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Moving Cities – Contested Views on Urban Life

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Editors' Introduction

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The book *Moving Cities: Contested Views on Urban Life* is a publication promoted by the European Sociological Association Research Network 37 – Urban Sociology. As members of the coordination and board of this research network, our aim is to establish bridges throughout Europe and beyond, by contributing to the dissemination of relevant research in our field. These bridges link researchers interested in participating in the European scientific debate on cities and urban life, but they are also bridges between cities, favouring contexts of discussion and further comparative analysis between several urban settings and social configurations.

This book project started during the Midterm Conference of the RN37 – Urban Sociology held in 2016, in Krakow, Poland. The conference theme, *Moving Cities*, provoked scientific discussion about the dynamic changes of urban realms induced by the overpowering process of economic globalisation, and by bottom-up practices and social movements. How do these factors determine the challenges that local communities, institutions and cities already have to tackle and will face in the future? How can we develop sociological concepts, methods and interdisciplinary approaches for better understanding unstable, changing urban realities?

The response to the Midterm Conference Call for Papers was overwhelming, and the debate during the meeting was so productive that we decided to bind this project on paper, by creating a book that could hold the international discussion that took place during the conference. Therefore, and most of all, in planning this book, we were trying to open a space to continue the debate on the contested views on urban life arising from different research projects.

This book seeks questions and answers arising from scientific research – mainly sociological, but also in dialogue with other social sciences such as anthropology and architecture. From this interdisciplinary dialogue emerges the field of urban

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studies, nurtured by different theoretical concepts and methodological approaches to urban settings and the social forces creating cities in everyday life. The twelve chapters of the book introduce us to very different research projects developed in diverse spaces and scales.

Saskia Sassen's chapter focuses on the practices that constitute economic globalisation, mobilising the categories of production and place. This perspective allows us not only to grasp the diversity of the work that is at the basis of the global economy, namely the most disadvantaged jobs usually forgotten in the narratives about this process, but also to focus on the role of global cities as the places where many of the resources necessary for the global economy are embedded.

The author identifies a "dynamic of valorisation" that widens the distance between the over-valorised and the under-valorised sectors of the global economy. This is viewed as an issue of perception and narrative: certain types of work, activities and workers are not acknowledged as part of the global economy. Sassen also points to the different profit-making capabilities of these different sectors of the economy and the corresponding consequences for the lives of low-wage workers, namely immigrants and women, as well as addressing the urban economy of global cities and what she calls the "geographies of centrality and marginality".

The polarisation of the global economy on the urban scale creates an increasing divide within major cities that corresponds to a "new geography of centres and margins that not only contributes to strengthen existing inequalities but also sets in motion a whole series of new dynamics of inequality".

In this context, many low-profit businesses have difficulties in succeed, even when there is demand for their services, and often become informal. These informal businesses constitute opportunities of work and entrepreneurship for immigrant women, who are the labour supply that facilitates low wages under bad working conditions. They become situated at the confluence of two different dynamics: on the one hand, they constitute a disempowered class of workers, but on the other hand their participation in the labour market brings changes in their gender relations and their place in society, enhancing the chances that their voice might be heard.

Building on this example, the author suggests that the global city – as the place both where global economic functions are centralised and where local transnational sub-cultures are re-territorialised – is a contested terrain where claims arise from global corporations and the disadvantaged immigrant sectors as well. This creates the possibility of new forms of citizenship practices and a new politics that goes beyond nationality.

Talja Blokland's text focuses on community as a classical but also modern term to understand the challenges of urban life patterns, shaped by diversity. With a relational approach to doing community, Blokland is able to provide a better un-

derstanding of community and urbanism under the conditions of diversity and inequality as new challenges of cities in the Global North. Therefore, the author discusses, based on long- term experiences, ranging from research on the basis of *Urban Bonds* (2013) and *Community and Urban Practice* (2017), the challenges of diversity and fluent identities within cities for concepts like belonging, embeddedness or the institutional framing of inter-personal interactions. It becomes clear that the concepts of diversity and community need to be questioned and redefined. Neither classical approaches, like the work of Elias and Scotson (1965) about established and outsider relations, nor class-based approaches (Mazlish 1989) explain the relationship between belonging and boundary making within diverse cities. Here, it is necessary to understand community as culture, which indicates a relation focused on practices, symbols and identities. Such a community as culture is not stable, and furthermore needs to be constructed and shaped by an ongoing process.

Joan Pujadas and Gaspar Maza, experienced anthropologists and ethnographers working on the bridges between anthropology and other disciplines of the field of urban studies, bring to the debate a very relevant feature of urban settings: mobility. In our daily activities devoted to work, study and provisioning, and in non-daily pursuits (leisure, cultural activities, etc.), we are increasingly seeking better ways and styles of mobility. The authors mobilise the concept of *space of life* from human geography to analyse how home and the residential space are no longer the main centre of urban life, having been replaced by the places where our daily activities unfold. The role of information and communication technologies in mobility are at the centre of the discussion.

Apart from the discussion on mobility and urban life, the reader can access methodological advances of mobile ethnography in the Metropolitan Region of Barcelona. Mobile ethnography is a very specific way of operationalising urban ethnography, where participant observation, deep interviewing and field diaries are key methods, but also the *scales game*, where the ethnographer jumps from the conversation with a train passenger to criticising urban planning, understanding the city in a broader way, as a node of nodes: a metropolitan region. The authors address two big challenges in this text. Firstly, by studying mobility in the city ethnographically, they question the place as an ethnographical shorthand (Cordeiro/Vidal 2008) and show the need to develop a multi-scale analysis, close to the idea of the ethnography of urban flows (Ferro 2015). By reading this chapter, the reader will learn why mobility cannot be understood solely as a product of social relations, but also as a strong element that produces them.

Inspired by Henri Lefebvre's thoughts on space and time, **Ray Hutchison** develops a kind of archaeology of the "lost history" that "permeates" the urban centres of contemporary cities. Hutchison's text deconstructs the idea that cities always cul-

tivate their historic memory and patrimony. Remembering and highlighting urban historical memories is part of a selective process. The text addresses the significant social phenomenon of erasing historical memories of cities, namely by destroying the morphological settings where historical moments of conflict took place.

Hutchison's reflections contribute to the theory of urban studies by showing that municipal and governmental powers can erase or hide some historical spaces. This "lost history" is also an "empty space to call attention to places in the urban fabric where history abides but is not marked, where events of the past have been lost in the continuous cycle of destruction and reinvention of the contemporary city". The author explores this concept by focusing on three events from Chicago that were very important historical moments: the Great Railroad Strike of 1877: the political meeting on Market Street where Albert Parsons delivered his "Grand Army of the Starving" speech; the police attack on the Vorwärts Turner Hall, and the confrontation between armed troops and workers at the Halsted Street Viaduct. By focusing on these moments of social effervescence, Hutchison marks the need to recover empty spaces "that figure prominently in the labour protests and struggle for workers' rights of the early capitalist era".

Heitor Frúgoli Jr.'s chapter focuses on the theme of urban mega-events and how they change cities, momentarily, but also permanently. The author chose Pétonnet's floating ethnographic method (Pétonnet 1982) to assess the impacts of the 2014 World Cup on his own neighbourhood, Vila Madalena, in São Paulo, Brazil. His previous knowledge of the site and intense fieldwork enabled him to provide a vivid portrayal of the social interactions and of the uses of public space during the event.

Vila Madalena became a space of confluence for people attending the World Cup games, dividing the attention with the official spaces of the competition. The existing networks of leisure, consumption, and inhabitation became juxtaposed with those connected to the event and "the collective and festive dimension intensified already existing conflicts among residents and frequenters". Some of the conflicts resulted in repressive actions from the police, and the author claims that for these events to amplify the right to the city instead of originating repression practices and prohibitive actions from the authorities, better public management and mediation between the different actors involved and their diverse interests are imperatives.

The chapter also comprises a theoretical approach to the importance and meaning of public spaces in contemporary cities and insights about the specific field of urban ethnography. This was complemented with reflections about the ethnographer's own position in the field and the challenges of turning something familiar into something strange, following the path indicated by one of the most prominent Brazilian urban ethnographers, Gilberto Velho.

The chapter authored by **Maxime Felder and Loïc Pignolo** proposes a comparative analysis of shopping streets in three different French-speaking cities: Geneva, Paris and Brussels. The research draws on a strong line of research in urban sociology and urban studies on consumption in the city, including a comparative perspective. Sharon Zukin, for instance, has been working on this issue for several years (Zukin et al. 2009, Zukin 2012, Zukin/ Kasinitz/Chen 2015). In this text, the shops are viewed as "key elements of the objectification of a place identity", where it can be negotiated and manufactured. Through observation, formal encounters and interviews with shop owners, shopkeepers and shop users, the authors build a story of each street, mobilising buildings, everyday practices, representations and the context and history of surrounding neighbourhoods. In each street, we get to know some businesses and some local actors.

In all the portrayed cases, the authors argue, shops are fundamental elements of the narratives about local identity, constituting physical markers of its different aspects. Felder and Pignolo share with the reader three ways in which shops may be interpreted as the "bricks-and-mortar of place identity": as material components of the streetscape, designed by the owners whose decisions can affect the street's look and feel; as symbolic means used to objectify place identity, and finally by allowing or restricting interpretations, through their mere presence.

Some shops might not cohere with a certain attempt to make sense of a place, and thus force the person or group to adjust the narrative and corresponding practices. The authors conclude by asserting that shops help narratives on place identity to retain coherence and stability, suggesting, however, that not all shops have the same urban influential capacities.

The chapter "Measuring Deprivation in the City of Barcelona: Incorporating Subjective and Objective Factors" by **Riccardo Valente** brings the reader to research on inequality in the city. The author specifically discusses the concept of "social insecurity". This concept is part of the latest theoretical advances arising from the need to seek new ways to understand inequality and its consequences. The author wants to take into account both dimensions (the objective reality and the subjective perspective of the actors) that produce every configuration of a collective situation. To a certain extent, this idea is linked to the previous reflections on job insecurity by Robert Castel (2000), who studied the phenomenon of inequality and urban exclusion. Here, though, the concept would replace the term "resource deprivation", developed within the theories of capacities, which defines situations of inequity in relation to the capacity for independence of individuals in their social lives.

The issue considered here is that the urban environment in which one lives could reduce this capacity when some places (neighbourhoods) collect problems

of physical unsafety, fear, illness and precariousness (unemployment, low level of education and low purchasing power).

The main contribution of this paper is an operational framework of the concept in four dimensions suggested by the literature: objective, subjective, health and ecological. In addition, the author applies this concept empirically in a big European city: Barcelona. Moreover, at the end, the article relates types of insecurity within geographical areas of this city, just as other pieces use different indicators of poverty and other indicators. Valente's proposal therefore allows further studies of this nature.

Rising social inequalities have a variety of effects on neighbourhoods in our cities. Demographic and migration shifts, structural change of labour economy, and neoliberal policies drive processes of socio-spatial (re)sorting that lead to either the decline or the ascent of neighbourhoods. For urban sociology, issues of social and ethnic mixing, downgrading, neighbourhood effects, and gentrification are at stake. Taking into account the development of the city as a whole, these contrary processes can often be observed side by side. The chapters authored by **Nunzia Borrelli**, **Teemu Kemppainen** and **Sonja Lakić** discuss these challenges.

