or Sassen (2001) whose work focuses on 'global' or 'world' cities. Instead, Robinson (2016) recommends studying the city 'as a whole' in all its complexity, which requires new tactics of urban comparison that shed light on inter-/intra-urban differences, and capture the unique and context-specific processes that trigger urban change.

Others regard different factors and driving forces of urbanisation and/or specific urban outcomes. For example, an emerging literature focusing predominantly on cities in the global South highlights that structural forces contributing to social exclusion and dispossession within urban areas and associated resistance struggles are not only shaped by global capitalism but also, amongst other items, by patriarchal governance regimes (Peake and Rieker 2013; Peake 2016), neo-colonialism (Roy 2007), racism (Horn 2017; Simone 2016) and religion (Hancock and Srinivas 2008). These different perspectives are synthesised in a recent article by Yiftachel (2016) who examines the urban through a more open and integrative epistemological framework—the 'Aleph approach'[3]—to describe a kind of 'dynamic structuralism' that co-produces one city—Jerusalem. Focusing on this city,

[3]Yiftachel (2016: 283) draws on the contents of a short story by Jorje Borges who defined the 'Aleph' as the 'vista point from which every little detail about the world can be seen—the places of all places' or in his case, the 'city of all cities', Jerusalem.

Yiftachel (2016) demonstrates how a variety of interrelated and historically layered structural forces (colonial, capitalist, religious, nationalist, gendered and militaristic), in relation to human agency, produces several different urban outcomes. Hence, Jerusalem serves as an illustrative example of how any urban outcome is shaped by 'multiple structural urban logics, irreducible to any single force' (Yiftachel 2016: 485).

Meanwhile, others have focussed on particularities of urbanisation in regions conventionally considered as being 'off the map' of critical urban scholarship. For example, there is a growing body of research examining the particularities of African urbanisation and urban development. Focusing on this region, scholars such as Myers (2011) and Parnell and Pieterse (2016) suggest that Western logics of agglomeration and capitalist accumulation do not apply; instead, within the African context, it is considered that urbanisation occurs in the absence of industrialisation and shares its own, unique outcomes, including informality, (post)colonial racial divisions and marginality. Urbanisation processes in this region, together with other parts of the planet—including, as highlighted elsewhere in this volume, Central Asia, the Caribbean or the 'seascapes' of our oceans—are still underexamined and, to fully capture what is taking place in these distinct environments and geopolitical contexts, basic grounded empirical research is required (Parnell and Pieterse 2016).

While offering rich, detailed accounts on the specifities of emerging urban spaces, these different approaches to urban theory also present limitations. By focusing on uniqueness and particularities, no generalisations may be reached. Acknowledging this problem, Peck (2015: 163) warns of a new age of particularism in urban studies which might hinder the emergence of a 'shared project of theoretical reconstruction'.

1.3 Why This Book? Background and Objectives

Responding to the empirical and theoretical trends outlined above, the overarching objective of this edited volume is to combine various urban expressions and conceptualisations with the ultimate aim of supporting and inspiring a research approach which allows us to understand the complex characteristics of different emerging urban spaces, locally and globally.

The importance of undertaking such research was initially identified by the editors of this volume, during a series of discussions held at the conference in 2015 of the Network-Association of European Researchers on Urbanisation in the South (N-AERUS) in Dortmund (Germany). Ideas raised at N-AERUS were subsequently synthesised and served as basis for organising two international panel sessions on 'Emerging Urban Spaces: A Planetary Perspective' which took place at the 2016 World Planning Schools Congress in Rio de Janeiro (Brazil) and the 2016 Annual Royal Geography Society Conference in London (UK). These panel sessions brought together early-, mid-, and senior-career researchers from Central Asia, Europe, and Latin America and the Caribbean who presented empirically grounded,

theoretically informed, methodologically innovative and practically relevant papers that focused on our core objective and research questions. A selection of the papers from these sessions is presented within this collection, leading to a unique perspective on emerging urban spaces.

Drawing on in-depth case study material from different regions of the planet, the nine substantive chapters in this book offer an empirical contextualisation of some of the above-mentioned urban theory projects. They apply and, at stages, combine theoretical approaches to generate a research framework that captures the context-specific challenges faced within different urban environments and geopolitical contexts. Taken together, the contributions presented in this edited volume allow us to view the urban as a space of heightened polarities, contradictions and possibilities; as a space of human experience characterised by intensified struggle, exclusion and dispossession but also as site of great social potential, solidarity and hope. Furthermore, and perhaps most importantly, the contributions presented in this edited volume allow us to view the urban as relational space which is constantly interacting with other urban settings, continuously produces and encompasses several natures, and offers opportunities for social inclusion and for the emergence of new political projects that are able to acknowledge and embrace difference.

1.4 Organisation of the Chapters

In addition to the introduction, this volume consists of nine substantive chapters. In Chap. 2, Charalampos Tsavdaroglou analyses emerging common spaces and associated articulations of the 'right to the city' during the 2011 Indignados struggles in Athens, Greece and the 2013 Gezi Park uprisings in Istanbul, Turkey. His comparative case study reveals that within these two cities, neither of which may easily be positioned into the Global North or South, the claims of urban insurgents went beyond class, gender, religious and political identities. In order to capture a diversity of urban claims, Tsavdaroglou departs from conventional neo-Marxian interpretations of the 'right to the city' which primarily consider urban uprising as an anti-capitalist class struggle or a quest for maximal difference. Instead, he introduces an intersectional approach 'that examines the crossings, interferences and diffractions' of multiple fields of domination, oppression and contestation. Tsavdaroglou argues that such theorisation enables the capture of peculiarities, specificities and diverse articulations that characterise specific local urban struggles. However, he does not stop here but, instead, connects such local struggles back to what he refers to as a 'planetary "cry and demand" for a global "Right to the city"'. Tsavdaroglou explores the interconnectedness of different urban struggles by tracing how squares in Athens and Istanbul literally moved, rotated and relocated in physical space across Greece, Turkey and the world and, hence, acquired global ecumenical character. Based on this analysis, Tsavdaroglou develops the concept of the ecumenical right to the city, which he defines as a 'global human right which has unique local characteristics'.

The need to deploy and combine multiple theoretical modes of urban analysis is also emphasised by Philipp Horn who, in Chap. 3, explores emerging patterns of indigenous urbanisation in Bolivia. Horn sets out by demonstrating how indigenous peoples transformed from being 'isolated' and 'traditional' rural subjects to 'modern' urban tribes living in concrete jungles. Horn reveals that a planetary urbanisation perspective allows us to trace the specific processes of the concentrated and extended indigenous urbanisation that has occurred in Bolivia since the mid-twentieth century, namely during the modernist, neoliberal and current post-neoliberal period. However, by also focusing on first-hand accounts of indigenous activists, he reveals that a planetary urbanisation perspective, and particularly its neo-Marxian interpretation, is unable to capture the full picture of indigenous urbanisation and the resulting political struggles for, what he refers to as, 'rights to the urban'. Instead, he argues that engaging with Bolivia's colonial past and present is equally important in order to obtain a more complete understanding of these processes. Based on the evidence he gathered from Bolivia, Horn, therefore, calls for a return to Lefebvre's quest for theoretical and epistemological 'pluralism'. He emphasises the importance of more reflexive, empirically grounded research and suggests that deploying multiple analytical 'lenses' may, when taken together, help in deciphering the complex and, at times, contradictory characteristics of indigenous urbanisation.

Chapter 4, by Paola Alfaro d'Alençon and Ernesto López-Morales, focuses on transnational learning surrounding local governance and cooperative approaches to urban development in Chile and Germany. Both authors combine practical insights for the theorisation of seemingly very different urban settings, thereby entering into the intense and controversial debate on patterns and trends of spatial practices related to concepts of 'co-production', 'do-it yourself' urbanism and 'cities from below'. Often triggered by neoliberal mechanisms, these self-initiated and non-conformist practices exemplify the increased demand in neighbourhoods and local governance structures for new forms of decision-making. Against this backdrop, constraints and possibilities deriving from these new forms of designing and governing the city are discussed. Furthermore, the authors also question to what extent, and the manners by which, cooperative approaches may be important drivers in reshaping communities, and whether these projects may present actual insights into Lefebvre's (1968) concept of the 'right to the city'. While acknowledging that collaborative practices entail a risk of underestimating some broader structural changes occurring in urban development which, at times, resonate with neoliberal individualism, d'Alençon and López-Morales conclude that, in the context of their case studies, the right to the city is not just a claim to the city itself but, first and foremost, a claim for 'centrality'. The latter stands in the foreground of concern for different actors and, hence, represents an important imperative that drives and derives from cooperative urban practices in Chile and Germany.

While d'Alençon and Lopez combine practical insights from distinct case studies for the empirical contextualisation of urban cooperative practices and the theorisation of the right to the city, David Mountain, in Chap. 5, methodologically combines two seemingly irreconcilable approaches—planetary urbanisation which

draws on Hegelian methods and assemblage urbanism which draws on post-structuralism. In doing so, Mountain confronts and creatively combines the 'unapologetic assertion of the primacy of the political-economic' in planetary urbanisation and the focus of assemblage urbanism on specifities and particularisms. Through mobilising these distinct approaches, Mountain traces the continuities and changes in the decentralist urbanisation of the London Docklands Development Cooperation (LDDC). To contextualise this example of decentralism in London, Mountain offers a parallel review of deurbanist modernist planning of the prior New Town Development Corporations in the United Kingdom. He thereby offers a historical–contextual depiction of urban decentralism occurring in areas of concentrated and extended urbanisation that allows us to better orientate an epistemology of the urban appropriate to the present day. Most importantly, Mountain highlights how attempts to methodologically combine assemblage urbanism and planetary urbanisation can potentially help in creating a particularised comprehension of the specifities of broader historical changes.

In Chap. 6, Elena Trubina journeys with the reader to Central Asia, a region, which, similar to Tsavdaroglou's accounts of Athens and Istanbul, may not be easily positioned within the global North and South. Trubina reflects on the call of comparative urbanism to depart from a focus on 'world cities' and, instead, to learn from the particularities of urban spaces and regions conventionally 'off the map' of critical urban scholarship. While she considers such shifts to be of importance, she nonetheless also notes that they present certain problems. In her literature review on urban scholarship in Central Asia, Trubina indicates that the 'lumping' of Central Asian cities into 'post-socialist' or 'post-colonial' cities is misguiding. Instead, she suggests that there is a need for better comparative research, which focuses not only on the region's past and resulting path dependencies, thereby ceasing to reify 'post' categories. As an alternative, she argues that cities in this region are deeply immersed in the capitalist global economy and should, consequently, be studied in relation to processes occurring in the present and on different geographical scales. Thus far, however, very little effort has been made to study this region through the lens of frameworks, such as planetary urbanisation or 'world cities', which could focus on such interconnections. According to Trubina, this has been partially due to the fact that authors who work in Central Asia must conform to disciplinary conventions on urban and regional studies and the demands of the publishing industry.

Sheere Brooks, in Chap. 7, examines another region which often remains 'off the map' of critical urban studies—the Caribbean. Focusing particularly on Jamaica, Brooks notes how this island state, which previously relied mainly on agricultural activities, has been transformed by the process of 'tourism urbanisation'. Brooks considers tourism urbanisation, which has mainly occurred in Jamaica's northern coastal region, as a sub-phenomenon of planetary urbanisation. She positions recent shifts in Jamaica within the region's broader history of urbanisation and offers an in-depth description of the specific characteristics of tourism urbanisation, including (1) the artificial 'ruralisation' of the urban to meet 'tropical island' fantasies, (2) coastal gentrification and related informalisation through dispossession, and (3) the rejection of vital alternative industries such as agriculture. Brooks concludes

by stating that tourism urbanisation has started to dominate Jamaica physically, economically, socially and culturally. She argues that planetary urbanisation represents an important tool for diagnosing and analysing tourism urbanisation. However, according to Brooks, planetary urbanisation, as advocates of this approach would probably agree, should not be deployed as an all-embracing 'vision' to be adapted by policymakers. Instead, she suggests that it is important to move beyond the focus of 'everything urban' and consider what is also of vital importance for Jamaica's past, present and future—its rich rural traditions and agricultural practices.

In her work on tourism urbanisation, Brooks also describes intimate connections between the urban and nature. In a similar vein, Nancy Couling, in Chap. 8, focuses on the urbanisation of the ocean—a space closely associated with nature. Couling sets out by tracing the spatial composition of the ocean—from the deep seas, the 'natural ocean', to the 'unnatural ocean'. She highlights that the natural traits of the ocean are increasingly 'constrained by the exponential increase in offshore energy production, extraction of resources, constructed infrastructure and logistical development'. Acknowledging these capitalist activities within liquid ocean space, Couling considers 'ocean urbanisation' as an exemplary case of extended urbanisation and a 'natural partner to planetary urbanisation'. In the second part of her chapter, she investigates some of the specific conditions of ocean urbanisation, thereby offering a concrete example of how planetary urbanisation should and may indeed be localised through on-the-ground and empirically informed research. Drawing on evidence from the Barents and Baltic seas, Couling highlights that components of ocean urbanisation in particular may be described through an interrelated focus on the fields of seascape, networks, technology and ecology.

The urbanisation of ocean waters is driven by a distant order, one situated in the metropolises, whose inhabitants claim their rights to the provision of gas, without heeding the displacement of ocean wildlife, and the disruption caused by the exploitation of gas in local communities. From a similar viewpoint, Chap. 9 by Ana Claudia Cardoso, Harley Silva, Ana Carolina Melo and Danilo Araujo approaches the urbanisation of Brazil's Amazon region. They draw on previous findings from archaeologists to unveil surprising levels of human interference and technological innovation that have occurred throughout human history within the Amazon tropical forest landscapes, a region which has, nevertheless, retained its label as natural. The authors also emphasise that the Amazon region has always been characterised by a disperse, efficient distribution of human settlements throughout the forest, made up of highly complex societies that have accumulated a thousand years of wisdom, and which is still relevant to the indigenous inhabitants of today, but that is often considered irrelevant by newcomers who follow a different economic rationality. Focusing on a number of case study cities, Cardoso, Silva, Melo and Araujo discuss how socioenvironmental conflicts have intensified between indigenous residents and 'newcomers', despite the strong potential within the region for innovation created by the coexisting different logics involved in occupying space and social and biodiversity management. Their case studies raise

similar issues as those presented by Brooks; they highlight how the claims of indigenous or agrarian population groups for the protection of natural resources and traditional livelihoods are often subordinate to the interests of 'modernisers' who wish to expand economic activities such as resource extraction, real estate development or tourism within the Amazonian region, thereby leading to what Monte-Mór would refer to as extended urbanisation.

The disappearance of indigenous technologies in modern urban Amazonian landscapes in Brazil hides the mediation that humans historically have used to reproduce and protect nature. In a context of extended urbanisation, contradictions in relationships between humans and nature easily transform the utopia of development into dystopias. This is discussed by Roberto Monte-Mór in the final chapter of this edited volume. He suggests that capitalist logics precede the extensive urban fabric at the global level, thereby promoting economic integration and prompting consumption without necessarily delivering the rights of citizenship or respecting a diversity of regimes of knowledge that prevail in peripheral areas, either within cities or other regions of the world system, such as the Brazilian Amazon and also, as evident in the chapters by Brooks and Couling, along the Jamaican coast or in our oceans. Monte-Mór takes up the worn-out words of development, urbanisation and sustainability, in order to explore the complexity of their meanings from a critical perspective, and how these concepts relate to the urban as a substantive, thereby inspiring the reader to consider the urban-utopia of extensive naturalisation. Roberto Monte-Mór discusses how extensive urbanisation distributes its load unevenly onto social groups, and benefits from their progressive alienation in relation to traditional ways of living, by transforming their non-hegemonic lifestyles into something invisible and undesirable. This, however, signifies that in peripheral areas and those only partially converted to industrial rationality, differences are not respected. Moreover, to fully achieve a Lefebvrian urban society, extensive urbanisation will need to acknowledge all social groups (indigenous, peasants, urban farmers and extractivists), together with their needs to have access to soil, biodiversity and clean water. In a broader sense, it will also have to contain its own naturalisation, or the carving out of built and unbuilt spaces, to provide multiple possibilities for enjoying and producing nature, within an urban context. Since Monte-Mór's urban-utopia interconnects the main issues addressed in this volume, it was chosen as its final message.

1.5 Lessons from the Different Contributions of This Book

By bringing together contributions which deploy different modes of analysis in their study of specific urbanisation processes and emerging urban spaces, this edited volume has brought a variety of urban experiences towards fruitful dialogue. Reflecting on the different contributions of this book, we have herein developed some guidelines for future research on emerging urban spaces. We suggest that a more 'open reading' of the *oeuvre* of Henri Lefebvre may serve as a useful starting

point and that future research would do well to mobilise what is referred to here as (1) the right to the urban, (2) difference and pluralism, and (3) the naturalisation of the urban. Let us conclude this chapter by further illustrating what we mean by this in greater detail.

1.5.1 The Importance of Specifities, Everyday Struggles and the Right to the Urban

For a more holistic understanding of urbanisation processes and emerging urban spaces, it is useful to return to Lefebvre's (2003 [1970]) 'The Urban Revolution' in which he introduces three interrelated dimensions—the global (G), the everyday (P) and the intermediating site of the urban (M). G refers to structural forces such as global capitalism and the realm of power (by the state, the market, etc.). *P* refers to the diverse ways of urban living and cultural models associated with everyday life. *M* is where G and P interact. According to Lefebvre (2003 [1970]), M, or the urban, is dynamic, differs according to the local context and constantly changes over time depending on the interactions between G and P. All this, hence, speaks for an engagement with urban specificities—a theme cutting through all the contributions of this book which highlight the unique features of the emerging urban spaces situated in highly distinct regional and geopolitical contexts and inhabited by a diversity of inhabitants.

To date, it is mainly planetary urbanisation scholarship, which has its wellspring in Lefebvre (2003 [1970]), which recognises the complex interplay between G, P, and M. But planetary urbanisation scholarship thus far has put most emphasis on G, often considered to be nothing else but global capitalism (for a critical discussion see Shaw 2015). Yet, judging from the findings from the different contributions of this book, everyday life struggles—situated within the realm of P—seem to offer an equally important and, perhaps, more emancipatory entry point for understanding emerging urban spaces. For example, as outlined by Tsavdaroglou in Chap. 2, it was the occupants of the squares in Istanbul and Athens who transformed neoliberal cities into common spaces for people, not profit. Similarly, Horn discusses in Chap. 3 how urban insurgents, predominantly of indigenous descent, radically transformed Bolivia through claims for decolonisation. Likewise, d'Alençon and López-Morales's Chap. 4 on do-it-yourself urbanism in Berlin, Germany and Santiago, Chile highlights how urban residents do not simply accept the top-down implementation of neoliberal reforms but, with varying levels of success, seek to exercise their influence by participating in relevant decision-making processes and, perhaps more importantly, co-producing urban projects together with actors in the public and private sectors.

The findings from these chapters, hence, echo the work of Lefebvre (1968, 2003 [1970]) who highlights that the urban, and especially urban alternatives, are mainly defined by the quality of active everyday processes and interactions between

ordinary people who perform extraordinary practices. This is especially evident when people claim their 'right to the city', a claim associated with the right to appropriate urban space according to everyday interests and needs, with the right to participate in decisions around urban planning, design and management, with centrality and being at the core of urban life, and with the right to be different (for more detailed definitions, see the chapters by Tsavdaroglou, Horn, and d'Alençon and López-Morales which engage this concept).

Reflecting on the findings from the different chapters, everyday urban struggles take place mainly within sites of concentrated urbanisation such as Athens, Berlin, La Paz/El Alto, Istanbul or Santiago but are, by no means, restricted to such spaces. Tsavdaroglou, for example, notes how political claims and tactics used in Istanbul's Gezi Park 'commune' spread through to other parts of Istanbul, were then later taken up in 60 cities across Turkey, and in more than 100 cities around the world. Consequently, what began as a local struggle for the right to the city transformed into a global movement. Such local–global interactions demonstrate, according to Tsavdaroglou, the 'ecumenical character' of the right to the city. Horn, on the other hand, expresses in his chapter that everyday urban struggles no longer occur only in cities, but in spaces associated with extended urbanisation. He illustrates this, for example, through a brief discussion on indigenous mobilisation against the construction of a road in a natural reserve in Bolivia's Amazon region. Acknowledging that urban struggles may take place in such 'remote' spaces conventionally 'off the map' of urban studies, he departs from bounded conceptualisations such as the right to the city and, instead, suggests placing emphasis on what he calls the 'right to the urban, a struggle for differential urbanisation which may take place within diverse territories and unite diverse actors of our planetary urban society'. A focus on the 'right to the urban', whether taking place in a context of extended or concentrated urbanisation, therefore opens the opportunity for future research to investigate urban struggles anywhere—including the coastal tourist enclaves, ocean spaces, new towns in the UK, major and minor conurbations in Central Asia, and Brazil's Amazon region, which are addressed in other parts of this book.

Finally, in addition to paying more attention to the role of everyday struggles in shaping and constantly reshaping urban life—wherever that may be—it is equally important to note the diverse nature of such phenomena. Unlike the conventional right to the city scholarship which, departing from a Neo-Marxian perspective, mainly focuses on urban class struggles against locally varying articulations of global neoliberal capitalism (de Souza 2010; Merrifield 2011; Mayer 2009; Sorensen and Sagaris 2010), the different contributions to this volume highlight a multiplicity of urban struggles framed around ethnicity, gender or age which confront, amongst others, internal colonialism, patriarchal relations and racism. To capture such diversity, a distinct way of analysing the urban and associated urban struggles is required. We now turn to this topic below.

1.5.2 Difference and Plurality

Each chapter within this volume, in one way or the other, has highlighted that the driving forces of contemporary urbanisation processes are too complex to be captured through one mode of analysis. Instead, a variety of interrelated structural forces and factors must be considered. To name just a few, these range from neoliberal capitalism, (post)colonialism, tourism, ecology and sexism. Equally, human agency—whether articulated through urban struggles in the streets of different cities, such as Astana, Athens, Belem, Berlin, La Paz, Istanbul or Santiago, or expressed in decision-making processes occurring in the offices of institutions that have regulated urban development along London's Docklands, Jamaica's coastline, the Brazilian Amazon or the deep seas—plays a significant role.

As highlighted in Chap. 3 by Horn, a framework which simply focuses on one category, such as class, or one mode of analysis, such as Marxian political economy, is simply unable to capture such complexity. Neither is it useful, as highlighted in the contributions by Trubina (Chap. 6) and Tsavdaroglou (Chap. 2), to 'lump' cities into predetermined categories, whether they are 'global', 'North', 'South', 'post-socialist' or 'post-colonial'. Building on these observations, we would argue here that more emphasis needs to be placed on the interrelationships between different places (e.g. North/South, East/West, post-socialist/global cities, etc.), processes (e.g. capitalism, internal colonialism and patriarchy), and different urban articulations (e.g. framed around class, ethnicity, race or gender). This, of course, is neither easy nor straightforward and requires an approach that is capable of capturing urban particularities without missing potential commonalities.

To achieve this we argue that, first, it is important to engage in productive interdisciplinary urban dialogues. This may be achieved through personal communication between different scholars who represent different disciplines, which for this book include agricultural studies, architecture, geography, sociology and urban planning. This may also be attempted, as evident in Trubina's chapter, through writing. Yet, as Trubina emphasises, much work is still required to integrate different disciplinary perspectives on emerging urban spaces within one 'region', especially in an environment where disciplinary barriers remain prevalent within the publishing industry. Hence, enabling interdisciplinary urban dialogues requires engaging in reforming or, perhaps, transforming our own disciplinary cultures.

Second, in addition to co-producing knowledge through interdisciplinary engagement, urban scholarship would also do well to focus more closely on the complex ways in which urbanisation processes and specific urban outcomes are constantly co-produced by different actors operating in distinct cultural, economic, institutional, political, social and structural environments. This is perhaps captured best in the chapter by Tsavdaroglou which, through analysis and visualisation of urban struggles in Athens and Istanbul, showcases how urban squares in these cities were occupied, at once, not only as common space with insurgents jointly resisting neoliberal capitalism but, equally, as heterogenous space with different groups and movements raising a variety of urban political claims around, for example, LGBT

rights or religious freedom. The importance and political weight of such claims might also vary according to the perspective of different people participating in such everyday urban struggles. This is evident in Horn's discussion on the Bolivian gas war in Chap. 2. Unlike Harvey (2013), who in his book 'Rebel Cities' considers the gas war a classic example of a struggle for the right to the city or, better still, an anti-capitalist class struggle against neoliberal capitalism, Horn highlights that, for many insurgents participating in these events, the gas war mainly represented an anti-racist and anti-colonial struggle. These are topics that are of particular concern to the growing urban indigenous majority in this country and, potentially, also for indigenous populations elsewhere (see, for example, Porter and Barry 2016). Both Tsavdaroglou's and Horn's contributions, therefore, highlight the importance not only of class but also of other social categories (ethnicity, sex, gender, etc.). They also uncover different *contexts-of-contexts* which, taken together, co-produce urban space.

Obviously, such different agential and structural forces may not be captured easily through one mode of analysis. Therefore, and third, we call for more epistemologically and methodologically pluralist research. This call itself is, of course, nothing new and has been raised and reiterated again and again over time. As Horn highlights in the conclusion of his chapter, it may be traced back to Lefebvre (2003 [1970]: 159), if not further, who recognised that '[the] urban phenomenon, taken as a whole, cannot be grasped by any specialised science [or] methodological principle'. Thus, Lefebvre (2003 [1970]) demands epistemological pluralism and interdisciplinary cooperation in his book 'The Urban Revolution'. In current debates on the role, relevance and function of emerging urban theory projects, this 'cry and demand' for pluralism is echoed, in one way or another, by advocates of planetary urbanisation (Brenner 2017), its more sympathetic critics (Buckley and Strauss 2016), and by advocators of seemingly different approaches that focus more on particular urban spaces (Yiftachel 2016). As yet, however, it remains unclear as to whether and how such a pluralist perspective may be applied in different empirical contexts. The different contributions of this book have started to address this gap. This is particularly evident in Chap. 5 by Mountain which offers an attempt of combining methodologies associated with assemblage urbanism and planetary urbanisation to trace the evolution of the London Docklands Development Cooperation. These different attempts of combining different perspectives allow, to quote Mountain, 'thinking about how different parts of the [urban] system constitute a whole that is greater than the sum of its parts'.

Therefore, in summary, instead of presenting yet another critique targeted against one of the many emerging urban theory projects, we call for more dialogue, pluralistic engagement, and—as attempted by Mountain at least—a careful combination of seemingly opposed modes of analysis. In doing so, we hope to encourage more empirically grounded, interdisciplinary, co-productive and pluralist research on processes of urbanisation and urban spaces that emerge across the planet but are, nevertheless, locally situated and always positioned in relation to the environment and, as we argue in the final part of this introductory chapter, to nature.

1.6 Naturalisation of the Urban

We acknowledge that the understanding of nature has been determined by each phase of mankind's cultural development. This could be construed as something obvious, were it not for the fact that the historical subdivision of old philosophical thought between empiricism and rationalism is still central to several current conceptions and beliefs held on nature [the rationalist perspective claims there is an ideal version for all things, distinguishing between what is natural and what is manmade, and that man may destroy nature; while the empiricist perspective claims that nature is matter, and that its expression is codified by mathematical laws, and that it is not possible for nature to be destroyed (Abbagnano 1971)]. As if this were insufficient, these conceptions have been reinforced by monism (mostly Judaism and Christianity), which has stated that man is superior to nature and as such, may exploit it (Ost 1996).

During the transition from feudalism to the industrial revolution, the move from concrete to more abstract formulations paved the way for reinforcing the vision that nature should be exploited. A change in the way that rights were defined, from the concrete everyday experience to an impersonal level of abstraction, empowered the economic and political elites, to the detriment of the common inhabitants (e.g. controlling land, representing space), alienating social groups and establishing the new hegemonic rationality, whereby in order to promote economic development it was necessary to exploit both nature, viewed as raw material or something that was dead, and people (Smith 1984; Martínez-Alier 2002). Conversely, the belief has also been fostered that nature should be preserved in order to protect it from man, and that once the protected areas have been defined, what is left over may be fully exploited regardless of any underlying social injustice (Acserald 2010).

The present capacity to perceive and scientifically observe the world, and acknowledge the importance of the perspective of the subject (collective and individual), demands a new paradigm, able to support recent findings that most landscapes on earth are anthropogenic (Wickson 2008; Lopes 2017) and deal with the coexisting social, economic, cultural, political and environmental circumstances on earth (Martínez-Alier 2002). Apart from the lack of consensus in defining nature[4], the cases presented in this book complement evidence to the fact that any hope of having a better society very much depends on a significant change taking place in the relationship between society and its environment. The tourism urbanisation in Jamaica discussed by Brooks in Chap. 7, the appropriation of the Barents Sea discussed by Couling in Chap. 8, and urbanisation in the Amazon as studied by

[4]The Oxford Advanced Learners Dictionary presents six alternative meanings for the entry Nature, the first signifies all plants, animals and things that exist in the universe that are not made by humans; the second relates to the way things happen in the physical world when not controlled by humans; the third meaning refers to the usual way that a human or an animal behaves that is part of their character; the fourth relates to the basic qualities of a thing; the fifth refers to the type or kind of something; and the sixth is an adjective, related to the type of character or quality mentioned (Wehmeir 2001: 849).

Cardoso et al. in Chap. 9 and Monte-Mór in Chap. 10 all demonstrate nature's ubiquity as an underlying issue and call attention for the need to politicise this debate beyond the scope of economic determinations. These chapters shed light onto the contradictions involved in the way that resources are appropriated and the manner in which this impacts on the extended urban scope (or even across territories of biodiversity) (Theys 2011).

Current awareness of climatic changes also highlights the need to reposition expectations on the relationship between man and nature. Lefebvre states in *Introduction to Modernity* that 'the man of the future will enjoy Earth as a work of art' (Lefebvre 1995 [1961]: 143), thereby outlining his concern on how alienation, accumulation, technology and industry merely taken as a target, dehumanises relations, alienates people and reifies nature. His utopia positions a horizon for the evolution of society, to dialectically oppose the historical domination of nature, of certain social groups and of certain things caused by mankind, and for the historical understanding of nature as the realm of uncertainty, of cycles (and eternal returns) and of creative freedom, all considered, within the current stage of global capitalism, as being inappropriate for accumulation.

Inspired by Lefebvre's utopia, the chapter authored by Cardoso et al. exposes how capitalist domination has shaped urbanisation in the Amazon, a frontier of natural resources exploited by colonisers and migrants, attracted by the exchange value of land and of natural resources (minerals, biodiversity and water), whose need to dehumanise and dominate indigenous peoples has been endlessly re-edited. However, this domination has been unable to completely overcome the resistance or generate the potential to produce an urban civilisation that is capable of respecting and managing nature appropriately. Couling's chapter approaches dehumanisation from a different perspective, exposing the degree of alienation experienced by metropolitan consumers with regard to what actually happens to a distant sea, a distant tropical forest or a distant Caribbean paradise. Monte-Mór provides a theoretical framework to reflect on and acknowledge that if the urban stage is to be fully achieved, it is the diversity of social groups and of socioenvironmental demands that will bring about the utopia of urban naturalisation, simply because what is seen globally, such as land and natural resources, is viewed locally as nature, and this is why the right to nature may be claimed by certain social groups.

In cases such as the Brazilian Amazon, and areas around the Baltic and Barents seas as well as Jamaica's coast, the rapid modernisation of peripheral areas, due to interest in production, has fostered exogenous urbanisation patterns and denied the original inhabitants both an understanding of the way they have been affected and awareness as to the kind of modernity they have been subjected to.

Currently, in local terms, production processes based on exogenous technologies and investments have been imposed onto peripheral, low populated or even unpopulated areas. They have replaced endogenous practices and nature-based management before their contribution to the present need of confronting planetary changes has even been understood. As an outcome, land has been transformed into a commodity, or an asset for a wide range of uses and economic activities, as has proven evident in tourism urbanisation in Jamaica studied by Brooks or in the

extensive urbanisation of the Amazon investigated by Cardoso et al. These new land uses have become competitors to biodiversity and housing. They have redefined land prices in both rural and urban areas, according to their distance from centralities and amenities, and have disguised the ongoing alienation experienced by the newcomers to cities in relation to nature, and other possible sociopolitical forms of organisation, thereby strongly impacting the previously discussed specifities, struggles and right to the urban, as well as the acknowledgment of differences.

It is only when there is a shift of perspective, from the urban and the centre, to the periphery (Euclydes 2016) that this discussion is better captured, due to the diversity of the social groups that have been displaced from former rural areas (and from formally protected wild areas) to urban settlements. From this perspective, it is easier to face the capacity of capitalism to create homogenisation, and to claim, by following economic interests, previously environmentally protected areas (both in- and outside cities) as convenient reserves of value to be exploited. Cases presented in this book help to expose the massive inequality in the distributary impacts of capitalist urbanisation, based on class domination and the denial of differences among coexisting social groups and their forms of conceiving and interacting with nature/natural resources.

Recent contributions from political ecology have managed to disentangle some aspects regarding the relationship between urbanisation and access to natural resources. They have acknowledged cities as socioecological urban arrangements, or metabolisms that generate explosions and form an extensive urban fabric that, in turn, promotes socioenvironmental exclusion and commodifies natural resources (water, air, DNA and land) all over the planet, despite resistance from any (conscious) communities who have become desterritorialized. This approach has also exposed the political manipulation of dystopias that announce the forthcoming destruction of the planet, following the destruction of an idealised nature, which may indeed never have existed, instead of acknowledging that several natures are possible within this new urban horizon. However, in order for this to occur, a new political project will be necessary, one that is committed to a broader review of the relationship between cities and nature (Kaika and Swyngedouw 2012; Leff 2009), and that guarantees access to nature, such as natural resources, to enable those who have been kept outside the industrial productive system to produce and enjoy life. Only by doing so, will urbanisation and development, its expected counterpart, be emancipatory and worthwhile to all, and lead to fully achieving the urban-utopia, as advocated in Monte-Mór's chapter, intentionally placed to end this book with this important message.

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Chapter 2
The Ecumenical 'Right to the City': Urban Commons and Intersectional Enclosures in Athens and Istanbul

Charalampos Tsavdaroglou

Abstract In recent years, discussions about urban commons and new enclosures have revolved mainly around the Marxist notion of 'accumulation by dispossession', and conceptualisations of the commons as a new version of the 'right to the city'. Yet, during prominent recent urban revolts, protestors not only claimed urban space from sovereign power but also tried to invent common spaces which go beyond cultural, class, gender, religious and political identities. Such mobilisations demonstrate the ecumenical character of the right to the city, which affects both local and global scales. In parallel, neoliberal urban policies tend to appropriate common space through creativity, and urban-marketing policies with the aim of improving the competitiveness of cities. Consequently, the discourse about the right to the city and common space should be reconsidered, as it is becoming an ecumenical and hybrid arena of urban conflict. Therefore, this chapter considers common space in a Lefebvrian trialectic conceptualisation of perceived–conceived–lived space, deploying a framework based on intersectional approaches. In doing so, the chapter examines emerging common space and intersectional spatialities of race, sex, class and culture in Athens and Istanbul. In the current era of global crisis, there is a tension in both cities between neoliberal city and rebel city. They represent exemplary places for neoliberal urban policies and, simultaneously, constitute the epicentre of riots and rebels, such as the Indignados of 2011 in Athens and the 2013 Gezi Park uprising in Istanbul, which push the boundaries of social meanings of the right to the city and common space.

Keywords Ecumenical · Right to the city · Common space · Istanbul Athens

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2.1 Introduction

In the late 1960s, Henri Lefebvre wrote his famous work *The Right to the City* for the 100th anniversary of the publication of Marx's *Capital*, just before the revolutionary outbreaks in Paris, Prague, the rest of Europe and the US. Lefebvre's (1996[1968]: 109) core thesis and point of departure was that

> […] the city [is] a projection of society on the ground that is, not only on the actual site, but at a specific level, perceived and conceived by thought, […] the city [is] the place of confrontations and of (conflictual) relations […], the city [is] the "site of desire" […] and site of revolutions.

For Lefebvre, the right to the city embodies and goes beyond 'the rights of ages and sexes (the woman, the child and the elderly), rights of conditions (the proletarian, the peasant), rights to training and education, to work, to culture, to rest, to health, to housing' (Lefebvre 1996[1968]: 157). Furthermore, Lefebvre clarifies that the right to the city is not a typical right to nature; rather, 'in the face of this pseudo-right, the right to the city is like a cry and a demand' (Lefebvre 1996[1968]: 173). Ever since the book was published, it has served as an inspiration for a range of scholars, researchers, activists and urban social movements. My contribution seeks to extend the right to the city from the local to the global scale through the notion of the ecumenical right to the city.

In recent years, the discussion on the right to the city has been enriched by the notion of the 'urban commons' (Harvey 2012; Kuymulu 2013; Stavrides 2016). This notion evokes territories governed by a community of people, the commoners, while this governance is underpinned by a social relationship, commoning. Federici (2011: 7) makes it clear that community 'has to be intended not as gated reality […] as with communities formed on the basis of religion or ethnicity, but rather as a quality of relations, a principle of cooperation and of responsibility to each other'. Moreover, several scholars make the point that commons does not exist per se, but is formed in times of social struggles and constituted through the social process of commoning (Linebaugh 2008; Casas-Cortés et al. 2014; De Angelis 2017). Furthermore, the discussion on the urban commons is articulated with the so-called 'new enclosures', and is informed by critical geographers' focus on 'accumulation by dispossession' (Harvey 2005), whereby the commons is conceptualised as a new version of the 'right to the city' (Brenner et al. 2009; Mayer 2009; Hodkinson 2012).

At the same time, in the current rising tide of urban revolts, the rebels do not just claim urban space from the sovereign power, but occupy it and transform it into emancipatory common space. Moreover, the protestors are not simply limited to confrontation with the state, but try to negotiate and go beyond cultural, class, gender, religious and political identities to experiment with new forms of life, organisation and struggle. Consequently, they are transformed into an unpredictable (Stavrides 2012) and 'misfitted' (Holloway 2010) multitude (Hardt and Negri 2004); at the same time, through praxes of 'relocation' and 'reinscription' (Bhabha 1994), they produce a seemingly anonymous, yet highly personal, collective common space. This common space not only has a local character, but is also

constituted through global networking, acquiring a planetary character, as various social protests and mobilisations across the globe are inspired by each other. In parallel, neoliberal urban policies tend to appropriate common space, through such methods as slum clearances, forced evictions, gentrification, creative city and urban-marketing policies, which seek to improve the competitiveness of cities (Harvey 2012; Hodkinson 2012; Frenzel 2016). Consequently, the discourse on the right to the city and the production of common space should be reconsidered, as the commons is becoming a hybrid and conflictive arena of cultural, gender, political and social urban conflicts.

Building on this hypothesis, this chapter aims to contribute to the main research question of this book, which concerns the relationship between planetary and particular processes in the production of urban spaces. In order to shed light on this question, I elaborate a framework that examines the emerging ecumenical right to the city by focusing on the case of rebel common spaces in Athens and Istanbul. The inter-articulation of a plethora of urban social movements in the fields of race, gender, class, neoliberal urban policies and mixed cultural practices produce novel, unique and hybrid urban spaces in these two cities. Urban austerity policies, creative class rhetoric and gentrification policies seek to enforce the competitiveness of the city in the case of Athens. By contrast, the environment which usurps and encloses common space in Istanbul is marked by the Islamic version of neoliberalism, gender enclosures and the oppression of ethnic minorities. Against the above policies, a multitude of urban social movements have emerged in recent decades, the most emblematic cases being the 'Aganaktismenoi' (Indignados) movement in Athens in June 2011 and the 'Gezi Park' social uprising in Istanbul in June 2013. Both these cases show how central squares—Syntagma Square in Athens and Taksim Square/Gezi Park in Istanbul—can be 'erratically' transformed from quintessential global neoliberal places into emancipatory ecumenical scenes for collective action. My study suggests that the occupied square can be recognised as a fluid community with no boundaries between its members, but with specific forms of commoning practices between them. Moreover, the crucial characteristic is that rebel common space can be recognised as an ecumenical right to the city, because it is not limited to just one place or to the confrontation with neoliberal policies, but rather gains an interlocal and global character as it modifies and troubles established divisions of gender, class, race and culture. For this reason, I find it intriguing to examine these cities in parallel and to compare them.

The data for the paper was collected through participatory action research, ethnographic analysis, semi-structured interviews and secondary literature. The names of most individuals interviewed have been replaced with culturally appropriate names to protect their identity.

The structure of the paper is as follows. The first section engages with theoretical debates on the commons, especially spatial and intersectional approaches, developing the notion of ecumenical common space and establishing the rationale for comparison. The second section charts the production of the urban commons vis-à-vis neoliberal urban policies, by exploring urban austerity policies and the 'Aganaktismenoi' movement in Athens, and neoliberal urbanism and the

occupation of the Gezi Park in Istanbul. The final section draws some conclusions on the sociopolitical meanings of ecumenical common space and its implication for urban alternatives under planetary urbanisation.

2.2 Open Spatial Dialectics and an Intersectional Approach to the Production of the Ecumenical Common Space

In order to examine the complex power relations that produce urban space, I draw on the literatures on urban commons and on intersectionality. By examining such work, I propose the concept of 'common space', understood as the interaction between the physical space of common pool resources, the commoning practices of commoners and the social organisation of commoners' communities. Common space does not exist per se but is constituted through the continuous struggle against intersectional enclosures in the fields of race, class, gender, religion, age, ability, culture and so on. Subsequently, this conceptualisation is enriched with the notion of the 'ecumenical right to the city', which highlights that, while every common space has its own local peculiarities and intersections with multiple systems of enclosures, it could simultaneously be recognised as a global right to the city.

First, I build on autonomous Marxist analysis (De Angelis 2007; Caffentzis 2010; Federici 2011), which proposes that the concept of the commons involves three elements: common pool resources, community and commoning. The people who, through commoning, constitute emancipatory communities that self-organise to share common pool resources in non-commercial ways are called 'commoners'. De Angelis (2010: 955) felicitously makes the point that 'there are no commons without incessant activities of commoning, of (re)producing in common. […] It is through (re)production in common that communities […] decide for themselves the norms, values and measures of things'. This tripartite definition of the commons suggests that the commons may not exist per se, but nor is the concept merely a nostalgic reference to the medieval past. As Harvey (2012: 105) puts it, 'the common is not something extant once upon a time that has since been lost, but something that, like the urban commons, is continuously being produced'. Moreover, several scholars assert that the urban commons must be separated from the dipole of private or state management (Hardt and Negri 2009; Caffentzis 2010; Mattei 2011). Finally, it is worth mentioning Blomley's (2008: 320) proposal that 'the commons […] is not so much found as produced, […] the commons is a form of place-making'.

In order to elaborate on the connection between the concept of the commons and the notion of space, I deploy Lefebvre's open dialectic spatial approach. Lefebvre (1991[1974]) argues that space is not an empty container that is filled with actions, images, relationships and ideologies, but a social product or a complex social construction based on social values and the social production of meanings, which drive spatial practices and perceptions. Lefebvre's main method is trialectic

analysis, whereby space is diversified into physical–mental–social space, spatial practice–representations of space–representational space, and, finally, perceived–conceived–lived space.

In this theoretical framework, I suggest connecting Lefebvrian spatial analysis with autonomous Marxist analysis (De Angelis 2007; Caffentzis 2010; Federici 2011), to generate the concept of 'common space'. In common space, physical–perceived space is the spatial practice of collective sharing of the means of (re) production and existence. The physical space of common pool resources is repeatedly constituted, generated or reclaimed by commoning practices. Finally, commoners, through commoning practices, establish their communities.

Thus, the key feature of common space is the interaction between the physical space of common pool resources, commoning and communities. Enclosures result in the rupture and fracturing of common space. Enclosures are discussed in Marx's *Capital* as the procedures of expropriation, dispossession and usurpation of communal lands through the so-called primitive accumulation in the transition from feudalism to capitalism. This expropriation was intended to separate the users of communal land, the commoners, from the means of production, reproduction and existence. The ex-commoners were violently forced to migrate to emerging industrial cities, where they were proletarianised, becoming wage-labour workers in a relationship with capital (Marx 1990[1867]).

In the last decades of the twentieth century, especially after the crisis of the 1970s and the emergence of post-Fordism and neoliberalism, various scholars revisited the notion of primitive accumulation, arguing that enclosures are constantly expanding and are not therefore just a pre-capitalist procedure. Autonomous Marxists consider as 'New Enclosures' such processes as gendered oppression, informational accumulation, land grabbing and dispossession, the accumulation of population in urban slums, the Structural Adjustment Programs of the IMF and the World Bank, immigration and environmental pollution (Midnight Notes Collective 1990; Hardt and Negri 2000; Vasudevan et al. 2008). Furthermore, during the last decade, several geographers, looking at the spatial evolution of enclosures, have similarly argued that primitive accumulation is an ongoing feature of capitalism (Glassman 2006; Prudham 2007; Hodkinson 2012; Jeffrey et al. 2012).

Moreover, I draw attention to the recent strand of thought on intersectionality (Crenshaw 1991; Hooks 2000; Collins 2009[1990]), which examines the crossovers, interferences and diffractions of multiple systems of domination, oppression and discrimination in the fields of race, class, gender, religion, age, ability, culture and so on. Intersectionality is the idea that subjects are situated in frameworks of multiple, interacting forms of oppression and privilege through socially constructed categories. Rather than being conceptualised as a cumulative model, intersectionality offers a lens through which to view these categories as constitutive processes; that is, these categories do not exist independently of one another, but rather mutually reinforce each other and the social relations that materially play out in people's everyday lives in complex ways. Rather than distinct categories, intersectionality theorises social positions as overlapping, complex, interacting, intersecting and often contradictory configurations.

The above conceptualisation indicates that every common space has its own peculiarities and intersections with multiple systems of enclosures. At the same time, however, a planetary Lefebvrian 'cry and demand' for a global 'right to the city' may be discerned. At this point, it seems appropriate to rethink the term 'planetary' and to emphasise not only its universal but also its local character. I thus propose to combine the concept of 'common space' with the notion of 'ecumenism'. The term 'ecumenism' comes from the Greek *oikoumene*, meaning 'the whole inhabited world'. Although this evokes the global scale or the whole planet, the point of departure is the local: the original root is the word *oikos*, meaning 'household'. This was the basic unit of society in most Ancient Greek city states, referring to the 'house' or neighbourhood as the complex unity of private and public space, of men, women and children, and of different classes, genders and generations. The *oikos* was represented in the governance of the *polis*, or city (Cox 1998). It is worth mentioning that derivatives include 'ecology'—the *logos*, or discourse, of the *oikos*—and 'economy'—or 'law' (*nomos*) of the *oikos*, which is defined as the practices, discourses and material expressions associated with the production, use and management of resources (James et al. 2015). Consequently, the space of the *oikos* includes, in Lefebvre's terms, physical, social and mental space. In this sense, then, 'ecumenism' can, starting from the single *oikos*, conceptualise the whole world, the *oikoumene*. Indeed, the Ancient Greek Epicurean philosophers argued that 'the whole compass of this world gives all people a single country, the entire earth, and a single home [*oikos*], the world' (Diogenes of Oenoanda, Fragment 32). Consequently, the ecumenical 'right to the city' may be understood as a global human right that has unique local characteristics. In sum, the ecumenical character of the right to the city calls for a deeper examination of the unique and singular local features that constitute an ecumenical right to the city.

This perspective may be used to cast light on a range of urban social movements which, through their spatial practices of communing, seek to resist the multiplication and intersection of enclosures and to (re)claim both physical and social urban space. Examples include the December 2008 uprising in Athens, the 'Arab Spring' in 2011, the Indignados movement in Spanish and Greek squares in 2011, the 'Occupy' movement in the US during 2011–2012, the 'Brazil Spring' in 2013 and the Gezi uprising in Istanbul in 2013. These mobilisations have undeniably been inspired by each other, but they do not constitute a homogeneous category: each has had particular causes, reasons, characteristics and consequences. For the purpose of this chapter, the 'Aganaktismenoi' (Indignados) movement in Athens and the occupation of Gezi Park in Istanbul are examined, since they were expressed in, against and beyond neoliberal urban policies. Athens and Istanbul, two cities that are in-between Europe and Asia, the Global North and the Global South, east and west, are marked by a tension between the neoliberal city (Brenner and Theodore 2002; Peck and Tickell 2002; Leitner et al. 2007) and the rebel city (Lazar 2007; Harvey 2012; Gutiérrez 2015). The inter-articulation of a plethora of urban social movements in the fields of race, gender, class, neoliberal urban policies and mixed cultural practices produces unique and hybrid urban spaces. For this reason, it is instructive to examine the parallels and contrasts between these cities.

2.3 The Production of the Urban Commons Vis-à-Vis Neoliberal Urban Policies

2.3.1 Austerity, Urban Policies and the 'Aganaktismenoi' Movement in Athens

In the mid-1990s, Athens experienced a period of remarkable growth, due to the adoption of neoliberal urban governance policies which stimulated urban entrepreneurialism and liberalised land markets (Kavoulakos 2013; Arampatzi 2017). The urban development projects of this period included the hosting of mega-events, the development of new commercial and cultural districts, gentrification and large-scale infrastructural projects. All these served as catalysts for the central developmental goals of this period, which revolved mainly around the reinforcement of Athens' position in EU inter-urban competition.

However, since 2008, Greece has been hit by unprecedented social, political and economic turmoil, which has also been expressed spatially. Since Greece entered the 'supportive' mechanism of the 'Troika' (the IMF, the European Central Bank, the European Commission), successive Greek governments have imposed severe austerity measures. The basic goal of the reforms is the development of an attractive environment and a flexible framework for large-scale investments. Within this context, new urban policies have been introduced, such as fast track policies, degradation and flexibilisation of environmental legislation, commodification and privatisation of public infrastructure (motorways, ports, airports, train network, hospitals, universities and so on). Moreover, the crisis has also been expressed biopolitically, as the bodies and the very existence of certain population groups have been targeted. For instance, the 'operation of purity and integrity' of the Greek government in 2012 in the centre of Athens served to castigate HIV-positive women and drug users and stigmatise them as 'hygienic threats' to the whole of the society (Butler and Athanasiou 2013).

More specifically, as the socio-economic and political centre of Greece, Athens experienced a period of a general 'euphoria' and growth between the late 1990s and the early 2000s, which was known as the 'Olympic period'. The improvement of the city's image was achieved through mega-projects and small-scale inner-city projects. However, this same process simultaneously allowed a number of 'clearance operations' against vulnerable groups such as immigrants, homeless people and drug addicts. The Olympic Games (2004) necessitated an upgraded transportation system, new architectural 'icons', as well as banks, department and global chain stores and tourism infrastructure (Afouxenidis 2006; Kaika and Karaliotas 2016). Altogether, the Olympic Games played a symbolic role in the re-branding of Athens.

During the crisis, the regeneration of the city has been taking place in parallel with the imposition of severe austerity measures and the dismantling of the previous welfare state. Indeed, a radical shift can be noticed in the dominant rhetoric around the centre of Athens (Kaika 2012; Kavoulakos 2013). As Peck (2012) and

Koutrolikou (2016) observe, 'austerity urbanism', financial crisis, state crisis and urban crisis are interlinked and feed into each other. From a city that discovered its metropolitan lifestyle with gentrified areas and multicultural development, Athens is now presented as a ghetto and a highly polarised city, with undocumented immigrants, leftist and anarchist squatters, and other marginalised and vulnerable population groups being classed as a 'problem'. This image of the city forms the basis of constant targeted interventions to re-appropriate the city centre. Key vehicles of gentrification are large-scale regeneration projects such as ReMap, ReActivate or ReThink Athens, and inner-city regeneration projects (Alexandri 2015). At the same time, taxes for households have led to increasing numbers being forced to sell their houses and emigrate in order to find jobs and money. Finally, it is worth noting that austerity urbanism and gentrification policies are not only formally operated by police forces and real estate speculators, but are also informally exercised by the fascist party, Golden Dawn. Through its exclusionary urban politics, Golden Dawn has sought to appropriate the urban space in many Athenian neighbourhoods and exclude 'undesirable' groups (Dalakoglou 2012).

In sum, the new urban enclosures conducted under austerity seek to enclose—that is to commodify and privatise—the perceived space of common pool resources, to appropriate the social relations of commoning, and to split the communities of commoners. Nevertheless, urban social movements, uprisings and struggles resist this process, reclaim the right to the city and seek to (re)create emancipatory common spaces (Fig. 2.1).