Nunzia Borelli focuses on the relationship between social cohesion and competitiveness in Chicago. She analyses the Pilsen Mexican neighbourhood, at the edge of the Chicago loop, combining qualitative interviews with photographs and documents and providing an insight into the struggle with urban policy and gentrification in a classic immigration neighbourhood of Chicago. Obviously, urban policy strategies reinforce gentrification in the Pilsen neighbourhood by tax-based benefits for local entrepreneurs and cultural and tourist development of the neighbourhood infrastructure. However, the residents were not passive, and acted against the beginning of gentrification. They were able to go against the top-down policy of the municipality, and highlighted the long history of the neighbourhood as a tool to create cohesion. Another tale of the protest was the feeling of exclusion and the impression that the ongoing process of gentrification in their neighbourhood is nothing they can participate in. The author shows first that culture is an ambiguous tool to attract to a neighbourhood. On the one hand, it can promote life quality, while on the other it can lead to gentrification. Second, she discusses the role of civil-society enterprises, cultural institutions and social organisations in fighting gentrification.

Teemu Kemppainen's chapter also discusses the challenges of the aforementioned contrary processes from a different approach. He focuses on another type of neighbourhood: post-World War II housing estates in Finland. The reputation of these estates is that they are poor – and a lack of physical quality is observable in many blocks – but also their good shape and the social mixed background of the residents. The author criticises the unilateral view of these estates and analyses

their character through a representative survey in Finland. The database used in the research is provided by two research projects about perceived social disorder in Finnish housing estates built in the 1960s and 1970s. The author discusses the differences of perceived social disorder in these neighbourhoods, and also if the tenure structure of the neighbourhood is related to perceived social disorder. In addition, he looks at normative regulation within the estates. With multivariate regressions, he found that the perceived social disorder does not differ from other multi-storey areas, which means that the public discourse about the poor reputation of the estates is misleading. Finnish estates also show a high diversity in respect of tenure structure and socio-economic situation. If a neighbourhood has a high share of rental housing, the perceived social disorder is higher. Furthermore, normative regulation partly mediated the association of disadvantage and disorder.

Sonja Lakić focuses on the "self-managed" and "illegal" practices of house transformation by homeowners in the former social housing neighbourhood of Starčevica in Banja Luka, Bosnia and Herzegovina. Similar practices of transformation by city dwellers have previously been the subject of research in other cities. However, the analytical originality of this chapter relies on the relationship established between these practices and the socio-political context, in particular with the post-socialist process of transition in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In particular, this process led to privatisation of housing in Starčevica, which affected the social structure of the neighbourhood. Lakić proposes an understanding of ways of inhabiting urban space (private and public) and how they are a mirror of the individualism and privatisation processes dominating the post-socialist transition dynamics in this country. The research shows how macro-sociological forces and processes are expressed very clearly in the everyday lives of people living in the city. By doing interviews and entering the interstitial spaces of the neighbourhood inhabitants, Lackic tries to understand the complexity of this process through multi-scale lenses, analysing this social reality from up close and within, but also from outside and far away (Magnani, 2002). As the author's approach examines the process of transition, historical data plays a very important role in the analysis. She therefore simultaneously develops a diachronic and a synchronic perspective of the sociological practices and discourses in order to grasp this reality.

In the interplay of Borrelli's, Kemppainen's and Lakić's studies, it becomes clear that the challenges of neighbourhood can differ significantly within the same city, even if the first impression is that the social structure is similar. A detailed and informed look at a neighbourhood and its relational position to other neighbourhoods can provide information about the challenges for urban life. Besides the social market and practices of the residents, the tenure structure as well as the social opportunities within the neighbourhood need to be taken into account to paint

a broader picture of the ongoing development of the neighbourhood. For urban policy, these characteristics are essential for understanding how decisions impact a neighbourhood and which strategies can be helpful for further development, which is only possible with the real participation of the local population. Urban sociology should analyse how the "neighborhood strikes back" (Sieber/Cordeiro/Ferro 2012) in diverse urban settings.

Participation – a key term of the conception of urban civil society – has a long tradition in urban sociology. After 2009, in the context of the global crisis, its explanatory potential became much more powerful in studies on urban communities. The term "participation" – as presented in **Jennifer Morstein**'s paper on urban gardening – does not relate to the "classical" role of citizens who support formal institutions; instead, it relates to the citizens' agency and their ability to create their city across or behind the institutional order. Urban gardening could be analysed as a mode of the regeneration of urban brownfields, as a way toward the "naturation" or "aesthetisation" of the city. But what is interesting for Morstein is the interconnections between the bottom-down and the top-down visions of the city. As she notices, urban gardening is a form of local self-organisation and a form of symbolic politics on a micro-scale level. The ideological basis of such symbolic politics is defined as the opposition to economic principles of city planning. The results of Morstein's exploratory study conducted in Germany in 2015 provide a picture of the interdependences between urban community garden projects and their social and political context. The research also shows the unexpected consequences of urban gardening – gentrification – by the gardeners, seen as a negative effect of their activity and the opposite of their aims and vision of the city.

The global crisis in 2009 had an impact on the economic, social and political challenges for urban communities and institutions. Earlier, at the stage of the 20th-century deindustrialisation, many European cities encountered the problems of unemployment and social exclusion. The answers were new models of the post-industrial city (many of them based on the neoliberal economy, like the creative city or the smart city model). The case of Detroit, analysed by **Eve Avdoulos**, illustrates the new paradigm of urban crises – where formal institutions are not able to find solutions and the neoliberal models cannot be adapted to. The answer from Detroit is the pop-up city – emerging from bottom-up activities and micro informal actions. Transformation of unused land into neighbourhood gathering places, urban farming, community and school gardening – these initiatives respond to the basic needs of the urban community as an example of self-organisation. They also prove the need to develop the concepts and methodologies which let us describe and explain the vibrant, informal and hidden dimensions of the city. Avdoulos also raises the important question of the real impact of pop-up initiatives. Even if they are able

to answer the current needs, their instability and disintegration within political and economic structures mean that they are unable to pull the city out of the hole.

For us, as editors, the main interest of this book lies in the thematic breadth, the variety of the scale approaches, but also in the methodological diversity that the authors have used and created. It is very interesting for us to edit research pieces from Europe and beyond, authored by young and senior researchers. This is why we believe that *Moving Cities* embodies the incipient, but already robust trajectory of the European Sociological Association Research Network 37 - Urban Sociology. We are confident that this work will arouse the interest of the scientific community and the general public, as well as help to bring together an increasing number of researchers under the umbrella of the ESA Urban Sociology Research Network.

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The Global City: Strategic Site, New Frontier

Saskia Sassen[1], Columbia University, USA

The master images in the currently dominant account of economic globalisation emphasize hypermobility, global communications and the neutralization of place and distance.[2] There is a tendency to take the existence of a global economic system as a given, a function of the power of transnational corporations and global communications.

But the capabilities for global operation, coordination and control contained in the new information technologies and in the power of trans- national corporations, need to be produced. By focusing on the production of these capabilities, we add a neglected dimension to the familiar issue of the power of large corporations and the new technologies. The emphasis shifts to the practices that constitute what we call 'economic globalisation' and 'global control': the work of producing and reproducing, the organisation and management of a global production system and a global marketplace for finance, both under conditions of economic concentration. A focus on practices draws the categories of place and production process into the analysis of economic globalisation. These are two categories easily overlooked in accounts centred on the hypermobility of capital and the power of transnationals. Developing

1 Robert S. Lynd Professor of Sociology and Chair of The Committee on Global Thought.

2 This text is based on several of the author's books, which also contain additional sources: Expulsions (Harvard University Press 2014); The Global City (Princeton University Press 2001); *The Mobility of Labor and Capital*: (Cambridge University Press 1988); *Deciphering the Global: Its Spaces, Scales and Subjects*, (New York and London: Routledge.). See also: http://www.theguardian.com/cities/2015/nov/24/who-owns-our-cities-and-why-this-urban-takeover-should-concern-us-all (accessed 13 April 2017); https://www.theguardian.com/global-development-professionals-network/2017/jan/04/is-rohingya-persecution-caused-by-business-interests-rather-than-religion (accessed 13 April 2017) and http://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/landgrabs-central-america_us_586bf1a6e4b0eb58648abe1f (accessed 13 April 2017).

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categories such as, place and production process, do not negate the centrality of hypermobility and power. Rather, they bring to the fore the fact that many of the resources necessary for global economic activities are not hypermobile and are, indeed, deeply embedded in place, often global cities and export processing zones.

Why is it important to recover place and production in analyses of the global economy, particularly as these are constituted in major cities?

Because they allow us to see the multiplicity of economies and work cultures in which the global information economy is embedded. They also allow us to recover the concrete, localised processes through which globalisation exists and to argue that much of the multiculturalism in large cities is as much a part of globalisation as is international finance. Finally, focusing on cities allows us to specify a geography of strategic places at the global scale, places bound to each other by the dynamics of economic globalisation. I refer to this as a 'new geography of centrality', and one of the questions it engenders is whether this new transnational geography also is the space for new transnational politics. Insofar as my economic analysis of the global city recovers the broad array of jobs and work cultures that are part of the global economy though typically not marked as such, it allows me to examine the possibility of a new politics of traditionally disadvantaged actors operating in this transnational economic geography. This is a politics that lies at the intersection of economic participation in the global economy and the politics of the disadvantaged, and in that sense, would add an economic dimension, specifically through those who hold the other jobs in the global economy—whether factory workers in export processing zones in Asia, garment sweatshop workers in Los Angeles or janitors in Wall Street.

These are the subjects addressed in this chapter. The first section examines the role of production and place in analyses of the global economy. The second section posits the formation of new geographies of centrality and marginality constituted by these processes of globalisation. The third section discusses some of the elements that suggest the formation of a new socio-spatial order in global cities. The fourth section discusses some of the localisations of the global by focusing particularly on immigrant women in global cities. In the final section, I discuss the global city as a nexus where these various trends come together and produce new political alignments.

Place and Production in the Global Economy

Globalisation can be deconstructed in terms of the strategic sites where global processes and the linkages that bind them, materialise. Among these sites are export processing zones, offshore banking centres and on a far more complex level, global cities. This produces a speci¿c geography of globalisation and underlines the extent to which it is not a planetary event encompassing the entire world.

There is a tendency to see the internationalisation of the economy as a process operating at the centre, embedded in the power of the multinational corporations today and colonial enterprises in the past. One could note that the economies of many peripheral countries are thoroughly internationalised due to high levels of foreign investments in all economic sectors and of heavy dependence on world markets for 'hard' currency. What centre countries have are strategic concentrations of firms and markets that operate globally, and they have the capability for global control and coordination and power. This is a very different form of the international from that which we find in peripheral countries.

Globalisation also produces differentiation; the alignment of differences is of a very different kind from that associated with such differentiating notions as national character, national culture and national society. For example, the corporate world today has a global geography but it does not exist everywhere in the world: in fact, it has highly defined and structured spaces; second, it also is increasingly differentiated from non-corporate segments in the economies or countries where it operates. It is, furthermore, a changing geography, one that has transformed over the last few centuries and over the last few decades. We need to recognise the specific historical conditions for different conceptions of the 'international' or the 'global'

Most recently, this changing geography has come to include electronic space. The geography of globalisation contains both a dynamic of dispersal and of centralisation, a condition that is only now beginning to receive recognition. This proposition lies at the heart of my model of the global city.

The massive trends towards the spatial dispersal of economic activities at the metropolitan, national and global level that we associate with globalisation have contributed to a demand for new forms of territorial centralisation of top-level management and control operations. The spatial dispersal of economic activity made possible by telematics contributes to an expansion of central functions if this dispersal is to take place under the continuing concentration in control, ownership and pro¿t appropriation that characterises the current economic system. More conceptually, we can ask whether an economic system with strong tendencies towards such concentration can have a space economy that lacks points of phys-

ical agglomeration. That is to say, does power, in this case economic power, have spatial correlates?

National and global markets as well as globally integrated organisations require central places where the work of globalisation gets done. Furthermore, information industries also require a vast physical infrastructure containing strategic nodes with a hyper concentration of facilities; we need to distinguish between the capacity for global transmission and communication and the material conditions that make this possible. Finally, even the most advanced information industries have a production process that is at least partly bound to place because of the combination of resources it requires even when the outputs are hypermobile.

The vast new economic topography that is being implemented through electronic space is one moment, one fragment, of an even more vast economic chain that is in good part embedded in non-electronic spaces. There is no entirely dematerialised firm or industry. Even the most advanced information industries, such as finance, are installed only partly in electronic space. And so are industries that produce digital products, such as software designers. The growing digitalisation of economic activities has not eliminated the need for major international business and financial centres and all the material resources they concentrate, from state of the art telematics infrastructure to brain talent.

In my research, I have conceptualised cities as production sites for the leading information industries of our time in order to recover the infrastructure of activities, firms and jobs that is necessary to run the advanced corporate economy, including its globalised sectors. Methodologically, this is one way of addressing the question of the unit of analysis of analysis in studies of contemporary economic processes. 'National economy' is a problematic category when there are high levels of internationalisation. And 'world economy' is a problematic category because of the impossibility of engaging in detailed empirical study at that scale. Highly internationalised cities such as New York or London or Mumbai or Hong Kong offer the possibility of examining globalisation processes in great detail within a bounded setting and with all their multiple, often contradictory aspects.

These industries are typically conceptualised in terms of the hypermobility of their outputs and the high levels of expertise of their professionals rather than in terms of the production process involved, and the requisite infrastructure of facilities and non-expert jobs that are also part of these industries. A detailed analysis of service-based urban economies shows that there is a considerable articulation of firms, sectors and workers who may appear as though they have little connection to an urban economy dominated by finance and specialised services but, in fact, fulfill a series of functions that are an integral part of that economy. They do so, however, under conditions of sharp social, earnings, and often racial/ethnic segmentation.

In the day-to-day work of the leading services complex dominated by finance, a large share of the jobs involved is low-paid and manual, many held by women and immigrants. Although these types of workers and jobs are never represented as part of the global economy, they are in fact part of the infrastructure of jobs involved in running and implementing the global economic system, including such an advanced form as international finance. A methodological tool I find useful for this type of examination is what I call circuits for the distribution and installation of economic operations. These circuits allow me to follow economic activities into terrains that escape the increasingly narrow borders of mainstream representations of 'the advanced economy' and to negotiate the crossing of socio-culturally discontinuous spaces.

The top end of the corporate economy—the corporate towers that project engineering expertise, precision, 'techne'—is far easier to mark as necessary for an advanced economic system than are truckers and other industrial service workers, even though these are a necessary ingredient. This is illustrated by the following event. When the first acute stock market crisis happened in 1987 after years of enormous growth, there were numerous press reports about the sudden and massive unemployment crisis among high-income professionals on Wall Street. The other unemployment crisis on Wall Street, affecting secretaries and blue-collar workers was never noticed nor reported upon. And yet, the stock market crash created a very concentrated unemployment crisis, for example, in the Dominican immigrant community in Northern Manhattan where a lot of the Wall Street janitors live. We see here a dynamic of valorisation at work that has sharply increased the distance between the devalorised and the valorised, indeed over-valorised, sectors of the economy.

For me as a political economist, addressing these issues has meant working in several systems of representation and constructing spaces of intersection. There are analytic moments when two systems of representation intersect. Such analytic moments are easily experienced as spaces of silence, of absence. One challenge is to see what happens in those spaces or what operations—analytic, of power, of meaning—take place there. One version of these spaces of intersection is what I have called 'analytic borderlands'. Why borderlands? Because they are spaces that are constituted in terms of discontinuities—discontinuities which are given a terrain rather than reduced to a dividing line. Much of my work on economic globalisation and cities has focused on these discontinuities and has sought to reconstitute them analytically as borderlands rather than dividing lines. This produces a terrain within which these discontinuities can be reconstituted in terms of economic operations whose properties are not merely a function of the spaces on each side (i.e., a reduction to the condition of dividing line) but also, and most

centrally, of the discontinuity itself, the argument being that discontinuities are an integral part, a component, of the economic system.

A New Geography of Centres and Margins

The ascendance of information industries and the growth of a global econ- omy, both inextricably linked, have contributed to a new geography of centrality and marginality. This new geography partly reproduces existing inequalities but is also the outcome of a dynamic specific to current forms of economic growth. It assumes many forms and operates in many arenas, from the distribution of telecommunication facilities to the structure of the economy and of employment.

Global cities accumulate immense concentrations of economic power while cities that were once major manufacturing centres suffer inordinate declines; the downtowns of cities and business centres in metropolitan areas receive massive investments in real estate and telecommunications while low-income urban and metropolitan areas are starved for resources; highly educated workers in the corporate sector see their incomes rise to unusually high levels while low- or medium-skilled workers see theirs sink. Financial services produce superprofits while industrial services barely survive.

The most powerful of these new geographies of centrality at the global level binds the major international financial and business centres: New York, London, Tokyo, Paris, Frankfurt, Zurich, Amsterdam, Los Angeles, Sydney, Hong Kong, among others. But this geography now also includes cities such as Bangkok, Taipei, São Paulo and Mexico City. The intensity of transactions among these cities, particularly through the financial markets, trade in services and investment has increased sharply, and so have the orders of magnitude involved. Whether this has contributed to the formation of transnational urban systems is subject to debate. The growth of global markets for finance and specialised services, the need for transnational servicing networks due to sharp increases in international investment, the reduced role of the government in the regulation of international economic activity and the corresponding ascendance of other institutional arenas, notably global markets and corporate headquarters—all these point to the existence of transnational economic arrangements with locations in more than one country. These cities are not merely competing with each other for market share as is often asserted or assumed; there is a division of labour which incorporates cities of multiple countries, and in this regard, we can speak of a global system (for example, in finance) as opposed to simply an international system.

At the same time, there has been a sharpening inequality in the concentration of strategic resources and activities in each of these cities compared to that of other cities in the same country. Further, the pronounced orientation to the world markets evident in such cities raises questions about the articulation with their nation-states, their regions, and the larger economic and social structure in such cities. Cities have typically been deeply embedded in the economies of their region, indeed often reflecting the characteristics of the latter—and they still do. But cities that are strategic sites in the global economy tend, in part, to disconnect from their region. This conflicts with a key proposition in traditional scholarship about urban systems, namely, that these systems promote the territorial integration of regional and national economies.

Along with these new global and regional hierarchies of cities, is a vast territory that has become increasingly peripheral and increasingly excluded from the major economic processes that are seen as fueling economic growth in the new global economy. Formerly, important manufacturing centres and port cities have lost func- tions and are in decline, not only in the less developed countries but also in the most advanced economies. Similarly, in the valuation of labour inputs, the over-valorisation of specialised services and professional workers has marked many of the 'other' types of economic activities and workers as unnecessary or irrelevant to an advanced economy.

There are other forms of this segmented marking of what is and what is not an instance of the new global economy. For example, the mainstream account on globalisation recognises that there is an international professional class of workers and highly internationalised business environments due to the presence of foreign firms and personnel. What has not been recognised is the possibility that we are seeing an internationalised labour market for low-wage manual and service workers; or that there is an internationalised business environment in many immigrant communities. These processes continue to be couched in terms of immigration, a narrative rooted in an earlier historical period.

This signals that there are representations of the global or the transnational that have not been recognised as such or are contested. Among these is the question of immigration, as well as the multiplicity of work environments it contributes in large cities, often subsumed under the notion of the ethnic economy and the informal economy. Much of what we still narrate in the language of immigration and ethnicity, I would argue, is actually a series of processes having to do with *(a)* the globalisation of economic activity, of cultural activity, of identity formation, and *(b)* the increasingly marked racialisation of labour market segmentation so that the components of the production process in the advanced global information economy, taking place in immigrant work environments, are components not recognised as

part of that global information economy. Immigration and ethnicity are constituted as otherness. Understanding them as a set of processes whereby global elements are localised, international labour markets are constituted and cultures from all over the world are de- and re-territorialised, puts them right there at the centre along with the internationalisation of capital as a fundamental aspect of globalisation.

How have these new processes of valorisation and devalorisation and the inequalities they produce come about? This is the subject addressed in the next section.

Elements of a New Socio-spatial Order

The implantation of global processes and markets in major cities has meant that the internationalised sector of the urban economy has expanded sharply and has imposed a new set of criteria for valuing or pricing various economic activities and outcomes. This has had devastating effects on large sectors of the urban economy. It is not simply a quantitative transformation; we see here the elements for a new economic regime.

These tendencies towards polarisation assume distinct forms in *(a)* the spatial organisation of the urban economy, *(b)* the structures for social reproduction, and *(c)* the organisation of the labour process. In these trends towards multiple forms of polarisation lie conditions for the creation of employment-centred urban poverty and marginality and for new class formations.

The ascendance of the specialised services-led economy, particularly the new finance and services complex, engenders what may be regarded as a new economic regime, because although this sector may account for only a fraction of the economy of a city, it imposes itself on that larger economy. One of these pressures is towards polarisation, as is the case with the possibility for superprofits in finance, which contributes to devalorise manufacturing and low-value-added services insofar as these sectors cannot generate the superprofits typical of much financial activity. The superprofit-making capacity of many of the leading industries is embedded in a complex combination of new trends: technologies that make possible the hypermobility of capital at a global scale and the deregulation of multiple markets that allows for implementing that hypermobility; financial inventions such as securitisation which liquefy hitherto illiquid capital and allow it to circulate and hence make add- itional profits, the growing demand for services in all industries along with the increasing complexity and specialisation of many of these inputs which has contributed to their valorisation and often over-valorisation, as illustrated in the unusually high salary increases beginning in the 1980s for top level profes-

sionals and CEOs. Globalisation further adds to the complexity of these services, their strategic character, their glamour and therewith to their over-valorisation.

The presence of a critical mass of firms with extremely high profit- making capabilities contributes to bid up the prices of commercial space, industrial services and other business needs, thereby making survival for firms with moderate profit-making capabilities increasingly precarious. And while the latter are essential to the operation of the urban economy and the daily needs of residents, their economic viability is threatened in a situation where finance and specialised services can earn superprofits. High prices and profit levels in the internationalised sector and its ancillary activities, such as top-of-the-line restaurants and hotels, make it increasingly difficult for other sectors to compete for space and investments. Many of these other sectors have experienced considerable downgrading and/or displacement, for example, the replacement of neighbourhood shops tailored to local needs by upscale boutiques and restaurants catering to new high-income urban elites.

Inequality in the profit-making capabilities of different sectors of the economy has always existed. But what we see happening today takes place on another order of magnitude and is engendering massive distortions in the operations of various markets, from housing to labour. For example, the polarisation of firms and households in the spatial organisation of the economy, in my reading, contribute towards the informalisation of a growing array of economic activities in advanced urban economies. When firms with low or modest profit-making capacities experience an ongoing, if not increasing demand for their goods and services from households and other firms in a context where a significant sector of the economy makes superprofits, they often cannot compete even though there is an effective demand for what they produce.