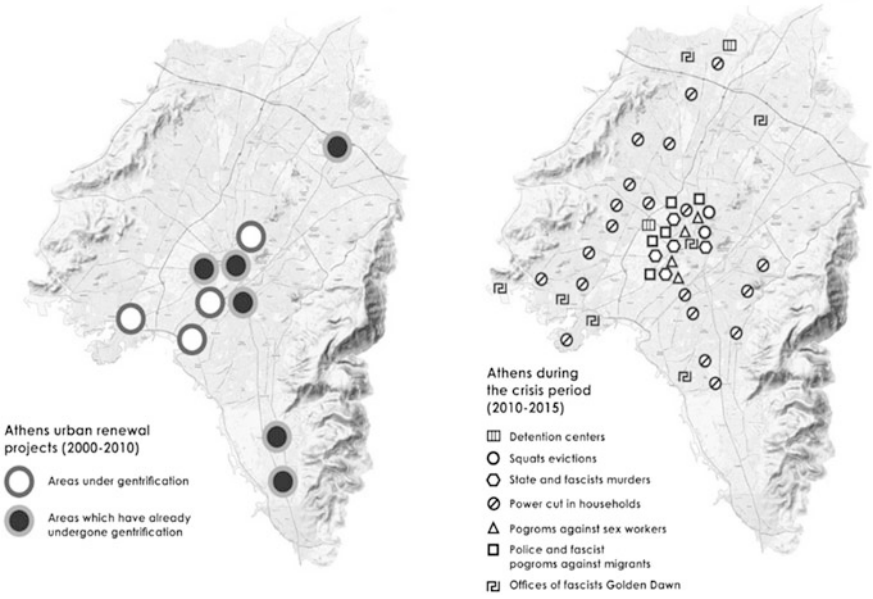

Fig. 2.1 Left: Athens' urban renewal and gentrification projects, 2000–2010; right: Athens during the crisis period, 2010–2015. *Source* The author

These urban austerity policies have not gone uncontested. In recent years, several urban social movements have experimented with new forms of spatial practices and struggles that unfold in both physical and social space. More specifically, the sparks that flew in Tunis, Cairo and Spanish squares during the spring of 2011 also ignited a Greek social movement during the summer of 2011, in the 2-month occupation of Syntagma Square, in front of the Greek parliament.

Building on previous analysis (Leontidou 2012; Stavrides 2012; Tsavdaroglou and Makrygianni 2013), the discussion on urban social movements and common space can be enriched by applying to the 'Aganaktismenoi' the following concepts: 'threshold', 'identity trouble' and the dialectic between 'stasis' and 'movement'.

The square was transformed into a common space as it began to acquire the characteristics of a 'threshold'. According to Stavrides (2012: 589), common spaces emerge as 'threshold spaces, spaces not demarcated by a defining perimeter'. Whereas public space bears the mark of a prevailing authority that defines it, 'common space is opened space, space in a process of opening toward newcomers' (Stavrides 2012: 589). Common spaces are thus 'porous, spaces in movement, space passages' (Stavrides 2012: 589). The mode of communication and the social relations of the protesters gave the square its porous and hybrid character. This character involved the modification of the boundaries between private and political space, as well as praxes of 'relocation' and 'reinscription', which allowed the presence, identification and expectation of sharing among participants. These processes unsettled identities and resulted in the emergence of the square community, a community open to newcomers and constantly in motion.

Before June 2011, Syntagma Square and the various parks, roads, shops and houses around it bore the typical characteristics of 'enclosed' spaces, with clear borders between private and public space. Specifically, Syntagma Square was a state–public space, where the government and the municipal authorities controlled the permitted uses and functions. However, during the occupation, the previously state–public space began to acquire the features of common space. The social relations and commoning practices of the protesters destabilised and altered the boundaries between private and public, personal and political. The square movement combined elements of collective space and personal space. For this reason, the multitude of protestors who 'took the square in their hands' passionately and consistently took care of and defended it, as if it was their personal space. Simultaneously, they collectively protected it both from state power and from the diverse and self-perpetuating systems of domination (Stavrides 2011; Kaika and Karaliotas 2016).

Consequently, common space emerged as a hybrid space, where the boundaries between private and public, personal and political were constantly modified. As Bhabha (1994: 227) remarks, 'hybridization' characterises the formation of actors who emerge through 'relocation' and 'reinscription'. According to Stavrides (2011: 170), 'we can ascribe these two features […] in a number of practices in the city focusing on collective reinvention of public space'. The occupation of the square was carried out in precisely these terms: protesters 'relocated' and 'reinscribed' in the common space of the square their personal space, transforming the square into

their new home (*oikos*) and their collective space, as they set up various self-organised collective projects. According to the protestor Maria, 'the open space of the square was housed […] by improvised banners which spoke for everyone and for all, and became the walls of a new home, which was a collective home with a "kitchen", a library and a "bedroom"'.[1]

Furthermore, there were striking practices of improvisation and experimental modes of communication among particular groups, such as the kitchen group, the cleaning group, the technical support group, the multimedia–communication–radio group, the legal group, the medical group, the guard group, the translation group and the intervention-in-neighbourhoods group. An art group, a library group, a 'composure' group and a group for childcare were also established. In addition, poetry, lectures, music and theatre events were organised, as well as spontaneous football matches in front of the parliament. Finally, paintings, handmade T-shirts, makeshift placards and anti-government slogans, together with the soundscape of the square—alive with people's voices, percussion instruments, whistles, the metallic sound of pans and clapping—formed an unpredictable and subversive common space (Fig. 2.2).

All these characteristics highlight another crucial feature of the emerging common space: the dialectic between motion and stasis. Several scholars adopt the Ancient Greek word *stasis* to explain social movements in the era of crisis. According to Douzinas (2011: 204), 'the "Stasis Syntagma" is a gathering of bodies in space and time, who think, discuss and deal with commons'. Athanasiou (cited in Butler and Athanasiou 2013: 151) suggests that 'the very practice of stasis creates both a space for reflection and a space for revolt, but also an affective comportment of standing and standpoint'. Thus, the characteristics of the uprising, of personal and collective standpoints and of self-reflection can all be attributed to the concept of stasis. At the same time, stasis is the prerequisite for movement. Finally, it is the catalyst and prerequisite for the 'crisis', that is, the process by which people stand, reflecting on themselves, recognising their strengths, contesting and taking a position.

Furthermore, the dialectic between motion and stasis transformed the uses and the social meanings of the square. Syntagma Square has in recent years undergone contentious projects of renewal, involving security guards, police cameras, luxurious hotels, a new underground metro station, the reduction of pedestrian walkways, the abolition of bus stops and an increased police presence around the parliament building. As a result, the square has increasingly come to resemble a 'non-place' (Augé 1995). This architectural formation of the square, according to Dalakoglou (2011: 224), has 'little personal and social importance most people'. Dalakoglou (2011: 224) concludes that 'Syntagma square had come to become a simply corridor mainly to and from the metro station'. During the occupation, people sought to overturn this state of affairs. The square acquired new personal and social meanings, turning from a 'non-place' into a 'common place', or a large *oikos*, through the daily presence, the stasis and motion of the protestors.

[1]Personal interview, 22 February 2012.

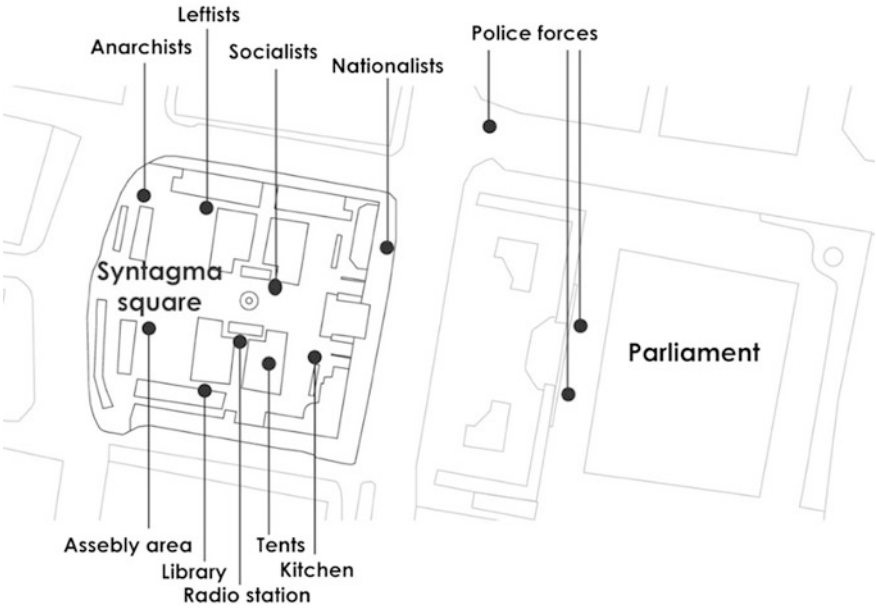

Fig. 2.2 Occupation of Syntagma square, June 2011. *Source* The author

Finally, the multitude of protestors who stood in the square sought to overturn and break the so-called former 'spatial contract', which, according to Tsavdaroglou and Makrygianni (2013), was previously restricted to time-limited demonstrations—an ephemeral form of motion—or to the occupation of particular buildings—a spatially restricted stasis. During the occupation, the protesters experimented with the possibilities of the space threshold. The occupied square was based on decentralised social relations, but it was also located in the centre of the city, in front of the parliament, as well as spreading across several squares throughout the metropolitan complex of Athens and all over Greece (see Fig. 2.3). Motion and stasis thus interacted dialectically: the occupied square can be seen as a non-finite, continuous protest and, at the same time, as a large 'house' (*oikos*), or as a large tent. The square moved and stood; it constantly rotated, 'relocated' and 'reinscribed' both in the physical space and in the participants' social relations; it spread across the metropolis, the country and the world. In doing so, it acquired its 'ecumenical' character, encompassing both the local and the global.

2.3.2 Istanbul, Neoliberal Urbanism and the Occupation of Gezi Park

In the words of the Turkish Prime Minister, 'with the new convention, sports and cultural centers, we prepare this beautiful city for the modern future in this historic

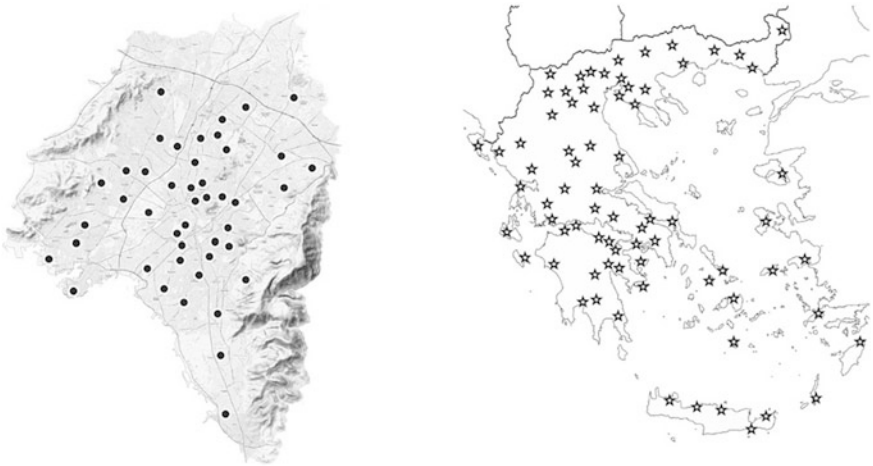

Fig. 2.3 Left: neighbourhood assemblies of Indignados, Athens, June 2011; right: squares occupied by the Indignados movement, Greece, June 2011. *Source* The author

location. At the same time we are investing to transform Istanbul into a global financial center' (cited in Azem 2012). The transformation of Istanbul into a global city began slowly in the 80s and has intensified over the past two decades (Enlil 2011; Karaman 2013a). This transformation has been accompanied by extensive policies of enclosing physical space, social relations and the mode of communication among residents and their communities.

The driving force of the city's economy has long been large-scale construction and urban development projects. Since the early 90s, Istanbul has undergone a construction boom as it has been transformed into a huge building site that appropriates and encloses the forests, lakes and rivers located on the city's perimeter (Lovering and Türkmen 2011; Aksoy 2012). Land grabs and gigantic projects are implemented or planned for the near future, the most emblematic being the expansion of the city to the north with the construction of 'New Istanbul'. Moreover, vast infrastructural projects—including the Third Bosporus Bridge, the new airport, new business areas with skyscrapers, gentrification projects, the Bosporus Tunnel project and a number of highways—aspire to thoroughly transform the city (Enlil 2011; Bektas 2013).

A focal point for the new spatial enclosures was the year 2003, when increased powers were granted to the state construction company TOKI (the Mass Housing Administration). Over the following decade, TOKI built 400,000 houses within the perimeter of the city, which entailed massive forced evictions from informal settlements (*gecekondu*). The head of Turkey's Housing Development Administration hailed 2011 as the country's 'year of urban transformation', cited in Karaman 2013a: 715), in order to increase revenues from tourism, the cultural industries and the financial sector. The two main pillars of this urban transformation have been the

redevelopment of informal settlements on the outskirts of the city and the enforced gentrification of inner-city areas. In this way, Istanbul has been transformed into one of the world's most attractive real estate markets, with property values tripling between 2001 and 2008 (Lovering and Türkmen 2011; Karaman 2013a).

Gentrification policies began in the late 80s in the historical part of the city, where massive demolitions took place and old wooden houses near historical monuments were set on fire (Lovering and Türkmen 2011). Since then, hundreds of buildings have been demolished, a select few of which have been rebuilt with concrete overlaid with wood panelling to mimic the old Ottoman streets. This 'urban scenography' aims solely to attract tourists (Tsigara and Kourmadas 2006: 142). Today, gentrification policies include the dispossession of poor families, migrants and Roma, as well as the criminalisation and stigmatisation of sex workers and other 'undesirable' groups (Bektas 2013). At the same time, an Islamic version of gentrification is expressed in the religiously conservative attacks on the street-life bars and cafes in Beyoğlu. These attacks are, according to Bektas (2013: 12) 'part and parcel of the AKP's desire to transform the city into a modern, if conservative Islamic Disneyland'.

In parallel with the gentrification processes in the inner-city districts, recent years have witnessed the multiplication of gated communities around the perimeter of the city (see Fig. 2.4). In fact, they may be characterised as 'new medieval towns' for the upper economic strata. Advertisements complement evocations of safety, comfort and distance from the noise of the centre with nostalgic references to Istanbul's supposed lost past (Cecik and Gezici 2009). Take, for example, the following quotation from the gated community Alkent:

> Some of us miss our homes in gardens, some of us those selective five o'clock teas, some of us our childhood parks […] Yes, each age is wistful for a different Istanbul […] Now there is Alkent which combines all these beauties with modern comfort, brings back together what everyone misses, and protects its environment. (Weekly magazine ad, Nokta, cited in Öncü 1997: 62)

This quotation makes it clear that the emerging gated communities are a new enclosed common space, whose attraction purports to lie, inter alia, in the usurpation of memory.

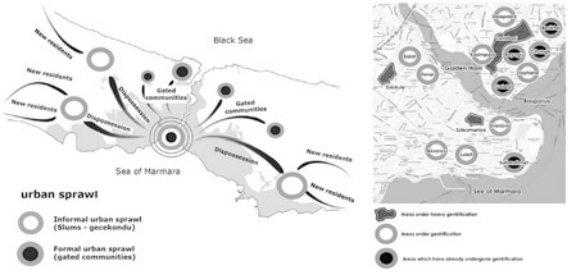

Fig. 2.4 Left: urban sprawl; right: gentrification projects in Istanbul's central neighbourhoods. *Source* The author

In particular, the Lefebvrian 'space of representation' is appropriated in order to accelerate the processes of spatial enclosures both in the physical and social space of Istanbul. These are the policies of 'city branding', which has become one of the main tools for the city's advancement in the global hierarchy, especially in the organisation of global events. Since the early 90s, Istanbul has been an Olympic candidate city five times, under the slogan 'Let's meet where the continents meet'. As a result, since 2000, the city has been under a permanent 'state of exception' applied through the 'Olympic Law': environmental legislation can be bypassed in order to legalise the various construction projects that enhance the city's candidacy. In addition, 2010 was another key year, when Istanbul was the 'European Capital of Culture', under the title of 'the most inspiring city in the world'. According to Tsigara and Kourmadas (2006: 140–141) 'in preparation for this, in order to fulfil the city's 'international readability' criteria, selective elements of the past were displayed […] while the state tactic attempts to eliminate the essential elements of the city which constitute the living memory'.

Finally, it should be noted that the above spatial enclosures have been compounded with 'Islamic Neoliberalism', which has a particular gender dimension. The most characteristic expression of the new policies is the model of the so-called 'Holy Islamic Family', according to which women's position is in the home, whether in the gated communities or in the TOKI buildings. According to Tekay and Ustun (2013: 3), the Islamic neoliberal policies that have been implemented:

> […] directly seek control over the female body, reducing it to a site of biological and labor reproduction. With these policies, the female subject has been denied the space to exist with all her complexities but reduced to a monolithic passive entity of patriarchal political hegemony.

Moreover, in 2013 Turkey had one of the highest murder rates of trans people in the world, and pogroms against sex workers and transsexuals are a daily routine in the streets of Istanbul (Shafak 2015).

In sum, then, it may be argued that in recent years a double conflict has taken place in Istanbul: the transformation of urban space—the 'war on space' (Kuymulu 2013)—and Islamic biopolitics—the 'war on the body' (Erhart 2013). Common space, understood as the unity of the physical and social space, is at the heart of both socio-spatial conflicts.

These policies of intersectional enclosures have not gone unchallenged, as several urban social movements have struggled against the multiple systems of domination, oppression and discrimination. Undoubtedly, the most emblematic moment of urban social movements in Istanbul was the social uprising of June 2013, which was prompted by the government's plan to destroy the historic public park of Gezi, one of last green spaces in the centre of the city, and to build a new commercial shopping centre. According to the network of urban social movements Müşterekler (2013), 'Gezi resistance was a rebellion where we said a high-toned "We Reject!" to the confiscation of our common spaces'. Moreover, according to several scholars, the ecological issue presented an opportunity to connect various urban social movements in order to express their opposition to the various neoliberal urban enclosures (Dikeç 2013; Kuymulu 2013; Batuman 2015).

Beyond the destruction of the park itself, further reasons for the multitude of people to participate in the Gezi Park uprising included the oppression of homosexuals, large-scale urban projects and gentrification policies, environmental degradation, government authoritarianism, the displacement of *gecekondu* residents, the criminalisation of leftist groups, the censorship of free speech, the perpetual oppression of Alevis and Kurds and the policies of the 'Holy Islamic Family'. However, as in Athens, the protesters were not limited to the confrontation with the state, as they tried to negotiate and transcend cultural, class, racial and gender identities, and to experiment with new modes of communication, setting up unique and hybrid social relations. According to Çavli,

> At Gezi Park, those who were made to be "others", those whose rights have been taken away, the youth, the university students and others who belong to different identities and cultures, anybody who feels marginalised, is here and they are here to struggle for peace and democracy.[2]

In addition, in the words of the protestor Firat, a member of the LGBT bloc:

> I am a feminist. I am both Alevi and Kurdish and gay […] As LGBT we have been here from day one because we didn't want the trees to be cut down. The trees and their shadows, or Gezi Park in general is a symbol. To be part of this historical moment is in itself very important for us. As LGBT communities, we are always treated as the "other" […] We are here in order to show our existence and visibility.[3]

According to several scholars and activists, the protesters who occupied Gezi Park transformed it for 2 weeks into a hybrid common space, the so-called 'Gezi-Commune' (Bektas 2013; Diken 2014). In the words of Sibel,

> It is more or less like a commune. When someone is coming here […] he is bringing some stuff that can be useful, and a lot of places is for free and all these different political groups, […] previously they have been fighting among each other and now suddenly they become all together.[4]

Moreover, as one Twitter activist aptly put it, Gezi Park is almost the only non-commodified place around Taksim Square, the only place where one can 'spend time without spending money' (cited in Karaman 2013b) (Fig. 2.5).

The physical space of the 'commune', composed of Gezi Park and Taksim Square, very quickly gained an ecumenical character as it spread through other neighbourhoods in the city, as well as more than 60 major cities across Turkey (Fig. 2.6); moreover, solidarity action took place in more than 100 cities around the world. According to Ayca, 'we were inspired by the Greek "Aganaktismenoi" movement and we send solidarity messages to the Brazil movement for free transportation'.[5]

[2]Personal interview, 16 November 2013.

[3]Personal interview, 14 November 2013.

[4]Personal interview, 16 November 2013.

[5]Personal interview, 15 November 2013.

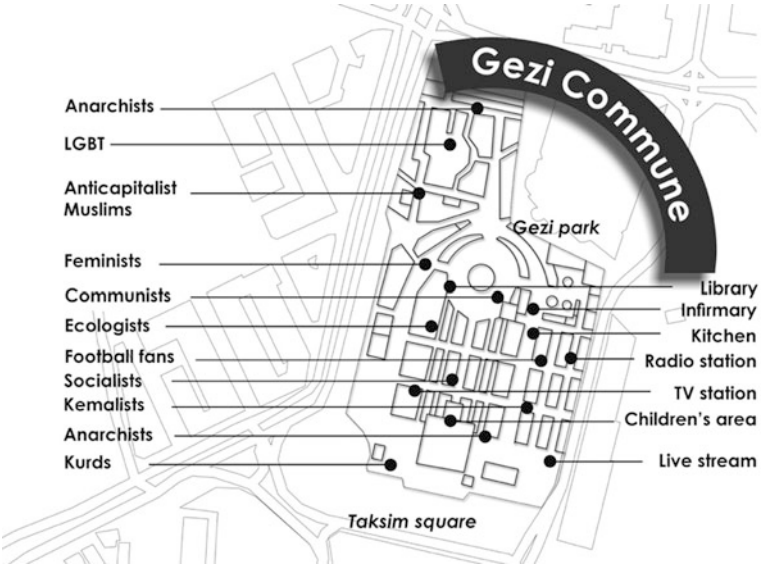

Fig. 2.5 Land use and socio-spatial composition of the Gezi Park occupation. *Source* The author

Fig. 2.6 Areas where protests and riots took place during June 2013 in Istanbul (left) and Turkey (right). *Source* The author

The protestors' repertoires of actions, modes of communication and commoning practices included dance fests, piano nights, yoga training, a self-organised library, open lectures, a social health centre, a vegetable garden, a playground, a botanical garden, collective sleeping places, a social kitchen and many other components of a self-sufficient commune life.

Finally, the community of the common space was constituted by a range of actors, including students and young people from the *gecekondu*, feminists, lesbians, gay and trans people, football fans, anti-capitalist Muslims, trade unions, precarious workers and strikers, as well as numerous anarchists, leftists, socialists and Kemalist political groups (Fig. 2.5) (Diken 2014; Eslen-Ziya and Erhart 2015).

However, these social and political categories were confronted with their limits, and were challenged, modified and transformed in the emerging common space of the commune. As Bektas (2013: 9) argues, 'through its evolution the rebellion created a rebel geography that captivated the imagination of those who were part of it'.

In sum, like the Athenian 'Aganaktismenoi' movement, the Gezi commune reveals how common space takes shape as commoner–participants relocate and reinscribe their personal and collective space in the square and park, creating a communal social and physical 'house' (*oikos*). In this non-state and non-market occupied 'house', the protestors are able to confront the multiple systems of domination, discrimination and oppression, to negotiate their various identities, to communicate with other rebel spaces and to (re)claim the ecumenical right to the city.

2.4 Concluding Remarks: The Square as an Ecumenical Arena of Struggle

In this era of global crisis, as Athens and Istanbul are scored by the tension between the neoliberal city and the rebel city, new geographical imaginaries are emerging. Exemplary instances of neoliberal urbanism also constitute the epicentre of riots and rebellions, as in the 'Aganaktismenoi' movement and the Gezi Park uprising. In both cases, the central squares—Syntagma Square in Athens and Taksim Square/Gezi Park in Istanbul—could be transformed from emblematic neoliberal places into scenes of emancipation, communal *oikoi* for collective action. I now draw some conclusions from the parallel examination of the two cities about the socio-spatial processes of the ecumenical right to city that have emerged in the recent era of intensified social antagonism.

The cases of Athens and Istanbul, two metropoles that are situated in-between west and east, Global North and Global South, are sites of multiple intersecting systems of domination, oppression and discrimination, which appropriate and enclose common space. The neoliberal urban policies of the creative city, city branding, the commercialisation of the urban experience, gentrification, gated communities, forced evictions and marketisation have been transforming Athens and Istanbul into western global cities. Such practices are constantly intertwined with the neoconservative policies of the 'Holy Islamic Family' in Istanbul, and austerity urbanism and neo-fascist exclusionary urban politics in Athens. It has thus become clear that urban neoliberalisation implements global–planetary policies while remaining rooted in local practices, to produce unique spatialities of enclosure in the urban fabric. However, the above policies are strongly contested by various urban social movements, which, by claiming the ecumenical right to the city, produce fruitful urban commons.

My analysis demonstrates that the occupied square can be recognised as a common space, since it lies largely outside the logic of state governance and market exchange. More precisely, the occupied square can be recognised as physical–perceived commonplace, that is, the common pool resource of the multitude's community. In fact, it has formed a fluid and open community with no boundaries between its members, who adopt specific forms of commoning and communication; a variety of 'micro-communities' and 'micro-squares' or 'micro-*oikoi'* thus emerges inside the ecumenical occupied square. At the same time, in the emerging common space, the modes of communication, characteristics and identities of the participants are confronted with their limits, modified and troubled. The process of establishing ecumenical common space involves an array of solidarity gestures and emotional, communicative and aesthetic interactions, which seek to overcome the bipolar contrasts of, in Athens, native–immigrant, young–old, worker–unemployed, male–female, gay–straight and, in Istanbul, slum residents–middle classes, Turkish–Kurdish, Alevi–Sunni, Kemalist–Islamists. In doing so, this process constitutes intermediate and hybrid paths of emancipation, social relations and modes of communication that constitute rebellious persons as social subjects. In this way, communities of ecumenical common space are formed. Finally, it may be argued that the occupied squares in Athens and Istanbul had an ecumenical character since they were inspired by the global square movement, and have subsequently inspired new mobilisations. Consequently, I contend that the study of the square movements in these cities should push the boundaries of the symbolic, material and social meanings of the right to the city and of common space.

In sum, the contribution of this paper is that common space and the right to the city can only have an ecumenical character by constantly contesting and standing up against the multiple intersecting systems of oppression and domination both at local and global scales.

Finally, while many further issues must be explored, I would argue that writing with this sort of ambition can expand politico-intellectual imaginations, generating new questions and possibilities for future theoretical interventions. Moreover, I hope that my approach will be useful for critical scholars in discussing future developments in the production of the ecumenical right to the city and common space.

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Chapter 3
Emerging Urban Indigenous Spaces in Bolivia: A Combined Planetary and Postcolonial Perspective

Philipp Horn

Abstract This chapter draws attention to processes that have, in recent decades, contributed to the almost complete urbanisation of previously isolated, rural indigenous peoples. Indigenous urbanisation trends are illustrated through the case study of Bolivia. Here, indigenous peoples inhabit diverse territories of concentrated and extended urbanisation where they are often affected by patterns of social exclusion and ethno-racial discrimination. Urban indigenous peoples are, however, by no means passive victims of exclusion and discrimination but, in Bolivia at least, they are active agents of political change who contest for specific rights within the urban environments in which they live. To analyse complex indigenous urbanisation processes and associated everyday urban indigenous politics, this chapter deploys a pluralist perspective and combines planetary urbanisation theory—which allows for an understanding of patterns of socio-capitalist restructuring of indigenous territories and associated anti-capitalist urban indigenous resistance—with postcolonial approaches—which allow understanding ongoing tendencies of ethno-spatial segregation and associated decolonial indigenous responses. The chapter concludes by drawing attention to lessons from this case study for future theoretically informed and empirically grounded research on indigenous urbanisation in Bolivia and elsewhere.

Keywords Indigenous urbanisation · Bolivia · Planetary urbanisation
Colonialism · Indigeneity

3.1 Introduction

> We have gone from societies dispersed in thousands of peasant communities with traditional, local, homogenous cultures – in some regions, with strong indigenous roots, with little communication with the rest of the nation – to a largely urban scheme. (Canclini 2005: 422)

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In Latin America, being indigenous conventionally meant living in isolated rural territories. This, however, no longer holds true in the twenty-first century. By the turn of the millennium, 35% of the region's self-identifying indigenous population claims to live in urban areas and this number is likely to rise to a majority by 2030 (UN-Habitat 2010). A variety of indigenous urbanisation trends can be observed in Latin America. These range from natural growth amongst indigenous groups that have always resided in urban areas; rural-to-urban migration; to the urbanisation of the countryside. Urbanisation also does not automatically lead to improvements in indigenous peoples' living conditions. For example, despite being highly diverse in terms of place of origin, social, economic and cultural background, urban indigenous peoples in Latin America often report that they are disproportionately poorer than other urban residents (del Popolo et al. 2007). They are also more likely affected by exclusion from access to tenure rights, housing and basic services than other ethno-racial groups (ibid.).

The empirical trends outlined above form the underlying context of this chapter and relate to its core objective: to explore to what extent and how current urban theory projects, in particular planetary urbanisation (see for example, Brenner 2013; Brenner and Schmid 2014, 2015; Lefebvre 2003 [1970]), can contribute to our understanding of, first, the emergence of urban indigenous spaces in Latin America and, second, the everyday lived experience and associated political struggles of indigenous peoples who reside within them. To do this, the chapter focuses on one country within the region—Bolivia—and particularly on one of its urban indigenous centres—La Paz/El Alto. Bolivia serves as an 'illustrative case' for studying emerging urban indigenous spaces in the region. It is a country where almost half of the population is of indigenous descent, and where indigenous peoples are increasingly living in territories affected by urbanisation. Bolivia is also a country in which urban indigenous peoples historically resisted and continue to resist patterns of exclusion from specific rights and services, and where particular indigenous rights to the city have been recognised by government authorities through constitutional reforms (Horn 2017).

Drawing on evidence from Bolivia, this chapter demonstrates how indigenous urbanisation processes can be captured through a planetary urbanisation perspective, especially in their accelerated form since the mid-twentieth century. Yet, a planetary urbanisation perspective, especially if grounded only in neo-Marxian thinking which focuses on capitalism as 'context of context' (Brenner 2013; Wilson and Bayón 2016), is unable to sufficiently capture patterns of exclusion which characterise indigenous people's everyday lives and associated urban political struggles for specific group rights and ethno-racial justice. Instead, it is argued that the roots of current problems around urban indigenous exclusion are best captured by further deploying a postcolonial perspective (Mignolo 2000; Quijano 2000, 2006). In doing so, this chapter uncovers how ethno-spatial divisions established by the Spanish colonisers between (1) 'modern' and 'developed' urban spaces that were home to white 'citizens' and (2) 'traditional' and 'backward' rural spaces that were home to indigenous 'outlaws' continue to persist, in somewhat different ways, in the current postcolonial context. In particular, it is demonstrated that, in a context of increasing indigenous urbanisation, previously established rural–urban ethno-spatial divisions

increasingly manifest themselves *within* urban areas. This explains why urban indigenous peoples are generally worse off than other ethno-racial groups and more likely to be excluded from specific spaces, rights and services. It also explains why the political struggle of urban indigenous peoples is not simply anti-capitalist but also decolonial in nature.

The central point of this chapter, then, is that emerging urban indigenous spaces, as highlighted here for Bolivia, are complex and that such complexity cannot be captured through one theoretical approach—planetary urbanisation—rooted in one specific disciplinary tradition—Marxian political economy. Instead, a more interdisciplinary, epistemologically open, and context-specific approach is required. This point is not new but has been highlighted in recent studies that call for engaged pluralism (Brenner 2017) and epistemic plurality (Buckley and Strauss 2016) to capture urban complexity in an age of locally variegated planetary urbanisation. The contribution of this chapter to this ongoing debate in urban studies, then, is to offer an illustration on how to do empirical research which looks at a specific urban phenomenon through a pluralist perspective. In doing so, the chapter shows how, for our understanding of emerging urban indigenous spaces in Bolivia, the Marxian political economy approach on planetary urbanisation can be productively extended by the deployment of a postcolonial mode of analysis. This allows uncovering how urban indigenous spaces in this country are, in fact, co-produced by a variety of interrelated and historical layered structural forces (colonialism, capitalism, etc.) as well as shaped by indigenous and non-indigenous agency.

The chapter proceeds as follows: The first part offers a discussion of indigenous urbanisation trends in Bolivia, emphasising how a planetary urbanisation perspective is particularly helpful for understanding such processes in the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. The second part looks at the lived experience of urban indigenous peoples, first through the lens of planetary urbanisation—which helps uncover how neoliberal urban governance regimes contribute to the socio-economic exclusion of indigenous peoples and trigger anti-capitalist urban political struggles—and subsequently through the postcolonial lens—which reveals that past and present patterns of ethno-spatial exclusion are rooted in colonial history and that urban indigenous peoples confront this issue through everyday decolonisation efforts. The third part draws attention to the case study's lessons for future research on indigenous urbanisation.

The case study discussions in this chapter are based on a critical review of the literature on urbanisation and urban indigeneity in Bolivia (especially section two) and on original data collected in La Paz/El Alto, Bolivia for doctoral research from August 2011 to February 2012 and for postdoctoral research from October to December 2016 (especially section three).[1] In total, 70 interviews were conducted with indigenous leaders and urban indigenous community members, national and

[1]I would like to thank the University of Manchester's Alumni Association as well as the Royal Geography Society for funding this research. For a more detailed summary of this research, see Horn (2015, 2017).

local government officials, international cooperation experts and staff of non-governmental and civil society organisations. This was complemented with content analysis of relevant policy documents, analysis of government censuses and secondary literature, participatory focus groups with indigenous youth and women, and participant observation in urban indigenous communities and during public meetings.

3.2 Indigenous Urbanisation in Bolivia: A Planetary Perspective

The geopolitical territory which today represents Bolivia has contained urban agglomerations throughout its history of human inhabitation. In precolonial times, important urban agglomerations included Tiahuanaco which represented the administrative, political and cultural centre of pre-Inca civilisations living in the areas surrounding Lake Titicaca until approximately 1200AD (Hardoy 1973). Subsequently, the Incas controlled most of the region covering contemporary Bolivia and cities such as Chukiyapu—today's La Paz—represented important administrative centres (ibid.). Following the colonial conquest of the Americas in 1492, the colonisers destroyed most precolonial cities, constructed their own cities on top of the ruins and pushed most indigenous residents out into the rural hinterlands of the colony where they would serve in semi-feudal conditions, predominantly as peasants or in the mining industry (Platt 1982). It was in this period that Chukiyapu became La Paz (Guss 2006). Despite the presence of urban agglomerations, Bolivia was a predominantly rural society, at least until the later decades of the twentieth century. In 1950, for example, around 69% of the overall population, and 95% of the country's indigenous population, lived in the countryside and Bolivia contained only one city with more than half a million inhabitants—La Paz (Torrico Foronda 2011). This trend has since changed dramatically: by 2012, 68% of Bolivia's population, and 42% of indigenous peoples[2], lived in urban areas (INE 2012). Moreover, even those indigenous peoples who remain living in the country's hinterlands became increasingly affected by urbanisation.

The reasons for indigenous urbanisation are perhaps best captured through a planetary urbanisation perspective which shifts attention away from a focus on urban form (see Chap. 1 as well as Brenner and Schmid 2014, 2015; Lefebvre 2003 [1970]). Instead, planetary urbanisation theory explores interrelated and locally variegated processes of urban implosions/explosions (see also Chap. 1). It analyses these processes in relation to patterns of socio-spatial capitalist restructuring conditioned by 'industrial, labour, politico-regulatory, and environmental reorganisation', via 'dense webs of relations to other places, territories, and scales, including

[2]In 2012, 4.2 million out of Bolivia's approximately 11.4 million inhabitants self-identify as belonging to an indigenous nation or people (INE 2012).

to realms that are traditionally classified as being outside the urban condition' (Brenner 2013: 100–103). In Bolivia, processes of socio-spatial capitalist restructuring, and resulting locally variegated patterns of indigenous urbanisation, can be categorised into three periods:

(1) Modernisation (1950s–1970s): Urban 'implosions' (concentration of indigenous peoples within already existing towns and cities) as consequence of the restructuring of the agrarian and mining economy in the hinterlands;
(2) Neoliberalisation (1980s–2000s): Intensification of urban implosions alongside patterns of extended urbanisation or 'explosions' (appearance of new urban settlements and of urban features in previously non-urban settings such as indigenous territories) as consequence of neoliberal political reforms in this period;
(3) 'Post-neoliberalism' under the government of President Evo Morales (2000s–Present): Paving the way for the complete urbanisation of Bolivia, including its predominantly indigenous population.

These periods should ultimately not be read as linear and compartmentalised. They are, of course, interwoven and interrelated, meaning that contemporary modes of indigenous urbanisation always inherit and reproduce characteristics and features from earlier modes.

3.2.1 Modernisation (1950s–1970s)

The first phase of indigenous urbanisation is the result of political and socio-economic reforms—the 1953 Agrarian Reform Laws—which sought to modernise Bolivia's countryside. These reforms were introduced by the political party National Revolutionary Movement (MNR) which governed Bolivia after its 1952 Agrarian Revolution. Reform contents included the granting of citizenship status to indigenous peoples, the abolishment of the semi-feudal *hacienda* system, and, perhaps most importantly, the promise to redistribute land to those who worked it—indigenous peasants (Albo 1987).

In practice, land redistributions remained restricted to indigenous peasants living in Bolivia's highland departments of La Paz, Cochabamba, Chuquisaca and Potosi. Here, excessive land parcelling was undertaken, leaving indigenous peasant families with small plots of land (Dunkerley 2007). Unable to make a living from the land distributed to them, indigenous peasant households often engaged in patterns of split-migration, meaning that some household members continued to engage in agricultural work while others relocated to established cities such as La Paz to diversify their income (Lazar 2008; Klein 2011). In contrast to Bolivia's highlands, redistributive policies were not introduced in the lowland departments of Beni, Pando, Santa Cruz and Tarija. Here, the government favoured the promotion of large industrial agro-enterprises. Left landless, former indigenous peasants often settled in cities such as Santa Cruz where they engaged in a variety of economic

activities, including seasonal agricultural labour, involvement in the emerging oil and hydrocarbon fuel extraction sector, and commercial trade.

In short, reforms undertaken during the modernisation period led to locally variegated forms of socio-spatial capitalist restructuring. In Bolivia's highland departments, reforms contributed to the dismantling of economic activities in the countryside which led to urban implosion processes—the increased concentration of indigenous peoples in established towns and cities. In the lowland departments, modernisation set the foundations for urban explosions, meaning that agro-industrial activities extended their spatial reach into the countryside, often pushing out indigenous peoples from their native territories, transforming them into urban dwellers. The consequences of these restructuring processes were profound. While under a third of Bolivia's population (and 5% of the indigenous population) lived in urban areas in 1950, this number increased to 41% (and to 30% amongst the indigenous population) by 1976 (Torrico Foronda 2011). As shown below, neoliberal reforms further accelerated these urban implosion/explosion processes.

3.2.2 Neoliberalisation (1980s–2000s)

In the 1980s and 1990s, a period characterised by economic crisis and political instability, Bolivia's government followed advice from the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund and implemented an economic reform package which followed neoliberal principles. As part of these reforms, the government devalued the currency, freed price and exchange rates from state control, encouraged large-scale private sector investments in mining and oil/hydrocarbon fuel extraction, reduced public spending and eliminated price and wage controls (Kohl and Farthing 2006; Postero 2007). The consequences of this were widespread wage cuts and public/private enterprise staff downsizing induced through, for example, 'voluntary' withdrawal agreements in exchange for extra-legal bonds. Such processes were particularly widespread in the state-owned mining sector where more than 30,000 workers, predominantly of indigenous descent, withdrew from the country's largest public mining enterprise—the Bolivian Mining Corporation (COMIBOL) (Torrico Foronda 2011).

A consequence of these withdrawals was not only the transformation of the mining sector—i.e. the near exodus of the public mining sector and the emergence of private small-scale mining cooperatives and larger enterprises controlled by transnational companies—but also a new wave of rural-to-urban migration to cities such as La Paz (Arbona and Kohl 2004). As La Paz was already densely populated by the 1980s due to previous migration inflows, new generations of indigenous migrants started to settle on the plateau west of the city which represents today's municipality of El Alto—a metropolitan area which is almost entirely home to indigenous peoples and, by now, as Bolivia's second largest city after Santa Cruz, contains more inhabitants than La Paz (INE 2012).

Conditions in the agricultural sector worsened during the neoliberal period. In a context of economic crisis, export demands for agricultural products declined, as did domestic prices and domestic demand, compounded by declining real incomes—which together led to the effective dismantling of the agricultural sector (Pradilla 1987). Small agricultural units in the highlands, most of them run by indigenous peasant households who benefitted from land redistribution reforms in the 1950s, particularly struggled to sustain their businesses (Andolina et al 2009). In this context, split-migration was again on the rise; the alternative was for indigenous peasant households to simply abandon their rural plots of land and migrate to cities (ibid.).

In lowland Bolivia, the government increasingly granted transnational corporations permission to use local territories for purposes of commercial deforestation and extractive activities (Reyes-García et al. 2014). Such activities hardly ever took place on *terra nullius* but rather on already inhabited territories often belonging to indigenous communities (ibid.). Confronted by expropriation, members of indigenous communities were left with the option of resisting and staying put or relocating elsewhere, including to new settlements for workers in the extractive industries or to established cities such as Santa Cruz (Andolina et al 2009; Postero 2007; Stoian 2000). Indeed, indigenous urbanisation rates in Bolivia's lowlands increased significantly in this period. While less than 20% of indigenous peoples lived in urban areas in this region in the 1970s, more than 40% did so by 2001 (INE 2012).

Neoliberal reforms, then, further contributed to the rapid inflow of Bolivia's indigenous population to established urban agglomerations—leading to La Paz being outgrown by El Alto and Santa Cruz. At the same time, though, urban features—for example, workers settlements, industrial plants for resource extraction and free trade zones in border territories—further extended into non-urban settings such as isolated indigenous communities. As outlined below, current interventions introduced by Bolivia's self-declared 'post-neoliberal' government are accelerating this process even further, thereby contributing to the almost complete urbanisation of Bolivia and of its indigenous population.

3.2.3 Post-neoliberalism Under the Morales Government (Since 2000s)

Following anti-neoliberal uprisings and the ousting of pro-neoliberal governments (see also the next section), in 2005 Bolivian voters elected the Movement Towards Socialism Party led by President Evo Morales, himself of indigenous descent. Elected chiefly by the poor and the dispossessed indigenous majority, this left-leaning government promised to introduce a 'post-neoliberal' agenda focusing on reasserting national control of macroeconomic policies and enhancing social welfare (Grugel and Riggirozzi 2012). Indeed, Morales' government nationalised key economic sectors, increased taxation on private sector economic activities and channelled this money into redistributive policies (i.e. pension schemes and social protection programmes including allowances for poor families and the

unemployed), thereby significantly reducing poverty and socio-economic inequalities (for a detailed analysis, see Crabtree and Chaplin 2013).

The post-neoliberal agenda of Bolivia's government has, however, not led to a change in the country's urbanisation patterns. In fact, processes of extended urbanisation occur at an accelerated pace under the current government. This is mainly because of the ongoing expansion of economic activities around mining, industrial agriculture and oil/hydrocarbon fuel extraction[3]. To expand the country's extractive frontier, Morales' government has, quite literally, paved the road towards the complete urbanisation of Bolivia. Between 2005 and 2016, the Bolivian government massively increased public spending on infrastructure projects, by 915%, with at least one-third of this money dedicated to transport. Between 2005 and 2016, the Morales government constructed 13,000 km of new road networks, with a total cost of more than USD10 billion (Cambio 2016; Gandarillas Gonzales 2016).

Confirming observations on extended urbanisation elsewhere in Latin America (Cardoso et al., this volume; Monte-Mor 2005), road infrastructure investments primarily serve the Bolivian government in expanding the territorial reach of extractive economic activities. While in 2005, only 3 million hectares of Bolivia's total territory of 109 million hectares were used for oil extraction, this number had increased to 24 million hectares by 2013 (Jimenez 2015). Land used for agro-industrial purposes such as the mass cultivation of soy or coca increased from 2.6 million hectares in 2005 to 3.35 million hectares by 2013 (ibid.). While Bolivia contained 690 mining cooperatives in 1995, this number had increased to 1400 by 2012 (Andreucci and Radhuber 2015). New human settlements, housing workers engaged in the extractive industries or agricultural sector, also emerged along these new transport and economic networks. In the period between 2001 and 2012, 74 new urban settlements, containing between 2000 and 20,000 inhabitants, appeared on Bolivia's map (INE 2012).

The expansion of road networks helps Bolivia in gaining improved access to regional and global circuits of capital. This is particularly evident in the government's involvement in the Initiative for the Integration of Regional Infrastructure in South America (IIRSA), a regional development programme involving all 12 South American countries, funded by partner governments and regional development organisations such as the Union of South American Nations and the Inter-American Development Bank. As highlighted by Brenner (2013) and Wilson and Bayón (2015), IIRSA represents a paradigmatic case of planetary urbanisation as its core aim is to overcome national boundaries and to open interoceanic corridors for global trade through the construction of ports, airports, bridges, tunnels, roads,

[3]The causes of these for these continuities are, amongst others: (1) historical path dependencies of resource dependency (Bebbington and Humphreys Bebbington 2011); (2) the employment of a neo-structuralist approach which favours global competitiveness and export-oriented growth, and thereby reproduces elements of the neoliberal model (Kennemore and Weeks 2011); and (3) the relative institutional weakness of Bolivia's government and the need to use extractive activities to maintain political legitimacy (Kohl and Farthing 2012).

railways, hydroelectric plants and electricity networks. Out of the 583 regional infrastructure projects associated with IIRSA, 323 are wholly or partly located in Bolivia. The aim of these projects is to establish better connections to neighbouring countries—mainly Brazil—and to core ports on the Atlantic and Pacific coasts (for further details, see Gandarillas Gonzales 2016). The benefits of IIRSA for Bolivia are mainly around the generation of new jobs in the construction sector. Otherwise, IIRSA mainly serves Brazil which, through improved regional transport networks, can obtain faster access to primary resources from countries such as Bolivia for domestic industrial production (ibid.).

Processes of extended urbanisation in Bolivia were and continue to be met with temporary resistance, especially when affecting previously isolated and protected indigenous territories, and when government authorities refuse to compensate affected communities or violate indigenous rights for prior consultation. Recent examples of resistance include the conflicts around the construction of a road through the Isiboro Secure National Park and Indigenous Territory (TIPNIS) which escalated in 2011 and 2012 (McNeish 2013) and current conflicts around the construction of a mega-dam in the Chepete/El Bala area (Achtenberg 2017). Yet, despite temporary periods of resistance against the extension of the urban fabric into non-urban territories, Bolivia, under the post-neoliberal government of Evo Morales, continues to transform itself from a predominantly rural society, comprised mostly of indigenous peasants, to a completely urbanised society where indigenous peoples increasingly represent city tribes and where processes of extended urbanisation transform isolated and remote indigenous territories into concrete jungles.

3.2.4 Synthesis

The preceding historical section has shown how processes of socio-spatial capitalist restructuring during the interwoven modernist, neoliberal and post-neoliberal periods put into play interrelated and locally variegated processes of urban implosions and explosions, contributing to the emergence of urban indigenous spaces in Bolivia. It has illustrated how, over time, more and more indigenous people live in areas associated with concentrated urbanisation. While Bolivia contained only one major city—La Paz—in 1950, it now contains five major cities with more than 250,000 inhabitants (La Paz, El Alto, Santa Cruz, Cochabamba, and Sucre). In 2012, Bolivia also contained 27 intermediate towns with a population ranging from 20,000 to 250,000 inhabitants as well as 134 minor urban settlements of between 2000 and 20,000 inhabitants (INE 2012). These areas of concentrated urbanisation serve different functions; amongst others, they represent political, administrative or commercial centres as well as new workers' enclaves. However, common to all is that these places are increasingly home to Bolivia's indigenous majority. Indigenous urbanisation trends become even more dramatic when considering processes of extended urbanisation. Throughout the last few decades, and

particularly since the election of Evo Morales in 2006, urban features are reaching out into Bolivia's hinterlands, thereby absorbing historically isolated and remote indigenous communities.

These emerging trends demand from scholars of indigeneity, who often remain guided by a rural bias (for a detailed discussion see Horn 2015), that they adapt an urban perspective on the lived reality of indigenous peoples. The next section elaborates such an urban perspective. In particular, the section discusses whether a planetary urbanisation perspective, which proved helpful for understanding processes of indigenous urbanisation, can also capture and explain everyday lived experiences and associated political struggles of urban indigenous peoples.

3.3 Everyday Urban Indigenous Struggles

3.3.1 A Planetary Urbanisation Perspective

Planetary urbanisation theory does not only focus on processes of socio-spatial capitalist restructuring but also on the impact of such transformations on people's everyday lives and on resulting patterns of social resistance (Brenner 2017). For this reason, such a perspective might also be useful for the study of everyday political struggles of urban indigenous peoples.

To capture processes of political struggle, planetary urbanisation theory not only analyses concentrated and extended urbanisation, but also differential urbanisation which is the 'result of various forms of urban struggle and expresses the powerful potentials for radical social and political transformation that are unleashed, but often suppressed, through capitalist industrial development' (Brenner and Schmid 2015: 168). In the urban studies literature, processes of differential urbanisation have been mainly studied in settings affected by concentrated urbanisation and are often analysed through a 'right to the city' perspective. Like planetary urbanisation theory, work on the right to the city has its roots in the writings of Lefebvre (1968, 1991). Critical of processes of social polarisation and capitalist urban transformation occurring in Paris since the late nineteenth century, Lefebvre (ibid.) argued that urban residents—notably urban popular classes—have been pushed out from central parts of the city to the urban periphery where they lacked access to services, economic opportunities and power to influence political decisions affecting their city. For Lefebvre, *centrality* (and its converse, peripheralisation) did not simply concern geographical location but also the relative access to political power and economic and cultural capital. In this context, Lefebvre argued that the popular classes should rise up and claim their right to the city. The right to the city concept has two core components (Butler 2012; Marcuse 2009):

(1) *The right to appropriation* which prioritises use over exchange value and the associated commodification of urban space. Accordingly, urban dwellers should be able to make complete use of urban space in their everyday lives in a way that meets their own interests and needs.

(2) *The right to participation* which calls for the development of participatory forms of engagement that permit the inclusion of all inhabitants in decisions around the design, planning and management of cities and urban life. These processes should be controlled by residents themselves and not imposed from above.

These two components link to claims for centrality and difference. The former refers to being at the core (not the periphery) of urban life and to taking part in decision-making processes which concern cities. The latter does not necessarily relate to 'minimal' differences around lifestyle choices, cultures, ethnicities or sexual orientations, but to a quest for 'maximal' difference that brings together different marginalised groups in practices which rupture and transform urban capitalist relations. Following this definition, the right to the city refers to anti-capitalist class struggles over urban space. In a context of almost complete urbanisation of the planet, such urban struggles are, of course, unlikely to emerge only within cities but can take place within territories of concentrated and extended urbanisation. To reflect this shift, it is perhaps better to rename the right to the city as the 'right to the urban', a struggle for differential urbanisation which can take place within diverse territories and unite diverse actors of our planetary urban society.

A planetary urbanisation perspective—especially its focus on differential urbanisation—is useful for explaining patterns of everyday urban indigenous politics. In particular, such a perspective can account for patterns of urban resistance in Bolivia's neoliberal period, such as the 2003 urban insurgent uprisings in La Paz/El Alto which are collectively remembered as the 'gas wars' (Perreault 2006; Revilla 2011). While these events took place in an area of concentrated urbanisation—La Paz/El Alto—they also reached out to territories of extended urbanisation. The gas wars were initiated by marginalised residents from La Paz/El Alto who were predominantly of indigenous descent and expressed their frustration about bad living conditions in the city. An indigenous resident from La Paz who participated in the events explained this point:

> My family came to this city in the early 1970s because we could no longer live off our land. We came here to find a decent place to live, better education, and better work. But La Paz did not fulfil this dream for us. Instead, we continued being poor and, over time, became even poorer as the municipality decided to charge us more and more taxes and fees for the most basic things in life – land, water, electricity, and gas. It was for these reasons that we took to the streets in 2003. (Interview, December 2012)

Indeed, indigenous migration to La Paz/El Alto hardly led to improvements in indigenous peoples living conditions. This is evident, for example, in a survey collected by the municipality of La Paz (2010) which highlights that the city's urban indigenous peoples, predominantly of Aymara descent, rarely reside within the urban core but in the periphery (see Fig. 3.1). Here, residents are more likely to live in houses built on earth floors than those living in central areas; they are more likely to be illiterate, have lower life expectancy rates, higher chances of being unemployed, and to lack access to public transport links and basic public services

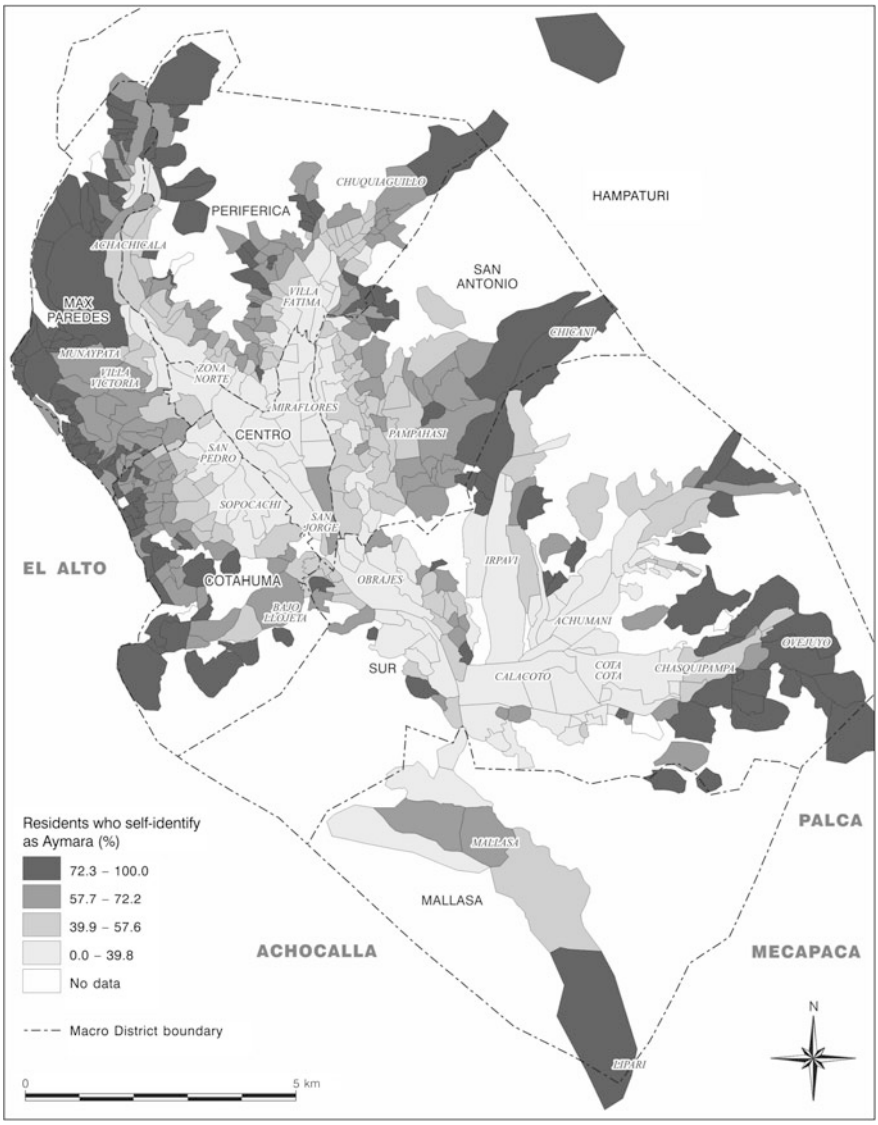

Fig. 3.1 Location of residence of Aymara indigenous people in La Paz (map produced by the author using data from the municipality of La Paz)

such as water and sanitation. The socio-economic situation of urban indigenous peoples further worsened when municipal governments introduced municipal tax increases and privatised core public services, leading to price rises for basic goods such as water and gas (Arbona and Kohl 2004).