Operating informally is often one of the few ways in which such firms can survive, for example, using spaces not zoned for commercial or manufacturing uses, such as basements in residential areas, or space that is not up to code in terms of health, fire and other such standards. Similarly, new firms in low-profit industries entering a strong market for their goods and services may only be able to do so informally. Another option for firms with limited profit-making capabilities is to subcontract part of their work to informal operations. More generally, we are seeing the formation of new types of labour market segmentation. Two characteristics stand out. One is the weakening role of the firm in structuring the employment relation; more is left to the market. A second form in this restructuring of the labour market is what could be described as the shift of labour market functions to the household or community.

The recomposition of the sources of growth and profit-making entailed by these transformations also contribute to a reorganisation of some components of social

reproduction or consumption. While the middle strata still constitute the majority, the conditions that contributed to their expansion and politico-economic power in the post-war decades—the centrality of mass production and mass consumption in economic growth and profit realisation—have been displaced by new sources of growth.

The rapid growth of industries with strong concentrations of high and low income jobs has assumed distinct forms in the consumption structure, which in turn, has a feedback effect on the organisation of work and the types of jobs being created. The expansion of the high-income work force in conjunction with the emergence of new cultural forms has led to a process of high-income gentrification that rests, in the last analysis, on the availability of a vast supply of low-wage workers. In good part, the consumption needs of the low-income population in large cities are met by manufacturing and retail establishments, which are small, rely on family labour, and often fall below minimum safety and health standards. Cheap, locally produced sweatshop garments, for example, can compete with low-cost Asian imports. A growing range of products and services, from low-cost furniture made in basements to 'gypsy cabs' and family daycare, is available to meet the demand of the growing low-income population.

One way of conceptualising informalisation in advanced urban economies today is to posit it as the systemic equivalent of what we call deregulation at the top of the economy Both the deregulation of a growing number of leading information industries and the informalisation of a growing number of sectors with low profit-making capacities can be conceptualised as adjustments under conditions where new economic developments and old regulations enter in growing tension. Linking informalisation and growth takes the analysis beyond the notion that the emergence of informal sectors in cities like New York and Los Angeles, is caused by the presence of immigrants and their propensities to replicate survival strategies typical of Third World countries. Linking informalisation and growth also takes the analysis beyond the notion that unemployment and recession generally may be the key factors promoting informalisation in the current phase of highly industrialised economies. It may point to characteristics of advanced capitalism that are not typically noted.

'Regulatory fractures' is one concept I have used to capture this condition.

We can think of these developments as constituting new geographies of centrality and marginality that cut across the old divide between poor and rich countries, and new geographies of marginality that have become increasingly evident not only in the less developed world but within highly developed countries. Inside major cities in both the developed and developing world we see a new geography of centres and

margins that not only contributes to strengthen existing inequalities but also sets in motion a whole series of new dynamics of inequality.

The Localisations of the Global

Economic globalisation, then, needs to be understood also in its multiple localisations, rather than only in terms of the broad, overarching macro- level processes that dominate the mainstream account. Further, we need to see that some of these localisations do not generally get coded as having anything to do with the global economy. The global city can be seen as one strategic instantiation of such multiple localisations.

Here I want to focus on localisations of the global marked by these two features. Many of these localisations are embedded in the demographic transition evident in cities where a majority of resident workers today are immigrants and women, often women of colour. These cities are seeing an expansion of low-wage jobs that do not fit the master images about globalisation, yet, are part of it. Their being embedded in the demographic transition evident in all these cities, and their consequent invisibility, contribute to the devalorisation of these types of workers and work cultures, and to the 'legitimacy' of that devalorisation.

This can be read as a rupture of the traditional dynamic whereby membership in leading economic sectors contributes conditions towards the formation of a labour aristocracy—a process long evident in western industrialised economies. 'Women and immigrants' come to replace the Fordist/family-wage category of 'women and children'. This newer case brings out, more brutally than did the Fordist contract, the economic significance of these types of actors, a significance veiled or softened in the case of the Fordist contract through the provision of the family wage.

One of the localisations of the dynamics of globalisation is the process of economic restructuring in global cities. The associated socio-economic polarisation has generated a large growth in the demand for low-wage workers and for jobs that offer few advancement possibilities. This, amidst an explosion in the wealth and power concentrated in these cities—that is to say, in conditions where there is also a visible expansion in high-income jobs and high-priced urban space.

'Women and immigrants' emerge as the labour supply that facilitates the imposition of low-wages and powerlessness under conditions of high demand for those workers, and the location of those jobs in high-growth sectors. It breaks the historic nexus that would have led to empowering workers and legitimates this break culturally. Another localisation which is rarely associated with globalisa-

tion—informalisation, re-introduces the community and the household as an important economic space in global cities. I see informalisation in this setting as the low-cost—and often feminised—equivalent of deregulation at the top of the system. As with deregulation (for example, financial deregulation), informalisation introduces flexibility, reduces the 'burdens' of regulation and lowers costs, in this case, especially the costs of labour.

Informalisation in major cities of highly developed countries—whether New York, London, Paris or Berlin—can be seen as a downgrading of a variety of activities for which there is not only an effective demand in these cities but also a devaluing and enormous competition, given low entry costs and few alternative forms of employment. Going informal is one way of producing and distributing goods and services at a lower cost and with greater flexibility. This further devalues these types of activities. Immigrants and women are important actors in the new informal economies of these cities. They absorb the costs of informalising these activities.

The reconfiguration of economic spaces associated with globalisation in major cities has had differential impacts on women and men, on male and female work cultures, on male- and female-centred forms of power and empowerment. The restructuring of the labour market brings with it a shift of labour market functions to the household or community. Women and households emerge as sites that should be part of the theorisation of the particular forms that these elements in labour market dynamics assume today.

These transformations contain possibilities, even if limited, for the autonomy and empowerment of women. For instance, we might ask whether the growth of informalisation in advanced urban economies reconfigures some types of economic relations between men and women? With informalisation, the neighbourhood and the household re-emerge as sites for economic activity. This condition has its own dynamic possibilities for women. Economic downgrading through informalisation creates 'opportunities' for low-income women entrepreneurs and workers, and therewith reconfigures some of the work and household hierarchies that women find themselves in. This becomes particularly clear in the case of immigrant women who come from countries with rather traditional male-centred cultures.

There is a large literature showing that immigrant women's regular- wage work and improved access to other public realms have an impact on their gender relations. Women gain greater personal autonomy and independence while men lose ground. Women gain more control over budgeting and other domestic decisions and greater leverage in requesting help from men in domestic chores. Also, their access to public services and other public resources gives them a chance to become incorporated in the mainstream society—they are often the ones in the household who mediate this process. It is likely that some women benefit more than others

from these circumstances; we need more research to establish the impact of class, education and income on these gendered outcomes. Besides the relatively greater empowerment of women in the household associated with waged employment, there is a second important outcome: their greater participation in the public sphere and their possible emergence as public actors.

There are two arenas where immigrant women are active: institutions for public and private assistance, and the immigrant/ethnic community. The incorporation of women in the migration process strengthens the settlement likelihood and contributes to greater immigrant participation in their communities and vis-à-vis the state. For example, immigrant women come to assume more active public and social roles which further reinforces their status in the household and the settlement process. Women are more active in community-building and community-activism, and they are positioned differently from men regarding the broader economy and the state. They are the ones who most likely handle the legal vulnerability of their families in the process of seeking public and social services for their families. This greater participation by women suggests the possibility that they may emerge as more forceful and visible actors and make their role in the labour market more visible as well. There is, to some extent, a joining of two different dynamics in the condition of women in global cities described above.

On the one hand, they are constituted as an invisible and disempowered class of workers in the service of the strategic sectors constituting the global economy. This invisibility keeps them from emerging as whatever would be the contemporary equivalent of the 'labour aristocracy' of earlier forms of economic organisation, when a low-wage worker's position in leading sectors had the effect of empowering that worker (i.e., the possibility of unionising). On the other hand, the access to—albeit low—wages and salaries, the growing feminisation of the job supply and the growing feminisation of business opportunities brought about with informalisation do alter the gender hierarchies in which they find themselves. Another important localisation of the dynamics of globalisation is that of the new professional women stratum. I have examined the impact of the growth of top-level professional women in high-income gentrification in these cities—both residential and commercial—as well as in the re-urbanisation of middle-class family life.

The Global City: A Nexus for New Politico-Economic Alignments

What makes the localisation of the processes described above strategic, even though they involve powerless and often invisible workers, potentially constitutive of a new kind of transnational politics, is that these same cities are also the strategic sites for the valorisation of the new forms of global corporate capital as described in the first section of this chapter.

Typically, the analysis about the globalisation of the economy privileges the reconstitution of capital as an internationalised presence; it emphasises the vanguard character of this reconstitution. At the same time, it remains absolutely silent about another crucial element of this transnationalisation, one that some, like myself, see as the counterpart of that capital, the transnationalisation of labour. We are still using the language of immigration to describe this process. This language is increasingly constructing immigration as a devalued process in so far as it describes the entry of people from generally poorer, disadvantaged countries, in search of the better lives that the receiving country can offer; it contains an implicit valorisation of the receiving country and a devalorisation of the sending country.

Secondly, that analysis overlooks the transnationalisation in the formation of identities and loyalties among various population segments that explicitly reject the imagined community of the nation. With this come new solidarities and notions of membership. Major cities have emerged as a strategic site for both the transnationalisation of labour and the formation of transnational identities. In this regard, they form a site for new types of political operations.

Cities are the terrain where people from many different countries are most likely to meet and a multiplicity of cultures can come together. The international character of major cities lies not only in their tele- communication infrastructure and international firms, but it lies also in the many different cultural environments in which these workers exist. One can no longer think of centres for international business and finance simply in terms of the corporate towers and corporate culture at its centre. Today's global cities are in part the spaces of post-colonialism and indeed contain conditions for the formation of a post-colonialist discourse.

An important question concerns the nature of internationalisation today in ex-colonial cities. Internationalisation as used today is assumed to be rooted in the experience of the centre. This brings up a parallel contemporary blind spot: contemporary post-colonial and post-imperialist critiques have emerged in the former centres of empires, and they are silent about a range of conditions evident today in ex-colonial cities or countries. Yet another such blind spot is the idea that the international migrations (now directed largely to the centre) coming from

former colonial territories, might be the correlate of the internationalisation of capital that began with colonialism.

The large Western city of today concentrates diversity. Its spaces are inscribed not only with the dominant corporate culture but also with a multiplicity of other cultures and identities. The slippage is evident; the dominant culture can encompass only part of the city. And while corporate power inscribes these cultures and identities with 'otherness', thereby devaluing them, they are present everywhere. For example, through immigration a proliferation of originally highly localised cultures now have become presences in many large cities, cities whose elites think of themselves as 'cosmopolitan', or transcending any locality. An immense array of cultures from around the world, each rooted in a particular country or village, now are re-territorialised in a few single places, places such as New York, Los Angeles, Paris, London, and most recently Tokyo.

Immigration and ethnicity are too often constituted as 'otherness'. Understanding them as a set of processes whereby global elements are localised, international labour markets are constituted and cultures from all over the world are de-territorialised, puts them right there at the centre of the stage along with the internationalisation of capital as a fundamental aspect of globalisation today. Further, this way of narrating the migration events of the post-war era captures the ongoing weight of colonialism and post-colonial forms of empire on major processes of globalisation today and specifically those binding emigration and immigration countries. My argument is that the specific forms of the internationalisation of capital we see over the last 20 or 30 years have contributed to mobilise people into migration streams.

While the specific genesis and contents of their responsibility will vary from case to case and period to period, none of the major immigration countries are innocent bystanders. The centrality of place in a context of global processes engenders a transnational economic and political opening in the formation of new claims and hence in the constitution of entitlements, notably rights to place and, at the limit, in the constitution of 'citizenship'. The city has indeed emerged as a site for new claims by global capital which not only uses the city as an 'organizational commodity' but also, by disadvantaged sectors of the urban population, frequently as internationalised a presence in large cities as capital.

I see this as a type of political opening that contains unifying capacities across national boundaries and sharpening conflicts within such boundaries. Global capital and the new immigrant workforce are two major instances of transnationalised categories that have unifying properties internally and find themselves in contestation with each other in global cities. Global cities are the sites for the overvalorisation of corporate capital and the devalorisation of disadvantaged workers. The leading sectors of corporate capital are now global in both their organisation and operations.

And many of the disadvantaged workers in global cities are women, immigrants and people of colour. All these groups find in the global city a strategic site for their economic and political operations.

The linkage of people to territory as constituted in global cities is far less likely to be intermediated by the national state or 'national culture'. We are seeing a loosening of identities from what have been the traditional sources of identity, such as the nation or the village. This unmooring in the process of identity formation engenders new notions of community of membership and of entitlement.

Yet another way of thinking about the political implications of this strategic transnational space is the notion of the formation of new claims on that space. Has economic globalisation at least partly shaped the formation of claims? There are indeed major new actors making claims on these cities, notably foreign firms who have been increasingly entitled to do business through progressive deregulation of national economies, and there has been large increase over the last decade in international business people. These are among the new 'city users'. They have profoundly marked the urban landscape. Perhaps at the other extreme are those who use urban political violence to make their claims on the city, claims that lack the de facto legitimacy enjoyed by the new city users. These are claims made by actors struggling for recognition, entitlement and to claim their rights to the city. The city remains a terrain for contest, characterised by the emergence of new actors, often younger and younger. It is a terrain where the constraints and the institutional limitations of governments to address the demands for equity engender social disorders. Urban political violence should not be interpreted as a coherent ideology but rather as an element of temporary political tactics, which permits vulnerable actors to enter into interaction with the holders of power on terms that will be somewhat more favourable to the weak.

There is something to be captured here—a distinction between powerlessness and a condition of being an actor or political subject even though one lacks power. I use the term 'presence' to name this condition. In the context of a strategic space such as the global city, the types of disadvantaged people described here are not simply marginal; they acquire presence in a broader political process that escapes the boundaries of the formal polity. This presence signals the possibility of a politics.

What this politics will be, will depend on the specific projects and practices of various communities. Insofar as the sense of membership of these communities is not subsumed under the national, it may well signal the possibility of a transnational politics centred in concrete localities.

Conclusion

Large cities around the world are the terrain where a multiplicity of globalisation processes assumes concrete, localised forms. These localised forms are, in good part, what globalisation is about. If we consider further that large cities also concentrate a growing share of disadvantaged populations—immigrants in Europe and the United States, African- Americans and Latinos in the United States, masses of shanty dwellers in the mega-cities of the developing world—then we can see that cities have become a strategic terrain for a whole series of conflicts and contradictions.

We can then think of cities also as one of the sites for the contradictions of the globalisation of capital. On one hand, they concentrate a dis- proportionate share of corporate power and are one of the key sites for the over-valorisation of the corporate economy; on the other hand, they concentrate a disproportionate share of the disadvantaged and are one of the key sites for their devalorisation. This joint presence happens in a context where *(a)* the transnationalisation of economies has grown sharply and cities have become increasingly strategic for global capital and *(b)* marginalised people have found their voice and are making claims on the city as well. This joint presence is further brought into focus by the sharpening of the distance between the two.

These joint presences have made cities a contested terrain. The global city concentrates diversity. Its spaces are inscribed not only with the dominant corporate culture but also with a multiplicity of other cultures and identities, notably through immigration. The slippage is evident: the dominant culture can encompass only part of the city. And while corporate power inscribes non-corporate cultures and identities with 'otherness', thereby devaluing them, they are present everywhere. The immigrant communities and informal economy in cities such as New York and Los Angeles are only two instances.

The space constituted by the global grid of global cities, a space with new economic and political potentialities, is perhaps one of the most strategic spaces for the formation of new types of presences, including transnational identities and communities. This is a space that is both place-centred in the sense that it is embedded in particular and strategic sites, and it is transterritorial because it connects sites that are not geographically proximate yet intensely connected to each other. It is not only the trans- migration of capital that takes place in this global grid, but also that of people both rich (i.e., the new transnational professional workforce) and poor (i.e., most migrant workers), and it is a space for the transmigration of cultural forms or the re-territorialisation of 'local' subcultures. An important question is whether it is also a space for a new politics, one going beyond the politics of culture

and identity, though at least partly likely to be embedded in these. The analysis presented in this chapter suggests that it is.

The centrality of place in a context of global processes engenders a transnational economic and political opening in the formation of new claims and hence in the constitution of entitlements, notably rights to place and ultimately, in the constitution of new forms of 'citizenship' and a diversity of citizenship practices. The global city has emerged as a site for new claims: by global capital which uses the city as an 'organizational commodity'; but also by disadvantaged sectors of the urban population, frequently as internationalised a presence in large cities as capital. The denationalising of urban space and the formation of new claims centred in transnational actors and involving contestation constitute the global city as a frontier zone for a new type of engagement.

On Roots and Routes

The Quest for Community in Times of Diversity and Inequality

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Introduction

A friend recently invited me to a brunch to celebrate her birthday with a few other college-educated and affluent white women. We talked about the burn-out of another, absent woman, who had a demanding job that brought her to various countries every few years, resulting in her now grown children being "very international". But "naturally", went the tenor of the conversation, she was a candidate for burn-out as she no longer had any "rootedness". I was struck, as I have been before, by this idea of roots as a concept linked to stability and being in one place, and its connection to well-being: long stable residence in one place still seems to define home, and we live well and fare well if and when this sense of home and community can be maintained. "We" here may have been highly educated affluent women, but this is by no means the only category where such an understanding of place, home and roots prevails. In fact, society transforms, but people "continue to place a high value on what they call communities" (Charles & Davies 2005: 672). Having often moved over the years, where routes brought me to places where I temporarily spent years in community with others and then moved on, I have started to compare such a sense of place and community with the sense of place and community of some of my friends through whose lives I passed, who lived where either they expressed their roots to be or they believed they had "rooted" over time and could not imagine leaving – or would prefer not to. My efforts to further theorise the connection between place and community, a journey I had originally started in *Urban Bonds* (2003), resulted in a new small book, *Community as Urban Practice* (2017), on which I draw for this chapter.

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Notwithstanding globalisation and time/space compression, the quest for community has not faded from public discourse and imaginations, or birthday party conversations. This chapter discusses the quest for community in times of diversity and inequality. These are times in which *routes* and not *roots*, or *mobility* and not *stability*, have become features of daily life that more and more urbanites share. In contrast to ideas sometimes vented in sociology and urban studies, that community as a concept has lost its relevance, this chapter enquires how narratives of place and performance of (temporary) local identity construct community, albeit not in one singular way but in a wide variety of ways: it argues that both roots and routes matter to such understandings of community.

One may, of course, wonder whether we should indeed talk about community again. An argument against doing so is that community is inherently conservative. Its connotation evokes nostalgia for a Lost Past of solidarity and mutual support, destroyed by sweeps of rationalisation, bureaucratisation or other aspects of the modern project or, for lamenters of today, by the bad vibes of neoliberalism. Quests for community can so easily be linked to a normative idea of a village-like setting where all are thought to share norms and values that it can easily express xenophobia, too. It may be patriotic, racist, or homophobic. In short, to plead for discussing community as a useful sociological concept and to claim that it has critical theory potential is nowadays not exactly common. I argue that it is nevertheless important. First, in many instances, people living under increasingly insecure, fragmented and global conditions express an urge to define their communities and find ways to establish themselves in a world that is increasingly different, as Lemert (1995) has described. Lifestyle groups, sometimes with esoteric beliefs, orientations towards nature or other elements that help people turn away from a "mainstream", may be seen (among other things) as such attempts. Populism and right-wing movements that spread a belief in a nationalist or regional identity as the one and only source of cohesion through processes of Othering may also be partly understood as such attempts. While community, both as a desire and as a lived everyday reality, continues to have relevance, the concept also has strong currency in social policy and politics on both the left and the right side of the political spectrum.

Yet in sociology, the concept has lost its main attraction, especially at the costs of concepts like belonging, home and identity. As I will argue, the community concept is worth working with. In contrast to the academic discussions on belonging (Savage et al. 2005), it helps us to avoid a narrowing down of the question of community to a question of where individuals feel they belong to and why and how this is the case. Whereas, I maintain, such questions are interesting too, urban sociology still needs a theorising of what holds us together and how and why in the increasingly hyper-diverse and global city – not just one on how we manage to belong.

The trouble with urban community (and other) theory[2]

Theorising community of course goes back to the early days of both sociological theory and urban sociology, as overviews of the history of the concept have abundantly shown (Vidich et al. 1964; Bell & Newby 1974; Saunders 1986; Nisbet 1993). Classic understandings of community have been rightly criticised abundantly, too, for their lack of attention to politics and power, for the suggestion that rural and urban is a contrast, and for the Global North bias in the concept and the discussions around the concept. There is a problem with the concept, as it too easily evokes ideas of warmth and cosiness, leaves out structural forms of harsh inequalities, and ignores power and exploitation: all these arguments have been put forward in many discussions over the years. Notwithstanding this issue, sociology cannot do away with it, for as soon as we maintain that the social is not simply or only the aggregate of individuals and their actions, we need to say something else. Any attempt to move out of this structure/agency dilemma seems to require some notion of what holds us together that is not simply a set of personal interests (see Blokland 2000).

Community as a locally anchored connectedness of solidarity and support was first lamented as a loss in the Industrial Revolution and the birth of sociology (Mazlish 1989). Later, studies of the working class suggested, especially since the 1950s, that it had a particular strong sense of community, romantically represented in many films, books and television series. This came out of an industrialising and urbanising European and North American context and made its entrance in sociology linked to a particular understanding of gender and race. In classic working-class community studies, it seems as if the women are always gossiping and sharing and the men go out to work and hang out with their mates, and that they tend to be ethnically or racially homogeneous. Categories that organise difference in the larger social structure seem to matter little on the grounds of men and women doing community in their everyday life. When Elias and Scotson (1965) developed their figuration of the established and the outsiders, a dynamic relationship between two groups of residents, they contributed importantly to our understanding of boundary making and mechanisms of exclusion. But they worked with a case where similarity more than diversity characterised the two groups. And there were only

2 I refer to urban community theory to ensure that the reader understands that I am limiting myself entirely to the sociological understanding of community as it has prevailed and currently – through other terms – prevails in urban sociology or urban studies, and not discussing community as it is understood in more political or social theory or philosophy perspectives, for example in Etzioni's work on communitarianism. Nor do I discuss solidarity and identity as normative concepts: I use them as analytical tools to refer to specific practices, actual and discursive, of agents, not as normative categories.

two. This one-dimensional model of community, with outsiders and insiders or established and outsiders, strongly applied to and can be said to have come out of the North European context. While established/outsiders as a figuration may still describe a dynamic process of in- and exclusion, as a theory about community it no longer quite works. Yet the alternatives that have been developed over the years in urban sociology also do not offer enough of an alternative for capturing the imaginations of community, or community as social imaginary, that people act out and carry with them. Network analysts, especially led by the influential work of Barry Wellman (Wellman & Leighton 1979; for a full discussion see Blokland 2003), have proposed studying community as social networks. This has enabled sociologists to move away from the debate on whether community was saved, lost or liberated (Wellman & Leighton 1979), but it has not captured the very imaginary dimensions of community at an urban or neighbourhood level (cf. Anderson 1991; Blokland 2003). Belonging, selectively (Watt 2009) or electively (Savage et al. 2005), has more recently taken over the discussion on urban neighbourhoods, place attachment and what place means to people's identity. A concept like "belonging" explains ideas and actions of agents in specific urban contexts – but it does not address the constitution of community in the city as such.