While the gas wars started as a local protest against rises in service charges and municipal taxes, they soon extended their scope by involving people living in territories of extended urbanisation and by broader concerns (Revilla 2011). Civil society organisations and social movements representing miners (affected by wage cuts), indigenous peasants (affected by agricultural declines) and lowland indigenous communities (affected by threats of expropriation and the sell out of their territories to transnational oil and gas companies) all joined the protest. Frustrated with more than 20 years of neoliberal policies, these different groups—predominantly representing people of indigenous descent—jointly resisted the privatisation and sale of natural gas resources to the United States, the commercialisation of agricultural production, the steady withdrawal of national and municipal governments from public service provisioning, and associated privatisation of core services such as water (Kohl and Farthing 2006; Perreault 2006). They also formulated the so-called 'October Agenda', which demanded that future governments nationalise important economic sectors such as the mining industry, depart from the neoliberal economic model, set up a constituent assembly in which ordinary people would be allowed to participate, and directly involve local residents in future decision-making processes around the planning and design of the territories in which they live (Crabtree and Chaplin 2013). A consequence of these uprisings was the ousting of a pro-neoliberal government, the election of Evo Morales after a transition phase, and the introduction of a post-neoliberal government agenda which, at least partially, reflected some of the demands of urban insurgents (see previous section).

The gas wars, hence, resemble an ideal-type illustration of a right to the urban struggle. Actors involved in these events transcended minimal differences and appropriated one specific urban space—La Paz/El Alto—as a site for popular resistance against neoliberal capitalist reforms which adversely affected territories of concentrated and extended urbanisation. But this is only one element of a more complex story.

3.3.2 Moving Towards a Pluralist Perspective

Urban indigenous peoples not only displayed an anti-capitalist agenda during the gas wars. This is evident in the testimony of Pedro, an indigenous leader from La Paz who was also involved in the gas wars:

> Our struggle was never just an anti-capitalist struggle. As indigenous peoples, we were also resisting and continue to resist the ongoing presence of colonialism in our cities. Since colonial times, La Paz was always more a city for people with white skin. These people were 'first class' people and we were 'second class' people. Even with more and more of us coming to the city, this dynamic hasn't changed. So when we took part in the gas war in 2003, and in any other event after this, we also fought against this. These were decolonial struggles led by 'second class' people who want the rights of 'first class' people but who also wanted respect for who they are – indigenous peoples that live in the city. (Interview, December 2012)

Claims around minimal differences—ethnicity in the case of Pedro—and against forces beyond capitalism—such as colonialism—are hardly captured by studies that rely on a planetary urbanisation approach. This can be explained by the fact that, so far at least, most studies understand planetary urbanisation through a Marxian political economy perspective. Consequently, planetary urbanisation is considered to be, first and foremost, an outcome of global capitalism, and associated patterns of resistance are conceived of as fundamentally anti-capitalist, class-based struggles. This is evident in earlier work by Brenner (2013) which highlights global capitalism as the 'context of context' for planetary urbanisation. Likewise, Wilson and Bayón (2016), in a study on Amazonian Ecuador, understand planetary urbanisation as an all-encompassing incorporation of all territories into global capitalism, a process which they compare to the universal physics of 'black hole dynamics'. Such theorising has potentially totalising tendencies as it privileges one process (capitalism) or one social category (class) over all others, thereby creating blind spots which prevent us to see other, and perhaps equally important, elements of the urban phenomenon. Pedro's claim for ethno-racial justice and the decolonisation of the urban is one such missing element.

Advocators of planetary urbanisation have, by now, proposed a variety of solutions to this problem of totalisation. For example, in a more recent article, Brenner (2017) demands more open communication between different scholars who approach the urban problem from different disciplinary backgrounds and through distinct modes of analysis. Borrowing from van Meeteren et al. (2016), he calls for engaged pluralism in urban studies, for productive dialogue across disciplinary boundaries, for more discussion on core matters of disagreement and for identifying ways of cooperation. Moving even further, Buckley and Strauss (2016) propose two concrete solutions to the problem of totalisation. First, returning to Lefebvre's (1991, 2003) original work, they highlight the importance of mapping out not only maximal but also minimal differences—such as ethnicity—as this may uncover an array of locally specific *contexts*-of-contexts which 'while entangled in capitalist relations, are in no way explained fully or adequately through capitalocentric epistemologies' (Buckley and Strauss 2016: 627). Second, and in relation to the first, to understand such urban diversity and complexity, they call to move beyond capitalocentric epistemologies and to deploy epistemological pluralism. They argue that Marxian accounts of planetary urbanisation have indeed much to learn from other modes of urban analysis (e.g. feminist, postcolonial, queer perspectives) which can uncover, often in more effective ways, the diversity of everyday lived experiences and associated political struggles in our age of planetary urbanisation.

Such a pluralist perspective to planetary urbanisation is also useful for the assessment of diverse forms of everyday urban indigenous political struggles—such as those mentioned in Pedro's testimony. Understanding the roots and underlying causes for such claims requires engaging not only with Bolivia's capitalist history but also its history of colonialism and internal colonialism. This history has been captured neatly by scholars such as Quijano (2000, 2006), Mignolo (2000), or Rivera Cusicanqui (2010) who deploy a postcolonial mode of analysis. These scholars highlight that present ethno-spatial divisions have their roots in the 'blood

politics' introduced by the Spanish colonisers. The colonisers established a 'Spanish Republic' which granted rights to the primarily 'white' urban citizenry. In parallel, they created an 'Indian Republic' for the native indigenous population. The 'Indian Republic' was maintained through a 'pact of reciprocity' whereby indigenous peoples had to pay a tribute to the colonisers. In exchange, they were granted the right to live in the colony's hinterlands where they were granted relative political autonomy over internal community affairs. Otherwise, indigenous peoples were denied from citizenship and from inhabiting cities. Being part of the 'Indian Republic', hence, was associated with social exclusion: it meant being set apart and locked out spatially, culturally, politically and economically from other ethno-racial groups. It is precisely on these grounds that, in Bolivia, the notion of modernity and its dialectical other—tradition—arose as a consequence of ethno-racial 'blood politics' and not only, as probably would have been argued by Marx, in relation to the rise of the bourgeoisie as a new revolutionary class. In the Bolivian colonial context, modernity was associated with urban 'white' people, Western culture and economic progress. At the same time, tradition was associated with the rural hinterlands, indigenous peoples, non-Western culture and 'backwardness'.

Processes of indigenous urbanisation induced by socio-spatial capitalist restructuring in the postcolonial context—such as those associated with modernisation and neoliberalisation—moved previously rural–urban, ethno-spatial divisions into the urban realm. Understanding these shifts also requires a brief discussion of changes in indigenous rights agendas which occurred parallel to processes of socio-spatial capitalist restructuring (see also Horn 2017). Since the modernisation period in the mid-twentieth century, indigenous exclusion has been addressed mainly with a focus on Bolivia's countryside. Here, indigeneity shifted from a category of exclusion to a politico-legal category of rights and entitlements: first, through the granting of citizenship to indigenous peasants under modernisation; later, through neoliberal multiculturalist reforms which granted specific rights (e.g. rights to intercultural education, prior consultation, and participation) to indigenous peoples living in their legally recognised ancestral rural territories. Yet such reforms were hardly implemented by government authorities which followed other political and economic priorities, namely those of modernist and neoliberal socio-spatial capitalist restructuring which transformed indigenous peoples into urban subjects. In urbanised settings, indigenous peoples remain marginalised and excluded. This is evident in territories of extended urbanisation where government authorities permitted indigenous rights violations and facilitated the expropriation of indigenous peoples from their territories (see previous section). Such trends are, however, even more explicit in territories of concentrated urbanisation where indigenous peoples increasingly live but where indigenous rights do not apply. In areas of concentrated urbanisation, indigenous residents were, hence, outlawed from specific rights and, as outlined previously, confined to the urban periphery.

Following such a postcolonial reading of ethno-spatial restructuring, it is not surprising why, during uprisings such as the gas wars, people like Pedro also demanded to be recognised as indigenous persons within an urban context and as subject to specific indigenous rights. Similar to anti-neoliberal claims, such

decolonial claims for ethno-racial justice were indeed taken up by Evo Morales' government, leading to at least two interrelated changes which are discussed in further detail below.

(1) *Legal inclusion/exclusion in policy and planning practice*

Evo Morales' government explicitly addressed the specific demands of urban indigenous peoples through legislative reform. This is evident in Bolivia's new political constitution which was ratified in 2009. Article 218 of the new constitution recognises urban areas as intercultural communities composed of indigenous and other ethno-racial groups whose rights, interests and needs should be addressed in all policy sectors. The constitution also introduces a new intercultural, plurinational and decolonial development model which follows principles of *Vivir Bien* (in English: 'living well'). *Vivir Bien* originates in indigenous world views and emphasises that humans, independent of their background, should live in harmony and that collective interests should be prioritised over individual needs (Gudynas 2011).

In practice, however, there remains a gap between pro-indigenous constitutional rhetoric and urban policies and planning practices[4]. Such gaps can be explained by a variety of factors, including conflicting political and economic priorities (see previous section), the absence of new legislation on such topics, absence of state funding and, perhaps most importantly, the prevalence of a rural understanding of indigeneity amongst government authorities. Here, it is worthwhile citing Bolivia's Deputy Minister of Decolonisation:

> In cities where modernity has been developed we respect private property and individual rights according to the liberal model. By contrast, in rural areas and particularly in our indigenous territories we subordinate individualism to collective indigenous rights. (Interview, January 2013)

Even though responsible for the decolonisation of Bolivian society, and hence for the dismantling of prevailing ethno-spatial divisions in areas of concentrated urbanisation such as La Paz/El Alto, this testimony replicates a colonial vision of Bolivian society whereby indigeneity remains associated with tradition and rurality, not with modern cities.

In a context in which key government authorities reproduce colonial understandings, it is perhaps unsurprising that specific indigenous rights outlined in Bolivia's constitution still do not apply in urban areas. Instead, new legislation—on indigenous justice, indigenous political autonomy, involvement of indigenous community-based organisations in participatory processes, and prior consultation—remains explicitly restricted to so-called territories of 'indigenous native peasants'.

[4]This does not mean, however, that national and local governments in Bolivia are monolithic. As I have shown elsewhere, there are certainly some government authorities—such as those working for La Paz's intercultural unit—which seek to implement indigenous rights in an urban context. Yet such efforts are constrained as they lack relevant human and financial resources. For a more detailed discussion on gaps between constitutional rhetoric and urban policy and planning practice, see Horn (2017).

Ironically, this means that in a country like Bolivia which is on the path towards the complete urbanisation of its indigenous population, indigenous subjects remain outlawed from specific rights that are recognised within the constitution. Yet this does not mean that indigenous peoples remain trapped in a situation of internal colonialism.

(2) *Everyday indigenous decolonial urbanism*

In their everyday practices, urban indigenous peoples themselves are active agents in pushing for a differential urbanisation which promotes ethno-racial justice and decolonisation. They are active planners of their own lives who, further legitimated by constitutional reforms, draw on an array of practices to address their specific interests and demands. Yet what precisely does it mean to be indigenous in an urban environment and what are the associated interests and demands? Fieldwork in La Paz/El Alto revealed that urban indigenous residents mainly articulate their specific interests and demands through claims around the use of urban land and public space. Such claims reflect distinct and, at times, conflicting demands for resources, including financial (money generated from reselling land), physical (tenure as precondition for access to housing, water, electricity or roads), social (public space as site for community meetings), economic (land as source for agricultural activities), political (land rights, territorial autonomy rights) or cultural (festivals or art displays within public spaces).

Intra-group differences frequently complicate claims for urban space. This is evident, for example, in the way that different urban indigenous peoples revitalise their cultures within an urban setting[5]. First generation indigenous migrants, particularly elderly men, seek to revitalise rural traditions during parades and folkloric festivals in the streets of their neighbourhoods. 387 such events take place annually on the streets of La Paz (Guss 2006). One example is the annual *Fiesta de la Virgen de Merced*, a 3-day festival in South La Paz. Here, residents dance and drink excessively, and engage in festive rituals such as the *ch'alla*—the donation of parts of a drink to *Pachamama* (mother earth). The festival was often idealised by elderly men as the highlight of the annual calendar. In contrast, elderly indigenous women reported more mixed feelings: they enjoy being involved in dance performances but fear staying out later at night as men would often be drunk and engage in violent and sometimes sexually threatening, even abusive behaviour. Instead, most women highlighted that they preserve their indigenous culture by speaking to one another in their native tongue—Aymara—and by wearing *polleras* and the *Borsalino* hat—the traditional outfit of indigenous women in the Bolivian highlands. In contrast, indigenous youth, born in the city and often lacking attachments to rural communities of origin, suggested they neither want to participate in folkloric events nor want to wear traditional clothes. Instead, they reinvent urban indigenous culture in local Aymara youth collectives, often referred to as *Tribus Urbanos* (urban tribes).

[5]In addition, urban indigenous peoples also engage in a variety of alternative forms of informal urban governance and economic urban restructuring (for a detailed discussion see Horn 2015).

These urban tribes organise music performances across the city during which indigenous traditions and languages are fused with popular urban culture. This is visible particularly in the genre of Aymara Rap music.

Despite being characterised by internal conflicts and significant gendered and intergenerational differences, these diverse everyday cultural practices represent a concrete form of transforming ethno-racially divided urban spaces. This was neatly summarised in a testimony by an elderly indigenous resident who stated: 'The *fiesta* brings the countryside to the city. During the *fiesta* we, the indigenous peoples of the neighbourhood, rule this place'. In other words, then, through such everyday practices, urban indigenous peoples give concrete meaning to otherwise abstract constitutional principles of decoloniality and interculturalism. Another interviewee, a different indigenous leader, further explained this point:

> The constitution was a first victory because it incorporated our demands in specific words – urban intercultural community, decolonial society etc. But the constitution does not tell us what this means in practice and neither does the government here in La Paz. But perhaps this is a good thing. It allows us to first show these people in government what we mean by indigenous urbanism. (Interview, October 2012)

3.3.3 Synthesis

This section showed that there exist not only one but multiple and sometimes conflicting expressions of everyday urban indigenous politics. These expressions have their roots in a variety of anti-capitalist, anti-colonial, but also gendered or generational claims. While this section could only offer some illustrations on this diversity, it nonetheless demonstrates that making sense of such diversity requires deploying a more integrative and pluralist analytical perspective, a perspective which draws on different forms of theoretical analysis and of different forms of looking both deductively and inductively at everyday urban practices. The final section of this chapter now focuses on the implications for further research on indigenous urbanisation and related topics.

3.4 Conclusions

Drawing on illustrations from Bolivia, this chapter intends to make two interrelated points. The first point is more empirical in nature and draws attention to the processes that have in recent decades contributed to the almost complete urbanisation of previously isolated, rural indigenous peoples who, by now, inhabit diverse territories of concentrated and extended urbanisation. Here, indigenous peoples continue to be affected by patterns of exclusion, caused by a variety of historically interwoven and interrelated structural forces, amongst them capitalism and (internal) colonialism.

The chapter also demonstrates that urban indigenous peoples have already laid the groundwork for a more inclusive, anti-capitalist, decolonial, and ethno-racially just way of urban living. This is evident in urban insurgent uprisings which contributed to the ousting of neoliberal and anti-indigenous governments, and to the election of a new government, led by an indigenous president, which addresses indigenous demands through constitutional reforms. It is also evident in the ongoing everyday decolonial practices that urban indigenous peoples deploy. This may be in the form of the cultural occupation of urban space, as illustrated here, or through other everyday practices which provide concrete alternatives for restructuring urban space economically, politically, socially and spatially.

The empirical illustrations presented in this chapter also reveal that it is important not to idealise such everyday practices as they might equally create opposition and conflicts within marginalised urban indigenous communities. Activists and researchers would, therefore, benefit their approach from further identifying and carefully exploring the concrete everyday alternatives that are put forward by indigenous peoples residing in territories of concentrated but also extended urbanisation. Such work should assess the transformative capacity of such interventions and their role in promoting differential urbanisation which confronts, amongst other forces, capitalism, internal colonialism and divisions within indigenous communities.

The second main point of this chapter is more theoretical and relates to the fact that indigenous urbanisation processes are too diverse and complex to be captured by one urban theoretical perspective. Therefore, to start capturing the diversity of indigenous urbanisation patterns in Bolivia, this chapter has deployed a pluralist perspective. It drew on: (1) planetary urbanisation to understand patterns of socio-capitalist restructuring of indigenous territories and associated anti-capitalist urban indigenous resistance; (2) postcolonialism to understand ongoing tendencies of ethno-spatial segregation and associated decolonial responses in urban Bolivia; and (3) a more grounded and inductive approach which focused on listening to indigenous peoples' actual problems and concrete solutions. In fact, the latter approach seems, perhaps, the most useful in that it tells something about indigenous urbanisation not easily captured by either planetary urbanisation or postcolonial accounts. For example, listening to indigenous peoples helps uncover that experiences of being indigenous always intersect with other, equally important, experiences of being, for example, a first or second-generation migrant, young or old, male or female, etc. Such testimonies set the incentive for further readings of indigenous urbanisation—be it through the perspective of, for instance, feminist, childhood or migration studies. In this sense, then, this chapter offers by no means an exhaustive study. Instead, it offers a starting point on how to analyse the complete urbanisation of indigenous peoples. Such an analysis can, of course, be complemented by further studies which explore this topic in distinct settings (i.e. in areas of extended urbanisation) and through further modes of theoretical analysis.

To conclude, this chapter does not question, in any way, the usefulness of different modes of theoretical analysis for our understanding of urban indigenous spaces and the people that live within them. Instead, it simply calls for the need to

capture urban diversity and complexity through the deployment of plural perspectives, with none of these perspectives framed as superior or inferior to the others. Such diversity can, of course, never be captured by one researcher, situated within one discipline or one location. Instead, urban studies would do well to heed the words of Lefebvre (2003 [1970]: 159) who wrote in the *Urban Revolution*:

> [Urban] complexity makes interdisciplinary cooperation essential. The urban phenomenon, taken as a whole, cannot be grasped by any specialized science. Even if we assume as a methodological principle that no science can turn its back on itself but that each specialisation must maximise the use of its own resources to comprehend the global phenomenon, none of these sciences can claim to exhaust it. Or control it.

But this does not simply amount to the all-too-familiar call for more interdisciplinary cooperation; instead, this calls for a move beyond the compounds of academia to involve another actor in the study of urban complexity and diversity, an actor who is perhaps the most important expert on such topics—the urban resident. There is a need now for future studies on indigenous urbanisation and other urban problems which are empirically grounded, interdisciplinary, pluralist in outlook and which co-produce research with urban (indigenous) residents—in all their diversity.

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Chapter 4
The Urban as a Concrete Utopia? Co-production and Local Governance in Distinct Urban Geographies: Transnational Learning from Chile and Germany

Paola Alfaro d'Alençon and Ernesto López Morales

Abstract Reflecting on empirical material from Chile and Germany, this chapter combines practical insights for an analysis of co-productive urban projects with the aim to generate insights for the 'right to the city', a concept that has travelled from Europe to North and later Latin America. We argue not only for different avenues to understand the right to the city, but also emphasise that there is a need to reflect on how the concept has been reformulated by different local interactions. Emphasis is placed on how civil society actors are locally connected to their cities—in our case mainly Berlin and Santiago, while at the same time engaged in networks of collaboration and knowledge exchange via 'encounters'. In this chapter, reflections on

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encounters allow shedding light on emerging struggles but also negotiation practices between different actors in the co-production processes. Co-productive practices might certainly entail a risk of underestimating broader structural changes in urban development—which, at times, resonate with neoliberal individualism. Yet, our findings also reveal that such practices bring to light important elements of the right to the city, especially claims for being within the urban core and democratic engagement in city-building. Drawing on Henri Lefebvre's terminology we, hence, argue that these practices reflect the right to centrality and the right to participation; they represent encounters that emerge in constant struggle, contestation and negotiation processes. Understood like this, the urban becomes a concrete utopia—a possibility, a promise to be constantly produced and reproduced.

Keywords Chile · Germany · Co-production · Right to the city

4.1 Introduction

This chapter reflects on co-productive urban projects in Germany and Chile which influence urbanisation and policy practices. The two cases were deliberately selected for their stark differences in terms of scale, physical and demographic composition. However, they also offer two strikingly common features: First, both are central spaces under threat of being reclaimed by the state and the market. Second, both cases are illustrative of urban development struggles (over housing and space) in a neoliberal context. By focusing on these two countries, we aim to dismantle and problematise urban processes related to, and developed in, the framework of neoliberalism, and further the logic of inclusive urban development. Neoliberalism, as a political stance, has dominated urban policies and development frameworks in both countries, even though there are striking differences in each context (trajectories and temporalities) that ought to be revisited.

We raise the following question: By learning from cases in Berlin and Santiago de Chile, what are the forces that produce emerging urban spaces today? To answer this question, and to connect somewhat geographically and politically dissimilar cases, we address two modes of analysis, which are bound together by the interrelated Lefebvrian concept of the 'right to the city'. Broadly speaking, the right to the city can be understood as the right to centrality and the right to participate in the societal transformation of space (for a more detailed definition, see Tsavdaroglou, this volume; Horn, this volume). When referring to space, we mean:

(a) Space as human experience characterised by intensified struggles, exclusion and dispossession but also great social potential, solidarity and hope;
(b) Relational space which is always in interaction with other urban settings elsewhere.

In relation to (a), one can ask—How important is this experience for understanding late capitalist urbanisation? We apply the right to the city concept to

ongoing debates in Germany and Chile to understand patterns and trends of spatial practices framed as co-production, and also related to 'do-it yourself urbanism' (Heeg and Rosol 2007; Griffith 1998; Bishop and Williams 2012) or 'cities from below' (Mitlin and Satterthwaite 2013). The latter is most commonly referred to as 'self-management' in Latin America. These concepts refer to co-initiated projects which promote civic engagement in urban development. These concepts are also interlinked with debates that currently stress local governance structures—often triggered by neoliberal mechanisms—and exemplify the increased demand in neighbourhoods for new forms of decision-making in urban development. Building upon these debates, the aim of this chapter is to generate new knowledge exchange trajectories on the topic of co-production and the right to the city.

In particular, this chapter focuses on the question of how co-production practices are echoing the right to the city concept coined by Lefebvre (2003[1970]): as practices that open the right to produce the transformation of space and to control the investment into space, thus challenging capitalism. The notion of 'concrete utopia' is applied to understand constraints and possibilities deriving from these forms of producing the city, and to learn from urban struggles and related urban transformations for knowledge production in the built environment discipline. By applying this framework, we intend to deepen our understanding of co-production through a critical urban theory lens, which according to Brenner (2016: 30):

> […] is not referring to the question of how to apply theory to practice, rather, it is a dialectical thinking, a relationship in exactly the opposite directions - namely, how the realm of practice (and thus, normative considerations) already continually informs the work of the theorist.

In relation to (b), we bring into dialogue two different empirical case studies with the aim to offer illustrative examples of scenarios where co-production stimulates sociopolitical consciousness and enhances agency and voice of communities. The communities we focus on can autonomously manage available resources and deploy communal practices of urbanism, planning and construction to overcome the constraints that neoliberal or entrepreneurial state practices command. The cases examined in this chapter, hence, demonstrate that even if situated in different urban contexts, civil society actors intersect with specific place-based settings and power geographies. Therefore, the focus will be on the everyday practices and structural forces that open the possibility to distinct translations of the current project in different contexts. By doing this, new models of transnational learning are proposed and interrogated.

4.2 The Context

This first section contextualises current claims for the right to the city emphasising its different connotations in distinct contexts of urbanisation and the ways in which co-production contributes (or not) to its radical potential.

4.2.1 *Right to the City Struggles and Urban Interactions in an Age of Neoliberalism*

Cities are continuously challenged by social, cultural, economic and political transformations. In recent decades, the claim for the right to the city has found its place again in urban social movements, international organisations and in academic debates in the global North and South. Originally framed in Western Europe, the concept travelled to the global South, including Latin America, where it has been used by social movements to resist, among others, gentrification policies (Lees et al. 2016). It has gained renewed attention and triggered contestation and debate in the urban context related to questions concerning access to common goods, such as affordable housing, social and public infrastructure (Helfrich 2012; Dellenbaugh et al. 2015). Academic research also uses the concept of the right to the city to understand the many layers and factors which shape these struggles (especially those confronting neoliberalism), and the related traits that bear new forms of spatial inequality. Research in the global South highlights that the right to the city is playing a pivotal role in conceptualising, articulating and voicing urban conflicts and local claims for inclusion and justice, as demonstrated by de Souza (2010) in Brazil, Parnell (2010) in South Africa, and Zerah et al. (2011) in India. In the global North, the concept is often used in discourses of resistance against neoliberalism, and by radical campaigning groups in the struggle to combat the growing domination of private stakeholders in capitalist urban development (Harvey 2003). As argued by Mayer (2009: 63), 'the right to the city fuses and expresses a variety of issues that have become highly charged over years of neoliberal urban development and even more so through the effects of the financial and economic crisis'.

With neoliberalism being at the centre of right to the city struggles, it is worthwhile to reflect more on this term. Broadly speaking, neoliberalism relates to the withdrawal of the state and the arrival of private investors as main actors in urban development. In several countries in Latin America (Chile being at the forefront), neoliberalism as a political project was implemented as early as the late 1960s (Raposo 2004; Galetovic et al. 2009). By 1975, General Pinochet's iron-hand dictatorial regime began to implement shock policies to monetise the economy and foster real estate private corporate interests, especially in land and housing production (Frank 1976; Ffrench-Davis 2004).

In many European cities the debate started later, in the 1990s, with cities charged with the task of encouraging the revitalisation and development of urban areas, but lacking the resources to implement formal master plans (Bishop and Williams 2012). The role of private sector actors, who influenced agendas around urban land use and capital investments, became increasingly dominant in urban planning and development (ibid). In this changing context, a variety of different projects were developed in 'cooperation' with, first and foremost, the private sector but also local authorities, planners, architects, as well as commercial and civil society actors (Willinger 2014). Thus, different actors, in addition to the classical professions, were (and are) contributing to diverse modifications of classical planning structures,

with new approaches and mechanisms to adjust urban governance (Selle 1994). Against this backdrop, debate and resistance has centred on patterns and trends of 'do-it yourself' civic engagement and spatial practices in urban development (Bishop and Williams 2012) as a response to diminished public resources and the increasing influence of the private sector.

Critics highlight the depoliticised nature of collaboration and inclusive forms of consensus building in urban politics (Theodore et al. 2011; Bishop and Williams 2012; Raco 2005). Proposals for collaborative practices often resonate with neoliberal individualism, which centres on the creative self-organisation of citizens. Yet the idea of the self-organised citizen entails risks of social exclusion, NIMBY[1] outcomes (given the spatially constrained interests and actions that characterise local communities), and underestimates some of the broader socio-structural changes that are happening in urban development and planning (Raco 2005).

The academic discussion currently revolves around the constraints and possibilities deriving from collective forms of producing the city. A growing interest in citizen-led production, that provides and establishes the right to goods such as public space and social services, can be further recognised (Dellenbaugh et al. 2015; Buttenberg et al. 2014). It is to these collaborative, or better co-productive practices, to which we now turn in the subsequent section.

4.2.2 The Practices that Challenge Global Capitalism

The call to 'learn from' inhabitants' local practices and coping mechanisms is as old as the study of Turner on user-led urbanism or urban informality (Turner 1976). However, alternative approaches to urban development during the 1970s were discontinued, and reasons for their perceived failures were never fully analysed. In Chile, participatory planning and socially inclusive co-production alternatives were banned or disregarded as unfeasible by the neoliberal regime from 1975, and for at least 25 years thereafter (Rodríguez and Sugranyes 2006).

In recent years, research on local practices has experienced a renaissance across the global North and South. Interdisciplinary teams of planners, sociologists and ethnographers (Simon 2004; Miraftab 2009; McFarlane 2011) are providing an understanding of the complex social dimensions of such practices. This has led to a new perception and appreciation of citizen practices beyond and against state-led interventions [see, for example, debates of informality, e.g. Roy and Alsayyad (2004)] or to the study of exclusion dynamics (Sorensen and Sagaris 2010). These studies have also built awareness and appreciation of user-generated environments, livelihoods built from residents, residential spaces shaped according to needs as experienced by real users, and social networks empowering these developments further. Increasingly, social movements fighting for their needs and rights to the city

[1]Not In My Back Yard (NIMBY).

have formed an effective voice in these debates. Architects have developed a new interest in solutions dealing with corporate and citizen-led solutions, as demonstrated by incremental housing solutions that incorporate cooperative approaches to overcome social inequality (Aravena and Iacobelli 2013; Rokem and Boano 2017).

At the same time, co-production, which constitutes the mutual relationship between the state, private sector and civil society, is re-emerging in academic debate, policy and practice. According to Ostrom (1996), co-production was developed in the late 1970s to reduce government spending on public services. Co-production thus comfortably fits in the performance side of the 'governance equation' identified by Harpham and Boateng (1997), where citizens are considered fundamental stakeholders to mobilise resources for service provision. However, co-production takes multiple forms. It may be the initiative of citizens or governments (Jakobsen 2012); it can include third sector, public and for-profit organisations (Verschuere et al. 2012); it can be disaggregated into co-planning, co-design, co-managing (Bovaird and Loeffler 2012); it can focus on participative co-production, enhanced co-production or collective co-production (Osborne and Strokosh 2013). The exact translation of co-production itself is (maybe still) under little use in Latin American movements, who prefer instead to articulate the political working of the collective under the banners of self-management or social production.

All in all, though, in a new age of inequality where a growing number of citizens are deprived of basic rights, the creation of solidarity networks in accessing housing and services and the development of mutualism and informal institutions are an alternative to the crisis of the welfare state and to the incapacity of public institutions in responding to the right to the city (Secchi 2013). The power, authority and control of resources is shared between the state and groups of citizens in a way that can entail interdependent and ambiguous relationships as well as blurred boundaries between the public and the private spheres (McGranahan 2013; McMillan et al. 2014). 'Institutionalised co-production' concentrates on new forms of democratic governance and shared decision-making, in which power, authority and control are redistributed between government agencies and citizens. It can clearly represent a tool not only to effectively improve access to services but also represent an active and responsible form of citizenship (Joshi and Moore 2004; Rodríguez and Di Virgilio 2016; Renna 2014).

Despite these positive attributions, the extent and scope of these practices in Europe seem also to correlate directly with the development perspectives of the private sector which appropriates certain urban areas and land plots (Bishop and Williams 2012). In the context of return-oriented developments in Germany, for example, a power asymmetry exists in favour of private sector actors. This, in turn, has an adverse effect for civil society in terms of participation and associated outcomes such as the stabilisation and development of stagnant areas (Sinning 2001; Langhagen-Rohrbach 2010). In this respect, the public sector, government and communities are confronted with the task of governing the spatial transformation processes and finding new ways to explore and navigate their potential to influence these processes, despite diminished resources. This complements and

adjusts the existence of normative instruments for spatial development. Thus, many complex and (in terms of cooperation and influence) often asymmetric interactions emerge from the relationship between the private sector, public sector and civil society (with the former often the commanding force under neoliberal institutional designs), depending on the respective development context, stakeholders and formulated objectives (Dohnke 2013; Alfaro d'Alençon et al. 2017).

Within these urban practices, a greater percentage of citizens are involved as actors in urban development projects in Germany, particularly in the realm of urban conversion projects. Some of them are private low-budget projects, but others, particularly sociocultural offers, are supported by public funding. Many of these projects are initiated by a small group of concerned citizens, though the majority intend to satisfy the everyday needs that are no longer covered by the welfare state. In particular, temporary, informal, self-initiated and nonconformist approaches exemplify the increased demand of citizen participation in urban development and planning, and are therefore discussed as a new possibility of creative self-organisation and decision-making for citizens in urban development (Haydn and Temel 2006).

The role of civil society often remains unclear in this context, however, the demand for more active cooperation between the public sector and civil society in these processes is noticeable on both sides (Alfaro d'Alençon et al. 2017). In order to achieve sustainable development, attempts are also being made by the public administration (though often to maintain political stability and avoid conflict) to incorporate the various use-oriented interests of civil society in planning and decision-making processes. Likewise, civil society actors increasingly insist on their integration into development mechanisms after decades of state-private vertical planning. So-called tri-lateral methods (Sinning 1995; Fuchs et al. 2002) intend to achieve a greater involvement between different public sector, private sector and civil society actors. However, it is not clear what impact this procedure actually has on the development of urban spaces, and whether these approaches can support communities in achieving their right to the city, through active civic engagement. The objective of below section is thus to understand possibilities, but also further discuss limitations of co-production for the right to the city, with several case studies from Germany and Chile.

4.3 Trajectories

Since the beginning of the new millennium, several cities—in particular in the east part of Germany (e.g. Leipzig)—have been working against precarious economic and demographic developments using multilayered co-production development strategies. In this context, classical urban planning approaches have been questioned and new approaches have been developed and tested, illustrating the possibilities of co-production of urban spaces through the close cooperation of

government and citizens. Many East German cities were strongly affected by structural changes in the pre- and post-reunification years. In 1998, the vacancy rate in Leipzig accounted for 40,000 dwellings (Gerkens 2013). Despite extensive investments in the restoration of old building stock, the city also saw a large population exodus. Only in 1998, during a period of falling demand, was the question of how to address the remaining yet-to-be renovated old buildings posed. These considerations resulted in a new urban development plan, which made use of hitherto unknown instruments and methods, and established an appropriate framework to address the remaining building stock. Leipzig introduced and successfully tested the model of 'temporary public green spaces', making use of significant direct and indirect financial support from the European Union, Federal Republic of Germany and Federal State in the field of local economic development. In this model, owners give their land to the public for a limited amount of time and are granted the demolition costs of their rundown houses. This process is regulated by a so-called 'concession' agreement. The areas are open to be rebuilt at any time in the future, as the construction law is permanent. However, if rebuilding was planned in the immediate future, the funds for the subsidies would have to be returned *pro rata* and immediately (Gerkens 2013). The city assumes the acquisition of funds for demolition, completion and safety costs. Citizens are encouraged to use and convert the land. In the west of Leipzig, an artistic exploration of the residents with the brownfields has been initiated by the project *Haushalten* (hold/keep houses), which demonstrates positive reinterpretation of the supposed deficit.

In recent years, the development pressure on Leipzig grew, the population increased, and some neighbourhoods again became attractive locations for investors. For this reason, it is increasingly difficult for building initiatives and owner-occupiers to compete for residential and open spaces. The city and citizens are faced with the challenge of protecting the successful revival of entire neighbourhoods along with its newly grown social and spatial structures (e.g. protecting the west of Leipzig from speculative developments, which are triggered by the local investments). Hence, many complex, and (in terms of cooperation and influence), often asymmetric dynamics emerge from the relationship between private sector, public sector and civil society.

Asymmetries between private corporate and social sectors are also found in Latin America. In this context, where, when and at what price housing is to be produced are private profit-oriented decisions in deeply financialised urban economies (Rolnik 2013). During the 2000s, the amounts invested in, and the assets managed by, real estate funds increased rapidly in the region. In Chile, the total mortgage-related assets currently owned by the banking systems increased to US $45 billion, one sixth of the national GDP. The importance acquired by the largest real estate groups in city funding has had a significant impact on the structure of the building sector, as major real estate corporations absorb the full cycle of real estate management and construction, with little room for social participation in co-design or alternative forms of housing co-production. Chile's infamous voucher-based housing system aimed at making housing affordable by separating the middle and lower socio-economic segments of society, has ruled since the neoliberal policy

started in the 1970s. However, the voucher system is currently not equated with enough affordable housing supply by the private real estate sector. On the contrary, scarcity is the main outcome of the current price bubble that leaves at least the two lowest quintiles without adequate housing (López-Morales 2016). 40% of the allowance offered by the state as vouchers is also unused, due to a lack of housing supply in the market. This demonstrates a failure of the public sector to maintain effective control over the housing supply necessary for the country's needs. The upper income niches tend to be the most profitable, and the Chilean housing market moves in the opposite direction to what is intended by the state, offering increasingly expensive homes. This situation leaves little room for lower income households in search of housing. In 2016, the national deficit increased to 450,000 units in a country of 18 million inhabitants.[2]

Private real estate investors argue that the increase in housing sales prices is due to a shortage of urban land in the consolidated central areas of the city, and that implies a sustained rise in the price of land that affects sales prices of new residential units. Thus, there is an allegedly artificial constraint to supply. This is a statement that has been repeated for years, and has been the principal argument for the Chilean government to modify the metropolitan master plan for Santiago (PRMS). In 2013, a macro-zoning change was approved after several years of lobbying by the real estate corporations and private owners of non-urban peripheral land to expand the city limits by more than 10,000 ha (Trivelli 2011), with the aim of allowing more affordable housing supply. However, since then, housing prices have increased across the whole city of Santiago, even though more than 1500 ha of unused land (in a city of 65,000 ha) have been allocated in the inner areas for housing redevelopment. The rising house prices relate to the increasing trend of purchases for rental purposes, with entire buildings being bought by single property operators, thus challenging claims of land scarcity. The share of private renting in new projects has increased considerably. Some calculations estimate that 40% of households per project are now rental properties (López-Morales et al. 2017).

Despite this, some institutional space for alternative co-production of housing has been (until very recently) opened in Chile (Cociña and López-Morales 2017; Renna 2014; Castillo Couve 2011). The case of Ukamau community, discussed in further detail below, is the most recent, and one of the most effective cases to date.

4.4 Encounters and Everyday Processes of Interactions

This section presents particular practices from Berlin and Santiago de Chile. In line with Lefebvre, we argue that the right to the city is not only a claim, but also an articulation of hope. As noted by Marcuse (2014: 5), 'it was a battle cry, a banner in fight, not simply for the eradication of poverty but for the abolishment of unjust

[2] http://infoinvi.uchilefau.cl/por-que-en-chile-falta-medio-millon-de-viviendas/

inequality'. The right to the city implies not only threats, but also the promise of urban protest (Merrifield 2011). In particular, reflections on 'encounters' in urban development projects shed light on the value of the concept. Hence, the goal here is to define the urban as active, everyday processes of interactions (Lefebvre 2003 [1970]). This position echoes Lefebvre's radical shift in perspective from the analysis of form (the city) to process (urbanisation), where physical density does not automatically generate 'urban space' and 'urban situations', but where the quality of the urban is consequently defined by active everyday processes and interactions. Since each case is unique, co-production is understood as a relational space, where it is important to revise:

(a) Its interactions and power dynamics with emphasis put on civil society actors that are locally connected to their respective cities;
(b) Local networks and actor constellations, and with power relations and process structure within and outside the project networks.

4.4.1 Berlin: Airfield Tempelhof

In German debates, 'do-it-yourself' practices have drawn more and more attention in recent years (Willinger 2014). They claim to satisfy the desire for participation in the production of the built environment, and are gaining power in the negotiation of new urban policies. With diminished public resources, governments in Germany tend to restrict their role to project initiator or moderator. Planning policies are limited mainly to the creation of ideal investment conditions and public urban projects are seen as no longer fundable in many places. The approach to build the city *nach Plan gebaute Stadt* (built according to master plans) (Selle 1994) focuses only on plots, which are under high pressure of redevelopment by private investors. According to these dynamics, urban space development is promoted in areas where its commodification and payback of investment seems suitable. Urban space development manifests an *Inselurbanismus* (island urbanism), a fragmented and selective development. Social disparities are increasing along the multiple and fragmented boundaries between those areas that are either lucrative or unattractive for the private sector (Heeg and Rosol 2007; Griffith 1998).

The former airfield Tempelhof—one of the most famous examples in Berlin—challenges the concept of co-production and social participation. Tempelhof, with an area of 386-ha, is currently one of the largest open public spaces and could thus be seen as one of the biggest urban commons in Berlin. Since 1 September 2009, the State of Berlin is the landowner of the site and its possible reuse has been a controversial public issue long before the closure of the airport in 2008. The process of reoccupying this vacant area and the discussion on its future has always been highly politicised. All parties involved claim to be advocating for what is best for the common interest of Berlin's citizens. Figure 4.1 provides a timeline of initial actor involvement in Tempelhof. The various contrasting views outlined in the

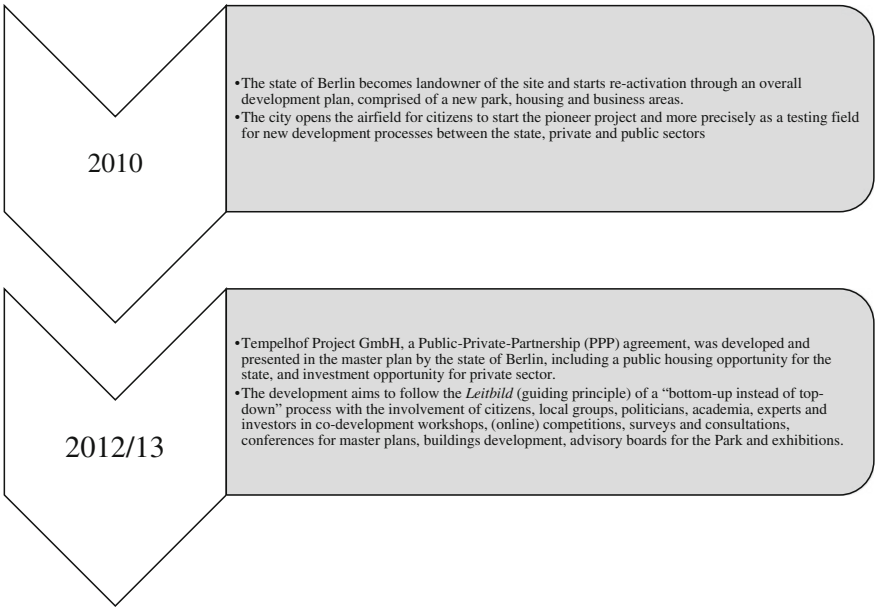

Fig. 4.1 Timeline of different actors' involvement in the Tempelhof project (elaborated by the authors)

figure capture why the future development of the site is so strongly contested. These contestations are further elaborated in the section below.

4.4.1.1 Local Networks and Actors' Constellations

The former Tempelhof airfield offers many opportunities for the realisation of co-production practices. For one, its value as an open space, with the former runways and service streets, offers a space for an array of leisure activities that cannot be exercised in a dense inner-city area. Second, the large free area plays an important role for the city's climate and serves as a natural landscape. At the same time, the area represents one of the largest remaining inner-city resources for the realisation of newly built affordable housing. Investors were waiting to develop luxury housing on this rare, incredibly central location. This would have created an opportunity for the state of Berlin to receive much needed funding to reinvest in social infrastructure and affordable housing elsewhere. However, a citywide dispute developed between those in favour of housing and those against it. Ever since, the Berlin senate has been under extreme pressure to develop the area. Yet, while the planning process was initiated with the known instruments of classical master planning, the senate of Berlin established a second path tailored for the direct involvement of the citizens and helping to 're-brand' the former airport. While the

former airfield was opened by the Berlin senate to the public for leisure and recreational activities in 2010, the master plan developed by the senate's department for urban development promoted the idea to create thematic sections. These would be located at various edges forming a 'donut' surrounding the centre of the former airfield, a 250-ha open space, which would remain a public site and be developed into a park. In the meantime, the privately operated subsidiary Tempelhof AG was founded, providing space for the so-called pioneer usages. They provide a platform for small-scale, self-organised and common interest-oriented projects by civil society actors. The pioneering combines a range of projects between leisure and culture, which contribute significantly to the activation of the large open space and constitute a form of co-production. By outsourcing the establishment, management and completion of these projects, responsibility is transferred from the public to the private sector that remains only partly in municipal hands. At the same time, the projects help the senate of Berlin to market and brand the area, thereby raising its value.

Despite this potential, the discrepancy between the space produced by the different pioneer uses and the envisaged plans for the transformation make for misguided cooperation, and a growing gap between the daily reality and master plan. The Tempelhof AG subsidiary activated citizens and thus brought new actors to the table that, once having started to inhabit the area, promoted other interests, concerns and claims, and gained attention through their presence on the airfield and in the media.

4.4.1.2 The Power Relations and Process Structure Within and Outside Project Networks

The case demonstrates how easily citizens were drawn into a situation that seemingly helped them realise common and individual interests, but did not influence the master plan. Instead, this privately operated 'detour' was kept strictly separate from the decision-making processes. This set-up was challenged by a referendum in 2014. In 2011, a citizen initiative was founded which started to actively promote the idea of keeping the area open, initiating a referendum in 2014. Citizens of the neighbouring areas voted to keep the area as 100% open space. With this referendum, the plans of the senate to develop the thematic clusters and the park became redundant. In addition, any plans for the construction of affordable housing on the fringes of the field were abandoned.

This case exemplifies the delicate relationship between a city and its citizens. The Berlin senate had from the beginning of the opening of the site 'allowed' areas of the airfield to be used for temporary and self-initiated projects. Citizens could apply with their various initiatives and projects (commercial and non-profit) for funding and implementation (e.g. urban gardening projects, businesses for renting a kite or skateboard equipment). They were deliberately thought of as a strategic tool for the development of the space. This highlights the dilemma: common goods can be understood as social practice because their existence as a good is directly tied to

society. They are only kept alive and accessible through social practice (see Meretz, cited in Helfrich 2012). In order to preserve the transformation of the former airport into a commonly shared space, future plans need to respect the social practice and work with the values and norms established through this process.

The procedure at the Tempelhof airfield is representative of the emerging trend of local politics to involve citizens in neighbourhood developments to secure and design vacant spaces in various German cities. Such projects are models, promoting (at least temporarily), alternative socio-spatial concepts and the strengthening of community-based activities through low-threshold access to self-help, or voluntary and temporary participation in social initiatives. In fact, this research demonstrates that particular regulations or conditions are missing, which had previously secured the long-term economic and social involvement of citizens, who have assumed responsibility for the development of urban space. However, the strategic positioning of pioneering uses into the project by the city of Berlin shows that such projects can be well integrated into a formalised framework. In the case of the former airfield, its fame and popularity ultimately contributed to, and directly initiated, the processes of gentrification of its adjacent districts, simultaneously starting a displacement of lower income residents. The fact that construction on the area was prevented, despite the impetus to realise affordable housing, shows the increasing distrust of parts of the citizenry in its government to put their interests first against the *Verwertungslogik* (market-oriented logic of exploitation). What will happen with the future of the former airfield remains open and will certainly be renegotiated. Hence, the socio-spatial results of these new developments are not yet fully clear, and require further research.

The evidence from Tempelhof shows that the involvement of civil society in urban development processes promotes heterogeneity in the project framework and allows different actors to be part of the project's development and to assume responsibility for the development of urban space. The knowledge of their own living environment is an important stimulus for the development of the projects. Active citizens generate and share knowledge and resources, and qualify themselves through further accumulated experiences. Through the unexpected and unplanned encounters in co-production emerges spatial innovation, which may lead to new ideas that produce a higher quality, more sustainable and/or local identity. These processes also slow down planning and challenge—at least for some time—the exploitation logics of the market, giving the project time and freedom to develop and adjust.

Nonetheless, while the case clearly shows that these projects are successful in the framework of the project and for different actors in their first phase, further research is needed to inform theory and knowledge creation, since although civil society actors may provide key socio-spatial impulses; with the increasing professionalisation of their work in project frameworks, these initiatives—started as self-initiated developments—may more likely develop entrepreneurship with its own agenda.

4.4.2 Santiago: The Ukamau Residential Community Project

The Ukamau residential community project in Santiago de Chile is one of the latest cases in the country of effectively implemented right to housing and the city, based on community control of available land and housing construction budgets. The Ukamau project draws on a number of previous examples developed in Latin America, specifically the mutual-aid housing cooperatives in Buenos Aires, Argentina, and Montevideo, Uruguay, which for two decades have shown the capacity of self-organised communities of low-income residents that live in historical centres, to counteract private redevelopment-induced displacement and gentrification (Díaz-Parra and Rabasco-Pozuelo 2013; Rodriguez and Di Virgilio 2016). A previous case in Santiago has also served as example, namely the housing estates built by the grassroots *Movimiento de Pobladores en Lucha* (MPL), one of the first attempts of direct social management of housing production in Chile (Renna 2014; Castillo Couve 2011).

The Ukamau community project presents three innovations in Chile. First, unlike most previous social housing estates hitherto built, this project is not located in the periphery, but in the middle of the San Eugenio central neighbourhood where households actually reside as *allegados* (homeless households that live in other households' homes). The *San Eugenio* neighbourhood is also famous for its patrimonial value, placed in the formerly declined, now revitalised *Estación Central* (EC) municipality, one of the newest niches of booming real estate in inner Metropolitan Santiago. *Estación Central* is one of the most recent examples of privately led real estate exploitation of housing and land in the city, as nearly 70 high-rise blocks have been built closely grouped along three metro stations that cross the district. Land and property prices have risen sharply, and a growing number of original low-income households have become displaced or excluded from the privately-led housing market—a common feature of inner Santiago's generalised gentrification (López-Morales 2016). In this context, the Ukamau community project presents an alternative model to the dominant forms of neoliberal exploitation by real estate corporations and the traditional voucher system aimed at social housing production.

Second, the project draws on the organisation of agents that remove institutionalised private intermediaries, such as the so-called private social real estate management entity, commonly known in Chile as EGIS. According to a 2006 law, EGIS intervenes as leading manager in almost every project of social housing. Contrary to this, the Ukamau project emerges as an ad hoc, somehow personalised residential project where the community uses the available resources more effectively, insofar as beneficiaries closely collaborate in co-design, with a non-profit external architect office and several members of academia producing a comprehensive network of collaboration and superior designs. As a result, housing units and semi-public spaces are larger and of better quality in Ukamau, beyond the basic

achievement of minimum standards of social housing that the EGIS type of profit-led design can achieve.

The Ukamau project covers three hectares of the 43-ha derelict Maestranza San Eugenio train workshops land in south Santiago, that have been unused for more than two decades. This land was owned by the public–private company EFE and was originally aimed for intensive private real estate development. Instead of one or two invasive high-rise towers, the project consists of 424 apartments, with a floor area of 62 m^2 each, 7 m^2 additional to the current standard of social housing in Chile. It consists of a total of 10,500 m^2 of free space, greater than what is required by the national law, and a system of communal circulations with horizontal and vertical relationships, allowing a constant interaction between families. The project respects its patrimonial environment, presenting a morphology and scale according to the surrounding neighbourhood, and a structure of public squares used by inhabitants of each sector.

4.4.2.1 Local Networks and Actor Constellations

The San Eugenio neighbourhood was erected during the period of industrialisation in Santiago (1938–1973), and is comprised of several working class housing estates that now have been declared as historic monuments and rezoned. Currently, the San Eugenio sector experiences pressure from several new factors, namely the recently completed *La Aguada* park, a future metro line 6 station (to be ready for public use in 2018), a transport intermodal station, and the reuse of the facilities of the former Sumar textile industry located close to the neighbourhood. The Ukamau Así Somos cultural centre was created in the late 1980s at the end of Pinochet's dictatorship in EC municipality. This centre was the basis for the further development of this innovative co-produced housing solution. The Ukamau residential community project emerged in 2010 after Ukamau found 425 families to be in severe housing need. In February 2011, the Ukamau housing committee was established, defining the fundamental principles of struggle for their right to housing and the city. The most urgent principle established was staying rooted in the neighbourhood, avoiding the experience of outward migration that beneficiaries of the Chilean housing voucher system have traditionally experienced. This is typical in a country like Chile where private firms determine the location of the social housing estates, always in cheap, deprived and distant land.