Both strands of research have made important points. The study of community as networks has effectively challenged the idea that community has to have a fixity in one place and that place and community are inherently connected. The study of people's sense of belonging has provided us with a perspective that puts the agent at central stage. It shows us how place attachment can play a role in local identification and a sense of being home, even though networks may (also) very much be elsewhere. But there is some more work to be done in order to explore how beyond the aggregate of what individuals report to perceive as their home and community, such community "exists" sociologically, if anything, in practices and in the shared production of collective social imaginaries – including their exclusionary processes and boundary work.

The concern with belonging and similar ideas of "togethering" in urban sociology and its focus on boundaries and distinctions, for example in studies on neighbourhoods and gentrification, may be seen against the backdrop of a transformation of how difference could be defined. Defining it with the help of standard categories seems increasingly difficult. Narratives of belonging by virtue of roots seem to lose their value when so many have routes or are continuously *en route*. Super-diversity (Vertovec 2007), defined as an increase in the variation between people in terms of race, ethnicity, national background, social class and more due to increased mobility and migration, has been criticised for its usage in and emergence out of a global North context. One may, however, also argue that the opposite is the case.

The super-diversity now apparently arriving in cities of the Global North has long been a standard of the ways in which urbanites have lived in and created contexts for life in cities in the Global South. Simone's (2010) work on cities from Jakarta to Dakar shows that flexible arrangements, fluid encounters and ties with little durability, but also solidarities, forms of support and connectivity provide an instant way of urban life that is hyper-diverse and has been so for a much longer time. Inspired by such observations and seeing an increased mobility and new inequalities (with precariousness also increasing in the Global North), I explore the idea that it is not rootedness and localness alone that define community. Instead, *routes* may matter as much as *roots*, depending on where we stand and where we are going. I continue, then, with the question (once more) of how we can conceptualise community starting from here, and how we can include the fact that as a concept it must include more attention to power than, with the exception of Elias and Scotson to some extent, has been done so far (a more extensive discussion of this question can be found in Blokland (2017)).

Community as culture

So, if community is not a place and community is not a network, then what is it? Twenty years ago, I asked myself the same question, and the answer that I came up with was sufficient for me at the time, but has not satisfied me over the years that have followed: in an attempt to take Anderson's notion of imagined communities – developed to understand nation, nationalism and nation state, to a neighbourhood level – I argued that community was also imagined (Blokland 2003, orig. also Anderson 1991). I would now argue that while this indeed is still what I see as relevant, it is not sufficiently precise.

With Cohen (1985), I propose to focus on the symbolic boundaries and symbolic practices of community and argue that community is cultural: it exists through symbols. As Cohen argues, defining for culture are symbols, not meanings. Symbols reveal relationally what community is about – yet our meanings that we attribute to such symbols may vary. Easy examples are always too easy, but they can still help to clarify. A gay person growing up in a relatively small setting in the countryside may face symbols that promote heteronormative understandings of the world and attribute meanings to such symbols that tell him or her that he or she does not belong. The very same symbols that others in the small settlement may attribute meaning to as an indication of their togetherness are exclusionary to this person. Women with children who divorce in an area where most people live in nuclear

families of a man, woman and children may find themselves in moments where practices – school parties, church ceremonies, Christmas celebrations – in their neighbourhood are both heteronormative and assume the traditional nuclear family model. They may attribute meanings to such events that are invisible for those who do live in a nuclear family (patchwork or "original" – the effect is the same). Yet does this mean that the gay person coming back to visit the village or the divorced mum in the middle-class suburb are deprived of experiences of community? If community is culture, then it is relational. It is dynamic, and not the expression of fixed morals or values, and as a set of repertoires of public practices, it does not have to be anchored in the places where we live. And for what Raymond Williams (1989) called "un-community", size and density matter – neither Wirth (1938) nor Simmel (1908) have become obsolete.

Some scholars argue that the urban is everywhere, that it is planetary (see Brenner & Schmid 2014). But a hamlet of a few houses is not a city, and life there is not necessarily urban. The attempt to define everything as urban and point to all our interconnectedness may also be seen as an attempt to theorise that routes have gained in value compared to roots, and that rootedness alone is not a singular experience unaffected by what else is going on in the world. Yet small settlements still have limited sites for interactions, and therefore provide contexts where the upholding of some norms, values or ideas over others can go a long way. One distinctive feature of a small settlement where right-wing voting was high in a province of Germany seems to be that amenities are limited or have closed down over the years. If there is only one pub, and no money, time or transport to go to another place, would the shared norms not leave little room for variation? This does not explain why they go in one political direction and not another, but it may help to account for the homogeneity of the expressed opinions. Urbanism is planetary in the sense that fears of lost community are everywhere, as are interconnectedness and awareness of diversity. Yet the local contexts in which agents create their practices still differ, and size and density do matter. And indeed, some of the hyper-diverse ways of living our lives require size and density. We are physically closer, can escape others less, are more confronted with the presence of other people, and need more subtle ways of avoidance and connecting in a context where we engage more people whom we do not know than people whom we do. Cities, then, present us with a necessity to think about community that takes everyday urban experiences into account.

Bringing community and culture together is not particularly new. They were connected, for example, in the "culture of poverty" thesis, or in the radical activist understandings of community in the 1960s. However, these perspectives connect community – again – with place, and treat culture simply as a "thing" that we move in and out of. This reified concept of culture is common: even the popular idea of

Hirschman (1970) that participation is a matter of exit, voice and loyalty assumes that there is a given unity that one can opt out of, be pushed out of or decide to stay in and speak up – but it does not give us any analytical tools to understand what this "whole" to which people practise exit, voice and loyalty actually is (Blokland 2000). Fluidity, mobility, glocalisation, improvisations and temporality require that we must consider other forms of attachment to be relevant to community – forms of attachment that go beyond the neighbourhood. If culture is a set of shared symbolic practices while symbols do not have to mean the same for all of us, then we can see community as culture. Community then includes a sharing of experiences and is built out of symbols and narratives produced together and shared, but *without* implying that such experiences mean the same to agents. Community is then a practice of urban settings, a performance that produces shared histories. And clearly, it finds its analytical twin in identity. Like community, the question of identity seems to increasingly gain importance in times defined as insecure and instable. As Bauman (2001: 15–16) wrote: "Identity, today's talk of the town and the most commonly played game in town, owes the attention it attracts and the passions it begets to being a surrogate of community: of that allegedly 'natural home' or that circle that stays warm however cold the wind outside. Neither of the two is available in our rapidly privatized and individualized, fast globalizing world, and for that reason each of the two can be safely, with no fear of practical test, be imagined as a cosy shelter of security and confidence and for that reason hotly desired."

The metaphors that social thinkers like Giddens (1991), Beck (1992) and Bauman (2000) have used in the recent decades all include a magnified sense of insecurity at a rather existential. This heightened sense of insecurity in a situation in which little can be predicted may be best captured by the description "precariousness". Not only are the material conditions of today and the future less predictable, but the norms and values that confront urban residents and in relation to which they have to carve out identities and communities are hyper-diverse too, leaving no standard repertoire for life trajectories or life purposes. Yet identity is a precondition for social life, and vice versa. Social identifications are interactional processes – performances, practices – and it is through an awareness of the meanings that we develop in confrontations with others that we can think reflexively about our identities in the first place. The symbolic making of social identities through practices does not, however and once again, prevent the same symbols from taking on different meanings for different persons.

A focus on community as culture may reduce the much-needed attention of urban sociology for structural inequality and dispositions defined by economics, labour or market relations or by forms of capital. However, one of the characteristics of super-diversity may well be that difference is found in symbolism and not as much

in structure. It is not as if structural inequalities have decreased. Class matters. But class is only one category of constraints. Moreover, categories of constraints may be shared, while symbolic making of identities through practices may be highly diverse and the meanings of such constraints may vary greatly. Social identification, the social construction of a "we", finds its external counterpart in categorisation, the classification of a "they", so that boundary drawing is an inherent part of any experience of identity. What boundaries are meaningful to us is, as Zerubavel (1991: 77) showed, learnt. What we stress as relevant is a social construction, vividly described by Zerubavel's example that a burger with cheese becomes a cheeseburger but the lettuce on the bun does not make it a lettuceburger.

While we continue to draw boundaries and use markers to delineate categories, this is no longer expressed, as Cohen (1986: 2) writes, directly in the social structure. Such an understanding of community as culture removes it from both a purely categorical understanding (as in "the working-class community" or "the Pakistani community" or "the Polish community") and from an understanding of community as merely a network. It also enables us to move beyond the idea that community is a matter of strong and weak ties, and invites us to think of all sorts of relations and sociabilities, including those generally not measured as ties in network approaches. Community as culture points to the *doing* of community, the practice: a practice of "provisional action, identities and social composition" (Simone 2005: 5) that makes it temporary, fluid and changing rather than class- or place-based and fixed.

Beyond ties: durable engagements and fluid encounters

If identification and identity are the conceptual twin of community, as argued above, and community is understood as culture, then how can we further think of the sociabilities and human figuration sand interactions that include the practices of community? Social ties have long been understood as measurable connections between people between whom we can draw lines and show who knows who, and frequency of meeting and duration of how long one knows each other are indicators of the intensity of such social ties. While a Weberian understanding of social ties also allows for an inclusion of, for example, transactions at the counter of the supermarket or the interaction with a doctor at a hospital visit to be seen as social relationships, as they include meaningful actions oriented towards the other, how and why they may or may not contribute to community needs a little more conceptual work. I propose to distinguish the transactions or communications between members of personal networks from durable engagements and fluid encounters as

descriptions of practices in which we transact and communicate with others who are not part of our personal networks: we know little about them, cannot give them a call, may not even know their names, and do not expect to stay in touch with them, or even define our encounter as "in touch".

By durable engagements, I mean the social relations between people that (often) happen in an institutional context – a school, a sports club, a political party. These ties that would no longer be there if the institution disappeared. Also, characteristic of these engagements is that they remain there – and in that sense, are durable – when specific persons come and go. For example, a PTA meeting in a school may be a joyful event of friendly parents who chat and exchange information, and may even build social capital. But were some of the parents to move out of town, then their places would be taken by other parents and the engagements would continue, and the forms of exchange of information would continue, too (cf. also Small 2010). There are ties, but these are not weak ties in the way they have usually been discussed. The weak ties in studies like those of Granovetter (1973) are still ties between concrete individual persons. Typical of durable engagements is that they do not solely depend on the persons: participants share roles (cf. Hannerz 1980), and connect through those roles, and may at times develop personal relationships beyond those roles, but in theory, this does not have to happen.