The vast majority of Ukamau members are the fourth generation of migrants who inhabited EC municipality. Staying put means maintaining proximity to the metropolitan CBD, access to green areas, good transport connectivity and—most importantly—a cohesive community based on the existing social fabric. Yet, the Ukamau community also demonstrates a strong capacity of establishing alliances with professional and academic sectors, as the project was developed by the architectural official Fernando Castillo Velasco, Chile's 1983 National Prize-Winning Architect.

The financing of the project is based on family savings and the sum of different DS49 subsidies, totalling around UF 1000 for each of the 425 Ukamau families, with a total budget of UF 425,000 (USD 16.7 millions). Since 2011, each member of Ukamau has been an active part of the design and development process of the project, contributing with their ideas, experience and specific knowledge, to the different proposals through voting. This experience of co-design is not new, but quite rare in Chile. The work of organising and mobilising the community required high levels of participation, as well as changing attitudes and willingness to overcome individualistic logic among future residents. This was particularly important as, until now, all the inhabitants have lived in houses, and now they must learn to live in apartments and share common spaces, implying a considerable cultural shift in their everyday patterns.

4.4.2.2 The Power Relations and Process Structure Within and Outside Project Networks

Today, Ukamau is fighting for a constitutional recognition of the right to housing and a collective right to an inclusive city. It also advocates for a new general housing law and an emergency housing development programme created jointly with national, regional and communal organisations of homeless people. Female Ukamau leader Doris Gonzalez Lemunao also ran for a position as parliament member in the next 2017 national election, unsuccessfully though. Ukamau resembles what local residents and grassroots organisations have deployed as anti-gentrification resistance in southern inner neighbourhoods of Buenos Aires, where the promotion of neoliberal urban renewal policies has been neutralised by the application of law 341, a programme that provided low-income people and organisations with loans for housing construction and renovation, and the self-managed housing programme, which supports cooperative-style housing management (Rodríguez and Di Virgilio 2016).

At the time of writing, the construction work of Ukamau community project was about to begin after seven years of struggle and negotiation with the regional housing authority (SERVIU, Servicio de vivienda y urbanización) and local municipal administration. As the Ukamau project has achieved this whilst not relying on a social real estate management entity (EGIS), cost savings have allowed the community to increase each of the houses in the complex by 7 m^2. Nevertheless, the SERVIU has thus far distrusted this socially direct management of budgets, highlighting possible risks in its administration. Also, the community struggled considerably to have the Santiago regional authority purchase the three hectares of land needed from the public–private corporate owner. Although this was done by dominant purchase power, it was not easy to implement. In order to avoid any pitfalls and guarantee the highest level of transparency, some of the functions commonly associated with EGIS administration were taken over by SERVIU, which together with Ukamau supervises the construction company, chosen by public tender. Ukamau also plans to create self-management companies to deal with

areas of construction not considered in the budget, such as the production of kitchen and bedroom furniture, painting brigades and so on.

4.5 Concluding Remarks

This final concluding section draws on the empirical cases to critically re-engage with the right to the city. Though the empirical cases offer unique contributions, certain overlapping trends can be identified. Three key points are worth noting.

First, this chapter has demonstrated that experimentations in co-production, between the city, private sector and civil society, take place in the global North and South, in cities such as Santiago de Chile and Berlin. Within these diverse and dynamic contexts, co-production arguably has innovative potential to challenge the dominant neoliberal framework, through the involvement of a large number of new players, personal commitments, new ideas and practices. The empirical cases also highlight the local particularities, claims and struggles laid down in cooperative projects within different governance contexts. In Chile, the predominant approach to co-production is in the form of city and housing promotion programs such as the *Nueva Política Habitacional* in which civil society actors are the main partners. However, the reality is also seemingly one that remains in favour of private investors (Fernández 2012; Tironi et al. 2010; Garretón 2014). As a result, the Chilean debate often centres on 'island-urbanism', which has developed as a consequence of these power asymmetries. In Germany, on the other hand, the public sector still plays a comparatively strong role, and the instruments and fields of cooperative urban development are more diverse. They are not limited to subsidy programs for disadvantaged neighbourhoods (as in Chile) but involve other actors, such as civil society groups, cooperatives and foundations.

Whilst the impacts of private sector urban development in Chile are widely known, there is still minimal evidence of the production of urban space via cooperative urban development. In Germany, the opposite is true. While there are various examples of co-productive urban development, little is known about the impacts of such initiatives. This chapter addressed these knowledge gaps, by focusing on the rich empirical cases of Ukamau in Chile, and the Tempelhof airfield in Germany. In doing so, the chapter nuances our understanding of co-productive practices in urban development. Reflecting on the Tempelhof experience, one could even ask—Is the political legacy in Germany at risk of disappearing? The answer requires further research, beyond the scope of this chapter.

Second, the empirical cases presented here testify not only the struggles of citizens, but also their power and capability to counter powerful political arrangements, and fight for their right to the city. In line with Marcuse (2014: 5), who saw the right to the city as 'a political claim: a cry and demand for social justice, for social change, for the realisation of the potential that technological and human advances had made possible after the Second World War', we argue that co-production can enhance 'encounters' and present a framework for mobilisation.

The empirical cases also demonstrate that the right to the city is not just a claim to the city itself, but a claim, as in Lefebvre's words, to *centrality*—the encounters emerging in constant struggle, contestation and negotiation processes. According to Lefebvre, centrality is not purely geographical, but rather a condition in which heterogeneous elements no longer exist in isolation, they come together. It is a process of encounters where elements join and the new and unpredictable appears (Merrifield 2011). It is a social act through which space is transformed. Understood like this, the urban becomes a *concrete utopia*—a possibility, a promise to be constantly produced and reproduced.

However, it also becomes clear that there are no blanket solutions. The growing number and diversity of stakeholders involved in urban development means that direct, open communication and inclusion in various levels of decision-making are ongoing challenges. Citizens—who often know their neighbourhoods best, and who are willing to invest time and money—are rarely included in higher level decision-making processes. In this respect, projects (as seen in Chile and Germany), are largely determined by the dominant public and private actors involved. Sustained co-production is evidently a process that requires time, and the gradual accumulation of resources, networks and experience within different institutional contexts. Transparency and accountability in planning processes is also crucial to assess legitimacy claims, responsibilities and commitment within the projects, and to overcome conflicts so that external pressure does not endanger collaboration. Uncertainty for civil society actors also remains a major challenge with regards to their own security within the project framework, and their possible benefits (i.e. economic returns, or options for home ownership and land use). In this regard, it is important to interrogate whose claims are legitimised in urban development processes, and how 'spatial demands' are strategically organised and distributed, especially if the public sector is acting as a facilitator or initiator.

Finally, this chapter and the examples of co-productive practices illustrate that in order to move beyond and deepen existing debates in urban theory, disciplinary boundaries need to be challenged, and special attention needs to be paid to incorporating local knowledge into urban development projects. We offered some illustrations of how this could be done and encourage scholars who work on different urban contexts to engage in similar endeavours.

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Chapter 5
Continuity and Change in Decentralist Urbanisation: Exploring the Critical Potential of Contemporary Urban Theory Through the London Docklands Development Corporation

David Mountain

Abstract The task of this paper is twofold: The first is to parse out aspects of continuity and change in the decentralist urbanisation of the London Docklands Development Corporation (LDDC), through utilising an experimental methodological combination of two urban epistemologies: planetary urbanisation and assemblage urbanism. The second task, responding to the first, is to reflect on this theoretical approach and thus assess these much-debated epistemologies of the urban. To contextualise decentralism, this chapter includes a brief review of the new towns, an influential type of urbanisation, which preceded the LDDC, and of the lobbying activity of their representative organisation, the Town and Country Planning Association (TCPA) amidst the 'crisis of the inner city' in the 1970s and 1980s, and briefly surveys plans for Docklands from the 1970s. This history of decentralism, as a form of urban transformation, is framed in light of reification and the idea of second nature. The assemblage urbanist side of the methodology utilised by the chapter places particular focus on the retaining wall—an overlooked infrastructure that was key to the rehabilitation of both docks and rivers in East London. The chapter shows how retaining walls were subject to a perpendicular reorientation under the tenure of the LDDC, where a decentralist typology persisted within the post-industrial context. The chapter concludes that despite their political differences, the LDDC in fact came closest to realising plans for the 'decongested', low-density inner city advocated for by the TCPA in the 1970s, and ends with a reflection on the approach utilised and its future potential.

Keywords London Docklands Development Corporation · Planetary urbanisation Assemblage urbanism · Decentralism

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5.1 Introduction

The London Docklands Development Corporation (LDDC, 1981–1998) was an Urban Development Corporation, set up early in the government of Margaret Thatcher and funded directly by the national government, with authority over large areas of disused and derelict land in East London. Although not the first, it became the most notable of the Urban Development Corporations, which had been conceived of 1 year earlier to initiate the redevelopment of areas of cities in the UK affected by economic and social decline. The LDDC's geographical scope included the linear, self-contained area of docks—enclosed, private areas of large land use, connected by peripheral roads which served essential community functions. This designated area of East London, referred to here as Docklands, encompassed a wide, roughly linear area around the River Thames, spanning from Tower Bridge, just east of the City of London, to encompass the Royal Docks at Beckton.

Historically, the LDDC constituted both an early case study of 'urban regeneration', and a notable urban space in its conditioning of the emergence of this new type of apparently re-centralist urbanisation—the dominant solution to the contemporaneous issue of inner-city decline. By extension, the LDDC is widely seen to have been indicative variously of 'neo-liberalism', 'late capitalism' and the fall of social democracy (Weaver 2015; Cochrane 1999). Often overlooked, however, is that despite its apparent significance in constituting a re-centralist urbanisation, the LDDC manifested important inheritances and legacies from prior forms of urban development, in particular, the new towns programme of 1946–76, the then-inevitable form of decentralist urbanisation in the West.

This chapter starts from the premise that decentralist urbanisation is a process which contains within itself a core spatial contradiction which is itself a phenomenon worthy of study: urbanisation is by definition a process of (economic, cultural, communicative) integration and consolidation, yet in its decentralist form, growth occurs not at the centre, but on the periphery, proximate to the undeveloped. Following the exposition of implosive and explosive urbanisation as laid out by Brenner (2014), this chapter rejects simplified historical–geographical narratives of the Thatcher–Reagan revolution as constituting a simple return to the city and to centralist urbanisation, and instead attempts to parse out aspects of continuity and change in the decentralist urbanisation of the LDDC and its inheritances.

In order to do this, Sect. 5.2 makes the case for an experimental and self-reflexive methodological combination of two contemporary urban epistemologies, both also utilised as methodologies: 'Planetary Urbanisation' and assemblage urbanism. The former, following Neil Brenner and Christian Schmid (2015), posits that urbanisation is a totalising phenomenon, whose intensity and spatiality varies around areas of concentration and extension, and which, I argue, has the potential to make sense of urbanisation historically as a phenomenon and physical manifestation of capitalism. The latter, assemblage urbanism, following Colin McFarlane (2011a) and AbdouMaliq Simone (2011), gives priority to the exploration of the specificity of local systems. Working in tandem with planetary

urbanisation, assemblage urbanism here is used to unpack the complex historical-spatial dynamics embedded in certain localised phenomena. This discussion is continued in Sect. 5.2 through presenting and engaging relevant scholarly literature to the end of reaching a point of relative methodological clarity, but the brief scope of the present paper means that this is inevitably restricted. This chapter, as such, can be best conceived of as an expository experiment into the potential for methodological and epistemological self-reflexivity in the use of an exemplary and recently historical case study.

Section 5.3 takes a historical approach to contextualising the object of study, the LDDC, through a brief but necessary rehearsal of the history of decentralist planning in post-war Britain. This is understood through the spatial categories of centrality and peripherality. Focus is placed on the lobbying activity of their representative organisation, the Town and Country Planning Association (TCPA) amidst the specific historical context out of which the LDDC arose: the 'crisis of the inner city' in the 1970s and 80s. Although different in geographical situation, planning approach and more, both were state-led and arms-length, and, on the whole, produced a decentralist urban typology. In the LDDC, however, this was located in the inner city, and oriented around the waterfront spaces of docks, now reified as a second nature of the city. I argue that this was the result of processes of urbanisation which, in contradiction with their relatively central location within the traditional urban unit, valorised the peripherality of disused infrastructure.

To make this claim, the chapter utilises an assemblage urbanist methodology which pays close attention to the retaining wall, a core infrastructural feature of both docks and rivers in East London in creating a vertical interface between land and water. The final Sect. 5.4, shows how retaining walls were subject to a perpendicular reorientation under the tenure of the LDDC, when they shifted from interfacing land and water in private dockyards, to existing as the linear guidelines of spectacular promenades.

The conclusion, Sect. 5.5, argues that despite their political differences, the LDDC, in fact, came closest to realising plans for the 'decongested', low-density inner city advocated for by the TCPA in the 1970s—an assertion which troubles dominant political narratives of planning in the twentieth century. This leads into a reflection on the methodological combination of planetary urbanisation with assemblage urbanism.

This chapter comes out of research conducted for a recently completed dissertation in urban studies, which focuses specifically on how the adaptive reuse of infrastructure was constitutive of a changed inner-city-built environment (Mountain 2017). In relation to this empirical research, I here take a step back and consider how this recently historical, pivotal and exemplary case study can operate as a kind of litmus test for a specific combination of contemporary urban epistemologies. As such, this chapter is restrained in its use of empirical material, instead of attempting to move self-reflexively between empirical and theoretical modes as a form of historically grounded theoretical research.

5.2 Urban Epistemologies and Methodologies: Planetary Urbanisation and Assemblage Urbanism

The primary result of planetary urbanisation's departure from the urban spatial unit of analysis is a non-cartographic epistemology of the urban. This de-dichotomisation of 'urban' and 'rural' can be considered as a form of immanent critique of the discipline of geography and its influence on urban studies: following in the school of thought of David Harvey (1989), planetary urbanisation favours a theoretical approach to urbanism privileging the generalised form over the specific: 'urbanisation' over 'the urban'. For Brenner and Schmid (2015: 154), 'the erstwhile boundaries of the city—along with those of larger, metropolitan units of agglomeration—are being exploded and reconstituted as new forms of urbanisation reshape inherited patterns of territorial organisation, and increasingly crosscut the urban/non-urban divide itself'. Urbanisation is thus, today and perhaps historically, to be considered as an extensive dynamic that has come to encompass capitalism—the totality of the development of human society.

How might 'the urban' be conceived of without a categorical opposition? Brenner and Schmid (2015: 166) postulate that urbanisation is a process which occurs variably in patterns of '"implosion-explosion" that underpin the production and continual restructuring of sociospatial organisation under modern capitalism. […] Conceptualisations of the urban […] must […] investigate how urban configurations are churned and remade across the uneven landscapes of worldwide capitalist development'. A specific statement from the critique of assemblage urbanism by Brenner et al. (2011) helps specify this broad-brushed approach to study: 'a key challenge for any critical theory is to explicate reflexively its own conditions of emergence—not simply as a matter of individual opposition or normative commitment, but in substantively historical terms, as an essential moment within the same contradictory, dynamically evolving social totality it is concerned to decipher and ultimately to transcend' (Brenner et al. 2011: 236). It is between these quotes that Brenner's innovative intellectual contribution can be found: of inverting the New Left Marxian geographical tradition upon which planetary urbanisation is grounded. Whereas the key intellectual contribution of David Harvey (1989) was to instate a geographical approach within Marxism [which up until then had given total primacy to the dimension of time over space (Soja 2011)], the most significant ramification of the de-dichotomising of the urban is the imposition of a processual understanding of the urban; this means instating, implicitly, a Hegelian philosophy of history within geography.

In contrast to planetary urbanisation, the conception of the urban in assemblage urbanism takes inspiration from Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) influential work of poststructuralist theory—'A Thousand Plateaus'. The authors committed to this school of thought variously seek to view cities as ordinary systems of modern life (Robinson 2002), as surfaces (Simone 2011), or through materiality (McFarlane 2011a). Such approaches assign a value to everyday experiences of a plurality of modernities—as cited in the modern urban experience of Paris depicted by

Baudelaire and Benjamin (Robinson 2002)—that is at the same time global and non-specifying. Brenner et al. (2011), following Andrew Sayer, refers to assemblage urbanism as 'naïve objectivism'; this chapter takes assemblage urbanism to be primarily characterised by a pluralistic assignation of significance to the everyday.

Assemblage urbanism is associated with a wider project of comparative urbanism, where it is taken as a principle through which to integrate the specificities or uniqueness of different urban experiences in the aim of producing a bidirectional exchange of urban theory between Global North and South. However, this chapter sees the potential for assemblage urbanism to lie not on the global scale, but on the micro: assemblage can be thought of as a tool for thinking about how different parts of a system constitute a whole that is greater than the sum of their parts. A well-cited example which illustrates this basic, small-scale concept of assemblage is by Gregory Bateson (1972: 324):

> Or consider a blind man with a stick. Where does the blind man's self begin? At the tip of the stick? At the handle of the stick? Or at some point halfway up the stick? These questions are nonsense, because the stick is a pathway along which differences are transmitted under transformation, so that to draw a delimiting line across this pathway is to cut off a part of the systemic circuit which determines the blind man's locomotion.

This consciously naïve suspension of historical interpretation is argued by AbdouMaliq Simone (2011) to allow for localised analyses which assign primacy to the identification of the systemic constitution of specific surfaces. This vision is expressed concisely in a close reading of the paradigmatic bounded space of the Tanah Abang market in central Jakarta (Simone 2011: 362): 'entire surrounding neighbourhoods have become extensions with their own niche products, prices and conditions; hundreds of office and residential spaces have been converted into warehouses'. This visceral description of the interconnectivity and spatial and economic extensibility of an urban market is indicative of the potential for assemblage urbanism to be used as a methodology to analyse urbanisation, both historical and present day.

The present line of research is strongly influenced by a current rise in scholarly investigation into the history, function and epistemology of infrastructure itself, as a qualitative phenomenon (Gandy 2014; Belanger 2016; Minuchin 2016) and which constitutes a contemporary 'material turn' in the humanities and social sciences (Bennett and Joyce 2013). There is, however, a self-conscious contradiction to studying infrastructure and urbanisation through an assemblage epistemology. Infrastructure is the very medium of urbanisation (Mabogunje 1993) and has a political-economic function greater than its material form. To take a magnifying glass to infrastructure so as to study its form, therefore, constitutes an immanent materialisation of a reified manifestation of social relations. As such, assemblage urbanism, in its material-based ontology, is itself an intellectual approach premised on the reification of the urban as second nature—a double reification which is itself a peculiar and historically specific phenomenon. Brenner et al. (2011) argue somewhat contradictorily that this reification elides thinking about the totality of capitalism, yet in the same paper they concede to a methodological use of

assemblage. The present chapter stands firmly by such a self-consciously methodological use of assemblage—such a methodology can make the epistemological provocations of planetary urbanisation workable in a grounded way. Assemblage urbanism is, therefore, utilised in this chapter as a way of drawing links between select, telling, ordinary phenomena and complex historical changes.

In 2011, a debate within the pages of City journal between Colin McFarlane, an urban geographer associated with assemblage urbanism and interested in a materialities approach to geography, and Neil Brenner et al. clarified some of the differences present between these intellectual traditions. Brenner et al. (2011) argue that the methodological use of assemblage can be a useful strategy for research, but assert the necessary centrality of questions of political economy to critical urban analyses. There is also a sense—acknowledged most concisely in McFarlane's (2011b) response—that Brenner et al. are in fact not so much critical of assemblage urbanism per se, but rather are dissatisfied with McFarlane's appeal to academic pluralism within the discipline. Brenner et al. (2011) mediate the issue by highlighting the generative potential of their disagreement, and this is further argued in a more recent article (Brenner 2017). However, Brenner is simultaneously unapologetic; critical urban theory must find a way to avoid speaking at cross-purposes, and it is necessary, he implies, to base a critical urban theory on a political-economic framework, thus maintaining the analytical centrality of the concept of capitalism. In the meta-text of the McFarlane-Brenner exchange, the 'elephant in the room' is the definition and significance of capitalism and modernisation, terms of reference for Brenner, but points rather more avoided by McFarlane. The absence of processual thought in McFarlane's provocation is typical of the pitfall of assemblage urbanism—that when utilised alone, it affirms already-existing categories and fails to recognise transformation, and historical significance.

The shortcoming of Brenner and Schmid's exposition is the implicit extent of planetary urbanisation's unapologetic assertion of the primacy of political-economic frameworks of analysis without properly defining the intellectual basis of the contemporary political economy. The reason for this criticism is that it is precisely the one-sidedly political-economic bent of the majority of existing scholarship on the LDDC, which obscures a more sober assessment of what was to become the corporation's historical significance—for example in the lack of insight into the critique of state power which deeply informed the politics of the New Left barely two decades prior—in the oppositionary political-economic work of Sue Brownill (1990), for example.

The much existing literature on the LDDC, both contemporaneous and retrospective, follows such uncritically oppositional standpoints—for the Labour Party and others on the left, the experience of opposing the LDDC was a significant one, and consolidated numerous political and academic networks. Following a focus on the LDDC's impact, this chapter takes a conscious departure from the wealth of literature which criticised the LDDC's legitimacy and undemocratic nature. Instead, I here begin with a recognition of the organisation's historical significance manifested in its continued use in the education of planners and geographers subsequently. It is for this reason that I take a lens of historical distance which affirms the

reality of the organisation's success in forming the contemporary urban landscape of London, and in actively constituting contemporary practices and protocols of urban development much more widely. In order to do this, the aspects of the LDDC's impact which are here considered historically significant to urban development—namely the reification of the post-industrial which created a contradictorily decentralist form of inner-city urban regeneration—are thoroughly contextualised within the history of twentieth-century planning in the UK in the next section.

This approach may be frustrating to those who disbelieve the originality of any of the decisions taken by the LDDC; several significant actors interviewed believe that the LDDC was a wholly opportunist organisation—an assessment that does not appear to be incorrect. But opportunism does not negate the significance of the historical impact of the organisation subsequently; changes which when comprehended I hope will, by extension, create a particularised comprehension of the specificity of broader historical changes.[1]

It should be noted that the attempt to self-consciously combine these intellectually oppositional methodologies has significant philosophical ramifications. Given what may be the ultimate philosophical irreconcilability of a Hegelian method with the pluralism of a poststructuralist approach, the investigation continues with a level of methodological caution and self-reflexivity, allowing for a certain amount of epistemological reflection, seen through the lens of a recent historical case study. Finally, it is important, procedurally, to make explicit an authorial bias which is manifested in the self-conscious selection of the LDDC, as a large, politically significant and already well-researched case study. It is sufficient to state that to make such assessments of historical significance is potentially at odds with post-structuralist approaches, which often tend towards a pluralising of history and prioritising of the ordinary.

5.3 Post-war Decentralism and the Genesis of the LDDC

This section seeks to contextualise the LDDC within the history of decentralism in urban development, and thus follows a chronology of planning history in the UK leading up to the creation of the LDDC. Due to space, this is selective and heavily abridged. 'Decentralism' is here used to refer to the promotion of urban decentralisation, encompassing political decentralisation. Particular focus is placed on green belt legislation, which arose out of specific circumstances at the turn of the

[1]The most pressing example of a disputed historical narrative for the present chapter came during an interview with David Chesterton (2016), who disputed the LDDC's claim to the originality of the decision to preserve the docks, and instead attributed this to their lack of funding for dock-filling. Whether this is true or not, it does not affect the more interesting point, which is the fact that relatively soon afterwards, the LDDC saw it as having been the 'right' decision, and it continues to be an important part of the inherited narrative of this organisation's view of its contributions.

twentieth century, and which has been heavily constitutive of subsequent forms of urbanisation. I focus in particular on the post-war new towns programme, here considered as a predecessor form of urban development to the LDDC. Via a brief look at plans for Docklands produced in the 1970s, this leads to an exposition of the decentralism of the LDDC through the innovation of its influential first CEO, Reg Ward, and sets out for the following section some of the ways in which infrastructure is analysed using the methodology outlined in the previous section.

'Urban sprawl' is a term which conveys a long-standing reaction to unplanned urban expansion. Along with the wider concern for the 'protection of natural landscapes', such attitudes have always been manifestations of an ambivalent response to industrialisation and to the physical manifestation of capitalist expansion in the nineteenth century. This chapter follows Denis Cosgrove (1984) and Theodor Adorno (1997) in considering the spectacle of the rural landscape as a specifically modern phenomenon. As such, the rural landscape is necessarily the product of a modern social subject position that is fundamentally removed from agrarian life by capitalism, and which has become a form of second nature—a projection which expresses both discontent with modernisation, and an unconscious image of the domination of capital; the total urbanisation of nineteenth- and twentieth-century Britain. This ambivalent bourgeois reaction to urban expansion came to a fore in the 1930s in response to decades of speculative housebuilding, a notable example being developments along the Metropolitan Railway in northwest London, coined 'Metroland'. Attempts to redress the rapid speculative encroachment of London into the surrounding countryside in the 1930s, such as Metroland, were concretised in the creation of an area of land designated 'rural' and preventing further urbanisation in the 'green belt'. This was first laid out in policy in the 1947 Town and Country Planning Act, which continues to strictly control development within a wide doughnut-shape surrounding Greater London.[2] The motivation behind the creation of the Metropolitan Green Belt was to preserve the geography and character of outlying rural areas from agglomerative urbanisation, and thus was based on a commitment to preserving the distinction between town and countryside.

The majority of so-called rural England, alongside national parks and other conservationist operations, has been deeply affected by a long history of agglomerative and extended urbanisation. This has been true since the nineteenth century—when canals and railways were the speculative infrastructural projects upon which the growth of mining, forestry, mass agriculture and the deeply political enclosure of common land was based. As such, we can say with some confidence that the 'countryside' of twentieth-century England has never been 'rural'. Rather, in the twentieth century, the countryside was predominantly urban; a condition that has been expressed a growing middle-class neo-pastoralism made possible by the expansion of the motor industry and associated infrastructure. The perspective of

[2]The Metropolitan green belt has been subsequently expanded to in fact surround many of the new towns which were formerly outside of its area. None of the major 2016 Mayoral election candidates expressed an intention to loosen green belt legislation.

planetary urbanisation thus has much to offer analyses of the geography of urbanised countries such as the UK in its function of instating an expulsion of the myth of the countryside—a cultural phantasm which embodies an ambivalence regarding the bourgeois revolutionary tradition leading to the self-consciously false projection of an 'outside' (Anderson 1964, cited in Wiener 1981).

As well as seeking to prevent the densification of rural areas surrounding London and preserve an idea of the English countryside, the Metropolitan green belt also functioned to conserve the idea of the city. This constituted an attempt to salvage cultural meaning in the urban unit in response to industrial capitalism and its tendency toward what appeared to be the limitless agglomerative consumption of the rural, and has a tendency of merging the identities of individuated settlements into industrial conurbations. In that it sought to concentrate the urban, the green belt, therefore had, and continues to have, a centralising function in urban development (Hebbert 1998). But the mid-century forces of agglomerative urbanisation persisted regardless, and the post-war population growth (the 'baby boomers') necessitated large-scale state-sponsored urbanisation.

The programme of new town development was initiated in the UK in 1946 in order to alleviate housing shortages which had been created by the Second World War, and became the most notable form of decentralist urban development in the post-war period. The two purposes of the designation of such settlements is described in an official document from 1948 to be 'to provide satellites for the decentralisation of "overspill" population from congested areas, and to create living accommodation for the workers in new centres of employment' (Hart 1948: 153). Like Ebenezer Howard's original conception of the garden city, the new towns were premised not only on the overall preservation of the rural–urban distinction, but also on ideas of the healthy integration of society with nature—combining modern work and culture through planning to avoid the health risks of pollution and overcrowding. Alternative approaches such as planning satellite suburbs (the post-war model adopted by the French government) or relying on unplanned agglomerative expansion would have encroached on the green belt. Instead, entirely new towns, which notably included industrial employment, were to be constructed near key transportation links to the 'parent city' from which former residents were relocating.

In the 1950s and 60s, the new towns succeeded in their aim to attract residents with affordable family houses, as well as industrial enterprises, which relocated to modern facilities that were well connected to road networks with an attractive employment base. This was evidenced in the second and third waves of new town development, which began at the start of the 1960s. By 1978, the new towns were seen by economic geographers such as Lloyd and Mason (1978: 67) as part of a general tendency towards decentralisation:

> The suburbanization or decentralization process associated with the centrifugal movement of people and manufacturing jobs and the transfer of the momentum of growth from the central city to the peripheral suburbs and to ex-urban expanding towns. […] There is sufficient generality across major metropolitan complexes in Western Europe and North America for it to be described as fundamental to the late- and post-industrial periods in Western capitalist society.

It was this historical context in which Henri Lefebvre (2003 [1970]) made his original thesis of the planetary urbanisation of society, and which was, in the terminology of Brenner and Schmid, explosive; made possible by an active policy of decentralisation, which was state-led in its widespread infrastructural support, within what was becoming an increasingly automotive industrial and distribution-based economy.[3]

The majority of new towns were planned around the idea of the decentralised 'neighbourhood unit', where the town is constituted of small village-like communities with local centres, creating, by choice, a quasi-rural environment which prioritised the idea of the local community. In the 1970s, the internal decentralism of the new towns were criticised for being vacuous, lacking an elusive 'civic pride', and the phenomenon of the 'New Town Blues' was widely cited, referring to cases of depression caused by a lack of cultural activity or social life (Gosling 1996: 119). At the same time, in the inner cities, there began an increase in the rate of economic decline, which was likely to have been exacerbated by the new towns and their role in the state-incentivised industrial decentralisation of the economy. It should be noted, however, that the TCPA argued vehemently against this view—that regional and urban planning was a zero-sum game—instead polemicizing against the inadequate decongestion of the inner cities (Booth 1976), and placing the blame for the inner-city economic decline of the 1970s with the failure of inner-city redevelopment policy. Speaking on this issue at the 1978 Annual General Meeting of the TCPA, the inaugural chair of the Milton Keynes Development Corporation, Lord Campbell, argued against directly state-led urban redevelopment in Docklands and other inner cities such as had been attempted in the 1970s. Instead, he presciently spoke in favour of an arms-length approach to inner-city redevelopment, which would be able to rectify the mistakes of inner-city post-war planning, and supposedly take full advantage of the conditions of population density reduction created by the ongoing urban population exodus (my emphasis):

> I am told that inner cities have already received public investments on a scale that far exceeds the nation's investment in all our post-war new towns, and when one compares the results doesn't this suggest that the inner city has not wanted for money, *but has lacked the imagination and institutional equipment to make something out of the opportunities offered by voluntary dispersal?* I am among those who unashamedly believe that some version—if you like some democratized, some partnership version—*of new town machinery is needed in inner city areas if these opportunities are ever to be seized.* (1978: 342)

This magnified a long-lasting discontent with the paternalism of modernist architecture and planning solutions which were bound up with post-war slum-clearance across the country and more widely. Milton Keynes, the last and largest new town development, notably responded to these political developments and sought to move away from planning based around local centres, and to instead facilitate access to a wide range of opportunities in the city centre (Walker 1982).

[3]It should be noted that urbanisation in France has a very different history to in the UK, and that the decentralisation of its urbanisation did not take place with quite the same generality.

This shift was the first marker of a significant departure, here under study, away from the ideological decentralism of the new town philosophy, and the beginning of a late twentieth-century valorisation of the idea of the city and the urban—eventually to lead to the present phenomenon of high-density development referred to by Brenner and Schmid (2015) as implosive planetary urbanisation, and a generalised ideology of 'urban triumphalism'.

Two events in 1976 together signalled the demise of the new towns programme: a speech made by the newly appointed Labour Secretary of State for the Environment, Peter Shore, on the crisis of British inner cities (Campbell 1978); and, second, the cancellation of Stonehouse, a designated new town near Glasgow, which led to the immediate redirection of funds for the first time to the redevelopment of the proximate inner city. For historian Anthony Alexander (2009: 50), this latter event was a historical moment with wide ramifications, as it effectively ended what he terms 'the government policy of decentralisation first formally initiated thirty years earlier in the 1946 New Towns Act'. Three years before the election of Thatcher, the end of the new towns programme signalled a move away from the extensive urbanisation as a solution to social problems, and towards a continuing legacy of centralised investment.

In Docklands, several plans were commissioned and produced for redevelopment during the 1970s, and were guided by the problems of widespread dock-closure, land availability and unemployment. Most notable were the London Docklands Study Team (LDST) report, compiled by consultant Travers Morgan and commissioned by the Secretary of State for Environment, and the London Docklands Strategic Plan of the Docklands Joint Committee (DJC—a coalition of Greater London Council (GLC), municipal authorities and others) in 1976. Both plans demonstrate an attention to the role of water in public space, but both assume the filling in of docks for development as industry, leisure or residential development.

The LDST (1973) was produced during the Conservative government of Edward Heath, and its proposals were to be delivered by an organisation modelled on the New Towns (Brownhill and O'Hara 2015). It arrived at five alternative proposals for the widespread redevelopment of Docklands under different spatial planning strategies, with varied configurations of public and private housing, industry, amenities, transport and, most significantly here, water. One particularly imaginative option involved developing an urban typology by shrinking the existing docks; this comprised a network of linear waterways, which even gave houses private water frontages for boat access. It is from this plan, named 'Waterside', that much of the spatial planning of the London and Surrey Docks likely originated.

The 1976 plan of the DJC was written during the first years of Harold Wilson's Labour government. Development of new transport infrastructure was central to its planning, which was organised around existing population centres.[4] In comparison

[4]Most dramatically, the Jubilee line extension, eventually opened in 1999 with a station at Canary Wharf, was planned to serve the centre of the Isle of Dogs rather than the northern location of Canary Wharf. This aspect of the DJC's plan bore a strong resemblance to the 'City New Town' plan of the LDST (1973).

to the LDST, it was directed and functionalist, advocating for the complete filling in of docks in order to maximise functional land for light industry—such land uses were the most appropriate for the employment opportunity of local residents given a localised shortage of skills and training. While the docks were treated with the utmost utilitarianism, the report foresaw the opening up of the banks of the Thames to public access in a way which appeared to prioritise natural amenity and views. This can be found detailed in a section entitled 'A Riverside Walk', where a picture is drawn of the dynamic experience of movement through future walkways built alongside the Thames, cutting through both active industry and housing. The emphasis on natural, public amenity fits into a history of incorporating ideas of nature into modernist planning, but the idea of conserving the infrastructure of the docks goes unmentioned at this time, and evidences the persistence of a firm ideological distinction between nature and history which was later to be bridged.

The first and most notable chief executive of the LDDC, Reg Ward, is regularly described as having been a 'reckless maverick' (Builder Group 1998) or an 'irrepressible mastermind' (Daily Telegraph 2011); he is said to have been responsible for creating the entrepreneurial spirit whereby the LDDC could fulfil its radical aim of 'simply getting things done'. This assertion of agency was consciously oppositionary to an idea of the 1970s, when it was said by the LDDC that things were endlessly planned, but that nothing ever actually changed (Foster 1999: 51). One of Ward's first strategic decisions was to halt the infilling of the area's now disused infrastructure, the docks (known as 'dockfilling'). This process—draining of water and silt, and some ground levelling—had already proceeded in two areas: throughout the London Docks (Wapping) and in the majority of the Surrey Docks (Rotherhithe). Ward's act was both opportunistic (dockfilling is an expensive process) and visionary, and was to become foundational to his legacy. His rationale is explained in an interview with Janet Foster (1999: 173), where he narrates how he was taken for lunch in the NatWest Tower in the City of London by a minister on his first week at the LDDC. He describes how, sat at an east-facing table overlooking Docklands:

> I could not help saying "But where's the bloody problem?" It was the most magnificent waterscape you could ever have hoped to see and yet it was seen as a problem. […] The problem, in my view, was one of perception, of actually seeing the area differently.

But he knew well the problem: that despite its geographical proximity to the City of London, for developers and businesses, the 'East End' had a chronic image problem: 95% of housing was socially rented, and there was a severe lack of transport infrastructure connecting the area with its surroundings (Foster 1999: 60). To investors, the docks and their locale was not only associated with militant working-class trade-unionism, inner-city poverty and post-industrial deprivation (Barnes et al. 1996), but also with an isolated and inward-looking community—the Isle of Dogs, for example, is regularly described as being 'close-knit' or 'insular' (Foster 1999: 214).

The dominant view of the area was a social one, but what Ward perceived from the NatWest Tower was a geographical spectacle. This was the result of a

suspension of disbelief in the social basis of the city and of the political basis of urbanisation, believing this to be restrictive of possibility. In his radical decision to conserve and re-imagine Docklands' derelict infrastructure, Ward created 'Docklands' out of 'the East End' and initiated a practice that became known as property-led urban redevelopment. Ward's imagination of the city was premised on making the city phenomenological in a way that demonstrated a perspective which shared much in common with assemblage urbanism. It is with non-accidental irony that, given that the early LDDC was so poorly served by infrastructure due to the Conservative Party's anti-planning philosophy termed 'demand-led planning' (Church 1990), such a significant early action of the LDDC was to conserve and aestheticise pre-existing, outmoded infrastructure. What Ward achieved was to reify now-historical infrastructure as second nature; to radically reformulate the post-industrial inner-city as a desirable internal waterfront periphery. This 'de-congestion of the inner-city'—the material reuse of an outmoded economic geography—had been for so long prophesied by the TCPA, and was to become the dominant approach to urban redevelopment at a moment that heralded the start of a move away from the mid-century tradition of decentralist urbanisation, albeit at this point with an inner decentralist logic, much like the typology of the early new towns. In their prioritising of the material of urbanisation over economics, assemblage approaches are necessary in order to understand this urban product on its own terms.

5.4 Retaining Walls and the Reification of Infrastructure in the LDDC

Following Reg Ward's preservation of the docks, this section focusses specifically on the reimagination of the relationship between architecture and water; to the adaptation of the docks' material, infrastructural legacy to new ends, namely to facilitate what was to become an early example of market-led development of a deindustrialised inner-city.[5] This section focuses more specifically on the retaining wall—the defining and constitutive infrastructural feature of the docks, which functions, from the assemblage perspective utilised here, as an indicative microcosm containing much more general social change. In engineering terms, such walls created a vertical interface between river, and rail or road transport, define and support the docks, and previously entailed a perpendicular direction of movement

[5]Similar transformations occurred in other infrastructures: for example, freight railways lines which had previously served the docks were rehabilitated and rebranded as car-free paths and as the Docklands Light Railway (DLR)—the UK's only elevated, automated passenger rail system; a system chosen to foreground contemporaneous imaginations of high-tech urban development (Reid 1987). Similarly, a fast passenger boat service was instated along the river, an ancient infrastructure which had long been subordinated to freight traffic and which had developed a correspondingly functional imagination in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

of goods between water and land. Using an assemblage methodology, as previously argued to be appropriate, I here look at the ways in which the reuse of retaining walls has been responsible for a blurring of distinctions in the urban development of infrastructure and nature as a new form of second nature. This is in order to show how, through the preservation and adaptive reuse of outmoded infrastructure generally, and retaining walls specifically, the LDDC produced a model of newly centralised inner-city urban development which manifested a new interest, idea and image of the urban. Contradictorily to its location, this model was made possible through a peculiar form of post-infrastructural decentralist peripherality, capitalising on the natural and on historical and infrastructural context, to the end of waterfront urban redevelopment.

In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, embankments and retaining walls were built into rivers in order to allow for the construction of docking facilities, and often simply to strengthen river walls. The extent to which this type of encroachment has occurred in London is clear from historic maps, which show a much wider river throughout the centre and east of the city. Such walls created a vertical interface between river, and rail or road transport, and entailed a perpendicular direction of movement of goods between water and land. This overall similarity between the structure of river and dock means that the retaining wall has blurred the geological boundary between natural water and artificial infrastructure profoundly—the enclosed river has become a kind of second nature.

While the docks had previously been a significant site of centrality for international trade, in terms of road and public transport—and by extension in terms of the image, idea and experience of the city—they were highly peripheral. Through a gradual process of monopolisation and nationalisation as the Port of London Authority, the docks had increasingly receded into existing as a functionalist service area for the economy of the nation; Docklands had become a socially peripheral locus for the movement of goods. It was a function of this economic significance and the value of the goods handled that the urban spaces of the docks had existed for their active lifetime in the private sphere of the city—closed-off behind high walls to protect valuable goods from theft; invisible and inaccessible except to those who worked on the docks or on shipping. The LDDC's self-conceived task was positioned as an attempt to redress this cultural marginality: to reinvent Docklands as a formal, cosmopolitan entranceway to a new kind of city (Hollamby 1990). Paramount within this project was the fundamental repositioning of the threshold of water in urban space and movement. Along with auxiliary cranes, warehouses and walls, the docks were stripped of their economic function and spatial isolation within the scheme of public access, to be transformed into markers of luxury, heritage and historical authenticity.

Opening up dockside land to public access allowed for the reuse of dock walls as walkways or promenades and, later, cycle paths. In 1982, Hollamby and two influential urban designers produced a 'guide to design and development opportunities' for the Isle of Dogs are of Docklands. Although this plan was not formally adopted by the LDDC, it is commented on by Brian Edwards (1992: 62) that 'a close reading of the report does, however, suggest that certain ideas which have

become common currency in Docklands have their origin in the proposed guide. First, the guide advocated formal treatment of the rectangular dock basins. The idea of picturesque groupings was discarded in favour of strict geometries and deliberate symmetry'. These spectacular, car-free corridors used a standardised design featuring brickwork paving, metal benches and railings, and distinctive spherical streetlights, and formed a quiet, spectacular network of pedestrian and cycle routes which implicated a regular urban layout, itself to become a new network of movement through Docklands, which were oriented around the creation of a networked peripherality of development, intentionally located adjacent to post-infrastructural water (Hollamby 1982).

A perpendicular shift was implemented in retaining walls in Docklands: this mundane infrastructure no longer defined an interface between transport media, and instead aligned a route, running parallel to the dock edge. As such, the docks moved from being the peripheral location of work and the interface of long-distance goods transport, to perpendicularly orientating new thoroughfares. These were linear, offering a conscious proliferation of cityscape perspectives, capitalising on the visual space provided by the horizontal water, and experienced physically as infrastructure through bodily movement along post-industrial walkways. This was the creation of an urban perspective on to the urban itself which was raised, accessible and traffic free. This self-contradictory idea of the urban—the view over the city itself—is seen from a distance as a spectacle, much like the modern phenomenon of the rural landscape. One is confronted with a decidedly post-functionalist urban imaginary, fundamentally different to the visions of the 1970s for Docklands.

While this new network of movement through formally private space was opened up around the docks, the early LDDC was far less authoritative when it came to riverside walkways—it was not until the end of its tenure that the value of riverside walkways was made a component of its planning strategy.[6] In contrast to Hollamby's vision for the docks, he explicitly states that the 'creation of a continuous Thames promenade' is not 'a practical proposition' (1982: 37)—an approach which was influential over much of the length of the LDDC's existence, evidenced in the relatively fragmented quality of river walkways in its area. This was on the basis that there had never been a precedent for the unbroken walkway promenades (Chesterton 2016). Where walkways do exist, many have been made difficult to enter by circuitous access gates, and are closed at night. In one particularly notorious case adjacent to the pumping station on the Isle of Dogs, houses, to be newly constructed with back gardens adjacent to river walls, were granted planning permission by Hollamby himself, requiring the riverside walkway to bypass around the driveways of the houses. Strangely oppositional to the influential

[6]It is important to note, however, that a policy of riverside access was at a later point asserted: by 1998, the LDDC's Water Use Strategy (1998b: 10) stated that 'the Corporation is committed to securing public access to the majority of the 55 miles of quaysides and to the riverside in Docklands'.

LDSP plan of 1976, which prioritised riverside access but sought to remove the docks, Hollamby's plan evidences not only a shift in planning priorities, but furthermore an unprecedented bridging of the ideological distinction of nature and infrastructure in waterside development.

Urban designer Brian Edwards (1992: 53) argues that a contradiction of form and function is present in the LDDC's dockside walkways—that they are pleasant and attractive, but circuitous; bound to the contingent geometries of the docks. This resonates with a report written by the Docklands Consultative Committee (1988: 25), affiliated to the DJC, which argued that the circuitous planning of the DLR, with its tight bends, was evidence of a desire of transport planners to prioritise the creation of valuable plots of land over transport efficiency. What both these criticisms overlook, however, is that plots and the transport infrastructures were bound by the *now historic*—but by no means inevitable—decision to preserve and design around the docks and other mothballed infrastructure; the decision not to negate the existence of watery peripheries, but rather to capitalise on them had led to the configuration of complex and sometimes arbitrary spatial and transport planning. In its later years it was a function of the conserved material legacies of retaining walls and railway embankments that rail transport and traffic-free cycle routes were easily introduced into the LDDC's remit area—the DLR was a cost-effective reuse of existing railway infrastructure, and the promenades and walkways were only later promoted as a sustainable transport solution. Unlike in the DJC, which took a thoroughly transport-led approach to planning, the LDDC started with conservation for the purpose of the creation of heritage, which led to a prioritising of spectacle over efficiency within much transport infrastructure. These infrastructural shifts evidence a low-density re-centralism; a self-contradictory valorisation of watery peripheries within the post-industrial urban centre, creating an unconscious blurring of the lines between infrastructure and nature. Walkways and impounded water as a new form of infrastructural media were in facilitated the realisation of this new urban perspective.

5.5 Conclusion

To the GLC and municipal councils of the 1970s, the economic changes associated with de-industrialisation presented themselves as a set of *problems to be solved* (economic decline, unemployment, inaccessibility). This can be seen dramatically in the problem-oriented methodology which structured the entirety of both the LDST and DJC reports of the 1970s.[7] The economic solution proposed was for lower density land development, suitable for industry, which was to be achieved through

[7]See for example LDST (1973) p. 29 (Sect. "Short Account of the Problems") and p. 55 (Sect. "First Order Problems and Solutions").

the reduction of urban densities, itself an unquestioned premise.[8] In different ways, the suggested outcomes of both the 1970s reports were both grounded in logics of urban governance that were economically conservative; situated within the methods of now poorly financed local authority bureaucracy. In contrast to this municipal-utilitarianism, to the incoming Conservative national government in 1979, the situation of Docklands raised itself not as a problem, but rather as a question, or an opportunity: how to best capitalise on a valuable geographical asset. While the Labour Party-led DJC plan ignored the historical, material landscape and conceived of the area in terms of the existing population or local community with specific skills and with a diminishing relationship to the wider economic context, the LDDC saw the area in terms of its physical space: a defunct human landscape, serene and exciting in its recent material historicity. With a curious historical irony, the LDDC created a new idea of the city out of the preservation of the now-outmoded functional spaces and their layout which had become second nature, but paid little attention to the specific needs of the residue population—the very community which had co-developed with the now-outmoded terrain's profit-making utility.

In Hollamby's (1990: 11) retrospective, 4 years after quitting his post, he recalls the fundamental questions which troubled the early LDDC (author's emphases, author's parentheses):

> But there was a fundamental question which had to be addressed: *what sort of place* was Docklands to be, for these works [environment, infrastructure, housing etc.] *to serve and embellish?* An industrial area? A pleasure ground for London? Residential suburbs for workers housing as in Paris? But where would the workers work? What work would they do? Some of us in the Corporation apprehended fundamental changes, equivalent to a new industrial revolution, painfully taking shape throughout Britain's entire economy.

As well as conveying a self-conception of an organisation at the brink of a much wider historical transformation, within this narrative is a conception of the city as a place and as something which infrastructure and urban development are there to serve and embellish. This idea of place was not an appeal to a pre-existing, re-discovered authenticity; rather, it was raised as a question, as it was something which was very much being decided by political conflict. It was this wider question of place that was answered in the reimagination and naturalisation of outmoded infrastructure. Just as Ward perceived an asset in the geographical spectacle of Docklands from the NatWest Tower, Hollamby (1990: 12) recalls a surprisingly similar impression:

> Looking at the face of Docklands in 1981, I found it in many ways extremely beautiful. The great silent spaces of the retained docks, the coiled and restless river, and the enormous sky over the flat landscape, created dramatic views and skyscapes of incredible beauty. But it was the beauty of death.

[8]LDST (1973: 30): previous Comprehensive Development Areas of 1947 Town and Country Planning ministry specified 336 person/hectare (p/ha) in contrast to densities frequently between 500 and 750 p/ha in adjoining parts of the Boroughs. LDST adopts a maximum net density for public housing of between 200 and 240 p/ha.

The achieved aim of the early LDDC was to reify, through formalist urban design, this lamented, post-industrial landscape as second nature—to opportunistically but also aesthetically conserve and capitalise on the previous material history of industrial capital—including its distinctive, peripheral spatial layout of water and land; in other words, a decentralist urban typology was utilised to the end of creating a new urban imaginary of the post-industrial pastoral, where function gave way to the idea of the city.

This second nature becomes even more apparent when looking at the legacy of the engineering of retaining walls and their surroundings: when the docks were functioning, retaining walls were constructed in order to suspend water above sea level when the tide lowers. Under the LDDC, however, their economic function was in one way reversed entirely: the infrastructure and urbanism of the 1980s—walkways and buildings—was built to be held in place by the adjacent water itself. Much of the LDDC's waterside development adjacent to such walkways, therefore, exists in a fragile infrastructural equilibrium with the bodies of water on which they capitalise. A document produced by the LDDC's engineering department (1998a) details how around one-third of all the retaining walls of the Royal Docks were in a poor structural condition, and that if by accident the water was to be drained (through leaving open the locks to the Thames at Gallions Reach, or otherwise), around one-third of these walls, the promenades, and possibly the buildings above them, would collapse. Although it has gained a semblance of nature, this impounded water is still itself very much infrastructural, historical, and became the concern of structural engineers—this apparently natural material and medium, water, is bound up with the engineering of the very city which it provides perspectives over.

In creating a new city in what had been the functional backwater of the city, the idea of the city changed. The planning of the early new towns embodied the contemporaneous tendency towards the decentralisation of industry. In Milton Keynes, a newly individualised society was planned which responded to discontent with the social conservatism and the persistence of hierarchised, functionalist conceptions of society through valorising the urban, and designing a city whose people could take full advantage of mobility and communications. It was only in Docklands that the aim of Milton Keynes was in fact fulfilled, through a treatment of infrastructural heritage as natural history; a kind of synthesis of the design priorities of the new towns movement. The TCPA argued in their 1977 policy statement for the inner-city development corporations whose only difference would be that they were more democratically accountable than the New Town Development Corporations. However, it was in fact the LDDC which was to succeed in 'decongesting the inner-city'; the delighted playing with the hollowed-out ruins of the industrial landscape to create a new urban imaginary as shown here had in fact been for so long prophesied by the TCPA.[9]

[9]See, for example, an article in Town & Country Planning (journal of the TCPA) by architect Tom Hancock from 1982, entitled In place of dereliction: innovation! Hancock states that he welcomed the designation of the LDDC.

It is now useful to return to the combination of planetary urbanisation, as an epistemological premise and provisional approach, with aspects of assemblage urbanism as methodology. This combination has allowed this paper to move between modes of analysis: historical, theoretical, empirical and speculative. The necessity of brevity and theoretical exposition has limited the extent of the cogency of these modes, and has limited the empirical investigation to one that is more impressionistic than desirable. Empirically, the primary finding here articulated is the contradictory geographical specificity of the post-industrial pastoralism of the urban development of the LDDC amidst the start of a reversal of the apparently inevitable tendency of urban decentralisation in the UK—I here locate this historical reversal's origins in the new generation of the urban in Milton Keynes.

Regardless of empirical inconclusiveness, this chapter has functioned successfully as a starting point; as a pilot study for an innovative historical urban research methodology. As previously argued, when left on their own, the surface or materiality-based ontology of assemblage approaches grounded in post-structuralist theory fails to conceptualise the processual function of infrastructure, as constitutive of urbanisation. However, this chapter hopes to have shown that when combined with the epistemological provocation of planetary urbanisation and its schema of intensive and extended urbanisation—in this case, imposed through the lens of decentralism—an extremely productive response to the so-called 'infrastructural turn' in the social sciences is arrived at. This constitutes a robust response to the tautological way in which infrastructure, as itself an abstract materialisation of capitalist social relations, is doubly reified as second nature under assemblage urbanism—a particular phenomenon requiring more investigation which has occurred both in theory—as manifested by the infrastructural and material turn—and historically in the practice of urban redevelopment—as shown here in the case of the LDDC.

Through grounding research in the premise and approach of planetary urbanisation and simultaneously utilising select assemblage-based tools in historical research into the urban—namely a focus on the detail of select material transformation over time—in this case the retaining wall—a better understanding of the changing historical specificity of urbanisation and the urban in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries may soon be developed. This, in turn, will allow for the clarification of still-unresolved questions at the core of urban theory, and for a better understanding of the contemporary agency and future possibility of urban research.