Fluid encounters are the interactions we have with others "on the go" (see also Byrne 1978; Soenen 2006; Nash 1975): on our way to someone else – to fields where we have personal network ties or durably engage – there is the time in between in which we are sociable in various ways, too. We queue with others, we take the lift together, we sit next to each other on the bus: we share public spaces, and scholars like Goffman (1971) or Lofland (1998) have written extensively about such interactions. Fluid encounters include all unplanned interactions that happen as a result of people being on their way or oriented towards something else, and as such are not Weberian social ties – but they may matter to community. The small tobacco shop in my neighbourhood is run by a young Turkish German. Over the years, the owner has come to recognise my children, who bought Star Wars cards and comic books there. As he also acts as a post agent he has sent packages for me all over the world. And he knows how long ago I quit smoking and vowed never ever to sell me cigarettes again. We have developed a sphere of public familiarity as we have encountered each other time and again. For me and many other residents, he has become a public stranger (for similar arguments: Lofland 1998; Soenen 2006). So, such encounters may repeat or may occur regularly, but we have no intention of only or purposively meeting the people we encounter in such ways again – I go to send my mail or buy a newspaper, after all. Only if the shop were to close altogether would I have to adjust my routines. This distinguishes such interactions from durable

engagements as well as from network ties. In terms of the type of relations that these are, they can best be described as highly instrumentally rational or transactions – as when I buy something in a store – or as interdependencies. Interdependencies occur where there is no common orientation towards each other but there still is a nearness that makes us mutually dependent, like when I listen to music loudly in the underground and you are trying to read a book. Neither one of these sorts of ties (in contracts to our bonds of love and friendship or attachments in shared aims and goals; see Blokland 2003 and 2017: 80–86) in itself means much to community as culture. Nor does public familiarity always do so. Here, belonging as an individual sense of being home, being included or integrated or being part (or the opposite), needs to be differentiated from the shared notion of community. There can be community and I may feel I do not belong; I may feel I belong although the community as culture does not include or absorb me. The relevance of these fluid encounters depends on the degree of that public familiarity mentioned above. Public familiarity is a feature of a web of affiliations that refers to an urban social texture constituted through fluid encounters with some frequency with the same people. Yet we do not have to speak with these people, do not have to socialise, and still encounters may contribute to our understanding of the public space as a social texture that makes sense to us and to which we can relate. Such webs of affiliations (Simmel 1908) offer relational settings of belonging of various types.

Relational settings of belonging and public familiarity

There are two axes that enable us to think of community as culture on various scales – an axis of a continuum of privacy (how much control do I have over information about myself?) and one of a continuum of access (can anyone enter a particular urban site?) – which I have discussed more extensively elsewhere (Blokland 2017: 88–91): relational settings of belonging are then to be plotted (empirically!) along those axes in fluid and flexible ways. Such relational settings, then, in turn enable specific types of ties. They differ in how well we are "in the know" regarding the behaviour and expectations of behaviour of others, and how well we are able to find our ways through the everyday encounters and be comfortable (Blokland/Nast 2014). This decreases the more "public" a space is. And yet the more public a space is, the easier our access to it. While boundary work takes place in all these relational settings and subtle exclusions occur, the axes provide different settings in terms of the predictability of social life. Through some predictability, we are able to "read" spaces. Such readings give us some sense of "home". This does not at all mean that we have to know other people,

or have local networks, or even engage institutionally. Anonymity can go together with community, as we can still develop narratives of belonging in places where we feel at home, whereas those who live around us may not necessarily include us in their networks or think of us as part of "them". It is important to remind ourselves that community as culture means that we share symbols, but not necessarily their meanings. The individual meanings we attribute to symbols may still vary even when we do community. I do not need to share my morals or my values with others in my community, and can still act according to the expected practices and roles – sometimes subversively so, as Bayat (2010) shows for Iranian women. Bringing a "Goffmanian" understanding of role playing into our thinking of community and of individual senses of belonging may be a fruitful way to further explore the doing of community through culture (or sets of symbols) without expecting or assuming moral homogeneity or shared internalised, believed norms.

Various relational settings hence imply various symbolisms, and various degrees of freedom to personally give meaning to these symbols. Such symbolism can be a *doxa* (Bourdieu 1990), or a set of never questioned ways of doing and seeing the world that exclude other understandings. This implies that boundary work is inherent in the practice of community, as what is eventually arbitrary – the lettuce does not make the burger a lettuceburger but the cheese makes it a cheeseburger – is naturalised: the stranger as type described by Simmel (1908) precisely challenges such a doxa and is therefore not necessarily welcomed. One may see globalisation, among many other things, as a process in which the doxa is constantly challenged culturally, and hyper-diversity as a term to describe the implicit and often invisible insecurities that come with the challenges to such doxa. When it is pointed out that the ordinary is cultural and culture is everywhere (Williams 1989), but also that it has a high degree of arbitrariness, then reflection becomes necessary and doubt creeps in or needs to be kept at bay. It does not take much to challenge the fact that things are what they are because this is how we do them: under globalisation and with high diversity, so simply labelling the "other" as deviant is becoming increasingly challenging, too, for such deviance assumes one mode of existence and of seeing the world that is naturalised. Public familiarity, then, allows us conceptually to characterise a relational setting where we understand what is going on but do not have to see it as right, as justified, or pleasant, or otherwise as positive. Nor does public familiarity provide us with a set of norms or rules of behaviour that clearly define how we ought to act. While not psychologically pleasant and nice, public familiarity gives us the comfort of knowing what the game is, of what is going on: it makes the social clear. This clarity can make us feel socially safe – and we may still dislike the place, the city, the neighbourhood. Public familiarity occurs through repeated fluid encounters in urban sites where it helps us to develop a sense

of inclusion as well as exclusion, and such relations to strangers evoke practices of community, too. Relational settings, differently plotted on the continuum of access and the continuum of privacy, vary in their potentials for our individual sense of belonging as well as for our practices of performing community.

Conclusion

To conclude, then, community is not local or tied to one site. It is also not simply a matter of personal networks. And we can experience belonging on very many scales. While this may be freedom, it also obliges us to make choices related to belonging or to the practices of doing community we engage in. A doxa of "community" in which adhering to codes, norms and values would be self-evident and naturalised is no longer applicable in a globalised, urbanised world. While it never was in an absolute sense, comparatively speaking this is changing under super-diversity. This is not to say that there is no doxa left at all. Many categories, inequalities and forms of flexibilisation, privatisation and neo-liberalisation are definitely unquestioned and appear hegemonic. For social identifications, however, in every relational setting doxastic relations have become less relevant. As Giddens writes, in late modernity

> "self-identity to us forms a *trajectory* across the different institutional settings of modernity over the *durée* of what used to be called the 'life cycle' … Each of us not only 'has' but *lives* a biography reflexively organised in terms of flows of social and psychological information about possible ways of life. Modernity is a post-traditional order, in which the question 'How shall I live?' has to be answered in day-to-day decisions about how to behave, what to wear and what to eat – and many other things – as well as interpreted within the temporal unfolding of self-identity." (Giddens 1991: 14)

This constructs an anxiety: "when we find ourselves unable to … render the unknown into some familiar form, we tend to become frightened" (Cohen 1985: 99). It cannot be otherwise, as fluidity, instability, and change are thus inherent to cities and their hinterlands. As Ash Amin has pointed out:

> "cities are intrinsically unstable entities: they suffer downturns, face unexpected events, and take some time to recover from crises (if that). They are large, open and dispersed. They gather life but also distribute it. They are full of variety, latency and multiplicity […] They are constantly evolving, often in unpredictable ways and in new directions. Much of this change brings turbulence, uncertainty and insecurity." (Amin 2014: 308)

But these cities still enable the doing of community in all relational settings, from the most public and anonymous ones, where we may still sense that we can belong

in a super-diversity, to intimate and private settings. Above all, cities can foster our durable engagements and the fluid encounters that enable the formation of public familiarity somewhere in the middle. The current state of affairs so often referred to as a crisis, in which people seek refuge and new lives in European cities and old Europeans seek refuge in old, racist models of nostalgia for a stable past and an old life that never was, underscores the relevance of seeing, and fostering, public familiarity as a relational setting for doing community.

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Daily Mobility and Urban Sprawl

Mobile Ethnography in the Metropolitan Region of Barcelona (MRB)[1]

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After the consolidation of urban expansion, with the consequent processes of metropolisation and suburbanisation, today we have to reread the right to the city described almost half a century ago by Lefebvre (1978) as a right to *accessibility* and *mobility*. Late capitalism has used technological innovations in transport as a way to compress space-time coordinates, effectively "shortening distances". In other words, these advances have reduced the time needed to move from place to place or transport merchandise (Harvey 1998). Some authors have gone so far as to claim that we have entered the Era of Mobility (Salazar 2010; Sheller-Urry, 2006; Urry 2007). Nevertheless, the impact of efficiency on transport is not homogenously and equitably distributed amongst the population. Not everybody can access the most efficient and costly means of transport, and not all metropolitan suburbs surrounding large cities are well connected to major rail or car routes (Jirón 2007; Le Breton 2002; Orfeuil 2004; Ureta 2008).

Half a century ago, the North American economist John Kain (1968) published an influential article that initiated a debate that is still ongoing. It involves the hypothesis known as *spatial mismatch*, which highlights the mismatch between the residential location of low-income households and the location of appropriate job opportunities. This situation, studied by Kain in the African-American populations

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of Detroit and Chicago, has been confirmed by numerous subsequent studies as a problem affecting black and Latino populations in the USA as a result of residential segregation, economic restructuring, and the increasing suburbanisation of employment (Ihlanfeldt/Sjoquist 1989; Ihlanfeldt 1994, 1998; Kain 1994; Stoll et al. 2000).

Getting a job requires mobility that not all people can afford, particularly in sprawling cities with unfriendly urban planning and little or no suburban public transport. These processes have been described in cities such as Montreal (Chicoine, 1998) and Santiago de Chile (Jirón 2007, 2008; Imilán et al. 2015; Ureta 2008). In this ethnographically pioneering literature on mobility, we can see that, in addition to the condition of social class and purchasing power, there are clear gender and age divisions that exacerbate access difficulties and therefore limit the rights of these citizens to the city (Chicoine 1998; Jirón 2007).

Sociological, geodemographic and economic approaches, which are the mainstream of transport and mobility research, on the one hand deal with variables such as distance, travel time, means of transport, multimodality, self-containment rates, geographic origins and destinations, while on the other hand looking at daily mobility which serves other purposes such as provisioning, leisure activities, the use of services and the pursuit of culture (Albalate/Bel 2010; Featherstone 2004; García-Lopez 2012; Kaufman el al. 2015; Small/Verhoef 2007; Urry 2004). In some cases they also establish correlations between the choice of means of transport and the options available, according to the type of locality or territorial region, within the framework of typologies that have greater or lesser connectivity (centrality or marginality) or the level of wealth or poverty (Abramo 2008; Cervero et al. 2002; Dávila 2012; Dercon/Shapiro 2007; Glaeser et al. 2008).