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Chapter 6
Comparing at What Scale? The Challenge for Comparative Urbanism in Central Asia

Elena Trubina

Abstract Can research on cities in a specific region contribute to comparative urban literature? This chapter focuses on the intersections between comparative urbanism and the academic investigation of Central Asian cities. I argue that the inherited structures of scholarly activities and a lack of financing have created an epistemological predicament within the region; as a result, Central Asian cities have been addressed, if at all, primarily by scholars based in the West. Their limited and isolated findings have not yet found their way into a larger debate on comparative urbanism. This article is, therefore, an attempt to reflect on the 'state of art' when it comes to Central Asian urbanism. In the past 20 years, comparative work in urban studies has produced interesting and valuable insights into the potential synergies between postcolonial, political–economic and cultural/post-structural analyses. Comparative urbanism, while emphasising the multiple trajectories out of which different cities are forged, prompts us to look beyond enduring bounded entities and outdated epistemologies by focusing on different cities. Jennifer Robinson, for example lists 'post-socialist cities' among 'divisive categories' and suggests that we 'move beyond' such categories and the hierarchies which they imply. These inspiring thoughts, however, clash with the conventions of the publishing industry and the priorities of academic existence. In scholarly literature and in teaching, various geographical boundaries persist, leading to the 'lumping' of cities into regions. The challenge remains for comparative work in urban studies to become more grounded in the disarray of geographic scales and historical periods. Accordingly, from a Central Asian perspective, this chapter explores the potential for a regionally oriented analysis to offer new insights into the methodology and conceptualisation of comparison.

Keywords Central Asia · Authoritarianism · Region · Comparison
Cities

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6.1 Introduction

One element of what urban theorists study is, at first sight, certain: almost all investigate what other authors have said in the past, or what their contemporary professional allies are at present given to saying. This chapter focuses on one increasingly popular urban theory, comparative urbanism, and the ways in which it intersects with the academic investigation of Central Asian cities. The dominant theoretical consideration in the study of cities today has been 'the comparative gesture' (Robinson 2011), enriched by a postcolonial critique of urban theory (Robinson 2006). Employing Charles Tilly's work on comparative politics and the philosophy of Deleuze and Guattari (1994), Jennifer Robinson builds a theory for comparing cities. Her theory includes, on the one hand, reflection on the ways to grasp the peculiarities of concrete places—'individualizing comparison' [Robinson 2016: 11, after Tilly (1984)]—and, on the other, '"generative" comparative tactics, focused on generating and inventing concepts' [Robinson 2016: 14, after Deleuze and Guattari (1994)]. In the past 20 years, comparative work in urban studies has produced interesting and valuable insights into the potential synergies between postcolonial, political–economic and cultural/post-structural analyses.

Proponents of comparative urban studies (for example Nijman 2007; McFarlane 2010; Ward 2010) argue for making comparisons of diverse cities which have not traditionally featured on the map of modern urban theory and, analytically, are very distant from each other. The location of the urban, as a level of analysis, between several scales complicates comparative work immensely, because several scales of analysis are currently undergoing intense methodological scrutiny. Scholars are concerned with methodological nationalism (Chernilo 2006; Amelina et al. 2012), that is the reification and foregrounding of the nation state as the most important and often the only accepted scale of analysis (a criticism which I will return to below). Urbanisation, as it is seen by the proponents of the comparative urbanism conceptual framework, not only takes us below and beyond the national unit of analysis, but also suggests looking at many different processes on Earth as the outcomes of the diverse development of the 'urban'. The 'urban' and the 'city', as theoretical notions, often denote the privileged cities which urban theory considered for decades. In other words, as Colin McFarlane posits 'there is often an implicit, unnoticed slippage between claims about certain cities (e.g. New York or London) and claims about "the city" as an abstract, generalized category' (McFarlane 2010: 726). By contrast, enthusiasts of the 'comparative' and 'Global South' 'turns' invite us to enjoy 'inter-referencing' (Roy and Ong 2011: 17) between diverse cities and to exploit 'the potential for ex-centric and regional studies traditions of urban studies to inform global urban theorizing' (Robinson 2016: 643).

The project of comparative urbanisms is remarkable in its radical reconsideration of the very epistemological foundations of urban studies, namely, the opening of the discipline towards both the diversity of urban experiences across the globe and the commonalities between knowledge production and theory as they travel across different countries (Robinson and Parnell 2011). Large-scale uneven development

prompts scholars to seek connections between things and processes which were previously deemed irrelevant, but which are now increasingly seen as parts of networks comprising circulating policies, practices and finance. One is reminded of the claim of the proponents of planetary urbanisation that 'even the most apparently 'remote' places, regions and territories are now inextricably interwoven' (Brenner and Schmid 2015: 175). Although these programmes of research have very powerful beginnings in a range of well-connected studies, the question I want to raise is about the gap that exists between the agenda-setting discourses and things on the ground. I would like to engage the reflections of Purcell (2003) on 'islands of practice', which prevent progressive arguments and theories from being used productively. The term 'practice', according to Purcell (2003: 317), 'refers to both intellectual and political aspects of academic labor', including empirical research and writing; 'island' is employed metaphorically, signifying a space where some action is possible 'but always within clearly defined and confining limits' (Purcell 2003: 317). Although Purcell investigates islands which segregate contemporary human geography, the intra-disciplinary divisions he lists are applicable, in my view, to many more disciplines. What Purcell has in mind are the sub-disciplinary parts 'defined by scales (local/national/global); forms of domination (capitalism/patriarchy/racism/heteronormativity); topical specialties (economic/political/cultural); aspects of the world economy (north/south); settlement patterns (urban/rural); methodologies (quantitative/qualitative); the human-nature split (economy/ecology) and so on' (Purcell 2003: 317–318).

When we try to make sense of the place Central Asia occupies both in the world and in the production of academic knowledge, we see a great deal of 'islands of practice'. Comparative urbanism, while emphasising the multiple trajectories out of which different cities are forged, prompts us to look beyond enduring bounded entities and outdated epistemologies by focusing on different cities. Robinson, for example lists 'post-socialist cities' among 'divisive categories' (2006: 2) and suggests that we 'move beyond' such categories and the hierarchies which they imply. In this chapter, I demonstrate that these inspiring thoughts, however, clash with disciplinary limits, conventions of the publishing industry and the priorities of academic existence. In particular, I argue that in the scholarly literature and in teaching, various geographical boundaries persist, which results in the 'lumping' of cities into regions and countries. The challenge remains for comparative work in urban studies to become more grounded in the disarray of geographical scales and historical periods.

Accordingly, this chapter critically discusses the existing literature on Central Asian cities to explore the potential for a regionally oriented analysis to offer new insights into the methodology of comparative urbanism. I mainly cover journal articles on Central Asia which I found in such journal bases as SAGE, Taylor & Francis, Wiley, using such keywords as 'Central Asia', 'cities in Central Asia' and 'Bishkek' (the capital of Kyrgyzstan). The articles reviewed are representative of the state of research on the region, since they are published in professional journals covering IR, urban studies, area studies, regional studies and so on. In this chapter, I first discuss what scholars understand by Central Asia and why there is an ongoing

need to ask this question and highlight some of the prior work that has dealt with this topic most cogently. Next, I will ask why one might want to dedicate time and effort to combining the scales and politics of comparison in conceptual analysis. I will then focus on the links between post-socialism and postcolonialism in research on Central Asia. Finally, I will discuss some of the issues that should be considered when striving to develop and build concepts and approaches for innovatively investigating Central Asian cities.

6.2 Central Asia: The Region, the Countries and the Cities

In this section, I discuss what scholars understand by Central Asia and why there is an ongoing need to ask this question, and I highlight some of the prior work that has dealt with this topic most cogently. Research on cities in Central Asia is difficult to separate from research on the region as a whole. Indeed, in urban literature, there are attempts to analyse cities and regions together (Soja 2000; Parr 2008; Scott 2012), which I find productive and, in case of Central Asia, inevitable, since the region and its cities are attracting scholarly attention at a disappointingly slow pace.

Since the early 1990s, the newly independent Central Asian states have been trying to cope with the Soviet and imperial legacy, which includes the need to share the region's cross-boundary natural resources. They are also trying to find a new place for themselves in the post-Soviet order. Linking east and west, the region has large reserves of oil and gas and is united by a common historical memory. The limited knowledge that exists about this region is in contrast to its geopolitical and economic role in the world.

In a recent *Guardian* article, Shaun Walker, the newspaper's Moscow correspondent describes life in Kommunizm, a small town in southern Tajikistan (7000 inhabitants) in the context of the post-Soviet transition:

> Like the rest of Tajikistan and the four other former Soviet "*Stans*" – Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan and Turkmenistan – *Kommunizm* is marking 25 years of independence, thanks to the slow-motion collapse of the Soviet Union in the autumn of 1991. But for all the overblown rhetoric and parades across the region, the celebrations had a bittersweet tinge. (Walker 2016)

The bittersweet feeling the journalist identifies is part of a larger narrative that has been widely used to describe the authoritarian Central Asian '*Stans*' (Cummings 2012). These countries present a remote abstraction, or stand as an emblem of backwardness and corruption to a Westerner. This resulted in a *New York Times* article in January 2015 describing the non-existent country Kyrbekistan. The fact that a journalist lumped together Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan is interpreted by scholars as a sign of the marginal position that the Central Asian countries occupy in the world:

> […] despite of the changing landscapes posited by increasing although unequal global mobility of people and capital, Central Asia still conveys in much public discourse a sense of being formed by the "unfathomable" five republics which were once part of the Soviet Union. (Ibañez-Tirado and Marsden 2016)

Central Asia is often depicted by scholars and journalists alike as a mixture of Oriental customs, authoritarian governments and vague hybrids of the old and new. As a result, the interest towards the region is limited.

This is unfortunate because, with its position as a crossroads between civilisations and ancient trade routes, Central Asia's history stretches back to ancient times and deserves to be better known. There were centuries when the region prospered due to the Silk Roads (Baumer 2014), when the great cities of Samarkand and Bukhara were founded and other oasis cities emerged. In the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Russian monarchs, trying to cope with weakened domestic legitimacy, colonised the Trans-Caucasus region and Central Asia (Geiss 2012; Sahadeo and Zanca 2009). When the city-states Koqand, Bukhara and Khiva capitulated and the Turkmens were enslaved in the second half of the nineteenth century, Russian control over Central Asia was fully established. Russian control continued in the twentieth century with the establishment of Soviet power in the region. The irrigated areas were expanded, and Uzbekistan became the world's largest exporter of cotton (Kandiyoti 2007). In all Soviet republics, the civilising mission of the centre resulted in the construction of the large number of factories, many of which ceased to exist after the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. Economic growth resulted in some places in ecological disasters; in particular, the attempt to expand irrigated areas by diverting water from the rivers that fed the Aral Sea—the Amu Darya and the Syr Darya—resulted in the desiccation of what was formerly the world's fourth largest inland sea. Since 1991, when the Central Asian Soviet republics became newly independent states, the discrepancy between geographical features and state borders has created an ongoing disagreement between national governments about sharing water resources. Moreover, new international borders between the countries threw into disorder family ties, as well as economic and transportation links.

'Central Asia' is understood in this chapter as the part of Asia where the Communists ruled from the 1920s until 1989–1991. At present, the region comprises the five former Soviet republics: Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan and Tajikistan. Recently, scholars have begun developing an expanded notion of Central Asia, claiming that it also includes the Caucasus states of Armenia, Georgia and Azerbaijan, and that it is strongly linked to Afghanistan and Eastern Turkestan (part of Western China) (Diener 2008: 957). Ever since the demise of Communism, the countries of the region, albeit at different speeds and to varying degrees, have undergone attempts at democratisation and have developed links with global financial institutions. The uneasy relationships between these countries and the rest of the world have been further troubled by ideas about their backwardness and authoritarian rule. The stories that experts in IR and political studies tell about these countries situate Central Asia on the periphery of Eurasia, and describe the region as a point of deep traditionalism and reluctant transition, a

place from where migrants depart in search of better wages, and a locus of organised crime and corruption.

Scholarly accounts present Central Asian countries as haunted by their Communist past, with corrupt elites and a docile population:

> […] the populations in the Central Asian states share their leaders' views that defending the norms and safety of the community takes precedence over any "foreign" notion of individual human rights such as freedom of religion, even though each country has signed various international conventions that bind them to defending these rights. (Olcott 2014: 1)

Although such descriptions are in some ways fair, these perspectives suggest doubts about the possibility of these countries choosing any path of political development except for authoritarianism: '[n]ow, more than 20 years since independence, authoritarianism remains the order of the day' (Ó Beacháin and Kevlihan 2015: 508). Cultural belonging of Central Asians within the global community is mostly considered through the lens of migration (Nasritdinov 2016; Turaeva 2016). On the other hand, since the Central Asian region is generally regarded as problematic and its citizens considered vulnerable to the consequences of the political regime, the population in these countries is compared along the axis of 'authoritarianism–liberalism'. The sociologists who come to the region to investigate the links between trust, norms and networking in local communities juxtapose their findings to the case of developed and democratic western societies, and interpret the differences between the Central Asian countries on the basis of their relative liberalisation:

> […] although a high police presence in Uzbekistan discourages people from extensively interacting in public places, this lack of interaction cements citizens in their pre-existing social circles without exposing them to new people or ideas; so, they maintain trust in those with whom they already frequently interact. Meanwhile, residents of Kyrgyzstan have more opportunities to interact, by virtue of the country's political openness and partial transition to a market economy; yet, impersonal exchanges do not necessarily engender greater trust or stronger social norms – in fact, the opposite may occur when people are forced into greater contact with new ideologies or competing ethnic groups. (Radnitz et al. 2009: 724)

Addressing the question 'How, why, and to what effect is Central Asia imagined in popular, scholarly and official contexts as a particular locus of danger?', Heathershaw and Megoran (2011: 606) argue that '[t]he discourse of danger simply lumps together a series of threats—great power competition, drugs, border disputes, past conflicts, ethnic tensions, etc.—and argues that because they occur in the same place they will inevitably contribute to a conflagration'. This may be compared with the historian Maria Todorova's objection to the Western rendering of her native Balkans, which, she argues, 'has served as a repository of negative characteristics against which a positive and self-congratulatory image of the "European" and the "West" has been constructed' (Todorova 1997: 188). This raises questions about the actual and possible politics of knowledge production about the Central Asian region, and their implications for generating specifically urban knowledge.

6.3 The Scales and Politics of Comparison

This section addresses how we may combine scales and politics of comparison in our conceptual analysis. Examination of the use of comparative methodology in research on Central Asia strikingly reveals an almost total absence of comparisons between cities. Cities are not the units of analysis in this literature. One of the few books devoted to Central Asian cities is entitled *Urban Life in Post-Soviet Asia* (Alexander et al. 2007). This immediately prompts a question about the difference between 'Post-Soviet Asia' and 'Central Asia'. More interestingly though, the editors engage in comparisons of cities (Tashkent, Almaty, Astana and Ulan-Ude), both across 'Post-Soviet Asia' and within the separate countries comprising this region. They explain in the introduction:

> […] our studies aimed to contrast cities of different scale and economic prosperity, from the flourishing cities of Almaty and Astana to the socially and economically depressed Buryat city of Ulan-Ude, and to encompass cities of varied political status. One further key point of contrast is the juxtaposition of cities located in Islamic (Tashkent, Almaty and Astana) and Buddhist (Ulan-Ude) regions. (Alexander et al. 2007: 1)

The editors acknowledge that the pasts of the countries and cities under consideration are marked by 'the broadest of common histories', while also highlighting the 'dramatically different' ways in which the cities are currently developing; they locate these divergences in the different choices that both the administrations and citizens make about the geographies and time periods on which to build urban development (Alexander et al. 2007: 4). They claim that the new differences are pronounced 'despite' the common past, but they do not address the question of why post-socialist development has this differentiating potential. They also conduct intra-national comparisons, for instance between Kazakhstan's old and new capitals, Almaty and Astana, which 'are markedly different again in terms of their orientation to global markets and influence' (Alexande et al. 2007: 6). However, unfortunately, they do not address the criteria for comparison of cities both within the region and the country. I also find it problematic that, while they address post-Soviet life in Central Asian cities, the editors pay little attention to capitalism or globalisation; only once do they mention that the government in Kazakhstan granted 'foreign nationals [the opportunity] to buy enterprises foundering through lack of subsidies' (Alexander et al. 2007: 6). 'Market reforms' have been in full swing in the countries in question, but a significant portion of the volume is devoted to 'the past' (nostalgia, memory, Soviet housing and planning and so on). Although the transformation of urban landscapes in the region would not be possible without global capital, even the word 'globalisation' is missing in the volume, not to mention an analysis of the interaction between national and the global financial flows. For the anthropological analysis conducted in the book, the scale of the region 'Post-Soviet Asia' is sufficient—such that none of the book's contributors engages in a comparison of the cities in question with those in neighbouring Mongolia and China, which also have a complicated post-socialist legacy. This prompts the question of whether it was the difference between

'post-socialist Asia' and 'post-Soviet Asia' that prevented the contributors from looking across the boundaries of the region they had constructed.

Cities tend to be addressed in the literature only in order to illustrate wider processes, for example the predicaments of new independent states or issues of migration (Schröder 2016a, b; Wachtel 2016). For example, of the 12 chapters of *Symbolism and Power in Central Asia: Politics of the Spectacular* (Cummings 2010), four address Central Asia in general, while the rest are country based. In the few instances when authors mention cities, cities simply stand for large-scale tendencies; for instance, one contributor, reflecting on the ways of commemorating World War Two, claims that 'the remaking of the present often entails the remaking of history and, with it, the remaking of the city' (Denison 2010: 94). The book addresses the Soviet legacy, as well as attempts at symbolic de-Sovietisation; accordingly, 'the urban redesign of Ashgabad' is described as part of 'a political soft power tactic to legitimize both nation and regime with shaky foundations through visual force' (Denison 2010: 101). Indeed, marked by impressive construction projects and televised sights, the capitals of the Central Asian countries are effectively being used as vehicles for showcasing discourses of progress and dynamism, but they rely on solidified notions of memory and culture to support the rulers' claims for legitimacy.

In general, then, it is not cities that are described and compared; rather, Central Asia is compared to a region with other regions of Asia or with other regions within post-Soviet space. Political scientists, international relations specialists and economists are engaged in this work—occupying one of the islands of practice, to recall Purcell's metaphor. In doing so, they try to make sense of the condition described by Ed Soja as the 'disappearance' of 'the socialist–communist Second World', and the ambiguity as to 'whether the formerly communist states have entered the First World or Third World in their old sense' (Soja 2015: 378). The 'worlds' Soja mentions are just one component of different spatialities and temporalities which clash in Central Asia, posing a question of how to navigate between them both for locals and scholars (and for the local scholars). The work of the anthropologist Magnus Marsden (2012: 356) stands out, which aims:

> […] to encourage work on the important role that the ideas about "region", in addition to those of the local, nation-state and global are playing in adding further texture and complexity to everyday life, culture, political economy and religion in Central and Southwest Asia.

However, although this project is marked by a focus on the particular and local, which is crucial for the proponents of comparative urban studies, 'the urban', as a separate scale of analysis, does not seem to be of interest. For instance, in his review of the existing scholarship, Marsden (2012: 353) notes:

> Apartment blocks are an important feature of urban life both in the former Soviet Union […] and post-colonial South Asia […]: ethnographies of them offer rich insights into understanding processes of community formation […] Research should focus […] on the ways these become mapped spatially in relationship to varying forms of social identity and political power.

'The urban' is thus a phenomenon that unifies socialist and post-socialist times for the simple reason that many people live in apartment blocks which were built in the Soviet period and which, thus, spatially express social and political processes. Similarly, attention towards the relationality of social processes can be seen in this project. It is conveyed, in part, through the powerful descriptions of the numerous interregional connections which would be impossible to sustain without cities. Yet the cities themselves figure in the analysis as points of contact of religions and cultures, which means that the need to compare them does not appear pressing:

> During my fieldwork […] I have encountered bus drivers from Tajikistan who ferried pilgrims to the pilgrimage in Mecca through Iran and Iraq after the collapse of the Soviet Union, and met the descendants of the Bolshevik era émigrés from northern Tajikistan to the holy cities of Mecca and Medina, who now work as professors in Khartoum […]. (Marsden 2012: 341)

The long processes of historical and geographical categorisation are expressed in the epistemic predilections of scholars and institutional constraints, while *interregional* cultural connectivity overshadows the cities which facilitate it.

Some of these connectivities were considered in 2016 by the international community of anthropologists specialising in research on Central Asia, in a special issue of *Anthropological Forum*, edited by Sergey Abashin, of the Central European University. The issue included a number of articles and statements from an anthropological perspective, which explored the potential for future research in the region. Reeves (2016), for example provided a balanced and innovative analysis of the present state and future possibilities for research in an essay evocatively entitled "Trace, Trajectory, Pressure Point: Re-imagining 'Area Studies' in an Age of Migration". She argued against 'methodological regionalism' (akin to methodological nationalism which I mentioned above), which is evident throughout area studies, including studies of Central Asia, and the tendency to position the local and the international at opposite ends of the scale of analysis (from small to large, from specific to general) (Reeves 2016: 106). The anthropologist instead suggests considering every place as the local, and calls for scholars to overcome the reductionist thinking which puts 'the international' at a higher place than 'the local'; as she argues, the World Bank headquarters are no less local than a village in Kyrgyzstan (Reeves 2016: 107). She thus calls for academic collaboration between anthropologists and historians of the region in order to consider the connections between societies and cultures and to compare migrations, transnational religious movements and transnational logics of economic development.

These methodological considerations appear reasonable, but they remain based on a broad, schematic conceptual framework, although this provides many promising examples of innovative fieldwork in the region. Nevertheless, in the conclusion to the issue, Abashin states that the collection of papers reasserts the need for a theory to take into account the consequences of global and transnational processes and to 'have a comparative perspective that allows us to see the multiplicity of points of intersection or standoff' (Abashin 2016: 138). Once again, it is unclear which comparison is implied, and the need to conduct comparison is stated only as part of a general summary of proposed ways to improve the scholarship on the region.

If Robinson theorises cities as 'ordinary cities', emphasising their distinctiveness and creativity, it is predominantly stated that are rendered different in research on Central Asia. One is reminded of the 'ordinary states' described with an eye on everyday corruption and the politics of space in Mumbai (Anjaria 2011). Having conducted fieldwork among unlicensed hawkers in Mumbai, the anthropologist Jonathan Anjaria describes the vendors' navigation of spaces in which official and unofficial terrains of power overlap, producing paradoxical attitudes towards state institutions. They are perceived on the one hand as a realm of authority and a source of sanctions, and on the other 'as a locus of hope and potential source of justice' (Anjaria 2011: 59). Encounters with the state prove to be as important as other episodes of everyday life in the metropolis.

However imperfect the new independent states are, there are many important differences in the way they cope with numerous challenges. Engvall (2016) has argued that these differences are at times carefully constructed by governments and scholars. Kyrgyzstan, with its alleged economic reforms and political liberalisation, for instance is often contrasted favourably with other states in Central Asia. However, Engvall demonstrates that the Kyrgyz state is effectively an investment market where government officials buy and sell positions to increase their access to rent-seeking. Engvall compellingly describes what I would refer to as 'one hundred shades' of corruption across post-Soviet space. He claims, for instance, that:

> […] in comparison with the patronage politics permeating the entire state apparatus in Kyrgyzstan, the Moldovan state is less homogenous, and a more modernized technocratic bureaucracy coexists with very sophisticated schemes for manipulating the instruments of political power for personal gain at the highest level. (Engvall 2016: 115)

While most state-based comparisons are conducted between post-Soviet countries, Natalie Koch demonstrates that 'still escaping the bonds of deeply-entrenched Soviet legacies, Kazakhstan increasingly has much in common with the Persian Gulf states, such as the United Arab Emirates and Qatar' (Koch 2015). This is because both the Gulf States and Kazakhstan are resource rich, with profits gained invested in ambitious mega-projects. It is the capital cities which, as a rule, become the stage for these projects—a tendency noticed by scholars of Latin America during the 1974–78 oil boom, when the legitimacy of the dictators was supported by extensive growth in construction (Coronil 1997). Reverberating with attempts by proponents of planetary urbanisation to reconsider the relations between metropolitan centres and hinterlands, Koch's analysis includes the argument that inhabitants of metropolitan centres are complicit with a ruling order based on resource extraction. In related research, Koch addresses the methodological problem of interregional comparison, stressing the need to 'look beyond prevailing state-centric imaginaries of global space to see how the very same tactic (here, elitist urban development) is used by those in positions of power to produce inequality at variable scales' (Koch 2015: 442). As an example of this variety, she points to the differences within Central Asian states as well as the differences with other regions such as the Middle East and South Asia.

In the literature on the urban comparison, there is a debate on the meaning and ways of 'importing' policies and urban role models from elsewhere (Ward 2010; Peck 2011). Emulation and borrowing may not always be systematic and coordinated, since much of the relevant information is not only transferred by well-paid experts, but flows freely amidst information exchange. Koch (2015) thus looks at how ideas of 'spectacular urbanisation' travel, paying attention to the differences between the ways this model is being implemented in different state contexts. She considers such cities as Abu Dhabi, Doha, Manama, Astana, Ashgabat and Baku, arguing that '[f]rom Azerbaijan to Qatar, residents have witnessed the transformation of their capitals at an unprecedented rate over the past 20 years—for which the state has taken credit' (Koch 2015: 438). However, this spectacular development is based on a single model: Dubai. Koch conducts a compelling cross-regional investigation to demonstrate that this model travels well because it promises unquestioned success.

In light of the call to look at cities as 'ordinary', it makes sense to take into consideration the intense out-migration from Central Asia. Skilled professionals as well as construction workers are adapting to rapidly changing job markets, establishing themselves in Russia and other countries, and remaining connected to their relatives and friends with the help of information technologies. In this vein, Nasritdinov (2016) compares the configurations of relationships which emerge between Central Asian migrants and long-term local citizens in two cities of the Russian Federation: Kazan and Saint Petersburg. He claims that:

> […] the "readability" (defined as the ease with which the city can be "read" and understood) and "legibility" (defined as the degree to which individual components of an urban environment are recognisable by their appearance) of urban space in Kazan have positive effects on the relationship between these two communities, while the ambiguity and uncertainty of urban identity in Saint Petersburg make the life of migrants very vulnerable and unpredictable". (Nasritdinov 2016: 257)

According to Tilly's typology of comparisons, this is a variation-finding comparison based on 'a principle of variation in the character or intensity of a phenomenon by examining systematic difference amongst instances' (Tilly 1984: 83). Similarly, in the course of fieldwork among the inhabitants of Tashkent, the capital of Uzbekistan, Schmoller (2015) discerns differences between the ways in which the citizens of different Central Asian republics think about status and class, between ideas of career and success among middle-aged and young Uzbeks, and between Tashkent inhabitants' perceptions of Soviet and post-Soviet times. Sgibnev and Vozyanov (2016) address the values of consumerism in relation to transport mobility. They claim that for Central Asian urbanites, minibuses:

> […] bring about small headways, at least at peak times, and the possibility of getting on and off at will at almost any (convenient) place, as well as connections between almost all important areas, without having to change lines. These benefits are complemented by high speed (surely obtained via fearless and reckless driving). (Sgibnev and Vozyanov 2016, 284).

To summarise, although contemporary development in Central Asia has created a highly uneven urban landscape, with pockets of immense poverty alongside great

wealth and a growing middle class, it remains salient to continue investigating its vast differences, both locally and globally.

6.4 Post-socialism Versus Postcolonialism in Research on Central Asia

In this section, I consider research on the cities of Central Asia in the context of debates on comparative urbanism. I will also focus on the links between post-socialism and postcolonialism in research on the region. Scholars based in Europe and North America who have been studying Central Asian cities since 2000 are more inclined to investigate the urban impacts of transition and path-dependency, including a range of social problems, economic difficulties, corruption and nepotism. Those engaged in anthropological studies emphasise the 'continuing usefulness of the term "post-socialist" in identifying structures and trends of urbanism in Eurasia as a way of life' (Darieva et al. 2011: 17). References to socialist times and the difficulties of adapting to a capitalist market economy abound in scholarly articles and books; however, as I argued above, there are only a few descriptions of cities' struggles to find their places in the highly competitive global urban economy. It would seem that the temporal vector, from socialism to post-socialism, proves more important for many scholars than the links of the cities in question with the wider world (Rasanayagam 2014; Schröder 2016a, b; Suyarkulova 2016).

Others seem more disposed to examine migration, employment patterns, housing, inequalities, poverty, rituals and consumption than to examine the links between the global, national and urban economies or to describe how Central Asian cities are included in global circuits of finance (Sgibnev 2015; Jager 2016). Western urbanists, thus, demonstrate a methodological propensity for anthropological studies of urban life, focusing on the challenges of unrestrained privatisation, the rise of ethno-nationalisms, the transformation of public spaces, rural–urban migration, the informal economy and other urban social dynamics.

The combination of the colonisation of Central Asia under the Russian Empire with that implemented in Soviet times has been thoroughly investigated by a few scholars, who reflect on the traces of colonialism in the history of the region (Adams 2008; Kassymbekova 2017). However, if we wish to understand the processes which have driven Central Asia's inclusion in the global capitalist economy and which continue to affect its cities' development today, it is necessary to account for how these have unfolded historically. Important explanations may be found in the following quotation:

> The incorporation of Central Asia in the wider capitalist market made necessary a rationalisation of market and economic procedures through the convergence of payment system, of currencies, the introduction of balance records, the establishment of a small entrepreneurial class in charge of regulating and enhancing foreign trade […]. The peak of

> the capitalistic development of the region was visible in the construction of the Trans-Caspian railway (1879–1906) that ended up being a vehicle of capitalistic expansion and economic development. (Buranelli 2014: 823)

The author concludes that this particular period was the material 'entry of modernity into Central Asia, as well as the entry of Central Asia into modernity' (Buranelli 2014: 823). Although capitalist development was interrupted, the march of modernity in Central Asia continued under socialism, which is precisely what prevents local intellectuals from embracing a postcolonial discourse: they remember the pride of belonging to a vast country; they still see the Soviet-era infrastructure in their towns; and they often use Russian—the language of the coloniser—to speak among themselves. It is necessary to bear this in mind when considering urban literature devoted to Central Asia.

Urbanists, sociologists and other scholars in the regions of Central Asia and Eastern Europe are expected to 'theorize back', rather than slavishly emulate Western concepts and theories, which would be, in the words of Tlostanova (2007), 'cutting the feet in order to fit western shoes'. However, university administrations expect them to publish in Western journals, and they must seek to include their voices in discussions based in the West, so as to avoid reproducing parochial, provincial and/or one-sidedly nationalist discourses. While their colleagues representing urban studies call for 'provincializing Europe' (Chakrabarty 2000), academics in Central Asia risk simply remaining provincial in a less conceptual sense of the term—they constantly mention in conversations that they are 'cut off' from the major currents of intellectual development. While they hear the calls to engage in postcolonial studies, they wonder to what extent the postcolonial framework is useful to describe their present predicaments (Gulnara Ibraeva, personal correspondence). Their concerns about producing urban and social knowledge along postcolonial lines are not dissimilar to those expressed by authors who urge for more reflective writing on the postcolonial condition. I would argue that one possible reason why the non-Western traditions are difficult to reflect on is the lack of clarity regarding what 'not-West' means and what it comprises. Some scholars are currently calling for the very notion of the 'region' to be reconsidered, its 'bounded' understanding replaced with an 'unbounded' one (Amin 2004). These calls, however, coexist with ongoing research on Eastern Europe and Central Asia whose proponents admit to a lack of precise knowledge on what exactly 'Eastern Europe' or 'Central Asia' means. However, existing research on Central Asia compellingly demonstrates the degree of diversity in research practices in the region, providing an important corrective to Tlostanova's claim about the lack of thinking on the part of scholars working in the region.

In this vein, the calls for an unbounded and relational understanding of cities and regions complicate any evaluation of the lack of clarity regarding the understanding of world regions (Heryanto 2013: 307) as an accomplishment or a failure. If references to 'Asia' as a whole as an embodiment of global urban futures are highly in vogue (Roy and Ong 2011: 264; Bunnell et al. 2012), how is 'Central Asia' seen in this context? How long will it take for Bishkek to 'catch up' with Singapore?

The difficulties of regionalist comparison are evident when Central Asia is claimed to be unique in some way or other, without the claim being substantiated—as in the assertion that '[Central Asia] is unique in that it is currently exposed to global networks as never before' (Diener 2008: 958).

I argue that one of the problematic outcomes of academic reflection on how the world map has changed during the past 20 years has been the reification of the categories 'post-socialism', 'Eastern Europe', 'Central Asia' and the like. It is worth recalling that western nations struggled in the early 1990s to establish criteria for assessing regions as developed or underdeveloped. It was the Third World which, in the opinion of many, was emblematised as the recipient of aid. Artificially, politically and ideologically loaded variables were used to assess the developments of the newly independent states, while similar criteria were seldom applied in the analysis of geographical differences within Western countries. The recent popular macro-level geographical division of the world into 'Global North' and 'Global South' develops ideas about dependent economies, but seems problematic to many scholars. After all, 'it encompasses such different combinations of advancement and backwardness that it loses its potency as an analytical category. Neither do the post-communist economies that emerged after 1990 sit comfortably in categories of either the "Global North" or "Global South"' (Hardy 2014: 147).

The outdated and excessively limited understanding of a world region like Central Asia is combined with the growing meaninglessness of the term 'post-socialism'. The countries which, one way or another, underwent socialism are now deeply immersed in the capitalist global economy, as their territories and people serve as resources which are used by corporations and governments located elsewhere. Lefebvre's work, on which the studies of planetary urbanisation are based, is used remarkably little to study such regions. This is unfortunate, because he studied the generalisation of commodity exchange and various forms of primary accumulation 'not just as a historical precondition but an ongoing feature of capitalist development' (Boucher et al. 2008: 997). Although some territories and groups of population in the regions in question may seem excluded from the world's capitalist history, they are in fact part of it.

Understandings of world regions oscillate today between *relational* approaches, which insist on seeing regions through the lens of networked processes, and *territorial* approaches (Harrison 2014: 2332). However, I would argue that learning to compare cities beyond divides and oppositions involves investigation of the consequences of global restructuring for cities at the scale of world regions. While 'a select group of regions were bucking the trend of national economic decline to emerge as competitive territories par excellence' (Harrison and Growe 2014: 22), other regions have lagged behind, remaining disadvantaged and unexplored. In my view, we are witnessing a specific conjuncture whereby 'poor thinking about regions' (Collits and Rowe 2015: 78) is combined with the challenging task of comparing cities while taking into consideration the scope of planetary urbanisation. Regional scholars, both those residing in the regions in question and those living in the West should remain aware that:

> It is […] a steep challenge to expect any scholar, particularly working alone, to move beyond his/her region of expertise, so that even a non-Eurocentric comparative framework might end up as too circumscribed, and as Robinson (2011c) suggests, even the very idea of making urban comparisons might be seen as a European colonialist invention. (Myers 2014: 104–105)

6.5 Conclusion

In light of calls to reconsider the outdated divides and oppositions of urban studies, it is pertinent to seek a 'middle ground' (Knauft 2006) between scholarly concepts and practices, and the experiences of recipients of social knowledge. Moreover, it is necessary to investigate the points of intersections between different scales of analysis, including areas and regions, and to reflect on the ways in which conventional and often ideologically loaded ways of 'carving the world' inform academic analysis. The multi-scalar 'protractions' of the city, exceeding its administrative boundaries, prompt scholars to take a broader look at the capitalist form of urbanisation, namely, to investigate numerous ways in which global urbanisation crystallises. Kyrgyz examples of this include the tourist routes across the Tian Shan mountain range and recruitment agencies seeking Kyrgyz candidates to work in Istanbul. However, if traditionally cities have been understood as bounded entities separate from their hinterland, how useful it is to group them into geographical units like 'areas' and 'regions' (which are also often seen as bounded), or to use the conceptual markers combining temporal and spatial coordinates such as 'post-socialist cities' and 'post-colonial cities'? Many attempts to use the dominant terminology of area, regional and urban studies analytically delineate particular world regions as objective entities, and unproblematically speak about large and small cities of Central Asia and/or Eastern Europe. However, with Kyrgyz villagers now paving the streets of Moscow, and working in the hospitality industries both of their own country and of the United Arab Emirates, it is increasingly difficult to delineate the borders between Central Asia and other world regions, or to identify what differentiates villages and towns. As Merrifield (2011: 468–469) claims:

> […] the fault-lines between these two worlds [rural and urban] aren't defined by any simple urban-rural divide, nor by anything North-South; instead, centres and peripheries are immanent within the accumulation of capital itself […]. Absorbed and obliterated by vaster units, rural places have become an integral part of post-industrial production and financial speculation, swallowed up by an "urban fabric" continually extending its borders, ceaselessly corroding the residue of agrarian life, gobbling up everything and everywhere in order to increase surplus value and accumulate capital.

Unfortunately, when it comes to the predominant portrayal of Central Asia in the academic press, there is a significant amount of literature where scholars apply various 'post-'s to the cities in question. However, rather than continuing to produce accounts of de-industrialisation and post-socialist landscapes, it seems more

important to make sense of the disguised changes in the relationships between cities and their geographical counterparts, and to assess how cities connect with the realities beyond regional and national political boundaries.

Advancing a move towards comparative urbanism, McFarlane (2010) reminds us of the division of labour that exists among urbanists, whereby the urban North is equated with theory and the urban South with development. As Mcfarlane (2010: 728) argues:

> It is […] an historical epistemic and institutional division that reflects long histories of global geographical categorisation that emerges through European colonialism and becomes entrenched in the First–Second–Third World categorizations of the Cold War […]. Despite the fact that many urbanists do not themselves subscribe to these categories, and despite efforts to blur notions of First/Third, Developed/Developing, or North/South, these categories have an ongoing performative effect—they are stubborn, and are not easily written away.

It follows from this justifiable reflection that specific epistemological procedures which prompt the 'lumping' of cities into regions coexist with the reproduction of visions of the world as made up of developed and developing countries, with Central Asia confidently understood as belonging to the latter. There is still a need for research into the specifics of life in Central Asian cities, which have thus far remained in the shadow of research on the region as a whole. The case of research on Central Asia shows that there are many cities which are yet to be investigated, since research on them remains marginal both to urban theory and to urban studies. Scholars working in Central Asia, who have in the past conducted important and painstaking, if conceptually limited, work, increasingly face research funding pressures. Local intellectuals and scholars must also cope with financial constraints and over-exploitation in neo-liberalising universities. As a result, regionally informed scholarship remains unenlightened by new conceptual developments in urban studies. At the same time, urban studies, while calling, as Robinson (2006) does, for outdated divides to be transcended, seems to have missed the opportunity to apply lessons from post-socialist regions to the field as a whole.

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Chapter 7
Growth of Tourism Urbanisation and Implications for the Transformation of Jamaica's Rural Hinterlands

Sheere Brooks

Abstract This chapter considers the relevance of the concept of 'planetary urbanisation' in a context where 'tourism urbanisation' is taking place in the north coast region of Jamaica. This specific process of urbanisation may be generalised to other tourism-dependent small island developing states where the tourism industry has become a key sector for economic development and influences spatial change. It is argued in this chapter that, in the context of small island states, tourism urbanisation poses huge challenges in terms of its impact on land resources for agricultural production and on social change in local communities. This analysis thus presents an early warning for other small island states in the Caribbean region that can ill-afford to become entirely urbanised, from both a cultural and an economic perspective.

Keywords Tourism urbanisation · Jamaica · Caribbean · Small island states Planetary urbanisation

7.1 Introduction

This chapter considers the relevance of the concept of 'planetary urbanisation' in a context where 'tourism urbanisation' is taking place in the north coast region of Jamaica. This specific process of urbanisation may be generalised to other tourism-dependent small island developing states (SIDS) where the tourism industry has become a key sector for economic development and influences spatial change. Mullins (1991, 1992) describes 'tourism urbanisation' as a specific type of urbanisation occurring in tourist resort regions. Studies have demonstrated that tourism development leads to rapid urbanisation of island space (Maguigad et al. 2015; Pons et al. 2014; Judd and Fainstein 1999).

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It is argued in this chapter that, in the context of small island states, tourism urbanisation poses huge challenges in terms of its impact on land resources for agricultural production and on social change in local communities. This analysis thus presents an early warning for other small island states in the Caribbean region that can ill-afford to become entirely urbanised, from both a cultural and an economic perspective.

After providing some methodological background and a brief review of ongoing conceptual work on planetary urbanisation, the chapter offers an overview of urbanisation processes in Jamaica, as a prelude to identifying the socio-spatial changes that arise through tourism urbanisation. It then highlights the current socio-economic consequences and implications of tourism urbanisation. The following section returns to arguments by advocates of planetary urbanisation, to ask whether tourism urbanisation can be construed as 'urbanisation' in the traditional sense of the word, or whether it should be seen as a specific spatial form of urbanisation that supports the growth of the tourism industry but undermines other economic activities and forms of occupying space that are of equal importance for rural and urban life in small island states such as Jamaica.

7.2 Methods

There is an absence of empirical studies about tourism urbanisation in Caribbean island states, and there are very few studies based on small island economies outside of the region (Mullins 1991, 1992; Gladstone 1998). This paper uses secondary sources, such as Jamaica's population census, to demonstrate the scale of population growth and urbanisation in the north coast region of Jamaica. It also uses indicators of tourism growth, namely, tourist arrivals and hotel construction statistics, to illustrate the growth of the industry in this region. These data sources illustrate the spatial extent of the development of tourism and population growth, revealing the scale of tourism urbanisation, and the transformation of north coast towns and districts. The data presented also shows the point at which the tourism industry became a prominent sector in the country's economy, eventually surpassing the agricultural sector.

7.3 Background on Planetary Urbanisation

The concept of planetary urbanisation, especially as developed by Brenner (2013, 2014) and Brenner and Schmid (2014, 2015), seeks to explain twenty-first-century urbanisation processes through a trans-historical approach. According to these scholars, research in twentieth-century urban studies defined its categories of analysis and research objective through a focus on form and explicit or implicit geographical contrasts, between urban and non-urban (rural) locales. Further,

twentieth-century urban studies focused on one specific type of urban form—cities or, later, 'conurbations', 'city regions', 'urban regions', 'metropolitan regions' and 'global city regions'. These all represent a particular type of urban form that was qualitatively specific, and thus different from 'non-urban' spaces situated outside the boundaries of cities. Planetary urbanisation, which challenges such bounded urbanisms, is premised on the assumption that, in our contemporary world, everything is urban. Further, it considers the urban as a concentration of infrastructure and populations in cities ('implosions') but, simultaneously, recognises the existence of urban features in non-urban settings ('explosions'). Brenner (2014) highlights a number of scenarios to further explicate this argument. One of his observations is particularly relevant to this chapter, as he notes the 'disintegration of the hinterland, whereby the hinterlands of major cities, metropolitan regions and urban–industrial corridors are being reconfigured as they are functionalized to facilitate the continued expansion of industrial urbanisation and its associated planetary network' (Brenner 2014: 12). While international and local data both suggest an increased level of urbanisation across the world (UN Habitat 2016; United Nations 2015; Statistical Institute of Jamaica 2011), this process does not automatically present a progressive agenda for developing and small island economies. Here, urbanisation means that inequality and poverty have shifted to cities and urban areas where people with 'inadequate incomes […] has increased' (Mitlin and Satterthwaite 2013: 10).

Prior to Brenner's (2014) observation, similar arguments about the urbanisation of the planet were advanced by Lefebvre (1977), who also highlighted the implosion–explosion dynamic, as well as the role of urban space in the transition from mercantile capitalism to industrial capitalism. Lefebvre (1977) identified the increasing subordination of urban space to exchange value, commodification and state spatial planning under 'neocapitalism', or high Fordism; but he also stressed the possibility for a revolutionary political transformation based on 'differential space' and 'the right to the city'. Under capitalism, governance and regulation of urban space is premised on states mobilising space as a productive force through various forms of infrastructural investment, spatial planning, industrial policy and financial regulation directed at different geographical locations and scales. In addition to promoting and territorialising capitalist industrial growth, the state, Lefebvre (1977) argues, also attempts to alleviate, mediate and regulate its polarising socio-spatial effects at a variety of scales. States will therefore utilise strategies to hierarchise social relations at different geographical scales, so as to maintain social cohesion while imposing a functional differentiation of space (Lefebvre 1978: 302–3). Through the state's continual reconfiguration of social space, urban space is constantly developed, secured and reproduced for capital accumulation. The unfortunate outcome is that the state functions as the key institutional mediator of uneven geographical development (Lefebvre 1978: 378).

In a related yet slightly different interpretation, Castells (1977) locates the meaning of 'the urban question' in the radically different historical and geographical forms of each configuration of capitalist development. In this sense, he links the urban question to processes of global capitalist restructuring, with cities

representing the socio-spatial arenas in which the contradictions of capitalist development are continuously produced and fought out.

These various theoretical elaborations can be used to understand the recent expansionary spatial developments influenced by the tourism industry that are occurring in small island Caribbean states such as Jamaica. As the subsequent parts of this chapter will show, the tourism industry has driven the development of the built environment and tourist infrastructure, while transforming surrounding communities. More importantly, the social analysis of this transformation reveals the challenges faced by small island states in competing in a globalised world economy. In the context of Jamaica, then, tourism urbanisation can be seen as a subset of planetary urbanisation, which transforms rural regions and destroys the existence of the rural as a distinct category.

7.4 Economic Dependency and Urbanisation Processes in Caribbean States like Jamaica

Dependency theorists have used the historical/structural/institutional method to explain the dichotomy between countries in the periphery and those in the core in terms of the dependency of the former on the latter for economic survival (Dos Santos 1970). This relationship (between the core and the periphery) can be either generative or parasitic on the national environment, as particular sectors of the urban economy become more or less articulated with the global economy (Grant and Nijiman 2002). Latin American structuralist dependency thinkers in the 1950s sought to explain problems and underlying causes of underdevelopment in countries in Latin America, especially Brazil, Mexico and Chile. Various versions of dependency theory describe the international economy as the 'centre–periphery' system (Prebisch 1950; Furtado 1965; Gunder-Frank 1966).

Latin American dependency theory, elaborated in particular at the Economic Council of Latin America (ECLA), came to be applied to the Caribbean in the 1960s, when Caribbean development economists, mainly based at the University of the West Indies, questioned proposed industrialisation policies (Girvan 1973; Best and Levitt 2009).[1] The consensus was that the development of Caribbean states was marred by a range of factors, which differed from the Latin American case. These factors ranged from dependency on preferential trade agreements with former colonisers (in the case of Jamaica—Britain) to the small size of the population and

[1]The thinking among Caribbean economists in the 1960s was that countries in the periphery would follow a development plan (in the case of Jamaica, this was the policy of 'Industrialization by Invitation', proposed by the Caribbean economist, W. Arthur Lewis), which would lead to economic development and growth. In most cases, however, this was never the outcome, as the technical expertise and financial investment needed to promote industrialisation and, by extension, economic development and growth were not forthcoming. Instead, there has been a high degree of external dependence of the periphery on the core (Girvan 1973).

the economy, which presented challenges in developing a strong taxation base. The existence of few industrial sectors, and the reduction in agricultural output, rendered the region dependent on heavily protected foreign markets for banana and sugar exports. However, for Grant and Nijiman (2002), these studies lack substantial empirical evidence to address the relationship between global capital and internal spatial change within cities.

The influence of this dependent relationship is evident in corresponding historical processes of urbanisation in Jamaica, where regions have been transformed and urbanised in response to the economic agenda. Let me briefly reflect on Jamaica's history of urbanisation in further detail. The economic development of the British West Indies, as the 'sugar bowl' of Britain, was dictated by the imperial policy of mercantile capitalism. The role of towns and ports in Jamaica was, on the one hand, to collect and store sugar before exporting it to Britain, and, on the other hand, to import and store slave labour and British manufactured goods before dispatching them to sugar estates (Clarke 2006). Until the abolition of slavery in 1808, most of the island's interior was dominated by sugar cane plantations, such that the seventieth and eighteenth centuries marked the heyday of sugar (Beckford and Witter 1980). However, by the 1930s, the north-east of Jamaica had become dominated by banana production, as the demand for sugar cane on the world markets declined. The banana trade opened the door to new economic possibilities by diversifying agricultural output with another export crop, while also introducing the tourist trade to Jamaica (Beckford and Witter 1980).

Potter (1989) identifies a three-stage 'plantopolis' model for Caribbean urban development. In the first stage, plantopolis, a single coastal city performs all functions of trade, service and political control, while the plantations form self-contained bases for settlement. Following the emancipation of the slaves, the second stage was the emergence of the peasantry, who resettled in small 'free village' farming communities around the plantations, practising subsistence farming and supplying occasional labour to the plantations (Mintz 1991). The third stage, the modern postcolonial era, sees an extension of this polarised pattern of development, which has varied according to the development paths chosen by twentieth and twenty-first-century governments. This era involved a change in the rural/urban relationship, with increased urbanisation and an altered role for the countryside as the importance of agriculture declined. Due to the small size of most Caribbean islands and the sprawling nature of many cities, the boundaries between the city and the countryside tend to be vague. Potter (1989) observes that the legacy of colonial settlement, together with the subsequent orientation to Western European economies, is evident in the form of dependent urbanisation that has resulted in spatially uneven urban settlement patterns to be found throughout the Caribbean region. In the twentieth century, the industrialisation path intensified urbanisation along the pre-existing core coastal urban strip. The advent of tourism, a mainly coastal phenomenon in the Caribbean, has either reinforced the initial coastal urban zone or added a new coastal zone, often based on smaller cities. Portes et al. (1997) speculate that this type of industrial development may either weaken the primacy of cities encountered in many Caribbean countries or, conversely, exacerbate this

primacy, perhaps resulting in even larger agglomerations as capital cities converge with satellite towns and suburbs.

In short, then, these historical developments fit Lefebvre's (1977, 1978) observations about the implosion–explosion dynamic of urbanisation and Castell's (1977) work on the role of urban space in the transition of capitalism. Grant and Njiman (2002) argue that many cities in the developed world have moved through four historical phases: pre-colonialism, colonialism, nationalism and globalism. During each stage, urban geographies have changed according to the shifting role of cities in the global political economy. Because of the relationship of dependency between Caribbean economies such as Jamaica and countries in the North, processes of urbanisation have not followed the same stages as in the North, where urban development was triggered by the transformation of rural areas and related movements towards major cities (Jaffe 2016). Further, as I will outline in subsequent sections, in the case of Jamaica, the implosion–explosion dynamic of urbanisation has taken on a new meaning, in the phenomenon of tourism urbanisation, which is evident in the physical expansion of tourism infrastructure in different regions across the country.

7.5 Tourism Urbanisation in Jamaica

Since the second half of the twentieth century, the tourism industry has become the dominant economic sector in most Caribbean island states (Jaffe et al. 2008). In its earliest inception, Caribbean tourism was something of an elite phenomenon, but the regular air service to the United States heralded the beginning of mass tourism. The post-war decades of the 1950s and 1960s represented a worldwide boom in the sector and a source of optimism for newly politically independent Caribbean states which jumped on the tourism bandwagon. The tourism sector is mainly located in coastal regions of these countries.

The tourism industry was first introduced in the 1890s in the north-east of Jamaica, in the town of Port Antonio (see Fig. 7.1), by way of the banana trade (Taylor 1993). The then United Fruit Company, a consortium of small American fruit companies acquired large acreages of land in the parish of Portland for the purpose of banana production. Banana was exported to North America on boats from Port Antonio and Port Morant in the east of the country to Boston in the United States. The banana fruit trade stimulated other new economic possibilities, particularly tourism which brought North American visitors to the town of Port Antonio, thus heralding the start of the tourism industry in Jamaica. The industry was later transferred to the north-west of the country, because the rugged hilly terrain of the north-east prevented the construction of an international airport. The development of the Sangster International airport in Montego Bay in the 1950s heralded the official designation of Jamaica's north-west as the 'Gold Coast' because of the beaches and the dominance of tourism (Taylor 1993). Before tourism, the staple industries in this region had been agriculture and bauxite, and

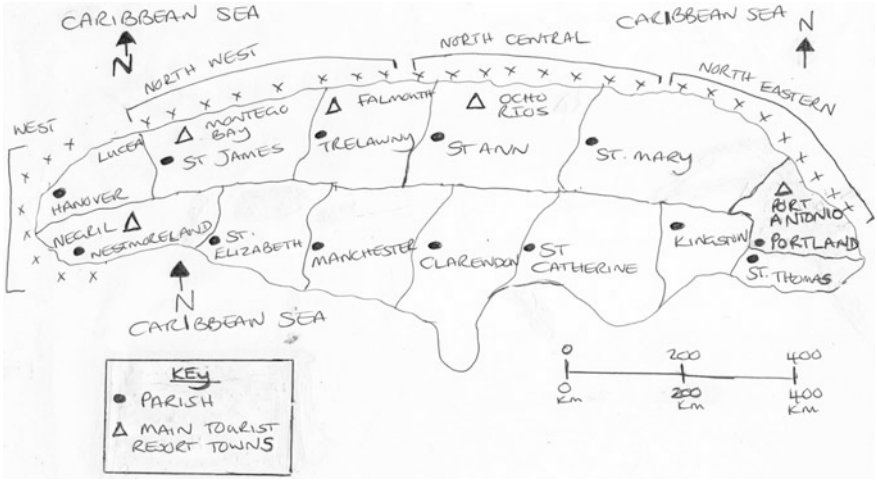

Fig. 7.1 Map of Jamaica, showing the north coast tourism region of the island. *Source* the author

these continued for some time to exist alongside the tourism industry. Like these other industries, tourism benefited from the transport connections, which are key to mass tourism. After Jamaica's political independence from Britain in 1962, tourism grew, as additional accommodation facilities and attractions were constructed and existing ones expanded (Taylor 1993; Johnson 1994; Hayles 2000). Most of this expansion was driven by overseas investment. For example, the presence of the multinational bauxite mining companies aided the infrastructural development of roads so that undeveloped white sand beaches in Ocho Rios could be made accessible (Johnson 1994).

This pattern of development complies with Pearce's (1989) observation that tourism development in developing countries typically occurs within an existing socio-economic structure and where transport networks already exist. The nature of tourism development requires land resources to accommodate the future growth of the industry. The early spatial development and growth of tourism along the north-west coastal region of Jamaica required lands which were occupied by poor communities and were designated rural areas. This demand of land for tourism development created particular tensions given the history of landlessness ('hunger for land'), whereby many Jamaicans lack legal access to land for housing and livelihoods (Beckford and Witter 1980). The existence of informal settlements in Jamaica dates back to the seventeenth century, when runaway slaves would escape from the sugar plantations and squat on marginal and Crown Land in the mountainous region far from the sugar plantations (Satchell 1990).[2] Despite this rich history, there is scant available historical data on the development and ecology of

[2]The term 'Crown Lands' refers to lands owned by the state.

informal settlements in Jamaica, particularly in tourist resort areas. One exception is Eyre's (1972) mapping of the genesis and location of informal settlements in the vicinity of Montego Bay since the 1930s. Eyre shows that, since the 1960s, this has been linked to the constant development of tourism development in and around the bay, which creates a demand for land and housing, as migrants from other parts of the country move to the resort area in search of work.

This early development of tourism in the north-west of the country was accompanied by population growth in and around resort towns, and adjacent to tourist areas (Montego Bay, Negril and Ocho Rios), resulting in a 'domino effect', as small adjoining parish towns were included and transformed, such as Discovery Bay, St Ann's Bay and Runaway Bay in the parish of St Ann (see Fig. 7.1). As a small island developing state (SIDS), and an upper middle-income country, Jamaica's economy has been mainly dependent on tourism earnings since 1985, which have contributed a larger share to the country's Gross Domestic Product than other sectors of Jamaica's economy, where earnings have declined (Planning Institute of Jamaica 1998, 2006, 2014). These developments have increased the country's economic dependence on tourism earnings, while encouraging the spatial expansion of the industry through the incorporation of small satellite towns that adjoin the major tourist resort towns in the north coast region of the island (Brooks 2008, 2009).

The transformation of the north-west region of the island, which from Negril in the northwest to Port Antonio in the northeast is referred as the 'tourism belt', has involved the constant construction of large and small hotel accommodation, tourist attractions and shopping malls. The concentration and clustering of these tourism entities have served to extend the presence of the tourism industry in the northern coastal region of the country. Recently, this spatial growth of tourism has been further extended by the construction of the North Coast Highway, which leads from Negril to Port Antonio. The construction of this highway spearheaded a further concentration and clustering of entities linked to tourism, thereby further extending the spatial growth of the industry. In effect, this spatial growth and change has allowed the tourist to visit more of the country in less time, regardless of the duration of stay, which enriches the visitor's experience of the island.

Beyond the physical growth of the tourism industry along the north coast region of the country, official government statistics show that the tourism industry has overtaken the agricultural sector which has been declining since the 1990s (see Fig. 7.2). Other indicators of tourism growth, such as the rate of tourist arrivals and hotel/room construction and expansion (see Fig. 7.3 and Table 7.1), illustrate the spatial growth of the tourism industry since the 1990s.

Other data sources also confirm the extent of population growth and the development of urbanisation in regions located along the north coast region. Jamaica's population currently stands at 2.8 million. There has been a marked increase in the country's rate of urbanisation, from 3% in 1967 to 55% in 2016 (Statistical Institute of Jamaica 2016). All the major tourist towns in the north coast

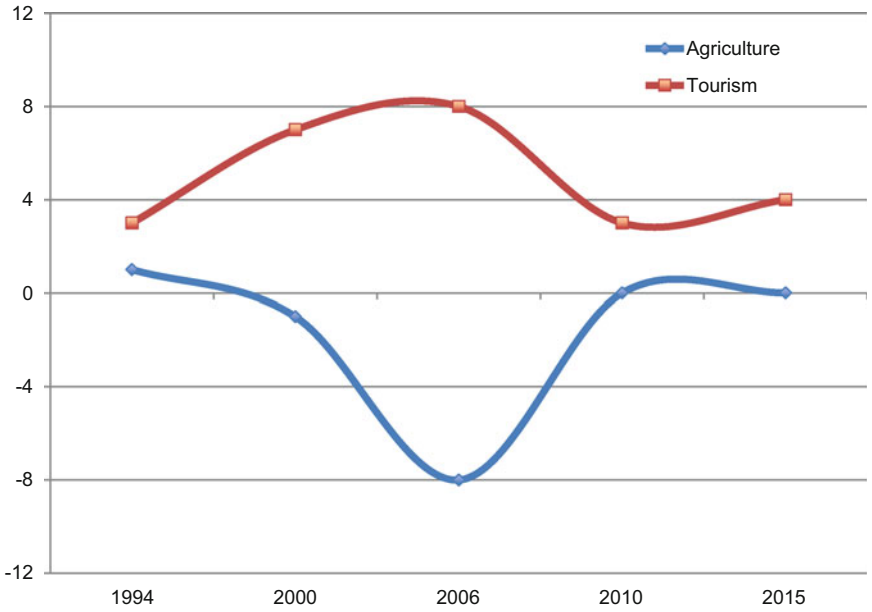

Fig. 7.2 Growth (in percent) of the tourism industry in Jamaica, in comparison to the agriculture industry, 1994–2015. *Source* chart created by the author using data from the Economic and Social Survey of Jamaica, http://intranet.cda.gov.jm/wp-content/uploads/2014/06/ESSJ-2013-FINAL-PDF.pdf

region (Montego Bay, Ocho Rios and Negril) have experienced significant population growth since the 1980s. According to Jamaica's population census, these towns are now classified as urban areas (see Table 7.2).[3]

The growth of the tourism industry has had a corresponding impact on the spatial reorganisation of the north coastal region of Jamaica. The tourism industry has transcended the parish of St James, with the industry moving into the neighbouring parishes of Trelawny, St Ann and St Mary, with further minor developments in the parish of Portland. My earlier research has shown that another feature of this clustering of tourism entities has been the development and growth of upmarket gated residential communities along the north coast region, resulting in the entrance of a new population (Brooks 2009). In many cases, the residents of these communities are young Jamaican professionals, returning Jamaican residents based

[3]According to Jamaica's 2011 population census, a place is considered urban if it has a population of 2000 or more and provides a number of amenities and facilities, which in Jamaica indicates modern living. However, population growth may have been much higher given the existence of informal settlements in the vicinity of these towns where data collection may well not have taken place in these communities because of security concerns.

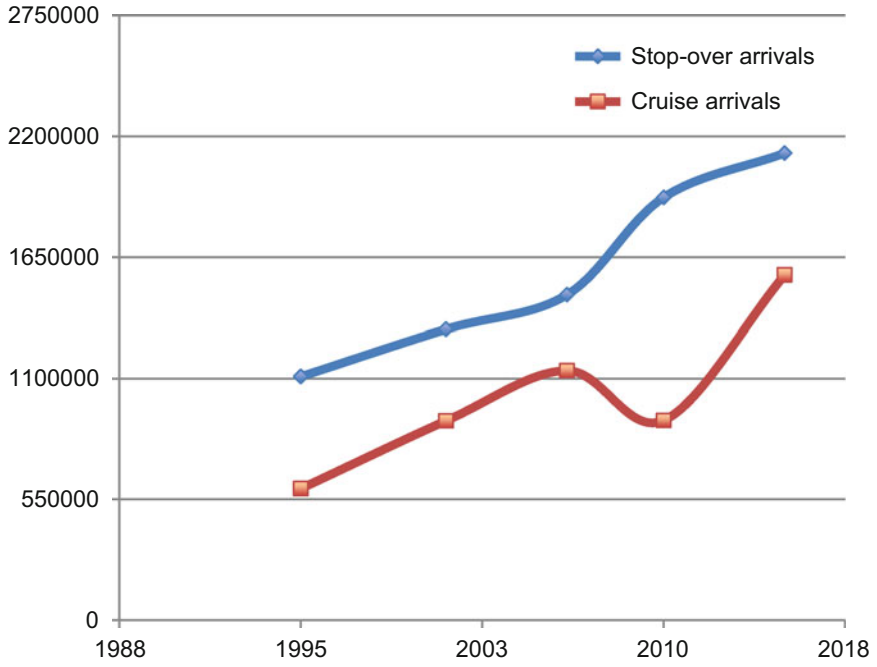

Fig. 7.3 Stopover and cruise ship tourist arrivals to Jamaica, 1995–2015. *Source* chart created by the author from data from Jamaica Travel Statistics, http://www.jtbonline.org/report-and-statistics/

Table 7.1 Hotel construction and expansion of existing hotels in tourist resort regions located in the north coast region of Jamaica (Tourism statistics about the construction of new hotels/rooms and expansion of existing hotels were not available for the year 1995. However, travel statistics from 1993 to 1994 reported that there were at that point, 18,935 rooms in the hotel sector) (*source* table created by the author from data from Jamaica Travel Statistics, 1995–2016, http://www.jtbonline.org/report-and-statistics/)

North coast resort town	Year				
	1995	2001–2002	2005–2006	2010–2011	2015–2016
Montego Bay	n.a.	430	250	600	2070
Negril	n.a.	380	360	n.a.	150
Ocho Rios	n.a.	n.a.	1550	210	705
Trelawny	n.a.	96	n.a.	n.a.	457

Table 7.2 Population in parishes with major tourist resort towns that are located in the north coast region of Jamaica; light grey indicates parishes with major tourist resort towns in the north coast region); dark grey indicates other parishes with resort towns located in the south coast and eastern part (*source* the author, using data from the Statistical Institute of Jamaica)

Parish and tourist resort town	Year			
	1991	2001	2011	2016
St Ann Ocho Rios	76,067	80,205	172,800	174,473
St James Montego Bay	156,152	175,127	184,200	189,850
Trelawny[a] Falmouth	71,209	73,066	75,100	76,099
Westmoreland Negril	128,213	138,947	144,400	145,854
Portland Port Antonio	76,317	80,205	81,744	82,771
Manchester Mandeville (south coast)	144,118	185,801	189,797	192,178

[a]Falmouth cruise ship pier in the parish of Trelawny was formally opened in 2011, and the town of Falmouth and its environs are in the early stages of tourism development in terms of hotel construction. Travel statistics indicate that tourist arrivals to the new pier have been significant since its opening

overseas, retirees and expatriates.[4] The north coast region offers a number of advantages for living in the tropics, including the clustering of hotel accommodation and tourist attractions, the reliable supply of utilities such as electricity and water, telecommunications and communications, and, above all, high levels of security to protect the tourism industry. The latter is particularly important in a country that has a high crime rate. Culturally, the existence of shopping malls (some on par with those found in North American and European cities), entertainment outlets, access to beaches (although local residents are required to pay an entrance fee to enjoy their local beach), and private medical facilities makes this an amenable setting for most would-be residents to this part of Jamaica. The growth in the number of hotels and new upmarket residential developments increases property values in the north coast region. Hence, the real estate industry has been attracted to the development of affluent neighbourhoods, because of the demand for upmarket housing in the tourism region.

Aside from these factors, would-be residents are searching for a community which is not entirely 'urban' in the strict sense of the word (avoiding traffic

[4]The term 'returning residents' suggests an affluent Jamaican population, many of whom have spent substantial periods of their lives abroad before returning to the island to reside permanently for pre- and post-retirement.

congestion, high density of buildings and the noise and pollution that dominates North American and European cities), and which symbolises some elements of the rural (Brooks 2009). Tourism urbanisation conveys a number of meanings, from symbolising the modern, and a 'home away from home' for the tourist searching for a sense of familiarity and security. Nevertheless, the north coastal region of the island includes both urban and rural areas. Lands located in urban regions tend to attract a higher property value than rural lands. As Fig. 7.1 shows, the north coast region traverses a number of parishes, so that while the tourism industry is officially understood to dominate the parishes of Westmoreland, St James and St Ann, it also now extends into the parish of St Mary, which is located on the outskirts of Ocho Rios, a major tourist resort town. Promotion materials for upmarket residential developments convey the impression that only a particular sort of buyer could afford to purchase a home in this vicinity, most probably non-resident Jamaicans and expatriates.[5] In this regard, tourism urbanisation is symbolic of a modern and safe environment for tourism activity, and also for gentrification.

There is ambiguity in the interplay between 'rural' and 'urban' across different parts of the north coast region. The product of mass tourism is marketed in such a way as to fulfil tourists' expectations of a modern destination that bears some similarity to their country of residence, but at the same time bears an element of difference in terms of being a Caribbean and tropical destination. Caribbean islands have long been seen as tropical Eden's: lush green spaces that stand in contrast to the urban, civilised, temperate spaces of Europe and North America. The existence of cities sits awkwardly in this vision of an unspoiled, 'natural' Caribbean. Cities have been framed as beacons of civilisation, representing progress and modernity (Jaffe 2016). This positive image does not mesh well with portrayals of a primaeval, pristine 'Edenic' nature that has remained unaffected by the march of time, or with depictions of easy-going but 'backward' 'natives'. Modern civilised cities do not fit the idea of a tropical Caribbean paradise, whether 'tropical' implies unruly jungles, fertile plantations or sandy beaches. From such a perspective, to imagine the Caribbean city would be to imagine an oxymoron—despite the fact that the Caribbean is one of the most urbanised regions of the world (Sheller 2003; Jaffe 2016: 6).

Within the built environment of tourism, a green space has been carved out to connect tourists to nature (possibly to meet the expectations of today's 'green' tourist). Therefore, the traditional product of mass tourism (the sun, sea and sand brand) has been diversified to include the merits of 'greening', by allocating nature and notions of the 'rural' to a fixed location. The names of tourist attractions in the north coast region, such as 'Mystic Mountain', 'Enchanted Gardens', 'Cranbrook Flower Forest' and 'Chukka Horseback Riding and Swim', convey a 'greening' of the north coast region; yet such resorts also meet the standard of living to be

[5]For an illustration of this sort of promotional material, see http://richmondjamaica.com/coolshade.html.

expected in a modern and progressive country.[6] This merging of the urban and the rural has been observed by Beilin and Wilkinson (2015) and Angelo (2017), who describe a process of 'ruralisation' in urban areas, and the expectations of urban residents who move to rural areas, also known as 'rural gentrifiers'. In other words, urban to rural migrants continue to have 'urban' expectations of comfort and amenities, while not living up to the spirit of community that 'should' accompany the countryside. This scenario can be observed in Jamaica's north coastal region, where the urban areas are (for the sake of tourism) neither clearly 'rural' nor clearly 'urban'. So while the spatial organisation of the north coast region possesses characteristics both of the rural and of the urban, this description fluctuates between the requirements of a tourism industry and the existence of upmarket residential developments, which invariably sustains and extends the tourism industry.

Economic globalisation has transformed the dependency of several Caribbean island states, which are now reliant on earnings derived from tourism as the former staple industries of agriculture and mining have declined. This increasing dependency on tourism has transformed the spatial organisation of tourist resort regions in small island economies such as Jamaica, as new upmarket residential communities have been established to take advantage of tourism infrastructure and comforts. The outcome has been large-scale social change, as land speculation and increases in property value in towns and districts located in and around the major tourist resort towns have led to the north coast region becoming highly commodified.[7] Land/property is marketed as urban land, which commands a far higher market value than rural land.

7.6 Connecting Tourism Urbanisation with Planetary Urbanisation

The case study of Jamaica raises a number of points that speak to current debates about planetary urbanisation. The first relates to the spatial growth of the tourism industry, and, in this case, extended tourism urbanisation, beyond the confines of major resort towns. This spatial order of tourism, and its growth, is conducive to the reorganisation of entire regions, as the tourism industry has surpassed the

[6]In the meantime, there are still poor communities in the vicinity of this region that lack reliable access to electricity and water. The prevalence of poverty in Jamaica has trended upwards since 2008 and is consistently highest in rural areas. In 2012, the national poverty prevalence was 19.9% of the population, with the food poor representing 7.5% (see the Ministry of Economic Growth and Job Creation, Office of the Prime Minister, Jamaica 2016).

[7]Lands located in these residential developments can cost up to Jamaican Dollars 18,000,000 (USD143,000 for 27249 square feet). Of course, the location of the property to amenities and whether it has a beach view will also determine the value of real estate in the north coast of Jamaica. The prices vary considerably between an already built structure and a plot of land (see http://search.remax-realtygroup-jamaica.com/i/st-ann-land).

'boundedness' of the major tourist resort towns of Montego Bay, Negril and Ocho Rios. Tourism urbanisation can thus be described as a socio-spatial and socio-environmental transformation that is both the result and cause of urban development across places, territories and scales. This echoes Monte-Mór's (2004) findings about processes of extended urbanisation in the rapidly industrialising Amazon region of Brazil, which are leading to new patterns of spatial occupation and settlement. While these different economic activities—tourism in Jamaica and resource extraction in Brazil—have different outcomes, both types of development resonate with planetary urbanisation's dialectic understanding of implosion (concentration, agglomeration) and, more importantly, explosion (extension of the urban fabric, intensification of interspatial connectivity across places, territories and scales) (Brenner 2013: 104).

Another core assumption of planetary urbanisation advocates, namely, that large-scale morphologies perforate, crosscut and ultimately explode the erstwhile urban–rural divide (Brenner 2013: 87), is also evident in Jamaica, where the spatial growth of tourism—and the concomitant tourism urbanisation—signifies a removal of the distinction between the rural and urban. Here, communities and smaller towns have invariably become tourism 'satellite towns' subsumed into the tourism industry, though not necessarily officially designated as 'tourism' locations. This trend within the tourism industry has resulted in an overlapping interplay between the rural and the urban in the north coast region of Jamaica. From the perspective of tourism policy, this may be a deliberate attempt on the part of the state to ensure that the mass tourism product conforms with the marketing of a mass tourism industry that is neither entirely in an 'urban' region nor entirely in a 'rural' region.

While it is the tourism industry that has spearheaded this spatial reorganisation of the north coast region, tourism urbanisation can also be construed as a modernising strategy, especially in boosting the infrastructure development that supports the spatial development of tourism and of the country at large. Hence, the spatial growth of tourism may be perceived as a developmental strategy that can transform existing communities through infrastructure development, while creating new upmarket communities. Brenner (2014) and Correa (2011) point out that spatially selective policy initiatives have been implemented by national, departmental and municipal governments to create new matrices of transnational capital investment and urban development across vast zones of territories. In this regard, the spatial growth of tourism in the north coast region of Jamaica indicates that the state and tourism stakeholders are facilitating this development by attracting the capital and investment that supports growth in the tourism sector. These observations concur with Storper's (2010) point that cities are the result of 'agglomeration economies': that is, the key advantage of urban concentration is the propinquity that allows easy interaction between actors—firms, individuals, institutions and so on. That interaction, in turn, allows for external economies and a total output greater than the sum of its parts, for reasons that include shared values and practices (untraded interdependencies), and face-to-face contact (trust and communication). Moreover, urban interaction stimulates the dynamic forces of problem-solving, cooperation, learning, competition and technical innovation. The development and

growth of upmarket residential developments as an element of tourism urbanisation can also be construed as an approach to creating communities that are conducive to the development of tourism. It seems highly likely that tourism stakeholders (private and public) have interests in sustaining the tourism industry that resemble those of a real estate agent who has invested in an upmarket residential development.

The nature of tourism urbanisation discussed here also resonates with Lefevbre's (1977, 1978) earlier recognition of a process of creative destruction (in his terms, 'implosion–explosion') which is not confined to any specific place, territory or scale, but which engenders a 'problematic', a syndrome of emergent conditions, processes, transformations, projects and struggles, which is connected to the uneven generalisation of urbanisation on a planetary scale. The spatial growth of tourism in the north coast region includes lands located in the tourism built environment, as well as lands located in the rural regions. However, the appropriation of rural lands functions in a different way, as they will eventually become 'urban' lands. In this regard, rural lands may be regarded as 'reserve lands', which are earmarked for future tourism development (whether private or publicly owned) and are likely to be placed in a 'land bank'. This process has all sorts of complications, generating land speculation as tourism urbanisation in one section of the north coast region has a trickle-down effect on the value of rural lands located in other parts of the region. According to Watson (2009: 2260), 'urban space is increasingly shaped by the workings of the market and by the property industry in cities, which may align with urban modernist visions of city governments, but does little to include the poor'. By nature, the tourism industry requires capital and investment to sustain and extend the growth of the tourism product. It could be argued that the inclusion of the 'residential nexus' drives this development process further. Since the state in most developing countries lacks the financial capacity to drive tourism development, the inclusion of private tourism stakeholders is crucial to the industry's sustainability and future growth.

It is interesting to note how the public–private political-economic directorate capitalises on the merits of tourism urbanisation and sells this to a population that has developed scant regard for the values of the rural environment. Culturally, there is still a thread of disdain among Jamaica's residents towards rural areas, where the population is deemed to be 'backward' and not progressive. This stems from the uneven development that has taken place, by which more capital resources have been allocated to urban regions than to rural areas. Small isolated rural communities are 'dying' as a result of rural to urban migration, which is largely due to successive government administrations prioritising development projects in urban regions (for example, the emphasis on tourism development, new highways and the ongoing sale of state lands to private investors and developers).

But here comes the problem. Notwithstanding the prevalence of rural poverty in Jamaica, urban Jamaicans often speak highly, and with some wistfulness, of the

rural areas themselves. So, although people 'down a country'[8] are seen as somewhat backward, rural Jamaicans are also seen as more peaceful, with traditional values (Headley 2002: 60–62). Most importantly, for an island rich in people, but with limited land resources committed to agriculture production and affordable housing,[9] their contribution to society through agricultural production is highly valued. The notion that everywhere has become urban is not conducive to the implementation of a rural policy which could integrate government and planning, and encourage partnerships between rural communities and the private sector. Successive Jamaican government administrations have failed to create a rural policy, which could serve to raise the profile and importance of rural regions in national economic development. However, the current national government policy agenda emphasises the need to revitalise the country's agricultural sector (Planning Institute of Jamaica 1998), which suggests that Jamaica's government has started, at least at the level of discourse, to recognise the problem of focusing predominantly on tourism urbanisation. Whether this will lead to practical changes remains to be seen.

In sum, then, the theoretical assumption underlying the notion of planetary urbanisation, that everywhere is urban, and its emphasis on overcoming rural–urban and city–countryside dichotomies, signals a huge practical challenge for weak economies, like that of Jamaica, which cannot survive solely on the tourism industry for economic survival. The rural hinterland regions are required for food security, livelihoods and, ultimately, for economic survival. In fact, land resources are required to produce food (especially local indigenous foods) to supply agricultural produce to local hotels located in the north coast region of the country. This case study indicates that weak economies such as Jamaica cannot survive solely on tourism, or indeed on any single industry, so the agriculture sector is crucial to economic growth. As such, a disregard for the 'rural' would not be practical from an economic point of view, considering the rich contribution that agriculture and rural life represents to the Jamaican population. Mohammed (2000: 199) observes that Caribbean societies cannot be 'neatly divided into rural and urban spaces'. However, such a statement is unsafe in today's economic climate and in light of the realities of land competition. This makes it necessary to disaggregate rural and urban regions and draw a boundary between them.

7.7 Conclusion

In small island economies, the existence of a rural–urban interface is necessary for economic survival. In this regard, the rural hinterland is required to facilitate the growth of the agricultural sector and the sustenance of rural livelihoods. Caribbean

[8]This is a Jamaican Creole expression meaning 'people who live in the rural parts of the country'.
[9]Jamaica's geographical area is just 10,991 km^2, or 4213 square miles.

economies such as Jamaica are still highly dependent on advanced economies for their economic survival, and in the twenty-first century, this has had negative repercussions in terms of a constant transformation of the spatial order. The nature of globalisation means that small island economies are under constant pressure to adjust their economies to respond to external economic change. For example, the dismantling of preferential trade agreements relating to agriculture and trade protectionism has made it difficult for small island states to adjust and establish alternative industries for the production of goods and services. This is why the economies of most Caribbean island states are limited to a few productive sectors, and why the tourism industry plays such a large role in most economies in the region (Jayawardena 2000).

It is dangerous to accept the notion that urbanisation will become a planetary phenomenon, meaning in the context of Jamaica that the entire island is encompassed by tourism infrastructure, especially in light of the realities small island economies face, as discussed here. However, the pronouncements of planetary urbanisation scholarship highlight the importance of empirical and practically relevant research that maps the effects of globalisation in a rapidly changing spatial order. This approach will be useful to identifying and addressing existing and future problems. The particularities of individual Caribbean cities, and the differentiation between the various Caribbean states, have not been sufficiently considered in relation to the spatial impact of tourism development. In fact, there is a lack of research based on socio-spatial change and social change arising from the growth of tourism urbanisation in the Caribbean. There have been calls for an urban theory that is reflexive of the South, with terms such as the 'provincialising' and 'worlding' of urban theory being used (Roy 2014). However, in my experience, there has been a greater focus placed on the African, Asian and, to a lesser extent, the Latin American regions. This may be because the Caribbean region does not generally appear to be at the 'front line' where urban research is concerned, so the significance of the region is either forgotten or downplayed. However, if we are talking about a changing spatial order, the size and economic vulnerability of small island states constitute an important angle and contributor to the status of urban theory and practice in the twenty-first century.

The Jamaican case study presented here allows us to question emerging urbanisation processes, such as tourism urbanisation, and their spatial impacts on small island states. Such experiences may differ in a larger country, or in a country where tourism development has occurred in an enclavic manner, spatially segregating tourist regions from residential areas. Yet, the study presented here can be seen as an early warning about the progressive growth of urbanisation in other Caribbean countries facing similar problems. Given the economic vulnerability of many Caribbean states, the spatial implications of tourism necessitate a research agenda that focuses on the value and preservation of the hinterlands, since dependency on the tourism industry represents an insecure economic pathway. In this debate, further practice-relevant research is required, which explores how small island developing states can carve out a progressive spatial agenda that is conducive

to their own developmental paths, while taking into account their vulnerability as economically weak states.

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Chapter 8
Formats of Extended Urbanisation in Ocean Space

Nancy Couling

Abstract Rather than painting a picture of the urban planet with generalised brushstrokes, planetary urbanization calls for critical, localised studies that can offer new understandings of urban forces on the ground for which our inherited epistemological frameworks are at a loss to accommodate. In particular, Brenner and Schmid argue that due to methodological cityism, emerging formations and constellations outside recognised agglomerations have long been overlooked in urban studies. This chapter argues that urban formats unfolding in ocean space are an exemplary case of extended urbanisation, one of the three 'moments' of planetary urbanisation articulated by Brenner and Schmid. Offshore, the contradictions of the undecipherable yet planetary scale of urbanisation processes come sharply into focus. Channels of infrastructure delivering energy, waste, goods and materials to and from central areas of settlement have been forged through ocean space, thereby also constantly reconfiguring this liquid terrain. Through case studies in the Barents and Baltic Seas, informed by the topics of seascape, networks, technology and ecology, concrete insights into these spatial mechanisms are offered. As a result, specific conditions of ocean urbanisation are proposed, both as a synthesis of these four dominant and interrelating components interacting with the regional sea and also as a deeper understanding of several universalized properties of extended urbanisation.

Keywords Ocean urbanisation · Seascape · Extended urbanisation

This chapter draws on doctoral research carried out 2011–15 at the Ecole Polytechnique Fédérale de Lausanne (EPFL), Switzerland, under the supervision of Prof. Harry Gugger. Two case studies were chosen, for which fieldwork was carried out; the Barents Sea and the Baltic Sea—the former with laba (EPFL laboratoire bâle) master students as part of the Barents Sea design and research project 2011–12 and published in the prize-winning 'Barents Lessons—Teaching and Research in Architecture' (2012. Gugger, Couling & Blanchard. Zurich: Park Books) and the latter undertaken solely by the author. The final 2 years of the research were funded by the Swiss National Science Foundation.

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8.1 Introduction

In the Baltic Sea, around 2000 ships are on the water at any given moment. The combined footprint of these vessels alone, differing in size from a Russian oil tanker,[1] to a medium-sized roll-on/roll-off vessel,[2] would be equal to about half the size of Manhattan Island.[3] This is only the world's fifth busiest shipping route. These shipping volumes in the Baltic Sea reflect a new generation of maritime transport. While building on a long tradition of ocean trade, within which the sea played a critical role in exchanging, facilitating and producing culture, this sector has undergone radical changes in the last 50 years. Since the dual revolutions of containerisation and mechanised bulk shipping in the 1960s, shipping volume has been steadily increasing, encouraged initially by low fuel prices and the move away from state control to market economy approaches (Stopford 2009). In 2015, the volume of goods carried by sea exceeded 10 billion tonnes for the first time, which represents over 80% of the world's goods by volume. This makes shipping the backbone to globalisation and international trade (UN 2016).

But while weaving thick extended webs of global connections (Brenner 2013), shipping is like a moving target; its spatial impact is difficult to capture, and vessels and routes belong to a genre of offshore spaces that have escaped urban interrogation. Photographer Alan Sekula calls this the 'forgotten space'; '100,000 invisible ships, 1.5 million invisible seafarers binding the world together through trade' (Sekula and Burch 2010). According to Sekula, the disappearance of the sea took place slowly between 1960 and 1985, measured by the parallel disappearance of shipping news from the New York Times (Sekula 2002).

In this paper, I argue that we have reached a historical moment at which, through processes of extended urbanisation, the natural and the cultural ocean have spatially intertwined in extreme and unprecedented ways. The manifestation of this moment has taken place in an uncoordinated sequence of events around the world's oceans so as to gradually reach a critical threshold; in 2003, the floating island of plastic was discovered literally just below the surface of the Pacific vortex; in 2009, the German Federal Government issued Europe's first legislative maritime spatial plan for their offshore economic zones in the Baltic and North Seas; and in 2010, the first commercial vessel sailed through the ice along the Northern Sea Route from the Barents Sea, accompanied by Russian nuclear-powered icebreakers.

The effort to comprehend the significance of these events requires a critical re-examination of what we have previously understood as the urban, along with a revised epistemological framework and a new set of references. This is the challenge set by the theory of planetary urbanisation. Without this effort, urban discourse runs the risk of selectively excluding a range of penetrative enviro-sociospatial configurations either developed in order to fuel the urban

[1] ca. 400 × 56 m.

[2] ca. 200 × 28 m.

[3] 25 km^2 + 20% = 30 km^2 (half Manhattan Island), around 2500 city blocks.

machine or as a direct result of this machine, but which inhabit a veiled, disregarded sphere severed from the urban conscience.

The urbanisation of the ocean illuminates the deep penetration of new enviro-sociospatial configurations most vividly; as a planetary system, the ocean harbours and distributes the products of urbanisation within its liquid volume in formats ranging from energy farms and submerged infrastructural lines to invisible territorial boundaries and micro-plastics. Here, the diversity of urban formats is both disguised and moulded by the vast ocean site itself through its characteristically layered, kinetic structure, its illusionary scale and the lack of surface artefacts.

The theoretical work on planetary urbanisation has forged a conceptual pathway to addressing the extreme ocean site in urban terms; the ocean is a 'frontier of natural resources' (Monte-Mor 2014b: 266), and the ocean challenges the idea of scale as a fixed and measurable quantitative norm (Brenner 1998) and the urban as a dense, heterogeneous and clearly bounded unit of settlement (Brenner and Schmid 2014). Large tracts of ocean space have become 'operational landscapes' (Katsikis 2014: 9), instrumentalised for production. The spatial condition of today's oceans resonates strongly with the moment of extended urbanisation as presented by Brenner and Schmid (2015) within their new epistemology of the urban. A closer examination of ocean space should therefore assist in rendering such emergent urban conditions palpable and contribute new understandings of extended urbanisation as a whole.

This chapter introduces important properties of the ocean context; its inherent spatial composition and the state of *natural* and *unnatural* conditions. Through these properties, the essential differences between urbanisation at sea and on land are identified. It is these differences, together with the advancement of urban theory, which explain why this type of urbanisation has, until recently, been overlooked in urban discourse.

Based on this foundation, the objective in Part Two is to construct an argument for the ocean as a realm of extended urbanisation, and through several case studies in the Barents and Baltic Seas, to identify and articulate the resulting spatial properties. Four topics, Seascape, Networks, Technology and Ecology, are proposed as a structural framework with which to link ocean urbanisation to comparable aspects of land-side urbanity. These topics are derived from the most frequent categories of use in ocean space. Seen individually, each topic is the subject of substantial works of urban scholarship, and as a quartet, they enable a balanced view of interactions between the 'natural' and the 'cultural' to be addressed. Through examining the relationship of these four topics to urbanisation, I aim to demonstrate how networked coastal fishing communities construct a form of urban extension, how operational landscapes are produced by offshore energy production, how through technology, processes of resource exploration and extraction are steered by distant urban drivers and how these processes forge new ecologies. Discreetly, soundlessly, almost imperceptibly yet rigidly underpinned through technological ordering systems of vast proportions, a new form of urbanised territory emerges in ocean space.

8.2 Part One

8.2.1 The Spatial Composition of the Ocean

8.2.1.1 The Deep Ocean

We know that the ocean covers 71% of the planet's surface, but a lesser-known fact is that the deep ocean provides an astounding 97% of the space available for life (Ballard 2000). The ocean is layered and encompasses the vertical zones of air-space, the sea surface, the sea body, a topographical seabed and the under seabed. It is this diverse three-dimensionality which most clearly differentiates the spatiality of the sea from that of land (Nolte 2010). Each stratum has its own spatial characteristics, life forms and traditions of human interaction and requires particular treatment in terms of protection and potential use.

Knowledge about bathymetry and ocean life has lagged behind other research areas, and it was only in the mid-twentieth century that the largest geological feature an earth—the mid-ocean ridge—became the subject of systematic scientific investigations. Oceanographer Robert Ballard famously claimed that we know more about impact craters on the far side of the moon than about the longest and largest mountain range on earth (Ballard 2000). Then, in the late 1970s came the astounding deep-ocean discovery of life forms which depend on chemosynthesis rather than photosynthesis, leading to the development of the theory that all life may have in fact began there in the deep ocean. These revelations are critically important, since the role of the ocean as a 'central clearinghouse for the nutrients and minerals essential to life' cannot be underestimated and the balance of the planet is intrinsically linked with oceanic cycles (Ballard 2000: 5). This makes human interactions with the ocean more critical than those with the land. Looking below the surface, the sea-body is made up of distinct water masses which occupy a particular 'set in the temperature/salinity space' (Leppäranta and Myrberg 2009: 60). Although fluid, these water masses possess properties such as density and cores, which we would normally associate with solids. The movement of water masses follows dynamic organic principles determined by currents, bathymetry and winds.

The Barents Sea provides a tangible example of the interaction of water masses; two dominant water masses move into the Barents Sea—one colder, less dense mass of water moving southwards from the Arctic Ocean, and one warmer, saltier and denser mass of Atlantic water moving up the Norwegian coast with the Norwegian Atlantic current, and eastwards into the Barents Sea. The two masses meet and mix into 'Barents Sea water' at a meandering and highly productive zone roughly halfway across the Barents Sea called the polar front. Here, the unique biological and chemical exchanges result in rich phytoplankton bloom, which provides the first step in the food chain, nourishes extensive bird and fish populations, and ultimately makes the Barents Sea one of the world's richest fishing grounds (Sect. 8.3.2) (Fig. 8.1).

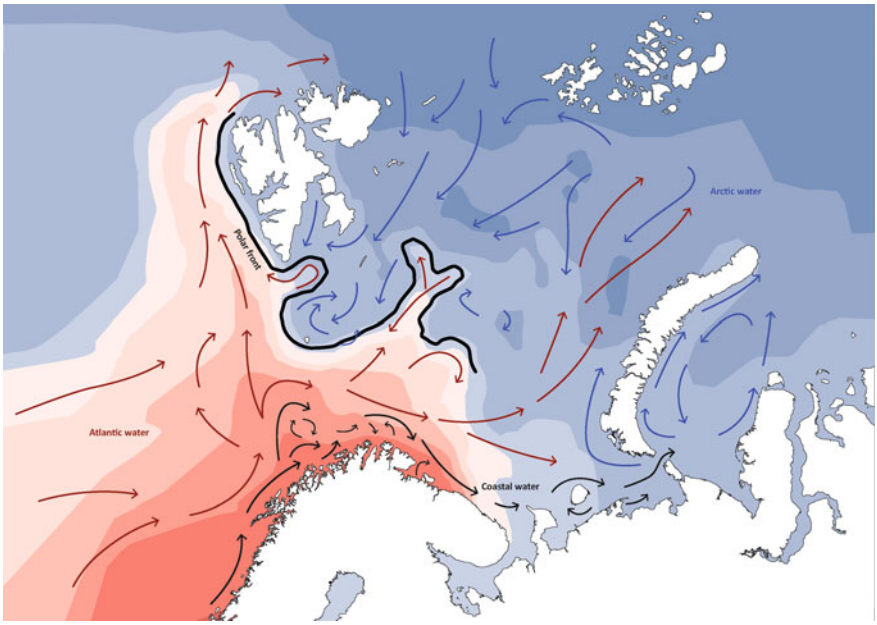

Fig. 8.1 Barents Sea currents and water masses (*source* the author)

8.2.1.2 The Surface

In the Western world, the open sea is perceived from the surface as a vast, neutral, scaleless, boundless and directionless expanse. This abstraction stands in stark contrast to the complexity and variety of large populations and many forms of life which inhabit the subsurface world—a world concealed from non-specialist perception. To Deleuze and Guattari (2005: 479), the ocean's seeming lack of visible structure, direction and enclosure suggests rhizomic space; non-hierarchical and non-directional, which they call 'smooth space'. The sea is exemplary of this condition; it is 'the smooth space par excellence'. Within this conceptual framework, smooth space is equated with nomad space, while striated space is sedentary and organised by the state.

The smoothness of sea-space refers to an isotropic nature and surface texture; appearing homogeneous but capable of accommodating multiple irregularities. Like a vector, the direction is always changing; therefore, the space possesses de-territorialising properties. Smooth space resists closing off and allocation. In smooth space, one 'distributes oneself in open space, according to frequencies and in the course of one's crossings' (Deleuze and Guattari 2005: 481). Here, Deleuze and Guattari identify a further characteristic unique to ocean space—the possibility of unrestricted horizontal movement over large distances.

The open sea provides the possibility to experience space in its purest, most abstract form. This is the closest we come to a space devoid of spatial information

or 'visual depth cues' which can mediate between the body and the environment, transmitting information on scale and distance (Howard and Rogers 2012: 122). The lack of enclosure experienced on the ocean surface is augmented by the ultimate boundary of the horizon itself, which like a horizontal curtain, enables objects and landmarks to slip behind it. From the natural human viewpoint, this occurs at just under a five kilometres distance. Hence, the spatial experience of the sea surface is in fact one of continuous opening and unfolding.

8.2.2 The Natural Ocean

The spatial characteristics described above are inherent to the ocean. However, is the ocean a *natural* space?

Lefebvre defines spaces with predominantly natural traits as those where the social relations of production are subordinate (Lefebvre 1991: 83). However, he observed that these spaces were disappearing (Lefebvre 1991: 30) and described how such spaces have become compartmentalised for a form of consumption under the dominant strategic modes of production; 'Nature is now seen as the raw material out of which the productive forces of a variety of social systems have forged their particular spaces' (Lefebvre 1991: 31).

Subsequent to this phenomenon, Lefebvre raises the question if protected natural spaces such as national parks are essentially natural or rendered artificial through the act of enclosure within an otherwise predominantly urbanised environment (Lefebvre 1991: 83). While social relations have visibly come to dominate natural places, Lefebvre however stresses the difficulty in deciphering such relations, and the fact that categorising spaces as either 'natural or cultural', 'immediate or mediated' will yield unsatisfactory results since such a simple question cannot address inherent levels of complexity in the social relations which mediate between the two (Lefebvre 1991: 84).

The fully natural world has been described as 'wilderness' by the American landscape researcher, John Stilgoe. Wilderness is the antithesis of Landscape, which is the 'land shaped by men' (Stilgoe 1982: 12). In a similar way, James Corner argues that is the image that distinguishes landscape from the 'unmediated environment' (Corner 1999: 153).

Stilgoe also argues that old religions were based on the oneness of man and nature. This relationship transformed through the mediaeval period, when the concept of wilderness was still half pagan, to a fully fledged association between wilderness and Satan brought about by the dominance of Christianity. Representation of ocean space during the sixteenth century reflects this conception of wilderness, with the depiction of wild sea monsters and the ocean as an untamed realm, at the same time as long-distance trade and exploration was being vigorously undertaken, in particular by Spain and Portugal (Steinberg 2001).

The rising importance of science in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries led to biological sciences being increasingly recognised and to what is considered the

founding expedition of the discipline of oceanography—the British Challenger Expedition—through the Atlantic, the Pacific and the Antarctic Oceans 1873–76 (Dartmouth College Library 2004). However, despite technological innovations and the rationalist idealisation of the ocean as empty and featureless, the ocean was also praised for its 'wild nature that resisted taming by the forces of modernity' (Steinberg 2001: 118).

I argue that the ocean as a natural space persists as a common perception today and in fact is safeguarded as such by our shared imaginations. Despite our intensified maritime activities, the ocean is kinetic, contingent, appearing with uncontrollable force and periodically exacting immeasurable damage to the constructed environment.

There are two aspects to this reality; the first is that the ocean is composed of complex, shifting layers. Human structuring devices such as cables and pipelines are located on the ocean floor. Mines, nuclear submarines, dumped chemical waste and further traces of past military activity also lie on the seafloor or are embedded within it. Evidence of human activities can therefore be suspended or submerged in different ocean spaces, meaning that infrastructural networks or residual warzones can be simultaneously overlaid with the visual appearance of wilderness. Weaving through these layers are the habitats of all forms of ocean life.

The second aspect is that ocean cycles are not independent of human interaction. Changing temperatures transform and destabilise oceans, resulting in unpredictable, ever more frequent extremes. According to John Urry, 'the ocean is exacting its revenge' (Urry 2014: 166).

In their essay 'Planetary Urbanisation', Brenner and Schmid describe the end of the wilderness as one of the four most marked and far-reaching worldwide sociospatial transformations of the last 30 years (Brenner and Schmid 2011). Research shows that almost no part of the global ocean remains unaffected by human impact (Halpern et al 2008). It therefore offers no outside (Brenner 2014). What we have previously understood as nature is now part of a continuous if unevenly 'cultivated' realm, including the planet's oceans, which has become a site of spatial and environmental convergence, a type of 'hinterland' to urbanised territories.

The formalised division of the ocean into discreet spatial units follows the 1982 United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS)—the comprehensive legal framework for ocean space. The main feature of this third convention was to award each coastal nation a 200 nautical mile (370 km) exclusive economic zone within which they have the right to exploit resources and are responsible for conservation. UNCLOS unleashed further planning processes, as nation states began to organise this newly awarded territory with designated zones for maritime transport, wind energy production and nature conservation (BSH: Federal Maritime and Hydrographic Agency 2009). In reference to Deleuze and Guattari's ideas, these instruments formalise the striation of the sea's inherently smooth space and herald in a new age of large-scale reorganisation of maritime territory for which the specialised UN-initiated planning sector 'Marine Spatial Planning' has been established.

Hence, the process observed by Lefebvre of enclosing natural areas, subordinating them to the dominant strategic modes of production, has also penetrated ocean space. However, the global ocean also epitomises the complex dialectic between the natural and the cultural discussed by Lefebvre and cited above. Water masses, fish populations and long-range pollutants do not respect legal boundaries offshore. Migration paths intersect with wind farms, yet interdependencies exist between turbine foundations and fish populations, functioning as artificial reefs and providing refuge from trawlers. The extreme porosity of urbanisation patterns in ocean space resonates with Monte-Mor's call to reinvigorate the spatial forms produced through extended urbanisation from an environmental perspective, and to search for a 'greater permeability or integration among social and natural spaces' (Monte-Mor 2014a: 116).

8.2.3 The Unnatural Ocean

The *natural* traits of ocean space outlined above are constrained by the exponential increase in offshore energy production, extraction of resources, constructed infrastructure and logistical development, resulting in a quantum shift in scale and intensity of spatial demands. While these developments are ephemeral in relative urban terms, often remote and hard to decipher, they also carve out vast territories and leave lasting physical legacies. In the Baltic Sea, wind parks nudge against the outer limits of designated shipping lanes, which are in turn restricted by the depth and width of the straits. Cumulative spatial demands can now be seen to match the geographic scale of the sea itself.

As resources on land become more depleted, the 'forgotten' sea re-emerges as a sedentary space of strategic importance. The virtual lines of state expansion set by UNCLOs in 1982 has created an *extended* territory now earmarked for intensified 'blue growth' by EU directives (European Commission 2014). Sparsely populated, yet permanently traversed, harvested and tapped for energy, the ocean makes a vital contribution to world production. In addition to the ocean as a source of an estimated 50% of global natural gas resources and 30% of its crude oil resources, the output of the global ocean economy was estimated at 1.3 trillion euros in 2017, with the potential to double this figure by 2030 (European Commission 2017). Specifically related to an imagined ocean 'wilderness', FAO statistics point to a decline in marine capture fisheries with 61.3% of fish stock groups fully exploited and 28.8% overexploited, depleted or recovering from depletion in 2011 (FAO 2014). These facts together with a 6.2% per annum increase in production through aquaculture—one of the fastest growing food-producing sectors—further support the argument for an understanding of the ocean, at best, as a *cultivated seascape* serving urban populations and subject to vigorous structuring, planning and management.

8.2.4 Synthesis

Until recently, offshore development has not been considered part of urban concerns, rather taking place in an endless 'natural' space far from urban agglomerations. Above I argue that properties of contemporary ocean space are determined by both natural and cultural processes, and that the extreme interpenetration of these conditions is a distinguishing characteristic of the space itself. Urbanising forces are interwoven with the ocean's inherent spatial qualities of material mass, depth, abstraction and horizontal expansion, making the effects of such forces difficult to decipher and therefore to discuss within an urban context.

I argue that the ocean therefore represents a classic 'blind field' where the extent of capitalist urbanisation is masked and fragmented (Lefebvre 2003: 29). The following three points examine reasons for this oversight more closely.

Distance conceals. The high seas are a global commons, yet they are largely uninhabited and occupy a space physically and psychologically distant from land. Offshore spaces appear increasingly autonomous, incomprehensible in terms of scale and similarly inaccessible in both physical and conceptual terms. Their specialized nature and distance from settlement areas prevents organic social contact. Combined, ocean scale and distance have resulted in the hitherto denial of the grand clash with nature. In the Western world, our relationship with the ocean is increasingly mediated and technicised. Specialist knowledge and skills are required to enter its realm on an individual basis; therefore, the ocean takes on an abstract, remote status which fuels the imagination but also supports the specific sequence and format of maritime development in the majority of cases.

The offshore oil industry is a case in point, directly exploiting this characteristic; with a determinate pervasive presence, yet surrounded in corporate secrecy and concealment, oil is extremely difficult to site as well as sight (Wilson and Pendakis 2012).

Daily social interaction with the high seas has been systematically reduced by the atomisation of the both the fishing and the shipping industries, creating a paradoxical condition of simultaneous loading of the seas with unprecedented trade tonnage and emptying the seas of social and cultural significance. This industrialisation continues into new high-tech offshore activities such as wind energy capture, which while potentially providing work for unemployed fishermen begs the question articulated by writer Tom Blass: 'could wind ever provide the nucleus of a community as fishing once did?' (Blass 2015: 284). As specialized ocean spaces proliferate and solidify a once fluid realm (Boeri and Palmesino 2002), industrialisation is indirectly dispossessing us of our own ocean commons, which adds a specific oceanic dimension to David Harvey's concept of accumulation by dispossession (Harvey 2003).

Infrastructure materialises the 'dense web of relations' of extended urbanisation (Brenner 2013: 103), a phenomenon particularly evident in ocean space. Ocean infrastructure is often linear in form, submerged and manifested only at certain strategic points of connection or exchange (Couling 2016). Hence, the extent and

range of expanding urban systems through energy networks, cables or extraction fields is rarely visible from the surface in its full force. Artefacts are discontinuous, and constructions are skeletal making only a minor impression as they protrude from or disappear over the curved horizon. Atmospheric effects soften their outline; wind turbines, for example, are designed to visually elude.

I argue that the three factors above, which separate the public from perceiving urbanisation processes unfolding in the ocean, are in fact hallmarks of extended urbanisation itself. Distance and infrastructure work hand in hand in the extension of urban systems, also on land, but while offshore spaces are still socially constructed through predominantly economic and governmental interactions, the lack of *daily* social interaction emerges as a feature of extreme sites such as the ocean and further challenges previous understandings of the urban as being formed by a density of proximate social interactions.

8.3 Part Two

8.3.1 Introduction

The second part of this chapter is based on the proposition that the four interconnected topics Seascape, Networks, Technology and Ecology have highly influenced the urbanisation of the oceans, and therefore represent important keys to revealing its mechanisms and concrete manifestations. Literature from these four fields of scholarship is drawn upon and findings from case studies in the Barents and Baltic Seas provide empirical examples. The objective is to demonstrate how these four topics can link to and enrich current understandings of extended urbanisation.

Lefebvre stated that; in short, the rural, industrial and urban succeed one another (Lefebvre 2003). Within the ocean context, what kind of 'extended' urban space is produced? An exploration of this idea of progression would begin with traditional primary production such as fishing the seascape. Through the application of technology, intensification of all maritime sectors, including fishing has taken place—resulting in an unevenly industrialised ocean. Although the 'natural' space of the ocean has been almost completely dissolved, ecology reappears in ocean space as a marriage of oceanic ecosystems and human intervention, again mediated through technology.

8.3.2 Seascape

What is a seascape? In Part One, I have argued that inherent ocean space is layered and in motion, containing both fixed and mobile parts. The physical sea is an inverse and volumetric landscape—a submerged seabed topography and a physical, malleable mass of water, hence all anthropogenic contact has a direct effect on this

volume. In differing quantifiable measures and degrees of visibility, our activities scape the ocean; therefore, we both transform existing and 'produce' new sea spaces in the Lefebvrian sense.

Closely aligned to the definition of landscape, I argue that seascapes can be distinguished from 'unmediated environment', that is, natural space, through the act of manipulation, organisation and production. Hence, the notion of a 'shaped' sea is fundamental to the subsequent three topics.

Landscape discourse offers a threefold understanding of its subject: landscape one—the social, productive landscape; landscape two—the essentially visual landscape and landscape three—the artificial, synthetic site where the human organisation of space and time is most apparent (Jackson 1984). In all three of the above, landscape exists by definition only in relation to urbanisation. I argue that these categories are useful in addressing different types of seascapes and illustrate this below through two examples: an organised social unit (seascape one) and the industrialised transformation of large areas of ocean space (seascape three).

Seascape three is the most extreme example, resonating with the idea of the operational landscapes of planetary urbanisation as proposed by Katsikis (2014). Offshore wind farms annex vast areas of the ocean, are more or less impermeable and transform the visual seascape completely (Fig. 8.2). At sea, economies of scale are executed and problems of N.I.M.B.Y evaded; hence, turbines become exponentially larger, occupying greater heights and horizontal distances. Politically,

Fig. 8.2 Nysted Windpark, Baltic Sea, 2014 (*source* the author)

offshore wind energy represents the solution to renewable energies, and particularly in Northern Europe, strategies for coordinated multinational offshore infrastructure serving this sector are advancing.

At the other extreme, the Norwegian fishing seascape illustrates how shaping the sea is carried out in a traditional maritime sector. According to its origin in Old German, *Landschaft* referred to a group of inhabitants firmly connected to a certain area through patterns of activity, occupation and space. This pattern included agricultural fields surrounding a cluster of houses from where people would walk out to the fields on a daily basis. This unit also implied the inhabitants' obligation to the land and to one another (Stilgoe 1982).

I argue that the traditional practice of fishing for a livelihood can be directly compared to agricultural practices on land and therefore contributes to *scaping* the sea in the sense of landscape one. Mediation of the landscape through fishing, although marked by harbour infrastructure, fish processing facilities, piers, buoys, nets, lines and cages, is ephemeral in relation to the scale of the fishing grounds themselves and sustainable capture fisheries from the pre-industrial period did not leave a lasting mark on fish populations. But rather than the visual marking of territory, I argue that it is the daily relationship with the physical environment and the organisation of a social group that aligns fishing communities to agricultural communities in the original sense of *Landschaft*.

Fishing has traditionally provided the basis for settlement along the shores of the Barents Sea and for most of the Norwegian coastline. It was the core activity of community life around which society was spatially and temporally organised. Rather than a case of industrialization and increased exploitation, the Norwegian fishing industry illuminates a different aspect of extended urbanisation; the maintenance of healthy fish stocks is achieved through tight management of the industry. Through the application of technology, the regular interaction with fishing grounds can be identified in a similar way to that of agricultural 'fields' on land.

The Barents Sea is roughly equally divided into the exclusive economic zones of Norway and Russia and collaboration between Norwegian and Russian fishermen, and authorities has been almost exemplary (Hønneland 2010). Since the introduction of the electronic reporting system (ERS) in 2011, all vessels over 15 m in length operating in Norwegian waters are required to transmit catch and activity data in each of the three fishing zones (Norwegian EEZ, the Russian EEZ or Svalbard Fishery Protection Zone) to the fishing authorities. In addition, since 2010, Norwegian fishing vessels over 15 m in length are required to have a tracking device installed on board (vessel monitoring system—VMS) which automatically transmits a vessel's speed, position and course every hour. It is the transferral of this information that enables a spatial overview to be generated and the formation of the Barents Sea fishing seascape to be made legible (Fig. 8.3).

From the coastline of Northern Norway, this interaction takes place largely with small-to-medium sized vessels and issues from small settlements of not more than 2000 inhabitants. The sea connects these settlements through regular delivery services of post, goods, tourists and the transport of fresh fish. Interactions are seasonal, traditional and provide a livelihood for around 40% of the population

Fig. 8.3 Fishing vessels (all), May 2012 (*source* Norwegian Coastal Administration, https://havbase.no/havbase_arktis)

(Royal Norwegian Ministry of the Environment 2011). The resulting spatial system is a pliable network embracing diverse forms of movement and exchange: fishing, the seasonal transhumance of the indigenous Sami culture, seasonal population fluctuations and border crossings. These movements consolidate relationships and define the territorial dimensions. The Barents Sea is a region of extensiveness and remoteness, of negotiation, exchange and flux. Since the shores of the Barents Sea are not suitable for commercial agriculture, the specialized crop cultivation and surplus food production which has been a decisive factor in increasing settlement density, did not apply here. Instead, the urban morphology of the Barents region describes its own singular relationship between settlement and territory, mediated through the agency of the sea. 'Urban systems operate in a loose, shifting mesh across land and sea—a strategy seemingly well suited to an environment of extremes' (Gugger 2012: 5).

Hence in the Barents Sea, a semi-structured capture fisheries seascape emerges in readable form through tight electronic control—a seascape built from cycles of regular interaction with resources over large distances and a traditional form of extended urbanisation mediated through technology. The Barents Sea sustains this format, interconnecting sites of capture fisheries, sites of trade and processing and residential settlements. This form of urbanisation is not based on density, population numbers or centrality, rather on a dispersed demography stitched together through robust network of exchanges which shape the Barents Seascape.

8.3.3 Networks

The inclusion of networks into an expanded conception of the urban steers ocean space into a leading role. Urban systems formed by multiple, heterogeneous and autonomous entities separated by geographical distance, gain currency and re-emerge from their historical context. The spaces formed by interchanges in the Barents Sea described above are one example of this.

Radical forms of urbanity resulting from oceanic trading networks before the rise of the nation state, including the Hanseatic League operating in the Baltic Sea and beyond from the thirteenth to sixteenth centuries with a network of 200 free trading towns and the Venetian Empire from the eleventh to seventeenth centuries, are well known (Braudel 1972). A further example is the European expansion and colonisation between 1450 and 1800 which established an empire based on oceanic rather than terrestrial dominance. Researchers argue that this expansion reconfigured international relations towards a global rather than regional system (Mancke 1999).

Within urban discourse, network approaches then tend to stand in opposition to approaches that prioritise the importance of fixed and bounded space. Examples of such positions are Castells (1998) and Manuel de Landa who describes how the maritime ports connected by the Mediterranean, Baltic and North Seas and trading in luxury items over long distances, were not interested in accumulating territory and 'exhibited the kind of weightlessness or lack of inertia that we associate with transnational corporations today' (de Landa 1997: 128). Their ties to one another and to overseas settlements were stronger than those to settlements in their geographical proximity.

Rather than setting networks in opposition to sedentary urban space, Lefebvre argues that networks perform a fundamental role in the dialectic of urbanisation processes. Implosion–explosion is a simultaneous process of the concentration of people, wealth, instruments and thought in places of centrality and the 'projection of numerous, distinct fragments… peripheries, suburbs, satellite towns… into space' (Lefebvre 2003: 14). This model adds new dimensions to urban relations, which are then expressed through the multiplication of exchanges. Lefebvre describes how the many different, intertwined social spaces are made real by the networks of relationships and how historical markets are overlaid with contemporary markets, each of which has its own network. The circulation of capital and the exchange of

commodities or labour are examples of this. For Lefebvre, networks are inseparable from the materials and locations with which they interact, since it is these social interactions which produce space itself: 'Social space contains a great diversity of objects, both natural and social, including the networks and pathways which facilitate the exchange of material things and information' (Lefebvre 1991: 77).

Based on Lefebvre's ideas, Networks, Borders and Differences are the categories of analysis applied by Studio Basel to their comprehensive investigation of the urban character of Switzerland. Networks are defined here as systems of exchange, both concrete and material. Social processes are integrated into these systems, which, however, are also based on physical infrastructure and real space with material dimensions (Diener et al 2006).

Networks are intrinsic to extended urbanisation, since they represent the very mechanisms that enable the coverage of long, extended distances within the same essential topological system: abstract, infinitely flexible and non-scalar. Physical network infrastructure emerges at locations independent of geography or traditional settlement patterns, producing specialized, automated sites as nodes of exchange as exemplified below by the Nord Stream project.

8.3.3.1 Contraction—The Nord Stream Pipeline

The Nord Stream project—a twin, 1.2 m diameter gas pipeline installed along 1224 km of Baltic seabed from Portovaya Bay near Vyborg in Russia to Lubmin in Germany between 2010 and 2012, is the world's longest subsea pipeline. The Baltic Sea is characterised by a dense overlay of spatial requirements, making the effects of a slim double pipeline and its ancillary spaces highly significant at both the regional and the international scale. I argue that in the ocean, network infrastructure exemplifies 'contraction' (Couling 2015) a condition constraining and concealing spatial demands only to subsequently release them in specific 'expanded' formats on land.

In opposition to Russian energy policies, Estonia refused to allow Nord Stream surveys in their waters, indirectly determining the routing of a proposed pipeline extension (Langlet 2014). The pipeline therefore represents a tightrope between both national politics and transnational energy concerns and between the Baltic Sea environment and industrial degradation, since any leakages or technical failure would have immediate and detrimental consequences for the delicate Baltic Sea ecosystem (Freedman 2008). There was no EU precedent for infrastructural projects of this dimension in ocean space shared between nine nations; therefore, despite some protests, the pipeline managed to occupy a grey area in legal, environmental and security terms. UNCLOS ascribes pipelines and cables a privileged position in ocean space, which means that their installation cannot be prevented by bordering states (UN 1982: Art. 79 (1)).

Nord Stream operates at deceiving micro- and macro-scales, augmented by the deceptive scale of the sea itself; therefore, the pipeline's full urbanising effects can be captured only by considering the following three aspects:

(1) *Temporal cycles*: the project preparation and laying of Nord Stream progressed from 1996 (feasibility studies, environmental assessment and permit applications) to completion in 2012, with an overall estimated project life expectancy of 50 years. The construction process developed and eventually demolished a series of special-purpose spaces around the Baltic Sea and further afield, engaging a large international workforce[4] (Figs. 8.4 and 8.5). On the Castoro Sei vessel, around 340 people from 30 different countries were employed for a 2-year period of continuous pipe-laying. In total, the proportion of project preparation relative to its life expectancy is 1:3, not including dismantling work. Therefore, despite its slim physical profile, these processes make Nord Stream an example of the cyclic, large-scale reorganisation of territory under extended urbanisation.

(2) *Emissions*: The pipeline emits sounds, vibrations, certain chemicals from exterior metal bands and heat (Nord Stream 2009a). Sound carries twice as far in water as in air, and hence both during the construction and operational phases, the pipeline should be understood as creating a vibrating soundscape in the direct vicinity (Laanearu and Klauson 2013).

(3) *Cumulative effects*: the 'space' of the Nord Stream tract coincides with other urbanising elements occupying different ocean layers. In the narrow Gulf of Finland (67 km wide and 50–80 m deep), the deepwater shipping route is highly frequented by oil tankers which emit low-frequency sound (below 40 Hz). Depending on waves, salinity and direction, the sound is perceptible

Fig. 8.4 Logistics sites for the construction of the Nord Stream pipeline, Baltic Sea (*source* Nord Stream AG 2009)

[4]Nord Stream calculates that at the height of the construction works, 1000 people were working simultaneously on the pipeline.

Fig. 8.5 Nord stream pipeline Marshalling Yard, Slite, Sweden (*source* Nord Stream AG)

underwater from distances of at least 13 km (McKenna et al 2012). This produces largely invisible intensification of large parts of the Baltic Sea either in the vertical or horizontal plane. Seabed interventions for the installation of this part of the pipeline comprised of placement of 180,176 m^3 of rock and gravel as well as the detonation of 31 mines laid during the first and second world wars (Nord Stream 2009c). Depending on the seabed sediments, the detonation created craters of 10–15 m in diameter and shock waves detectable by fish at a radius of ca. 1.5 km (Nord Stream 2009b).

Subsea infrastructure under contraction requires complex site preparations and multiple externalised spatial facilities. It emits sounds and vibrations ultimately causing habitat displacement of an unknown duration. The twin effect of contraction, *expansion,* occurs at the landfalls in Russia and Germany, where gas treatment plants and further infrastructure emerge to build the exchange node for the respective pan-European distribution networks.

Contraction, as exemplified by the pipeline, demonstrates the inherent contradiction in the spatiality of networks; in theory fluid, efficient, topological and flexible, in reality network infrastructure becomes entangled in the solidity of local materials, clumsily and at times violently as it is embedded into the seabed ecosystem. As a pair, contraction/extraction results in a dialectic similar to implosion/explosion, at the scale of the land/sea interface. Contraction therefore assists in deciphering the spatial contradictions of infrastructure networks in ocean space.

8.3.4 Technology

Technology is at the core of our relationship with the ocean, enabling us to interact, navigate, explore, monitor and coordinate long-distance exchanges. Our reliance on technology has been discussed in Part One in relation to overcoming distance and technology is implicitly involved in organising fishing grounds and in executing projects such as the Nord Stream pipeline. The process of extended urbanisation utilises technology as an instrument to mark out electronic borders offshore and specialized zones of extraction as illustrated below.

The relationship between urban systems and technology is historical. Researchers claim that cities are sites of technology density; they rely on transport and communication networks to maintain dominance and control over their hinterlands and to manage the flows of people, ideas and goods. Melvin Kranzberg argues that settlement itself was first enabled through the technological innovation of agriculture (Kranzberg and Pursell 1967). Urban technology is embedded in social, political and geographical contexts, which in turn have moulded the development of technology itself, resulting in a 'co-construction' of technological structures and urban life: 'Human-made materialities we understand today as "technology" have largely been urban creations designed with the needs of the urban population and urban commerce in mind' (Hård 2008: 6).

In Europe, technologies facilitating integration, trade and communication, such as river-based transport systems and the subsequent railway networks, are so well integrated into the urban fabric as to have become invisible as technology, but rather a kind of 'second nature'—'an artificial structure that appears entirely natural' (Hård 2008: 8).

Kaika and Swyngedouw argue that the naturalisation of some technologies has meant its physical disappearance into the underground or to the periphery, where it is no longer the content of important public buildings or landmarks, as water towers were at the beginning of the nineteenth century. In particular, these technological networks 'are the material mediators between nature and the city- they carry the flow and the process of transformation of one into the other' (Kaika and Swyngedouw 2000: 120). However, the concealment of both the infrastructures themselves and the city's dependence on the 'social transformation' of nature has resulted in an unclear, distorted and polarised perception of the relationship between these two entities.

Infrastructural lines representing purely technological, rather than socially integrated solutions to the supply of food, water and energy, have been stretched further and further from urban centres and their existence erased from the conception of urban life. The technological component of infrastructure has come to dominate relations, leaving social relations behind and creating non-human spaces of extended urbanisation deep offshore.

Ocean space accommodates extreme forms of this extension; adaptations to land-based industries such as oil extraction and wind energy capture have enabled their incremental move offshore and their advancement into deeper and colder

waters as resources closer to land are depleted (Martin 2012). However, in addition to linear infrastructure, extended urbanisation into ocean space involves large-scale transformation of vast ocean areas into new type of territory. Technology facilitates this coordinated *project.* An example of a 'large-scale land-use system devoted to resource extraction' (Brenner and Schmid 2015: 152) and a cornerstone of extended urbanisation is illustrated here below in the Barents Sea extraction fields.

8.3.4.1 *The Barents Sea Extraction Grid*[5]

As well as being one of Europe's last clean, intact marine ecosystems, the Barents Sea—located to the north of Norway within the polar circle and roughly evenly divided between Norwegian and Russian EEZs, holds an estimated 30% of the world's gas and 25% of the world's oil reserves at subsea depths of 2500–5000 m. Through a programme of continuous seismic surveys, which involves letting off small explosions and sending shockwaves into the subsurface, the Norwegian Petroleum Directorate has accumulated large amounts of geological data. Together with data from the Norwegian Defense Research Establishment and the interdisciplinary government-initiated Mareano mapping programme, information is collated into a knowledge base serving the expansion of petroleum activities. Mareano survey locations were selected in 2006 'because they were of interest for the oil and gas industry and had also been identified as particularly valuable and vulnerable' (Royal Norwegian Ministry of the Environment 2011: 22). Almost as a by-catch to petroleum activities, valuable environmental data on the Barents Sea is collected throughout the phases of hydrocarbon exploration, collated and shared between government departments with a particular interest in the expansion of petroleum activities. These specialized scanning and mapping technologies lay the foundations for a new 'petroleum province' in the Barents Sea. Rania Ghosn describes how the seascape becomes significant as a series of deep geological formations, mapped out through scientific exploration and representation; 'The verticality of the environment, no less than its horizontality, is produced through the intertwined practices of scientific fieldwork and political authority' (Ghosn 2013: 236).

At the same time as the underwater crust is revealed in its richness and complexity, the surface seascape is (re)constructed as a regular grid for the same purpose (Fig. 8.6). In March 1965, the Norwegian and UK governments jointly agreed to divide the North Sea into quadrants according to the median line principle of one-degree latitude by one-degree longitude. Norwegian quadrants were then subdivided into 12 blocks of 15′ latitude × 20′ longitude (circa 10 × 25 km). This subdivision was undertaken in response to pressure from the petroleum industry and directly subsequent to the United Kingdom and Norway passing national legislation on sovereignty over the seabed and natural resources (Kemp 2013). The petroleum grid is a device of preliminary colonisation. It is infinitely extendable, establishing

[5]An earlier version of this text was published as Couling (2017).

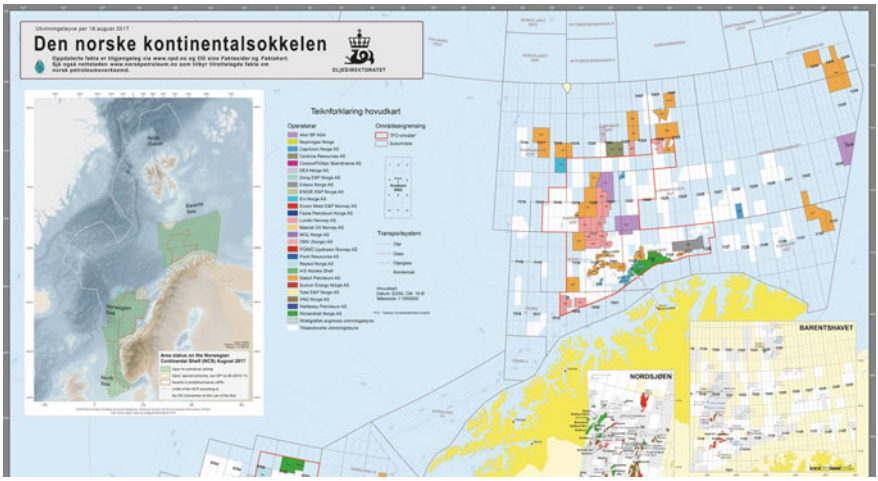

Fig. 8.6 Barents Sea extraction grid, Norwegian continental shelf (*source* Norwegian Petroleum Directorate)

an immutable, orthogonal and highly resilient referential layer, presupposing the possibility of development anywhere within its range.

At 2,140,000 km^2, Norway's total marine area amounts to 6.5 times the size of its land area. Of this marine area, 50% contains sedimentary rocks potentially containing petroleum. By 2011, 25% of the total marine area was open for petroleum activity (Norwegian Petroleum Directorate 2013). The new province 'Barents Sea South' covers 190,000 km^2, and applications for exploration of the new southeastern blocks were first filed in December 2015 in Norway's 23rd licensing round (Ministry of Petroleum and Energy 2014). As production in the 'mature' North Sea fields winds down, the new Barents Sea fields are vital for sustaining petroleum growth in Norway; hence, the opening of new exploration blocks is a national priority.

The extraction grid creates a loose but precise mesh of coordinates over a vast area, thereby constructing a solid foundation for exploration and extraction activities. As a result, this part of the Norwegian continental shelf has been drilled with approximately 100 wells since the beginning of exploration activities in 1979 (The Norwegian Petroleum Directorate 2014). Of these wells, to date, the only producing fields are Snøhvit (since 2007)—a gas field located at latitude 70° north, in water depths of 300 m, and the Goliat oilfield 50 km to the southeast in water depths of 340–400 m.

While these production sites at first appear to be singular, isolated cases, hydrocarbon extraction is a continuing process, with high preproduction activity over long phases, resulting in irregular infrastructural intensity. The Snøhvit 'neighbourhood' is a combination of seven production licenses distributed across three fields: Snøhvit, Albatross and Askeladd, with a combined total of 20 wells and an area the size of the City of Los Angeles. Snøhvit utilises an extraction system

located directly on the seabed with a 6.8-metre-diameter pipeline transporting gas condensate 145 km to the Melkøa Island processing plant near Hammerfest. From Melkøa, the CO_2 produced during processing is piped back to the field and re-injected into adjacent geological formations. Through these technological extensions, the excess 'products' of urbanisation are stored in depths reaching 2500 m below the seabed, completing the full cycle of the extraction process. The state-of-the-art seafloor installations at the Snøhvit field have no connection to tangible physical scale or context—they are highly abstract, remotely controlled, autonomous and far from the public eye. Technology enables the 'export' of systems beyond their sites of development and at the same time severs organic geographic connections, rendering this type of urbanity scaleless, placeless, invisible and characterised by *dispersed intensities*. It is made up of loose, diverse, shifting and widely dispersed fragments connected by precise, specialized trajectories for particular periods of time. While the intensity itself may be localised, singular and of a limited duration, as in the example of the Snøhvit field, its existence is reliant on sophisticated, large-scale spatial systems which have been constructed on the basis of extensive research, coordination and investment and are centrally controlled.

In their essay 'Is the Mediterranean Urban', Brenner and Katsikis (2013) stress the design, management and logistical coordination as the features distinguishing the emerging operational landscapes of extended urbanisation from predecessing, less complex extraction zones or hinterlands. The Barents Sea extraction grid is a clear example of this condition in an oceanic context.

8.3.5 Ecology

Ecological considerations are paramount for the ocean. Part One of this paper argues that the extreme interpenetration of natural and cultural events is one of the distinguishing characteristics of ocean space. Inorganic material, sedentary or in motion, interacts directly with the organic substance of the ocean by default. The previous three topics in this section are therefore also directly linked to ecology; management of the Barents Seascape is aimed at sustainable survival of both fisherman and fish, the natural environment undergoes large-scale upheaval throughout all phases of a major network infrastructure project such as the Nord Stream pipeline, and through the application of technology, the Norwegian Petroleum Directorate is closely aligned to environmental agencies in order to maintain the Barents region's particular ecology of oil.

In the oceans, spatial and ecological budgets are closely linked (Couling 2015), meaning that ecology is also a spatial issue. Particularly in the Baltic Sea, species compete spatially with wind farms, large transport vessels and coastal development. This is referred to as habitat loss or 'displacement' by environmental research. The same habitats are often favoured by both organic and inorganic species, such as shallow sandy bottoms for wind farm development, fish spawning grounds and bird

resting areas. In such cases, for all our technological expertise, elegant synergic solutions which balance the needs of both species types are still rare.

The vital global importance of maintaining balanced oceanic cycles has been touched on in previous sections (Sect. 8.2.1.1) as well as references to the alarming levels of red-listed fish species, plastic waste immersed in water masses and the imminent danger of oil tanker collision to pressured ocean ecosystems. Ecological degradation is one of the most critical results of the 'creative destruction' unleashed by extended urbanisation, as infrastructural and extraction systems penetrate the planet's most sensitive and valuable ecosystems in the pursuit of capitalist gain with little concern for the environmental consequences (Brenner 2013: 108). The oceans are perhaps the world's most vital ecosystem: the well-being of the planetary ocean is at stake through the continued execution of extended urbanisation in ocean space.

Erik Swyngedouw is highly critical of the way in which *sustainability* and *ecology* have been successfully integrated into what he calls 'post-political' techno-managerial planning, which in effect conforms to the profit principle and guarantees that there is no significant change in the existing socioecological order (Swyngedouw 2015).

However, if natural and cultural maritime systems exist in parallel, partially sharing temporal and spatial habitats and if extended urbanisation in ocean space is discontinuous, uneven and characterised by *dispersed intensities*, could a productive coexistence be imagined in the future instead of mutually exclusive 'business as usual' scenarios? Such a coexistence would echo the fundamental meaning of ecology as defined by the Norwegian philosopher Arne Naess: 'the interdisciplinary scientific study of the living conditions of organisms in interaction with each other and with the surroundings, organic as well as inorganic' (Næss and Rothenberg 1989: 36).

Roberto Luis Monte-Mor was the first to formulate the term 'extended urbanisation', based on the impact of urban-industrial production and reproduction throughout Brazil since the 1970s. It is also his vision of a possible recalibration of the urban and the natural in alignment with the epistemological shift called for by planetary urbanisation, which holds the most positive potential:

> […] can we imagine another ecology entirely, one that is both urban and metropolitan, at once social and natural? …many subspaces have survived the incomplete, partially frustrated process of Fordist modernisation… perhaps these processes open up the possibility of reinventing contemporary social and political environments and thus of reinvigorating many of the spatial forms that have been produced through extended urbanization. (Monte-Mor 2014a: 116–118)

This call was based on two fundamental observations; first, the spread of urbanisation had also carried with it what he calls 'the seeds of the polis, of the civitas', which had grown into various types of civil action far from urban centres, taking up social and environmental issues (Monte-Mor 2014b: 264). Second, he argues that Ecology, as a transcending and transdisciplinary concept, stands to profoundly change the way we will organise production, space and society as a whole.

> We must confront extended urbanization with extended naturalisation if we are to deal not only with urban and environmental problems at the micro-level of everyday life, but also with the global aspects of environmental and social crises. (Monte-Mor 2014a: 118)

Extended naturalisation means the conscious construction of new natural environments alongside the construction of improved urban environments, where mutual exchanges take place across both. Physical construction in ocean space is dominated by engineering and logistics and planning by tools and methods inherited from land. The challenge for the construction of such new naturo-cultural environments is to develop a new language in much the same way as planetary urbanisation calls for a new epistemology in urban studies—a language informed by the spatial properties of the sea.

8.4 Conclusion

This chapter aims to contribute to the field of scholarship on extended urbanisation, by examining specific urban formats emerging in ocean space. The integrated, planetary scale of the sea makes it a natural partner to planetary urbanisation. Its specific spatial properties can also reveal new dimensions and mechanisms of urbanisation processes that have not yet been fully understood.

Through an examination of natural and unnatural conditions in the ocean, tensions are evident between the complex ocean ecosystem and the pervading perception of a blank, open surface, ripe for exploration, demarcation, planning and industrial operations. These conditions echo the capitalist problematic of requiring both fixity and uninhibited flows, as discussed by Brenner in his paper on the tensions between fixity and motion (Brenner 1998), and also by Philip Steinberg (2001). As a flowing space, largely free of restrictions, the ocean has received industrial-scale projects and intensified passage of goods across its surface, and in many cases has become a frictionless site for extended urbanisation.

The ocean also absorbs the end products of urbanisation processes within its very materiality; hence, ‘extension’ may no longer be visible, measurable, localised or containable. This complete immersion is specific to ocean space and takes Lefebvre’s prediction of an ‘urban society’ to a new, more profound and all-encompassing level.

Arguments in Part Two, structured around Networks, Technology, Seascape and Ecology, aim to link familiar Lefebvrian foundations and theoretical contributions on extended urbanisation to specific situations in ocean space. Through empirical examination of each of these four topics, the fine, porous, robust, immersive, distended and dispersed intensity of ocean urbanisation begins to emerge as a series of characteristic properties; urban formats are contracted, leaving large areas of ocean space visibly untouched, yet reorganised on a grand scale and therefore no longer ‘natural’. Artefacts and systems of territorial distribution are remotely controlled with high technological precision, and the pristine environment of an ecologically

'healthy' sea, such as the Barents, is systematically monitored and scanned in order to ensure the coexistence of petroleum and natural habitats. Which new understandings and confirmations of existing arguments can these observations bring to the discussion on extended urbanisation?

Ocean urbanisation in the Barents and Baltic Seas confirms the critical role of infrastructure in extending urban circuits of energy, goods and materials far beyond the realms of settlement agglomerations. Linear infrastructure through ocean space extends and reconnects global networks and, at the same time, reconfigures the physical ecologies of regional territories; its passage through ocean space causes emissions and habitat displacement, and its long preparatory phases require externalised ancillary resources, hence mobilising peripheral spaces and resulting in the large-scale strategic reorganisation of territory. The ocean environment places physical infrastructure under a condition of *contraction*, which artificially minimises its perceived spatial impact, and subsequently effects *expansion* as it emerges from the ocean site. Seen at a larger scale, this dynamic means that infrastructure in ocean space is also determining the configuration of new industrial sites around the sea's edge in non-settlement areas as materials and resources are delivered back to land.

Offshore installations for the oil, gas or wind industries have a life expectancy limited by law, since they are mostly sited on 'borrowed ground' (commons) and not on private property. Hence, the erection, decommissioning, construction and 're-powering' of energy fields are an ongoing process for which resources must be mobilised and ocean territory regularly reconfigured. These cycles are more extreme in ocean space than on land and at the same time are more environmentally disturbing, since marine species only have time to adapt before they will be scheduled for further 'displacement'. A coherent strategy, budget or environmental road plan has yet to emerge for this current first generation of offshore decommissioning.

Operational landscapes in ocean space are clearly identifiable, in particular in the energy sector as described above. I argue that since the sea has been earmarked as the site for the renewable energy transition, in particular in densely populated Northern Europe, ocean space will become a recognised site of extended urbanisation as these processes intensify.

Extended urbanisation on land is critical in terms of social cost. At sea, as discussed in Part One of this chapter, processes of extended urbanisation are characterised by remoteness and lack of social contact, mainly due to industrialisation and the development of purely technological spaces which are regulated long-distance and visited for periodic maintenance only. Here, I argue that the ocean is an indicator of the ongoing proliferation of such spaces also on land, for which a theoretical position must be developed. In addition to spaces of dispossession, extended urbanisation in its future trajectory will encompass an increasing number of non-human spaces far from settlement and steered by distant centres of control.

Extended urbanisation in ocean space is manifest by *dispersed intensities*. Despite the periodic or visually loose and widespread arrangement of constructed artefacts, the abstract fields within which they are anchored are determined by high technological precision and exert a powerful territorial force. It is within these

relations that physical room for new relationships between nature and urban/cultural systems can and should be imagined as Monte-Mor has proposed. Other maritime cultivations such as algae production can be installed within wind farms and the boundaries themselves can be made selectively permeable for public recreation but impermeable to predators such as trawlers. These interpenetrations already exist in some wind farms, and experiments with ways of optimising existing offshore infrastructure for combined uses are currently being carried out.

And finally, extended urbanisation across ocean space is also a historical format which appears in different seas throughout history in networks of trade and intercultural exchange. Sustainable fishing in the Barents Sea is a contemporary example. Seaborne networks at a regional scale provide the contact and services that sustain dispersed, yet globalised communities within the urban society.

Does the rural, the industrial and the urban succeed one another in ocean space? Offshore industrialisation of the seascape through technology and management systems has created abstract specialist zones, but as yet has not led to further diversified urbanisation as it has on land. The ocean environment, as we engage with it, results in only limited on-site 'lived space' in the Lefebvrian sense. From this perspective, we perceive a powerful ocean holding diversified urban appropriation in check, yet maintaining a dynamic state of extended urbanisation.

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Chapter 9
Urban Tropical Forest: Where Nature and Human Settlements Are Assets for Overcoming Dependency, but How Can Urbanisation Theories Identify These Potentials?

Ana Claudia Cardoso, Harley Silva, Ana Carolina Melo and Danilo Araújo

Abstract This paper focuses on the extensive urbanisation of the Eastern Amazon, where human settlements date back to an era when total cooperation existed between man and nature, a time when land, water, forest and people were perceived as inseparable parts of the whole. However, this harmonious situation has ceased to exist following several episodes of colonisation and modernisation. During the last initiative to integrate the region with the rest of the country, it was classified under the social divisions of Brazilian labour as agrarian and suitable for the mineral extraction industry. Furthermore, the recent overlap between the interests of privately owned global companies and federal investments in logistics, and of the pattern of Portuguese colonisation, has led to a process of hybrid urbanisation. The historical pattern of population dispersion has also suffered modifications whereby connections have been established that link previously isolated settlements to national centres and global metropolises. Such practices have acted against all current data on climate change and have disrespected nature and the environment to such an extent that selective modernization and its reverse, informal occupation, have increased the spread of deforestation, pollution, the siltation of rivers and the reduction of surface water volumes. This article demonstrates how these transformations have been responsible for the exclusion of those groups forced onto the margins of modernisation: people born in the region who depend on the biophysical

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base for their livelihood, including indigenous peoples, caboclos (the offspring of indigenous and Portuguese peoples), peasants and traditional communities who live in rural areas or were pushed into urban areas once the countryside had been restructured. The article also seeks to expose local resistance to this process, thereby revealing how extensive urbanisation may evolve from mere economic integration towards comprehensive urbanisation, capable of creating new forms of citizenship and a respect for nature, thereby transforming it into the extensive naturalisation of the urban.

Keywords Brazilian Amazon · Pre-Colombian urbanisation · Extensive urbanisation · Belém · Santarém · Marabá · Altamira · Afuá

9.1 Introduction

The urbanisation of Brazil's Eastern Amazon, together with the region's positioning in the world-system as a peripheral supplier of raw materials, has provided significant empirical evidence on the manifestations of planetary and extensive urbanisation (Monte-Mór 1994). A partial replication of global formulas has occurred in all spatial structures, which have been created to support both productive and financial capital across the region. Moreover, due to the incomplete conversion to a modern industrial rationality (Santos 1986, 1979; Costa 2012a, b), a struggle has occurred between the different rationalities applied to the studied territory. Therefore, the present paper sets out to explore the growing demand for new concepts that better explain this set of circumstances, in alignment with the critiques held on development theory (Furtado 2007; Tavares 2011) and postcolonial approaches developed within similar peripheral contexts of the world-system (Roy 2015; Watson 2014).

In this respect, there is a need for the process addressed in this paper to be situated within a broader discussion on the expansion of capitalism as a global system compounded by the centre–periphery relationship (Prebisch and Cabanas 1949). The centre of the capitalist system is seen as an engine charged with the hegemonic organisation of a financial, commercial strategy to expand the system beyond its original territorial borders, with the aim of reinvesting capital surplus into new consumption markets, new raw material suppliers and new market opportunities in the periphery (Furtado 1983).

Historically, this expansion process has been constructed from the centre of the system towards the periphery, according to a diversity of forms and distinct contextual features. It relies on the transfer of physical, financial or commercial capital, depending on the most suitable alternatives for its valorisation. This movement is sensitive and theoretically justifiable since the capitalist system organises itself in such a way as to preserve the extended reproduction of capital (Marx 1990). While capital searches for circumstances of extended reproduction outside the centre, with the support of governments in periphery countries, it fosters and institutionally

organises a new logic for building commercial, financial and cultural (as well as academic) dependency (Frank 1970; Furtado 1983; Quijano 2000). These components, which are inherent to the global system, provide models so as to regulate capital with rules and parameters for resource distribution, financing structures, exchange rate guarantees and ownership rights[1], and which demand the creation of new perspectives and concepts in order to overcome the historical traps that maintain the periphery in such a manner.

As a result, the present-day Brazilian Eastern Amazon is addressed here as a place where ordinary urban, rural and natural environments coexist. The rural environment is manifested through a number of practices that migrants (either peasants (Costa 2012a, b), indigenous peoples (Hecht and Cockburn 1989; Heckenberger 2005), *Quilombolas* (Almeida 1997) or *Caboclos*[2] (Parker 1985; Adams et al. 2006) have introduced to the city, while the natural and/or wild environment is displayed through the biophysical support demanded by traditional practices, related to urban production and to sociability—including rivers, wetlands, forests, gardens, beaches and common lands. After decades of shifting urbanisation patterns—the creation and expansion of cities, changes in rural land uses and a denial of nature—the region offers inspiration on how it would be possible for cities to function as a suitable basis for promoting socio-biodiversity (Monte-Mór 2004).

The predominant understanding of development within the region associates exogenous inputs with progress, despite the outstanding capacity observed during stagnant periods to innovate and essentially provide affordable solutions for local problems and overcome historical dependency, in terms of offering a repertoire of technical and social solutions for specific regional and local issues (Jacobs 1984; Furtado 1983; Silva 2017). These endogenous solutions are benefited by traditional local knowledge, which modern segments of society wish to negate. New transport and communication technologies have increasingly transformed scattered settlements into distant peripheries of global cities, in that they provide access for all types of goods. Small cities have therefore become strategic places inserted into global production networks through logistics, as suggested, for example, by the approach of planetary urbanisation. However, from a quotidian perspective, the

[1]This explanation helps to better situate the role of peripheral countries in the international division of labour established between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. These countries were required to provide raw materials and primary goods, while the centre of the system could concentrate spatial structures so as to produce, distribute and commercialise industrial goods. Such thinking has supported theoretical approaches influenced by CEPAL (Economic Commission for Latin America—one of the five United Nations regional commissions), which were very influential among Latin American scholars during the 1950s and 1960s. Since that time, they have been reframed and broadened, to allow new interpretations on the integration of Latin American countries to the global capitalist system (Prebisch and Cabanas 1949; Toye and Toye 2003; Baer 1962; Love 1980).

[2]These groups originally inhabited rural areas, peasants are rural family-based producers, Quilombolas are descendants of African slaves who escaped from their owners to live in isolated, secret free communities, and Caboclos are a typical social group in the Amazon created from the miscegenation between the indigenous peoples and the Portuguese.

control of private land and homogenising actions by the real estate sector have established a manner with which to transform these cities into places that produce surplus and exclusion, where spatial patterns indicate how both people and nature have generated levels of resistance. The following sections seek to develop and provide evidence to support this argument, departing from the fact that urbanisation has reached a planetary scale, with alienated consumption as its main device. The overarching aim of this chapter, therefore, is to highlight the need to foster extensive naturalisation as an emancipatory strategy that both acts against the accelerating rates of urban poverty and respects diversity and the universalisation of citizenship, as proposed by Monte-Mór (2014, 2015).

The core ideas presented in this paper were developed within a research project entitled *UrbisAmazônia*, with the aim of understanding contemporary urban Amazon. It was conducted over a 4-year period by an interdisciplinary team within a multiscale perspective involving seven research institutions. The project has created an environment for collective discussion in seminars and enabled a number of composite analyses (economic, demographic, spatial and institutional) and several fieldwork missions (one collective, and at least one in each cited city, outside Belém). The theoretical approach and empirical analysis presented herein were first outlined in 2012, during fieldwork in the south-eastern region of the state of Pará, and reviews the results of individual researchers (Ph.D. thesis, Master Dissertations and Undergraduate Monographies cited in the text), matured after several rounds of discussions and seminar presentations.

9.2 The Virtuous Cycle Between People, Nature and Knowledge

A number of recent articles, based on archaeological discoveries and field studies, have provided evidence that Amazonian indigenous societies produced their spaces with clear intentions and consistency, and go on to illustrate the extent and complexity of their work. Studies have further revealed the manner in which their work is interwoven with the natural environment. In reference to the upper Xingu region, Heckenberger et al. (2008), for example, argue that the upper Xingu region of the southern Amazon (Mato Grosso, Brazil) is one critical example of complex settlement and land-use patterns. Recent findings on settlement planning and supralocal integration, which document a highly self-organised anthropogenic landscape of late prehistoric towns, villages, and hamlets, with well-planned road networks across the region. These patterns, although differing substantially from other world areas, share characteristics common of small, urban policies elsewhere.

According to these authors, Pre-Columbian Amazonian communities were scattered throughout several settlements across the major river basins of the region. They produced what are considered to be unique forms of urbanity, due to their diversity and originality, and were also able to deal with both the surrounding

wealth of available resources and the challenges they posed to the human presence. Structures for managing the wetlands, artificial lakes and dams, canals, causeways and plantations on floodplains demonstrate how their constructions were built to integrate with the dynamics, temporality, complexity and relative permanence of the region's natural cycles. These indigenous civilisations proved able to appropriate nature as a productive force: in gardens and orchards interspersed with the settlement areas, in cultivated islands of selected forest species, in the agricultural production of fertile lands—the Amazonian *terra preta*, in the daily management of biomass and in the controlled use of fire. One further outstanding feature is the scale and complexity of the abstract knowledge they required, which included elements of geometry and calculation, large-scale measurement and drawing, trails and roads, regional integration and the hierarchisation of places and structures (Heckenberger et al. 2008).

Hence, these practices provide a clear illustration of how these societies created intentional interventions in space and nature, which led to the establishment of extensive, complex settlements, and to the production of space in which to live, to meet and interact, to produce and exchange, to celebrate and to engage in politics. These were unique forms of urban inventions, in which articulated elements brought meaning to forms of expressions that may only be fully appreciated from the perspective of urban life—including Amazonian ceramics, *terra preta*, megaliths and geoglyphs, multilingual societies, and a holistic vision of the world (Neves 2003; Schaan 2008; Franchetto 2011; de Castro 2002). These are marks of a standard of civilisation and of original development in the tropics, based on the millennial process of creating social meanings for the natural world.

9.3 Urbanisation Produced by Colonisation and Modernization

During early colonial times, there were five nations competing for the Amazon. The region was a mundi frontier, with an abundance of land to support agricultural production (still an important sector for the economy of the time and the main reason why different nations extended their reach into more periphery colonies). The Amazon was able to provide gold to the Spanish and exotic spices to the Dutch. It offered control of South America's coastline to the French and the British, and land to the Portuguese colonisers, who finally achieved ultimate hegemony in the region known today as Brazil.

Although the main aim of the Portuguese authorities was to introduce the cultivation of sugar cane into the Amazon, it was in fact an oppressive extractive system that effectively consolidated their presence as colonisers, by conforming to the European demands for exotic spices. During colonial times, the Portuguese presence in the Amazon was guided by a utilitarian view of nature, since specific operations and the viability of colonial business took advantage of all the benefits

offered by nature, especially biodiversity, accessibility to rivers and the sophisticated knowledge that native people had cultivated over millennia in their remarkable indigenous settlements (Becker 2013).

In the seventeenth century, urban plans and regional planning based on Western science and rational authority were introduced to the Amazon by Sebastião de Carvalho e Mello, Marquis of Pombal. In 1757, this influential Portuguese Prime Minister brought into effect, by decree, the *Diretório dos Índios*—the Directory of Indians, which led to the creation of villages that spatially, symbolically and institutionally overlapped the settlements created by Jesuit missionaries. One century before, these settlements had incorporated the living spaces of the indigenous people, who had inhabited these places for centuries (Almeida 1997; Risério 2012).

Besides this 'urban colonising strategy', it was commonplace for the Portuguese government to encourage miscegenation between the indigenous population and Portuguese citizens. The mestizo families (half indigenous, half Portuguese, also known as *cabloclos*), who established themselves within this proto-urban network of settlements, were the key labour factor in the production of spices exported through Belém, the main regional city and port of the Amazon. The multiple ability of the mestizo population to identify, manage and market the singular resources of the tropical forest was a special asset that effectively enabled the Portuguese authorities to include the Amazon region in the Luso-colonial empire (Costa 2012a, b).

After independence in 1822, the Brazilian elites maintained the strategies of exporting natural resources, and also acquired European hegemonic values, devoting their efforts to spreading urban-industrial rationality across the Amazon (Monte-Mór 2004; Weinstein 1983, 2002). This fact deepened spatial, social and environmental inequalities and, to an extent, helped to establish that cities and human settlements were in opposition to nature, which was viewed as pristine and untouched. The overlap between the Western mindset and the mestizo manner of addressing and building relations between the environment and the quotidian, little by little erased the wisdom involved in cooperating with nature and understanding its limits of resilience, which could still be identified in the indigenous and mestizo urban experiences throughout colonial times.

Two historical moments were crucial in consolidating these trends during the nineteenth century: the Cabanagem Revolt and the rubber boom (Parker 1985). The Cabanagem Revolt was a complex political moment in Amazonian History. The position and power of the local political elites were unsettled by Brazilian political independence, and their ability to maintain control over the poor population as a labour force, especially the caboclos, was profoundly damaged. Over a period of 18 months, severe violence broke out across the region, and the caboclo population adopted drastic measures in order to fight against a state marked by profound social degradation and exclusion. This period was one of the 'most violent and chaotic in the history of the Amazon' (Anderson 1985: 65). More than 30.000 people died in the fights and epidemics, out of a total population of 130.000. 'The elites learned their lessons well from violence, and would continue their hold on the politics and economic development of the Basin, using subtler economic ties such as the *aviamento* system, and scrupulously avoiding any movement toward allowing any

non-European *caboclo* or the new European immigrants any avenue of political activity' (Anderson 1985: 80).

The rubber boom introduced big cities such as Belém and Manaus to the rapid, elitist dream of European modernisation (Weinstein 1983). This process attracted urban commercial elites to a worldview entirely biased towards Western urban-industrial rationality. Simultaneously, it also compelled the local subaltern groups and migrants from the Brazilian Northeast to work as rubber tappers under conditions of semi-slavery, thereby devaluing caboclo social practices, wisdom and history. The leading contradiction of the time was that the high consumption of industrial goods by urban elites was possible thanks to the massive exploitation of forest products and degradation of the labour force. All these cultural and economic aspects have remained entrenched in the social context of Amazonian society.

During the 1960s, the military government set out to establish the modernisation (and industrialisation) of Brazil, through which the Amazon was integrated into the nation's social division of labour as agrarian and appropriate for the extractive industries. A rupture appeared in the previous relationship with nature and the accessibility strategy shifted away from rivers to roads. The paradigm changed from the previous rationality, which used nature as a supplier, to a more modern, industrial perspective, in which nature itself was the raw material, through which the forest would nourish the sawmills so as to give place to agricultural settlements and cattle-raising farms. The region would then provide the means to boost the country's trade balance through exports, indicating a double subordination to national and international interests, while shifting decision-making out of the region.

Criticism of this industrial, modernist approach adopted the view that nature was pristine, thus demonstrating an internal imbrication with the paradigm of industrial society. Any human presence was considered a disturbing factor to the balance of nature, including the indigenous and caboclo communities, who were also considered unwelcome (Balée and Erickson 2006). There was an assumption that each of these groups was a 'guest' or a beneficiary of the forest and of the natural resources available in the Amazon. The circumstances of native groups on later contacts (in the early twentieth century) constituted the empirical evidence adopted by researchers to assume that these groups had always been few in number, and were sociologically and technologically backward or simple (Leonardi 1996). The acknowledged virtue was that of the noble savage: living 'in harmony with nature', which signified living without changing the natural conditions, whether for the impoverishment, or the unlikely expansion of natural diversity, density and so on (Redford 1991; Balée and Erikson 2006).

Perceived in this manner, the indigenous populations would never have created cities and civilisations. At the time, it was believed that they were socially and culturally inferior, thereby contributing to consolidate the consensus on an inherent opposition between urbanisation and nature. For too long, fields of knowledge dedicated to environmental approaches have considered urban topics as belonging to the reign of artificial things, in which there was no place for nature. However, it is clearer today that this is a position of non-social perspectives, and that a

socio-environmental approach would be more suitable, since in peripheral areas many productive processes overlap and coexist in one same territory, and people have different levels of access to modern industrial systems (Monte-Mór, published in the present volume). This becomes more evident when the vision goes beyond a classical rural–urban dichotomy and takes land use and private property into account in order to understand the flux that comes about from replacing one poorer social group with other groups that are better off.

During the twentieth century, the industrial paradigm prevailed and it was thought that indigenous societies made no valuable contribution to any dimension of development, and that they lacked any relevant material resources including cultural, artistic and social knowledge. In postmodern society, the indigenous and caboclo ability to interact intelligently with symbols and information, and to belong to social groups and places based on affection, would be considered an important asset in places under creative material production (Hardt and Negri 2000). Indeed, the endogenous resistances, possibly due to the incomplete conversion of the territory and society into modern industrial rationality, should inspire the present generation to review the ubiquitous capitalist need for homogeneity, integration and hegemony (Brandão 2007), and move forward, from a paradigm that searches for equality towards one that seeks to respect diversity (Monte-Mór, published in the present volume).

As the indigenous capacity to respect, produce and engage with nature becomes more evident, so the ecological complexity of both the tropical forest (soil, rivers, climate and biodiversity) and its social landscape (indigenous and mestizo societies, neo-peasants, urban, etc.) begin to be acknowledged. Although these societies no longer exist under the same circumstances as those described in archaeological research, their descendants still maintain their culture but are currently among the very poorest people living in urban Amazonian Brazil (Pereira 2012; 2016).

Acknowledging the different social groups within present societies as well as the need to provide the means for those who are different (those who do not produce or live according to the rules of a capitalist system that is hegemonic and totally selective and exclusionary) could be a first step towards devising a more acceptable, alternative approach to urbanisation in the Amazon. This could also provide a pilot experience so as to pursue a further stage of urbanisation, one that is capable of disseminating nature as an ally for social justice across an urbanised world.

9.4 Alternative Urbanisation Strategies for the Brazilian Amazon in the Twenty-First Century

After centuries of impacts and the devaluation of traditional knowledge, Brazilian federal policies have been responsible for generating invisibility towards people and ways of life, and have legitimated a mismatch between biophysical support (soil, water and vegetation) and living beings. These blind spots proved very useful for

the marketing strategies launched from the 1950s to attract millions of migrants searching for cheap, plentiful land, with the possibility of making quick fortunes by exploiting natural resources, under the slogan 'Land without men for men without land' (Brasil 1970). Thus, the second half of the twentieth century witnessed the re-establishment of the sixteenth-century Eldorado, together with the belief that natural resources were infinite and could be exploited with the consent and financial support of the federal government for agribusiness and mining activities.

This path created the previously cited overlaps between the different ways of life and productive systems that generated the contemporary process of urbanisation, which is derived, selective, discontinuous and open (Santos 1986), permeated by signs of resistance to all exogenous practices, diffused over the last decades through federal policies (environmental, industrial, agrarian, urban, etc.) and private investment. The region has become a space of multiple determinations, with a greater dependency on public sector guidelines than observed in other regions of Brazil, and often allied to demands from the private sector. There is also a shortage of investments, which are instrumental to the everyday lives of the increasing population groups of urban poor, whose subsistence depends on a certain degree of access to land or nature, and are identified only as resistance strategies (Monte-Mór 2015).

Cities within the global periphery are accumulation centres that function as nodes where surplus labour is generated, and where the capital surplus is mobilised and directed towards global centres of the world economy. These cities also offer demonstration models, absorbing exogenous inputs and values (generated in modern centres—homogenising global city formulas) to open up a new market for their products, and to spread urban-industrial habits and values (Browder and Godfrey 1997).

The modernization policies promoted by national governments are of fundamental importance to frontier expansion. They promote the dissolution of peasant and indigenous communities in favour of large capital and its speculative strategies, in order to mobilise and apprehend their main means of production—the land. Rural populations (peasants, settlers, indigenous and traditional extractive communities) are forced to leave their territories and move to cities where they often become the urban poor. The process begins when families first send their children to a peripheral area of the city to attend school, while the head and other adults of the family remain in the rural areas producing goods to trade in the urban markets. Once the entire family has moved to the city, they become very vulnerable and move towards temporary employment and unskilled activities. This process has already taken place in different countries at different times. However, the current speed and intensity with which it has manifested in the Brazilian Amazon has further deepened the previously attested capacity of the financial age of capitalism to cause inequality and exclusion (Sassen 1991; Hardt and Negri 2000). The timing of investments is overly accelerated and tends to change institutional frameworks, circumstances of tenure, technological paradigms and the profile of the labour force. Local people are unable to follow these changes; their livelihoods are disrupted and they are finally forced out to the city peripheries. Most of the local population have

been unconcerned about tenure regularisation, since occupation was generally considered sufficient to keep control of the land. The arrival of new investments, however, brings with it a formal system, which is not understood by the locals, and is completely dominated by and biased towards the newcomers.

The action of capitalism on the frontier is selective and unequal, since several frontier areas are integrated to centres of the system in different manners, times and circumstances, according to the history of their social formation (Furtado 1983). Nowadays, capitalist penetration is not a direct result of a gradual transition from peasantry to proletarian relations. The process of capitalist integration on the frontier demonstrates several gradients that have resulted in urban intensities across the territory, not only manifested through human settlements and agglomerations but also by units of human occupation related to capitalist production (such as farms, ports, storage systems, power units, etc.) (D'Alasta 2016; Ramos 2014).

The approach that best suits the insertion of Amazonian space into a broader network of global production and urbanisation is 'extensive urbanisation' (Monte-Mór 1994), understood as a process that penetrates regional spaces and virtually manipulates them into continuous networks spread worldwide. It recognises the urbanisation process as being globally led, despite its extraordinarily diverse expressions, which confirm the unequal development of capitalist practices. In this sense, as mentioned above, the Amazon has been placed within this broader network as a periphery for the exploitation of natural resources.

The concept of extensive urbanisation was developed by Monte-Mór (1994) inspired by the Lefebvrian concept of the 'urban zone', the stage of contemporary socio-spatial formation, which leads to the disruption of the city, generating a dichotomic movement of implosion (concentration, and agglomeration of urban practices) and explosion (extension of the urban fabric and intensification of spatial connections). Along the same lines, Brenner (2014) later introduced the concept of 'planetary urbanisation', described as a process that produces a diversity of new capitalist geographies, which express unequal spatial development, and may not be explained through classical rural–urban dichotomies.

This situation may be illustrated by the proliferation of new (global) urban forms (shopping malls, gated communities, housing schemes and large retail centres) and by the large investments in logistics (roads, railways and hydropower units) that have appeared far from the metropolitan regions, increasingly more inserted into peri-urban and rural areas, which have now become amalgamated into distant peripheries (Fix 2011; Melazzo 2013). Postmodern capitalism has created these new geographies, on account of the new routines and spatial possibilities facilitated by new telematics and communication solutions. The transition from classical industrial production to control and financial services has allowed production to be transferred to the peripheral areas of the capitalist system, while at the same time maintaining control of the system in global cities.

A new kind of industry and agriculture has been created, strongly dependent on services devised in these global cities, and although they are able to generate economic growth, they are far from able to promote development. The reliance of postmodern capitalism on knowledge, culture, rooted values and symbols indicates

that the ongoing homogenising process in the Amazon is a massive loss of assets. This loss also strikes against current debate on adapting to climate change, which further acknowledges that the very poorest are among those most deeply affected by recent extreme events, such as drought and floods (Ojima and Marandola 2013).

While homogenisation is not complete, there still remains a possibility of transforming something, which was previously considered a disadvantage (such as dependency on low technology or a narrow division of labour), into an emancipatory opportunity. However, this would demand an ontological shift in the peripheral regions, a search for innovative solutions within its own experience, and the creation of new concepts and viewpoints. The first step for making the socio-biodiversity of the Brazilian Amazon more visible would be to reformulate the right to the city so as to incorporate the right to nature for all those who are excluded from, or simply outside, the hegemonic formal economy.

The following section explores empirical data from recently undertaken research with the aim to better illustrate the current transition, and the rhythm with which the above-mentioned losses are taking place in the Amazon.

9.5 New Emergent Urban Spaces

Consolidation of the empirical data and tracing the current processes indicate that there are three basic trends involved in urbanisation and development strategies, which are prone to generating socio-environmental conflicts. These are as follows: (i) those that emerge from the accelerated, contradictory interaction between intense urbanisation and stagnation; (ii) those related to urban and regional reconfiguration and differentiation; and (iii) the appropriation of production in the existing cities by fractions of capital, thanks to pro-privatisation and neoliberal policies, which aim to foster the arrival of international investments.

9.5.1 The First Trend

The first trend is structural and occurs in areas effected by successive cycles of growth and restructuring. It encompasses all the expansion cycles that occurred in Amazonian cities under the influence of economic dynamics oriented by exogenous demands (exports) in the sixteenth century (the spice cycle), the nineteenth century (the rubber cycle) and then in the twentieth century when the Amazon was economically and physically integrated with the rest of the country. Hence, the main characteristic of this trend would be the intense economic, social and spatial changes that occurred within a very short period.

One of the most representative ongoing examples of this process in the region is Altamira—a traditional city, which provided key support for land reform colonisation projects, implemented alongside the Trans-Amazonian Highway in the

1970s, and that experienced a fresh boom between 2011 and 2015. Negrão (2016) presents the outcomes of the city's most recent boom caused by the construction of the Belo Monte hydroelectric power plant, located 52 km from Altamira. During this period, the city received 25 thousand workers, boosting modernisation and bursts of urbanisation. The actions of these new forces repeated and renewed the dynamic process of urban transformation, perceived by Lefebvre (2000 [1970]) as the implosion/explosion of the city. The expanding urban tissue and the dispersion of the city's functions and structures reinforce the drive towards commodification and consumption, and fierce social conflicts among the different users: social groups of an especially 'modern kind' and traditional inhabitants.

In the case of Belo Monte, in order to receive the operational license, it was stipulated that Norte Energia, the consortium responsible for the construction works, would provide the city of Altamira and its surrounding areas with building works to the value of five billion Reals (USD 1.5 billion). As part of this socio-environmental compensation owed to the city, the company has consequently conducted a massive eviction programme and relocated poor communities and indigenous peoples out of the city to less desirable areas. The agenda for using this money was defined by the elites, who were anxiously seeking modernisation, instead of which, great disruption was caused to the everyday lives of the local inhabitants, especially those of indigenous origin, who suffered evictions and displacement.

Before the construction works began, there were 16 thousand indigenous people living in the city. Originally, these groups had settled on the margins of Altamira Creek, amid other poor social groups, from where they could easily reach the forest by boat, work in extractive activities or as tourist guides on the several islands and beaches that have now been submerged. Relocation took them to areas where land was cheap, but from where they now needed to pay the equivalent of five US dollars in order to reach the river. Their social network has been completely dismantled, and after a long absence, they have lost their position in the forest communities and are literally starving on small plots of land (designed for regular social urban housing) where they are unable to grow their traditional crops (manioc and other vegetables).

The modern urban mindset produced 4100 standard specification homes on distant housing estates, and then the real estate sector stepped in, providing new urban development schemes according to global formulas: gated communities and shopping malls. However, consumers were unable to afford these newly designed homes, and therefore built vernacular typologies on plots of land located on designed developments, thereby going against the expected housing standards. Public and private interventions reinforced the consensus of the elites regarding the need to clean up the area called Baixão do Tufi, on the margins of Altamira Creek (Fig. 9.1), removing its poorer inhabitants, in order to transform it into a recreational facility for the middle and upper classes. Thus, this process of extensive urbanisation updated consumption values and disrupted the ancient forms of cooperation between people and nature, which had long been incorporated into the routine practices of everyday life. Once the process was established in this newly

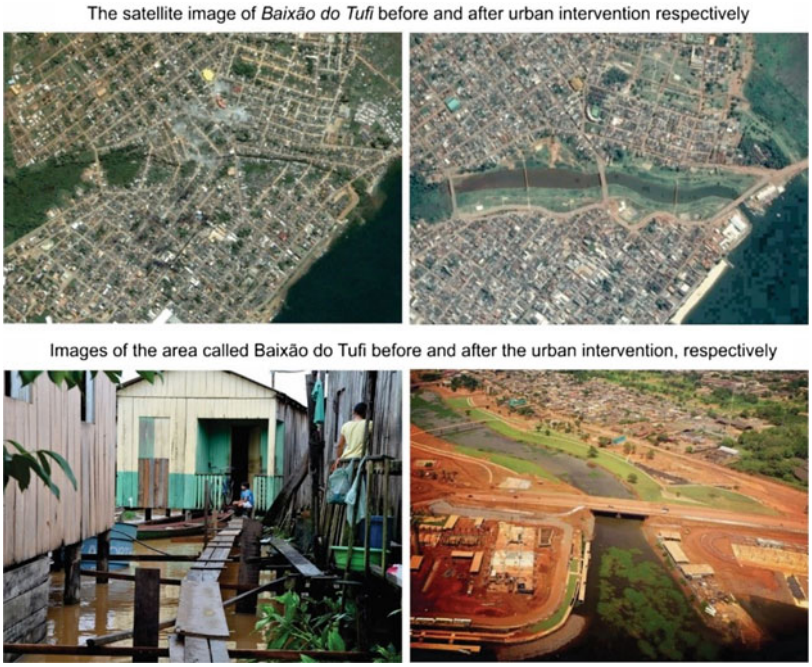

Fig. 9.1 Urban transformations in the floodplain area of Baixão do Tufi, in Altamira, Pará. *Sources* Google Earth Pro 2017 (top); the Authors (bottom)

incorporated urban area, the local elites were anxious to consolidate the new landscapes, with the desire for global companies to begin operating in the area (such as the mining company Belo Sun, which over the last year has fenced off former rural and wild areas). This has reinforced the invisibility of the poorest population and the environmental degradation, and pushed the region towards a speedier conversion to hegemonic economic practices.

9.5.2 The Second Trend

The second trend is related to the urban and regional reconfiguration and differentiation, and the emergence of polycentric, polymorphic, multi-scalar spatial arrangements, as never previously experienced in Amazonian capitalist urbanisation cycles. The overlap of several different processes is creating new socio-economic circumstances, social transformations and new institutionalisations. One example is the creation and proposal of extending metropolitan regions to non-capital cities, which have historically been affected by the boom and bust cycles. These proposals connect cities more than 50 km apart, with roadways that function as expansion routes from the cities and form a new kind of urban fabric connecting several municipalities.

In spite of the precarious living conditions that persist in the human settlements, there has been a densification of infrastructure networks, mostly dedicated to transportation logistics and aimed at the efficient export of goods (roads, railways and airports). The diffusion of these general circumstances of 'industrial' production has quickly restructured the traditional countryside, thereby redesignating villages and peri-urban areas to receive new functions related to production and the trade of commodities (mining industry, agribusiness and hydropower production) and to become adapted to global formulas (Cardoso et al 2017).

The most important regional centres outside Belém, the state capital of Pará, are Santarém and Marabá, which were previously traditional Amazonian riverside cities. Both cities have experienced several export cycles and were selected by the real estate 'industry' to receive new expansion areas. Marabá has several nuclei on a site crossed by two large rivers and, on account of its strategic location, has also received a regional airport, has become integrated with two federal highway networks, and has received a railway connection. In the near future, Marabá will also receive a port to support agribusiness, as well as another hydropower plant. The oldest nucleus of Marabá, which used to be the traditional city, has been adapted to provide a waterfront for the city. This spatial change has drastically reduced the possibilities of many inhabitants to access the riverbanks where they have practiced traditional forms of subsistence for generations, such as fishing, laundry services and boat maintenance (Cardoso 2010). Many floodplains historically prized as green spaces are now viewed as developable land. These areas are equally important for both popular subsistence activities and leisure, as in the case of the beach located on an island facing the city. The expectations of the real estate sector are that the new dam will enable the Itacaiúnas River to be diverted, thereby incorporating a huge amount of floodplain areas into the real estate market. This new configuration will also submerge beaches and therefore further erase nature—and all the associated quotidian nature-driven practices (herb and food cultivation, fruit gathering, fishing and swimming)—from the city space. The unavailability of free leisure and its replacement by paid services (as with shopping malls) deepens poverty even further among those social groups whose living spaces have been destroyed (Pontes 2015). The possibility of creating a system of green areas and public spaces is invisible to local authorities, who consider industrial urban strategies far preferable to the genuine innovation that could come about through an aggregate of new knowledge and technologies and successful old spatial solutions (Pontes and Cardoso 2016). In these areas, local authorities have failed to recognise Agenda 2030 and other international agreements that promote sustainable development (United Nations 2015).

Over recent decades, Santarém has become a port of export for soybeans, due to its link with Brazil's central regions with the opening of a new federal highway (BR 163). It is surrounded by protected areas (a national forest, an extractive reserve and settlement projects for agriculture and extractive activities) that support native producers, and also by a myriad of small century-old villages, scattered along the margins of the river and in land, ever since the time of the rubber boom. Migrants flocked to these small communities during the rubber boom and adopted livelihoods

linked to the forest, river and small crops. Roads and agribusinesses have progressively changed the patterns of land use and land prices, and a polycentric metropolitan region was created with an average distance between the cities of around 35 km. The ongoing conflict between network logistics to support agribusiness and the production and reproduction of inhabitants has been a direct result of connecting this region to the global market. This rupture is increasing and is supported by the urban elites, despite strong resistance from indigenous inhabitants whose livelihoods depend on the forest, rivers and rural settlements.

The area has gradually been adapted for the production and export of soybean. The traditional settlements and community networks have been replaced by the soybean monoculture, since the global corporation Cargill began to operate in the region, added to which there is now pressure from new real estate developments to pursue the lands now occupied by small communities located close to the city. New ports are currently in the approval phases and will demand the eviction of ten *quilombola* communities and three urban communities of indigenous descendants. Within the city of Santarém, all the traditional communities are located near rivers and streams, in areas that are valuable because they could easily receive infrastructure extension. Through the diffusion of an idea for a waterfront recreational facility, the margins of all the rivers and creeks are under dispute, and tend towards privatisation in order to construct weekend residences (Cardoso et al. 2016a, b, c).

The mosaic of land occupations that surround Santarém has caused deep social and environmental transformations, which have blended new configurations of contemporary capitalism into old communities. From the city of Belterra through to an upper-class housing development called Planalto, built for migrants from the south of Brazil, all settlements stand a high risk of pesticide contamination, as a result of their proximity to the soybean crops. Initially, the residents of Planalto settled in the middle of soybean fields in order to avoid any cultural or physical interaction with the local people. The property prices in these settlements are the same as those located in the very upper-class district of Boa Viagem in the north-eastern coastal city of Recife (fieldwork 2014, 2016) where the real estate sector has promoted the construction of high-rise buildings, such as those which are now causing the implosion of Santarém's most consolidated area (fieldwork 2017).

Despite these adverse conditions, some traditional extractive communities have been very successful in cooperating with nature (through the wise management of natural resources) and using its assets to promote collective wealth. For example, in the community of São Brás, which is located in an institutionalised agrarian-extractive settlement where the land is treated as common, there is a significant drive towards tourism. During the seasonal festivals in Sao Brás, the locals present their gastronomy, music and dance, set out in a multipurpose communitarian open field, that attract people from the city and other communities (TV Tapajós, 1 July 2016). Several communities based in protected areas have built their livelihoods from the river, forest and land, helped by a network of public institutions and NGOs. They sell their products as ingredients for the local gastronomy, produce handicrafts using vegetable fibres and supply the city's street markets with their products. Consequently, they have been able to improve their incomes more

than those who live in the city by linking traditional knowledge to modern urban knowledge, as endorsed by Santos (1979); work that addresses how two independent circuits may operate in the urban economy of periphery countries. The institutionalisation of these communities has protected them for decades, but since they pay less taxes to the local public authorities than those engaged in modern activities, they have become devalued and stigmatised (fieldwork 2014, 2016).

9.5.3 The Third Trend

The third trend comes about through the appropriation of the production of the existing cities by fractions of capital, due to pro-privatisation and neoliberal policies that aim to encourage international investments. This was induced by mega-events held in several of the country's metropolises (World Cup and Olympic Games), which became the justification for large urban interventions. However, this has also occurred in consolidated areas of state capitals and other smaller cities through interventions that express new symbols, compatible with global cities, and that make cities more attractive to the tourism industry (waterfronts, shopping malls and cultural centres). One other manifestation of this is urban sprawl, brought about by urban developments that are supposedly in line with international standards (access to green areas, provision of good infrastructure, decent housing standards, security and social homogeneity) (Muxí 2004).

The city of Belém, the 400-year-old capital of the state of Pará, is the best illustration of such processes. Here, official systemic interventions were undertaken in the historical area of the city in order to attract international tourism, through gastronomy. However, the focus on building works disguised the dismantling of a social network of biodiversity constructed over centuries and supported by links from extractive production and informal trade, mainly at the Ver-o-Peso market complex, and other ports scattered along the margins of the river (Cardoso et al. 2016a, b, c). Several overhauls and changes in the operational regulations of markets are causing gentrification among the vendors and around the vicinity of the Ver-o-Peso market. The capitalist appropriation of the city's river margins, aimed at associating historical buildings with the creation of a waterfront with consumer services and activities, has followed the experiences of strategic planning in the global north. It also denies the importance that natural resources such as fishing and the gathering of fruit and herbs provide to the success of local gastronomy.

This systemic action has also reached the Island of Combú, 1.5 km across the Guamá River, and equally exemplifies the coexistence of urban and natural ways of living. The Island of Combú is one of the 40 islands under the jurisdiction of Belém, with a natural site formed mostly of floodplains, and maintained as an environmental protection area. The inhabitants have formed an organised community that produces acai berries, cocoa and chocolate for the finest local restaurants. They also run their own home-based restaurants on demand and offer boat rides to visitors, in a small-scale touristic activity, which allows them to diversify

their income. The island has become a local haven for visitors, who would like to be in closer contact with the river, spending time in a place where the local inhabitants may benefit from maintaining their original way of life while enjoying the urban facilities located right by the edge of the river (Bibas and Cardoso 2016).

However, the real estate sector also views this island as the next frontier for urban developments, following previous experience on other islands already connected to the mainland by bridges, and the historic invisibility of local inhabitants. These days, the islands have become strategic, since natural areas are disappearing in the mainland city due to the inappropriate urban sprawl. Although the urban tissue of Belém's city centre, from the time of the rubber boom, was inspired by European cities (Duarte 1997), with well-defined squares and public spaces, until the 1970s, the main use of land within its expansion area was connected to smallholdings and farms, which respected the natural spaces (inner river floodplains) and were used for leisure, sociability and production. Throughout recent decades, several economic processes have amalgamated different typologies of urban developments in this expansion area (housing schemes, irregular land divisions, occupation and gated communities).

These settlements were oriented on an individual basis, with no global plan for the city. As a result, most of the available natural areas have been urbanised, rivers and streams polluted, no provision of public spaces, and apart from the squares for the hitherto uncompleted housing schemes, any available space has been targeted towards upper-class consumers, thereby determining that access depends on income (Miranda and Cardoso 2016). The competition for land has affected access to freshwater and to nature, insofar as it has expelled those not part of the formal urban economy (e.g. fishermen and small farmers) or replaced them by dispossessed urban poor in informal occupations similar to squatter settlements. This is the inspiration for the Island of Combú.

The contradictory appropriation of the landscape by capitalist interests is benefited by the 'brands' and identities built over centuries by the local population, while they are simultaneously expelled by the Disneyfication of the city, which masks the significant social and environmental conflicts. The resulting surplus of this change is concentrated into the hands of the few and has produced urban poverty and environmental impacts, observed through the growth of social inequality sweeping the landscape, with watercourses being landfilled, and vegetation removed for city expansion, etc. Such shifts have also pushed the city towards increasing dependency on cars, and industrial consumption, as well as the death of public spaces and an increase in violence. The same elites that operate this process in the capital offer this approach to smaller cities, as previously described to Santarém, Marabá and Altamira.

Cities and settlements located in the Marajó archipelago, nowadays considered stagnant and well out of the reach from the powerful dynamics of capitalism, provide examples of how multiple determinants interact in the resistance of traditional rationality. This is the case of Afuá, a city built on stilts in a location hit by two 3-hour periods of daily flooding. Timber exploitation and palm oil production are the main industrial activities of the area, but are currently in decline, due to

continuous deforestation. Inhabitants react to water with happiness and gratitude. They occupy public spaces in order to play with water during the highest tides of the month (full moon), but at the same time dump sewage directly into the water, to be carried away by the daily tides. While water supply, sewage and rubbish disposal are technological challenges, public spaces are very much alive, and those who live in this area, completely built on stilts and of wood, are extremely happy with the environmental performance of their homes (Mesquita 2017; Fig. 9.2).

Land is publicly controlled in Afuá, because the city is situated below the average tide levels (known as Marine Areas), and the houses are adapted for flooding. However, both the shortage of timber and the rising timber prices are gradually persuading new generations to decide on masonry to build their homes, and other buildings, which often suffer from foundation problems. There is a crossroads ahead: either empower inhabitants with physical and social technologies to be able to maintain their way of life, or allow them and their ancient knowledge to disappear.

The Island of Cinzas, an isolated locality on the Marajó archipelago, where commercial overfishing was occurring and the stock of natural resources decreasing, proved that the first option is possible. Inhabitants requested support from the Forest Unit of Embrapa (the Brazilian Enterprise for Agribusiness Research) in order to receive access to sanitation technologies and better management of natural resources. The initiative received the FINEP Award for Social Innovation and provided sustainable procedures for extractive practices. Cooperation with biodiversity and institutions has been decisive in allowing the inhabitants of this isolated community to live as they would like. They have consequently adjusted the size of their shrimp nets to prevent the extinction of stock, provided places for beehives to increase pollination of the acai berry palm trees and installed adequate sewage technology that provides fertiliser for the fruit trees (FINEP 2013). Figure 9.3 provides illustrations of the manner in which cities express traditional occupation patterns and ways of life, and of the homogenisation due to the advance of extensive urbanisation. These cases provide evidence that the current debate on extensive urbanisation is biased towards industrial hegemony, while ignoring the

Fig. 9.2 Scenes in Afuá: local inhabitants enjoying the water during the highest tide of the month (left), housing typology on the riverfront (right). This is not a tourist spot, and the shortage of wood is an excuse for replacing wooden structures with more modern technologies. *Sources* The authors

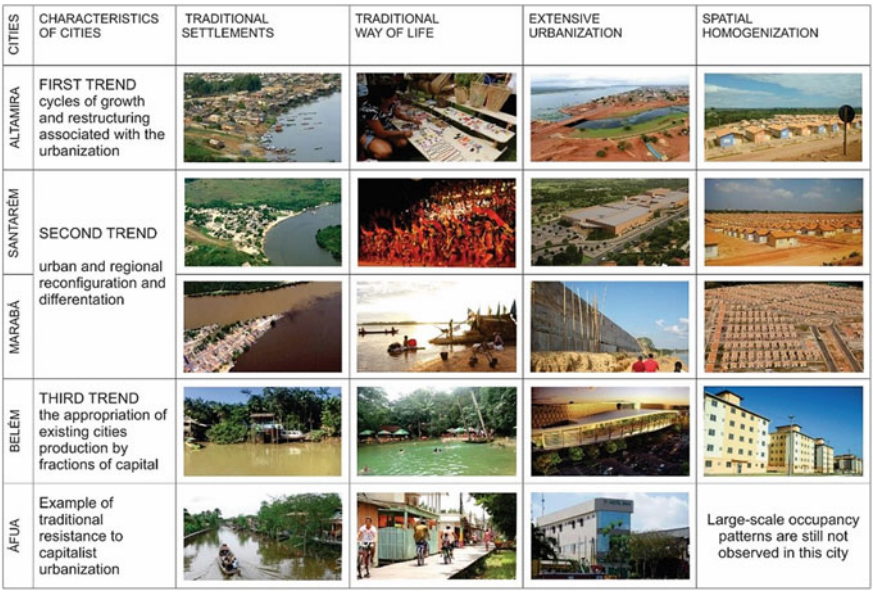

Fig. 9.3 Illustration of the three trends highlighted in the text. Photographs of Altamira from left to right: traditional urban occupation, handicrafts and the results of eviction and housing schemes in the My House My Life Program. Photographs of Santarém from left to right: indigenous occupation, Sairé Festival, shopping mall and housing schemes in the My House My Life Program. Photos of Marabá from left to right: oldest city quarter, traditional uses on the margins of the river, the wall built since 2007 and housing schemes in the My House My Life Program. Photos of Belém from left to right: housing typology on the Island of Afuá, bathing in a popular resort, shopping mall and housing schemes in the My House My Life Program. Photos of Afuá from left to right: river accessibility, typical street on stilts, new hotel built of masonry and concrete. *Sources* Pereira, Negrao, Silva, Gomes and Thomazelli (authorisation for publication of photos received)

fact that in many places of the world, especially in southern periphery areas, other patterns of human settlements have overlapped with those generated by economic globalisation.

9.6 Conclusions

The ubiquitous presence of capitalism produces homogenisation and provides the minimum levels of integration with which to operate, but the effect it has on places comes with different rhythms and intensities, and is blind to the subsequent social and environmental conflicts.

Understanding such diversity depends on an ontological shift in order to approach the facts. The current phase of capitalism presents a completely different approach towards the periphery and the central areas. Cases herein presented have

provided evidence that modernisation strategies rely on material and social, cultural and environmental homogenisation, and are very selective and unable to provide formal job centres in the same proportions with which they promote migration and urbanisation. Too often, there is a mismatch between the availability of natural resources and the understanding that they result from multifunctional, multiagent appropriation, in that the habitat integrates nature as a support for subsistence, culture and social behaviour. In these cases, the coexistence of natural (never understood as pristine, but rather socially produced spaces) and urbanised sites must be guaranteed, at least to compensate for the strong ongoing restructuring of rural areas. Rapid changes and preconceptions regarding the way that urban areas should be have favoured the reification of nature (taken as a landscape feature by real estate advertising), and lost the emancipatory opportunities for people who would benefit greatly from strengthening cities as new centralities (services, equipment and rights) and thus bring about endogenous development with their ancient knowledge (social capital) on how to manage natural resources (environmental capital).

In sum, the evidence provided in this paper supports the idea that the right to the city needs to encompass the right to nature, given its role in the production, sociability and leisure of the 'invisible' social groups. The proposal of extensive naturalisation (the coexistence of urban and natural) stretches far beyond greening and indicates that there are a knowledge gap and a need to develop concepts that could allow peripheral areas to transform previous disadvantages into an emancipatory opportunity. This is not a romantic out-of-date ideal, but rather a vision that new technologies (social and physical) are needed to improve successful and durable solutions.

The search for modernisation and economic expansion by the private and public sectors often neglects the circumstances of people. Changes in public policies are targeted towards supporting a hegemonic modern industrial paradigm and fail to consider successful traditional arrangements and their long-term positive outcomes. Currently, public policies function more as an accelerating force to become incorporated into capitalist rationality, by introducing formulas created in global cities simplified for common cities. However, from an Amazonian perspective, it is possible to state that another form of urbanisation could be possible, based on respecting diversity, where instead of just enabling alienated consumption, cities could promote citizenship for all, both in or outside the domains of the cities.

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Chapter 10
Urbanisation, Sustainability and Development: Contemporary Complexities and Diversities in the Production of Urban Space

Roberto Luís Monte-Mór

Abstract This chapter reframes concepts of urbanisation, sustainability and development. Focusing on Brazil, in which social space has not been entirely transformed into abstract space, it argues for a conceptualisation that moves beyond present urban-industrial society: the urban-natural, geared towards the urban-utopia. From this approach comes a window to reframe the word sustainability, based on the disalienation of people and the reconnection between human and nature. It also requires the visibility of the life spaces (urbanised) of invisible peoples engaged in multiple everyday activities not valued, or even seen, in capitalist societies. Those activities are related to old/previous knowledges connected to everyday life and social reproduction that depend on rooted uses of new technical and informational resources. From this point on, it should be possible to change the focus of development (de-involvement) from capital accumulation to the pursuing of happiness and social well-being, from exogenous to endogenous demands, implying people's reconnection (or re-involvement) with their life space. It also implies replacing classical claims for equality with claims for the right to diversity, considering that diversity opens new possibilities for differences, rooted in human and non-human nature. In this context, extended (and planetary) urbanisation may truly spread citizenship beyond cities and lead to the replacement of anthropocentrism by ecocentrism. Considering the complexity of contemporary society experiences, the suggested matching of extended urbanisation with extended naturalisation might become a virtual version of the urban-utopia, where the urban merges in nature, to become concrete utopia, rather than disappear.

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10.1 Introducing

To begin a paper with these worn-out words—although they will probably remain with us for quite some time—implies pointing out that we need to re-signify old concepts if we wish to explore some of the epistemological and ontological transitions that are necessary to advance in the comprehension of the changes that we witness in the contemporary world. It would be great to rely on new/other words to discuss the production of space (urbanisation), human and non-human nature (sustainability), and non-alienated transformations of the world towards social emancipation of peoples (development). But they still do not truly exist, indicating that we are living in a transition between modes of social, political and economic organisation, lest we dare not mention transitions in modes of production. Furthermore, it seems quite evident that grand narratives such as modernity, progress and industrial society are in crisis, like the crises of concepts that dominated the nineteenth century when capitalism was imposing itself as the paradigm which to this day informs the essence of our social decisions and choices.[1] Thus, let us move forward.

10.2 Of Urbanisation and the Urban

Concerning urbanisation and the urban,[2] terms that are closer to us, we cannot wave the extensive meaning bestowed upon them by Lefebvre (and which I have emphasised in several texts) nor can we discard its meaning as a privileged locus of (collective) consumption and, thus, of reproduction of the labour force, as Castells defined it four decades ago (albeit referring to cities). We cannot either forget its condition of possibility for reinvention of collective life, again inspired in/by Lefebvre. Or even spaces of synergy, or synekism, with Jacobs and Soja,[3] concepts that remain central to thinking about collective life, despite the contemporary impact of information technologies.

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[1]Ollman (1984) comments on the difficulty stressed by Engels in explaining the words he and Marx used with distinct meanings from current dominant ideology. Renaming the world is not an easy task, even though we all do it, every day, little by little.

[2]Monte-Mór (2007) emphasised Lefebvre's use of 'the urban' as a noun, rather than the adjective 'urban'.

[3]Jacobs (1969) emphasised the creative synergy of cities, and Soja (2000) (re)created the concept of synekism to stress the role of cities in producing space while rewriting the geohistory of (ancient) cities.

Therefore, contemporary urbanisation, seen because of industrial capital imposing itself over cities and redefining them through the implosion/explosion process, has become pervasive in the virtually extended urban—in various intensive and extensive forms throughout the whole territory—as the privileged space of collective life, of the conditions for social emancipation and of (re)invention and realisation of desire (Lefebvre 1999). The radically dialectical meanings of the urban—from the urban-industrial to the urban-utopia—are irremediably present in the ample, complex and diverse processes of such contemporary urbanisation.

But if the Sojean synekism extends itself along social space, then the territory will also present itself increasingly fractalized by the urban-industrial that is also extended beyond cities producing a myriad of centralities without which, according to Lefebvre, urban reality cannot exist. We may also speak of information networks promoting collective participation, the politicisation of life space and the construction of citizenship as something that materialises itself in the necessarily urbanised social space, from multiple centralities to this fabric that extends itself throughout the territory. Here lies the embryo of the dialectical contradiction—urban-industrial versus urban-utopia—implicit in the urban revolution described by Lefebvre.

This way, the attributes of the urban-utopia—this Lefebvrian urban, announced as the space of overcoming the urban-industrial, privileging complementarity and complexity, collectivity and solidarity, diversity and communion, among other pairs of concepts that have been recently rescued and reaffirmed as virtualities and perspectives—give new meaning to the extensive and intensive process of urbanisation of our days.

The problems and perils contained in this dialectic of urbanisation are, however, many (and so are the solutions and opportunities). As a privileged space of consumption, it is in the urban that the strongest strategies of capitalist domination are concentrated, from fictitious commodification of the world to subordination of nature and life to accumulation, as emphasised by Polanyi (2011) in his historical description of the emergence of capitalism.[4]

In countries like Brazil, marked by the strong presence of poor populations, the incompleteness of the social space produced for (urban) collective life is confronted with the violence and intensity of capitalist domination over the means of production, consumption, transportation and communication (today expanded in an almost frightening scale and pace). The potential of immediate gain and corporate value for globalised capitalism put these countries in a highlighted position in the face of greed and control over human and non-human resources, and thus, in the centre of accumulation.

In other words, in 'incompletely organised'[5] countries, possibilities of commodification of social space, human life and nature, and their transformation into

[4]Marx approached the issue in almost the entirety of his work, from the unveiling of the commodity to the concept of alienation.

[5]Milton Santos (1978) developed the concept of incompletely organised space as a specificity of space in underdeveloped countries.

new economic assets in a globalised financial world are huge. They condition and transform life in urban space, in this immense territory both integrated and integrator of the urban-industrial fabric emanating from large industrial metropolises and multiplied in the various markets ruled by regional poles and multiple sub-centralities of capital. These are not just any markets, though, they must be abstract enough to be encompassed by a mathematised science that discusses (and influences) price formations and the dynamics of capitalist accumulation without understanding these processes and only analytically measuring the phenomena as such. We now face a chain of complex and diversified markets led by global markets and by those directly and indirectly controlled by public-sector economy, articulated with the capitalist world economy in its various levels of territorial organisation.

In Brazil, the southeastern and southern regions[6]—São Paulo more emphatically, given recent political events—and part of the centre-west are spaces where capitalist hegemony is almost absolute and capitalist social relations of production are predominant (with enormous neo-colonised and excluded populations). On the other hand, the northeast, the north and part of the centre-west (as well as parts of Minas Gerais and the extremely poor populations all around the country) are 'still' reliant on the state, on the public-sector economy and on regional and local economies—also known today as popular or solidarity economics, internally organised according to non-capitalist social relations of production. They are thus spaces of multiple determinations, even if subordinated to the general logic of the abstract space of capital—the economic space, as defined by Perroux (1961). In this context, the two circuits of the urban economy, as proposed by Milton Santos (1979, 1994)[7] would find ideal conditions for new inventions, articulations and integration processes. In post-Fordist spaces/times of flexible labour and production—with its impacts on other economic and social spheres—one of the challenges posed to the society and the state, but also to the market (in its multiple forms), would be to broaden these relations, which would certainly benefit several different sectors.

But how to accomplish this and in which sense? It would necessarily have to be in radically uneven terms, with the necessary safeguards to think economics (and the economy) not as an abstract science turned to the formation of market prices—the Aristotelian chrematistics—but as the management of life space, of the collective house, the nomos of the oikós, and its social-environmental, cultural and political organisation. And economical, of course.

[6]It may be fitting to keep in mind that São Paulo and the three southern states used to compose the southern region, while Rio de Janeiro, Minas Gerais, Espírito Santo and Bahia formed the eastern region; today, that old regionalisation seems more adequate.

[7]Milton Santos (1979, 1994) talks about the two circuits—the superior, capital-intensive and highly organised, and the inferior, labour-intensive and loosely organised—in the urban economy of third world countries. The connections and interactions between the two sectors illuminate the understanding of those hybrid urban economies.

Some questions could then be asked: would the Lefebvrian urban-utopia—here simply defined as the social (and differential) space of encounters, possibilities, representations, potentialities, inventions, liberties and diversities—still be a possible alternative, in expressive areas of Brazil? Is it possible for it to be strengthened where it already exists, and for it to grow where it has been lost, through promoting the encounter of distinct modes of economic integration, the diversity of ways of life that are more complex and exposed to the contemporary perception? Would it be possible to produce spaces and develop social relations of production that are diverse and compatible with the multiplicity of possibilities and potentials, of encounters, of inventions and with the free expressions that the urban-utopia announced by Lefebvre needs? Would our necessary common path be the rebuilding or the invention of radical democracies with diversified (re)qualifications? These are some of the huge doubts that guide the regressive–progressive meaning of thinking about the urban-utopia, as inspired by Lefebvre.

What seems to be certain is that the urban-industrial space produced at the end of the last century—in Brazil as much as in a substantial part of the world—has shown a capacity of extension and integration of the social (and abstract, in this case) space in a surprising scale and intensity that had never been seen before. In Brazil, the urban-industrial tissue has extended itself throughout the territory in various forms, processes and centralities, reaching even the most desolate inhospitable corners, such as the depths of the Amazon forest. Varied social and urban services, transportation and communication services, legislation and public security, all sorts of apparatus, ultimately the general (urban-industrial) conditions of production and reproduction have spread its tentacles everywhere. Amid the contemporary capitalist crises, this urban reinvents itself, extends itself and gains new spaces in the city, the countryside and the jungle. But, as has been said many times before, the urban-utopia, that of politics, reinvention and of everyday life revolution also extends itself politicising social spaces, extending and strengthening citizenship, and eventually recovering forms of living and modes of economic integration that may give birth to inventions of new socio-spatial processes and forms—more compatible with the contemporary utopia of emancipation revisited from the Lefebvrian urban-utopia, and currently characterised by new relations with nature.

10.3 Of Sustainability and the Urban

How has nature entered this intensive and extensive process of producing a hegemonic and omnipresent urban-industrial fabric (ubiquitous, in global capitalism)? How can nature enter the urban of concrete and virtual utopia of our days?

Historically, it can be said that the power of industrial capitalism has taken over the cities, imploding and exploding them, generating the urban as a subordinated form and process that extended themselves and still impose themselves across the whole social space. Nature, people and money have been transformed into fictitious commodities and combined with natural resources, workforce and capital to create

an abstract, parallel and disembedded world (Polanyi 2011), subordinated to the capitalist process of accumulation, today more globalised than ever. Nature has been progressively becoming appropriated and transformed to serve the needs of the industrial civilisation—and thus of capital, understood as the relation that permanently attributes exchange value to new commodities identified in the concrete world and in people's own desires, more and more taken/tamed by the needs that are created for them.[8]

To all this, the urban-nature relationship can respond in varied ways, even in a context of permanent abstraction of the human and non-human world. While abstract space in poor countries remains incompletely organised (in great part by capital, but not only) and the produced social space appears mostly degraded and/or excluding, in rich countries the production of urbanised space spawns highly naturalised built environments that make personal and collective life less alienating and alienated. Therefore, we might argue, almost in unison with De Soto (2001),[9] that the inclusion of life space in the capitalist system as a fungible asset is a condition for growth and even for survival. It would be another fallacy of the world's pseudo-concreteness promoted by capitalist logic and its resulting alienation.

However, two strong resistances that we might call ongoing revolutions, have also expressed themselves, even if only embryonically, in the contemporary world. On the one hand, there is the urban revolution announced by Lefebvre in 1970—and largely questioned at the time—that today gains clearer outlines. The urban praxis resulting of a process of (re)politicisation of the city and extended onto the territory has made it so that new voices, new peoples (some that had already been condemned to death, as indigenous communities in Brazil) organised and put themselves as expressive actors in the context of the struggles for emancipation, always threatened but never extinct. The social movements, initially tagged as 'urban' for being in cities, are now everywhere.

On the other hand, there are the limits placed by nature on globalised capitalist accumulation and the industrial processes, also in a global scale. Contemporary environmental threats permeate the imagination of the world, forcefully bringing on a new concept, that of the worn-out word in the title of this text: sustainability. The concern with the future, so typical of modernism, has gained new contours, new values and new perspectives in face of the threat to the survival of human life on the planet. Future generations have in fact become part of our daily concerns and each day the non-human world penetrates more into the preoccupations of all peoples. The old anthropocentrism that informed Western Enlightenment begins to decay in face of a growing ecocentrism, or even a biocentrism which, a few years ago, only

[8]Lefebvre (1991) named this stage of capitalism 'bureaucratic society of controlled consumption'.

[9]De Soto (2001) became renowned for his propositions—and international consulting—of 'economicising' the capitalist peripheries of the world through the generalisation of private property and its transformation into fungible assets as solutions for exclusion and low economic growth.

seemed to inform the delusions and fundamentalisms of the so-called radical ecologists.

In these contexts, the Lefebvrian 'virtuality'—this future that informs and defines the present—becomes much more understandable. The problematique of environmental sustainability has been added to the politicisation of urban life and life space, a growing human concern that has become stronger since last century's late decades, and which is undoubtedly here to stay.

Considering this, the urban-industrial has gained new perspectives, new oppositions and, if it has not already ceased to be hegemonic, it has certainly lost its unquestionable legitimacy. Many are the actors and voices that have turned against the industrial civilisation, generating ontological and epistemological reviews that are gaining ground. As argued in other texts, the old countryside is left with either becoming industrialised—submitting itself to the capitalist logic of accumulation that transforms nature and the rural world into fictitious merchandise (ultimately, commodities)—or becoming urbanised—returning to the condition of space drawn by reproduction, only this time equipped within urban-industrial foundations. The extensive urban (and intensive in the multiple centralities) becomes the dominant element and brings with itself the flame and the germ of the polis and the civitas, of the encounter and the utopia.

How does the sustainability—of processes of production and reproduction of the social space—is asking to be understood and investigated? Many scholars have made the connections between the multiple meanings of sustainability—with Ignacy Sachs (Sachs and Vieira 2007) being one of the pioneers and broader thinkers of this issue. Sustainability must be ecological, but also social, economic, spatial and cultural, he says. Otherwise, it will not be.

Of course, in the coming years, the world of abstract space and fictitious commodities will not be convinced or converted into this sustainable vision. In this sense, the growing and spreading sustainable discourse only hides capitalist activities and logics. Rather, we can expect crises and deeper environmental conflicts before a more optimistic scenario can be envisioned. However, it also seems clear that there is no coming back from this path, and rethinking the meaning of nature in the contemporary world has become an urgent and permanent task.

Therefore, moving beyond sustainability, how (human and non-human) nature can be (re)considered before this rupture from the simplistic logic of capitalist accumulation as a permanent transformation of the world into value and fictitious commodity? The process seems to be endless and in countries with large portions of poor and subjugated populations such as Brazil, the space for 'primitive accumulation' is still way too large. The incompletely organised character of social space seems to open more easily the doors to the entrance and the domain of abstract space. Underdevelopment is also—perhaps, primarily—characterised by the alienation of the people themselves and of their living spaces.

On the other hand, there is no denying of the growth of populations previously excluded who have become actors with rather expressive voices in the

contemporaneity. From the *Índios*[10] to the landless workers, from the *extrativistas*[11] to the poor black people in urban peripheries or in favelas: all those are now heard more loudly and intensely. Some manage to fraternise themselves with this new meaning of nature and its importance in the construction of alternatives to contemporary societal (and natural) crisis. Can we learn from these new-old actors and hear, strengthen and amplify their voices?

The (neo)colonised, the poor and the excluded are not the only ones that now collectively join this new understanding of the world. Avant-garde (or progressive)[12] sectors of global urban-industrial middle classes, including among former colonial peoples, are also organised in this direction and are heard around the world, from north to south, east to west. In all those cases, the question of nature is a strengthening reference and concern. There seems to be no doubt that precisely there is a telluric force, a utopian imagination, a promise of encounter, a dream of emancipation that takes us directly back to the Lefebvrian urban. The (re)encounter of the urban with nature recovers and expands the Lefebvrian utopia. If Lefebvre was visionary and keen to perceive the urban revolution from its birth in the second half of last century, new relations with nature are redefining the revolutionary stage of the urban praxis in this century.

Extended urbanisation—with its dual sense of socio-spatial form/process, urban-industrial extension, but also urban-utopian extension through the polis/politics and civitas/citizenship—now dialectically penetrates the whole social space. In this context, nature is, on the one hand, 'natural resource' for capitalist production and 'life quality' for a few wealthy people—and perhaps for traditional populations. On the other hand, when transformed, nature—understood in the intensely/extensively urbanised space—is generally the support of poor lives alienated from the production of their living space and their work.

In the last decade of the past century, it already seemed clear that, to tackle local problems and provide a solution to the global crisis, a process of extended naturalisation should correspond to the process of extended urbanisation (Monte-Mór 1994). At that time, the narrow and clear connection between the local and the global imposed itself as a reference maybe even a condition to (re)think the world. Urban sustainability seemed impossible even for ecologists who saw urbanised space as dead space, incapable of contributing or even coexisting with the welfare of man in nature. Natural space was (re)constructed within the urban fabric. Cases such as a forest inside the city, like in Rio de Janeiro, were exceptions. Beyond the outskirts of cities, it was the countryside or the woods, taken as requirements for modern living, for industrial civilisation.

[10]In Portuguese, the word '*Índios*' refers to the native Brazilians, while '*indianos*' refers to those from India.

[11]The word '*extrativista*' (Portuguese) refers to those populations who make their living out of the extraction of raw goods from the forests, the savannahs, or other ecosystems.

[12]Once again, we lack new words, since 'avant-garde' and 'progress' are definitely compromised with the consolidation of industrial capitalism; in our context, of the urban-industrial.

The question of nature is back, strengthened in many senses. In the urban context, nature and social space must now interact with, and recognise, each other. Lefebvre's blind field preventing the perception of the nascent urban today hampers the perception of nature itself in urban everyday life. The perception of nature is now central to the blind field of alienation from the world and from ourselves. The logic of industrial production that dominated the industrial city is opposed to the logic of collective reproduction of urban life, of the urban. Today, the logic of industrial production[13] opposes the logic of reproduction of nature—implicit in Lefebvre's writings and now emerging with greater emphasis and visibility. In fact, it has now a central and unquestioned legitimacy and it is much easier to perceive and understand than the 'urban revolution' or even the famous 'right to the city'.

Urban sustainability has traditionally been seen as something apart from nature. In fact, the articulation between the urban question and the environmental question is quite recent. At the end of the last century, urban issues were seen as alien and even pernicious to environmental issues and nature only appeared as nature produced within cities in the form of parks, squares and gardens. At the time, it was impossible to think of an intimate articulation of urban space and natural space. Nature was constrained to the countryside or to the woods and forests not occupied by civilised man. As a reference, there was the perspective of a social production of human space entirely dominated by the urban-industrial fabric, shaping, equipping and organising territories in its own image. The 'third industrial revolution' (Mandel 1978) confirmed this assumption in which food production turned into highly profitable business for capital, and thus nature advanced in its transformation into fictitious commodity as part of abstract space.

However, if the urban-industrial has been producing, in a hegemonic way, the space in which we live, it seems that only the urban-natural can ensure/guarantee the space where we can live. The so-called urban sustainability demands the radical recovery of nature, an overlapping of the urban fabric with natural space, the extension of nature into the extended urban. Thus, the urban that announces itself is also the urban-natural, increasingly and strongly connected to everyday life, to food production, to linear parks, to urban forests and to spaces of collective ownership—common spaces (and objects).

Indeed, the naturalisation of urban space has been moving swiftly in the whole world. New experiences and practices to include nature in the living space are emerging, and even in the same spaces of capitalist production. In incompletely organised countries, where much of the population lives alienated and powerless in the face of their living space, nature is generally appropriated in a destructive and degrading way. Still, attempts to restructure the urban-industrial space in 'sustainable' basis have informed numerous experiences in the world, both from popular organisations and state planning initiatives. There are innumerable experiences

[13]We should emphasise the broad meaning of 'industrial', taken as the predominance and hegemony of industrial capital to include the 'third industrial revolution', i.e. food production (Mandel 1978).

in peripheral urban occupations, the Landless Workers Movement (MST) camps, non-governmental solidary organisations and/or urban agriculture, community movements and local initiatives, although they are still insufficient to determine a qualitative transformation in the organisation of our current urban-industrial space. In the metropolitan area of Belo Horizonte (RMBH), the planning team from the Federal University of Minas Gerais (UFMG), responsible for the metropolitan development for the past 9 years, has insisted on proposing a metropolitan restructuring adapting the French concept of green and blue weft.[14] In public workshops and seminars conducted by the staff in the metropolitan planning process, the responses of local dwellers to this proposal were enthusiastic. Theoretically, the metropolitan populations of Belo Horizonte—and, as far as we can imagine, of Brazilian metropolises—seem ready to transform their urban-industrial space into the urban-natural life space.

However, to (re)learn to live with nature within everyday life space, redefining urban-regional space through urban-natural relations that may be compatible with the urban-industrial fabric that dominates and determines our (urban) life, is certainly one of the toughest current challenges to all populations. Practices settled in strong interaction with nature—associated with leisure, tourism, sports, food and the increasing awareness of the need for environmental preservation in the face of contemporary threats—can certainly contribute to these changes, but are not enough.

In the meantime, commodification of the world, people and nature itself produces a recurring alienation, broadened by traditional media, particularly by television. The deepening of the 'techno-scientific and informational milieu' expands the possibilities of intervention and control by users over different networks and digital media, opening democratic, participatory and decentralised possibilities in terms of content production and dissemination. Even policies linked to traditional media sectors (television and radio) may also modify this setting. Nevertheless, it seems that despite the technological advancements of the urban-industrial and informational tissue, significant changes coming from the urban-natural can also be expected, probably strengthening and redefining the sense of concrete and virtual utopia suggested by Lefebvre.

10.4 Of Development and the Urban

On the same year in which Lefebvre wrote about the right to the city (Lefebvre 1968), Furtado (1968) wrote about the search for a development ideology to understand the underdevelopment and stagnation in Latin America, thus outlining a

[14]The *tram verte et bleue* was officially created in France in 2007, based on regional experiences, in particular the environmental requalification of Nord-Pas-de-Calais' former mining region, integrating ecological corridors and environmental protection areas. For the RMBH's Green and Blue Weft proposal, see www.rmbh.org.br.

concept that became central to all following Latin American school studies coming from ECLAC (Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean). On the one hand, it emphasised the development of productive forces and, on the other hand, the transformation of social structures and its institutional framework as conditional to growth and emancipation. Lefebvre, in turn, after having introduced the concept of 'the right to the city', came across the idea of 'urban revolution', at the time misunderstood and highly criticised. Following his studies on space and politics and on everyday life, he ended up resuming the discussion on the crux of the matter to which everything reports to—the survival of capitalism. His focus then, became the production of space and the reproduction of the social relations, essential conditions to the survival (and the surpassing) of capitalism[15] (Lefebvre 1976).

Furtado had already included in 1968 questions that he would return to in later books. His criticism to classical interpretations on the crisis of industrial capitalism, by J.S. Mill, as the result of excessive capital supply, and Marx as the structural insufficiency of demand, ended up placing technology as a core element in development, with an approach that combines economic arguments with sociopolitical and cultural ones. The collective aspect of underdevelopment in industrial civilisation is key in his argument. Ten years later, in *Creatividade e dependência na civilização industrial* (1992), Furtado deepened his explanation on the ideology of development bringing to the centre of the debate the question of creativity. His almost anti-modernising perspective (or perhaps post-modern?) of the 1960s made way, in the late 1970s, to an argument centred on endogenous development that, alongside the concept of culture, gained strength in his following work.

To Furtado (1978), the ideology of development succeeds the ideology of progress. If the ideology of progress meant an intra-national inter-class pact, development represents an international pact among ruling classes, entailing the diffusion of rationales of the organisation and the forms of reproducing the social relations of production from the old to the new spaces occupied by capitalism.

> In the same way that the idea of progress became the ideological lever to foment the consciousness of interdependence between groups and classes with antagonistic interests, in societies in which the bourgeois revolution destroyed the traditional bases of legitimisation of power, the idea of development served to assert the awareness of international solidarity in the process of dissemination of the industrial civilisation in the framework of dependence (Furtado 1978: 76, our translation[16]).

[15]The Urban Revolution was published in 1970; in 1972, Lefebvre published Space and Politics, Everyday life in the modern world and The survival of capitalism; in 1974, he published his main work on this thematic in which, without relinquishing the metaphor or metonymy of the urban, Lefebvre touches on the broader question, that being The Production of Space.

[16]"*Da mesma maneira que a ideia de progresso transformouse em alavanca ideológica para fomentar a consciência de interdependência em grupos e classes com interesses antagônicos, nas sociedades em que a revolução burguesa destruíra as bases tradicionais de legitimação do poder, a ideia de desenvolvimento serviu para afiançar a consciência de solidariedade internacional no processo de difusão da civilização industrial no quadro da dependencia*" (Furtado 1978: 76).

Seen from that angle, the deconstruction of the concept of development had long been in progress. The structuralist thinking from ECLAC insisted that development, unlike economic growth, meant structural transformation in the economy and society. Industrialisation was the path taken by the economy, and structural modernisation the path of the sociopolitical and cultural institutions. Furtado further developed this question emphasising the endogenous, creative and libertarian dimension of development:

> With development being the expression of the capacity to come up with original solutions to the specific problems of a society, authoritarianism (of any sort, not just the military sort, but that of the elite), by blocking the social processes in which this creativity feeds upon, frustrates true development (Furtado 1978: 80, our translation[17]).

Contemporaneously, questions regarding the hegemony of Western culture, debates on everyday life, the systematic criticism of the Gross Domestic Product as a means of measuring welfare and socio-economical emancipation, as well as the emergence of new concepts such as Gross Domestic Happiness,[18] Post-Development,[19] among others, herald polarisations and radical redefinitions on the nature of development. Criticism towards '(de)envelopment'[20] of local populations and their sociocultural practices as a condition for the entry of a hegemonic rationale based on capitalist relations and modern consumption has informed the (re) organisation of social relations of production directing them towards new arrangements, new modes of social and economic integration, and suggesting conceptual and practical transformations for the near future. Other possibilities arise, thus.

Furthermore, the environmental issue had already been pressuring the concept of development by placing limits on growth and suggesting the 'stationary state', among other proposals. Thus, from the ideology of progress to that of development, from sustained growth to sustainable development, many are the recent shifts in trajectory of this concept.

To what concerns us in discussing the complexities of the production of space vis-à-vis the comprehension of the urban-utopia and the contemporary sense of

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[17]"*Sendo o desenvolvimento a expressão da capacidade para criar soluções originais aos problemas específicos de uma sociedade, o autoritarismo (de qualquer tipo, não apenas militar, mas das elites) ao bloquear os processos sociais em que se alimenta essa criatividade frustra o verdadeiro desenvolvimento*" (Furtado 1978: 80).

[18]The concept of Gross Domestic Happiness was born in Bhutan and has been appropriated in a traditional manner in the Western world over the last years resulting, in 2012, in the report—World Happiness Report—from The Earth Institute, University of Columbia, New York, led by scholars such as Jeffrey Sachs and others.

[19]The concept of post-development started in the 1980s, along with postcolonialism, postmodernism and other 'posts' (Monte-Mór and Ray 1995). Arturo Escobar, Marshall Sahlins, Ivan Illitch and other theorists had their papers convened in the collection the post-development reader (Rahnema and Bawtree 1997).

[20]The very etymological meaning of the words to designate development has been pointed out, from the Portuguese '*des-envolver*' (de-involve) to the English 'de-envelop' and the Spanish *desarrollar* (unwrap).

nature, development necessarily must be (re)thought in the endogenous bases proposed by Furtado (1984), having creativity as a core and development as the capacity to create original solutions to the specific problems of a society.

In this light, the (de)envelopment (in Portuguese, '(de)involvement') takes on an inverted signal, that being, rather than (de)enveloping populations from their historic sociocultural bases towards the onset of an instrumental rationalism, necessary for the dissemination of capital, it's about (de)enveloping (de-involving) these populations from the shackles that the bureaucratic society of controlled consumption (Lefebvre 1991) has been forcing upon them, more and more each day. It would then be possible to speak of a 'post-modern development', centred in complexity, difference and diversity, while breaking with the homogenising tendencies of globalised capitalism.

Within this context, the general conditions of (urban-industrial) (re)production that mark the extension of the urban tissue over the territory must also be reviewed, as they are set upon promoting the diffusion of industrial civilisation and abstract economic space rationales and, thus, against the populations' endogenous (de)envelopment of their cultural bases and their local economies. Also within this context, beyond the shift in the meaning of development from some exogenous process conceived in the bosom of the imperialistic expansion of capital to the endogenous meaning proposed by Furtado, it is possible to oppose to the meaning of (de)envelopmen (or de-involvement), a radical re-involvement (or (de)envelopment), that is, the (dialectical) return to the local roots, which certainly implies a return to nature. Dialectical because it isn't a simple return to a static or nostalgic sense, but a transformed and transformative return, revisiting and embedding the future as a reference, such as in the regressive–progressive Lefebvrian/Marxian method. Returning to cultural and historical determinations with a gaze towards the virtuality of the future.

Seen under this light, it is currently more important to think about diversities than inequalities, as in the recent past. Inequality presupposes equality, something no longer of interest for us, while it recalls the homogeneity of abstract space, the urban and socio-spatial forms and processes of the urban-industrial. Diversities, on the contrary, open way to alternatives, to spaces of difference, to socio-spatial constructs generated within the core of cultural realities rooted in the concrete world, in human and non-human nature.

10.5 In Conclusion

Given this picture, what can be done, how should we act? What are the possibilities in advancing the production of knowledge focused on transformative action?[21] Which complexities need to be accepted and embraced, if we are to come up with a

[21]Inspired by the subtitle—'from knowledge to action'—of John Friedmann's book (1987), which intends to map out the main traditions in planning theory since the late eighteenth century.

contemporary agenda for a social and political emancipation project? Graver still, which alternatives are put in the continuity of the growing and intense 'marketification' of the world, with apparent fatal results to life on Earth?

Promoting, assuring and strengthening the multiple modes of socioeconomic organisation, diversities in ethnicity, race, gender, belief, use, foods and cultures seem to be a core principle in the construction of social emancipation based on the urban-utopia, naturalised and non-alienated by inspiration of Lefebvre, Furtado and other authors here referenced. However, we are aware that this can also create strong opposition and conflict, hatred and wars, and all the evils that the market society, the class and racial hierarchies, and the crystallisations of power and wealth tend to produce.

Politicisation of the entirety of social space and the deepening and strengthening of the sense of citizenship—now clearly extended beyond cities—seem to be the main antidote, as well as the central element in the Lefebvrian urban-utopia force we strive to build. Which will be the other/new general conditions of (re)production that can de-envelop in an endogenous fashion these diversity alternatives, these complex forms that reflect the multiple socio-spatial arrangements that are to be built, these diverse processes, combined and complex, that could reflect the search for the possible–impossible of virtual future, the differential spaces, real-and-imaginary?[22]

What is to be our urban-utopia, after all? Embedded in nature… or it shall not be!

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[22]Inspired by the subtitle of Edward Soja's Thirdspace (1996), in which the author explores the implications of the dialectic of the Lefebvrian triad in the understanding of the transformations in the contemporary urban space.

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