However, what quantitative approaches to the subject of mobility do not provide are the meanings and rationales behind the use of each mobility type in the case of individuals, families or social groups. An ethnographic approach to the subject seeks a deeper understanding of the logic that moves people in the organisation of their personal, family, work, and residential lives. In all ethnographic approaches, people have faces, social frames of reference that we must reveal, and trajectories that we have to uncover, while their actions are based on reasons that we wish to make explicit and which are the expression of vital aspirations. In the end, all people possess varying and relative degrees of roots and rootlessness, measured in social and territorial terms (Pujadas 2012). Nevertheless, we wish to emphasise that our approach to the subject, although anchored basically in the tradition of urban anthropology and ethnography, is defined as a contribution that seeks to engage in dialogue with and join the interdisciplinary effort to understand and document the new forms of mobility.

Daily mobility in the Metropolitan Region of Barcelona

In the empirical research that this work is based on, we studied people's daily movements in the MRB, focusing on the study of certain eccentric nuclei in the suburban framework: Camp de Tarragona (located on the coast, to the south of the MRB), and Vallès (inner central zone of the MRB).[4] A full ethnographic study of metropolitan mobility in Catalonia remains to be done, and to date the study of daily mobility has been tackled exclusively by demographers and geographers, through statistical approaches (Alberich 2010; Miralles 2011; Módenes 2008; Pujadas 2009).

The research team involved in this project comprises anthropologists, supported by two geographers with extensive experience in the study of mobility. The latter gave us a fairly precise picture of the larger parameters making up the mobility map of the MRB. This is a kind of mechanical portrait which was particularly useful for defining the areas and study paths in the ethnographic environment. Daily mobility in the MRB involves a figure of 17.4 million journeys on working days. Broken down into means of transport, 45.7 percent of trips are on foot (short-distance, intra-urban itineraries), 1.2 percent are by bike, 20.2 percent are on public transport, and the remaining 32.9 percent involve travel via private vehicles. We also know that almost 8 percent of the journeys are multimodal, i.e. they comprise more than one stage and use more than one means of transport. Other important statistics that provide a general overview of the situation include the fact that approximately 70 percent of daily journeys are intra-municipal, as opposed to 30 percent which are inter-municipal. Nevertheless, this proportion varies according to sex-gender: while women make one inter-municipal journey for every three intra-municipal trips, the equivalent figure for men is one in two. This implies greater mobility and greater distances travelled by men (EMEF 2014).

The design of an ethnographic research project involving such a complex unit of analysis in such a broad geographical area of reference poses a considerable challenge. It is a matter of evidencing the analytical power of the ethnographic approach by establishing objectives, questions and research designs that allow us to go beyond what we have already learnt through statistical-quantitative approaches. To the questions of what to observe, how to do it, with whom, where and how, we must respond with an epistemology adequate to these new mobile realities, as networked and dynamic as they are, that redefine the relationships between person, place,

4 The three districts of Camp de Tarragona that we included in our research constitute a de facto extension of the MRB. These districts are, from north to south, Baix Penedès, Tarragonès, and Baix Camp.

space and institutions. At the same time, we need to develop new field skills and new ethnographic techniques, in addition to redefining traditional ones.

There is no doubt that we must open the door to the focus that Marcus (1995) presented 20 years ago in his proposal for *multi-sited ethnography*. We agree with him that the methodological approach to overcome in research like ours is that particular modality of ethnography which "preserves the intensely-focused-upon single site of ethnographic observation and participation, while developing by other means and methods the world system context" (Marcus 1995: 96). It seems clear that research on mobility cannot intensively focus on a single place, a single locality. Likewise, we accept the idea that multi-sited ethnography consists, first of all, of mapping a territory without trying to holistically represent its entirety, but by identifying the boundaries of a phenomenon,[5] in order to establish connections and identify processes between the different locations that fall within the field of analysis (Marcus, 1995: 96-99).

Another relevant issue in Marcus's approach is how to maintain the sense of ethnography, in its dimensions of immersion in a cultural reality, intense interaction with social actors, and a deep understanding of social reality, when multi-sited ethnography takes us away from "place" (in the singular), through a constant wandering around the borders of vast territories, locations and connections: "(…) a certain valorised conception of fieldwork and what it offers wherever it is conducted threatens to be qualified, displaced, or decentered in the conduct of multi-sited ethnography." (Marcus, 1995: 100)

We agree on the detection of the problem, but Marcus's answer is obscure and not very enlightening: "(…) the persuasiveness of the broader field that any such ethnography maps and constructs is in its capacity to make connections through translations and tracings among distinctive discourses from site to site." (Marcus 1995: 100-101)

The problem is clearly that Marcus is not thinking at all about ethnographic objects such as cities, metropolises, suburban regions, mobility, itineraries, multi-siting, and virtual social networks, to indicate only some of the central concepts of our research. He continues to think deeply about more traditional objects of ethnography, revisited from a multi-site and comparative perspective, understood as an epistemological reorientation to face the obsolescence of the them/us perspective and the indisputable fact of a contemporaneity marked by globalisation processes.

Multi-site ethnography constitutes, therefore, a heuristic model, but there is a lack of methodological bases sufficiently in tune with Marcus's approach to allow

5 It is not necessarily about operating on a scale of "cultural formation", as Marcus indicates in his work. We work on a smaller scale, within the limits of a single cultural formation.

us to conjecture about the validity of that which many are already calling *mobile ethnography*.

If polycentrism marks the daily lives of people, supplanting the monolocalism that was the prevalent form of linking subject with territory in the industrialist stage, we must consequently shift the setting of ethnography from "place" to the "itineraries" that mark increasing mobility, thus expanding the scale of our work from the local to the supralocal, as is the case of our object of study, the MRB. If social lives revolve not around relationships marked by place, but rather around multiple reticulated relationships that shape, frame and place each subject in the different domains of everyday life (family, work, and friendships), we must focus on the design of our field work; not only the physical displacement of "bodies" throughout the journey, but the role and meaning of these displacements in the *habitus* of each person, linked to reticulated social environments. We therefore agree with Urry's conclusion that: "Such networks, ever wider, enormously extended through the information technology revolution, depend for their operation on intermittent meetings. These moments of physical co-presence and face-to-face conversation are crucial to the social patterns of life that occur 'at a distance', whether for business, leisure, family life, politics, pleasure or friendship. Hence life is organised within a network, but it also involves specific co-presence encounters within specific times and places." (Urry 2003)

In the design of our field research we tried to combine traditional research techniques, including observation (participant and non-participant), informal conversations, formal non-directive interviews (recorded in audio format, or filmed in audiovisual format), and focus groups. Together with these, we practised *floating* observation or *flâneur* drifting, as well as the shadowing technique. In parallel, we made fairly extensive use of mobile devices. We recorded mobility itineraries by means of GPS, as well as joining WhatsApp groups, analysing the messages exchanged by certain "friend groups" formed among public transport users.

Field techniques in mobile ethnography

Observation (both participant and non-participant) is still the technique *par excellence* of any ethnography method. It is, without a doubt, the primary source of knowledge acquisition when it comes to people's behaviour. When our object of study is mobility, the ethnographer's role is to "follow the people" or to "follow the objects", to walk with them (Buscher – Urry 2009). Non-participant mobile observation brings us closer to the classical *drifting* method. Drifting is not a

technique as such, but rather a critical look at urban reality that takes us back to authors such as Benjamin and Debord. In the words of Durán: "It comes from the understanding of our cities via the everyday, the subtle, the tiny and those 'other' empirical references that would not be worthy of presenting in any 'official history' book. It is, therefore, a question of creatively exploiting the wealth of urban data extracted from the sociocultural life of public spaces." (Durán 2011: 138)

In our field research, *flâneur drifting* or ambulation is applied to the observation of the dynamics of everyday transient movements in railway stations, bus terminals, and train carriages, identifying spaces and non-places, photographing the flow of people at rush hour. We agree with Pellicer et al. (2012: 145) when they state that "not only must we keep in mind the research question or the initial questioning, but also the characteristics and determinations of the field of study within which this is framed".

In contrast, *participant observation* in the context of mobility consists of accompanying people in their daily journeys. Continuous and systematic monitoring of people's daily trips brings us to the shadowing technique, which we will touch upon in greater detail later. There is, however, a less intrusive method for observing mobile participants, which combines accompanying people on their journeys, informal interviews and, subsequently, formal interviews, as well as, in many cases, focus group technique.

If, in classical ethnography, participant observation constituted the clearest component of the observer's ability to immerse themselves in the daily social life under analysis in a given place, in mobile ethnography immersion involves a journey, a journey shared with those who agree to participate in the research. It consists of sharing everything from the landscape observed during the journey to what is evoked by the places through which the subject travels. The shared trip also involves an understanding of everyday concerns related to work, family, and the daily tasks faced by each person. This "accompanying" allows us to look deeper into the logic, rationale and symbolism that are linked to the daily experience: to talk about the use assigned to the moments of transit, the advantages and disadvantages of using one mode of transport over another, and the personal aspirations and projects of each person; to the value given to time, in general, and the time of the journey in particular.

In mobile ethnography, there are moments of silence, introspection, rest and relaxation. Many people who use public transport take advantage of their journeys to sleep, listen to music, and connect with other people. Nevertheless, a lasting image of shared time "on the move" is the travellers' constant and systematic use of mobile devices. For our project, we accumulated hundreds of photos of travellers reading e-books, working on their laptops, and chatting, listening to music or

watching videos on their mobile phones. The material, physical trip is accompanied by another form of virtual, technological trip, taken through these devices. The person in transit travels between various places, but ends up, or connects, with other places on a limitless map through the connectivity possibilities provided by a wide range of technological tools.

The experience of mobile observation shows, however, the incompleteness of this field technique compared to the transcendental role of classical ethnographies. As we have just suggested, fixed and stable community references are replaced by an infinite number of references, connections, logic and dynamics that arise from the reality that has no clear limits of activity worlds marked by an enormous number of connecting nodes in the network. In mobile ethnography, we work without local reference contexts, and we face a world of possibilities and options, of imagination and meanings (Urry 2002). The change of scale in ethnographic analysis generates discomforts and dangers, as well as difficulties when it comes to reading and interpreting the observed realities. Observation, in any of its modalities, continues to be an essential element, but it requires major complements.

Informal conversation is the first of these complements, and is an essential foundation for observations. In fact, conversations can only be separated from participant observation for the purpose of systematically presenting field techniques. In mobile ethnography, the role of conversation is even more important. It constitutes the "code book" needed for a thorough understanding of the accelerated sequences of mobility (the succession of landscapes, people, contexts and sensitive stimuli) in which the exchange between the observer and observed occurs.

The shared trip usually generates a sensation close to Turner's *communitas*. The physical proximity of the travellers generates an intimacy, given to communication that may be anecdotal or confessional. It is an intersubjective relationship that is very time-limited, the deeper understanding of which requires other more formal approaches (in-depth interviews) or more contrastive techniques (focus groups). However, although there are other instruments for establishing the discourse and rationalisations of travel and travellers, informal conversation and observation are the alpha and omega of ethnography, even in the case of mobile ethnography.

Formal interviews comprise the main technique for obtaining an articulated and reflective discourse, which serves as the basis for the drafting and analysis of results. Audio or video recordings can be used. In our research, we chose to primarily use filming, since the results are more expressive, and in addition it allows us to produce documentaries. In many cases, these act as a letter of introduction explaining the objectives and content of the research to new informants. Nevertheless, the basic

purpose behind the production of these audiovisual recordings is to familiarise our informant-collaborators with our interpretative reading of their personal experiences.

Regarding the purposes and orientation of the interviews, we opted for what we call in-depth biographical orientation (IDBO) interviews (Pujadas 1992). We wanted to get away from focused interviews aimed at recording people's opinions and experiences. Our objective was to try to capture personal journeys, the processes that have led each subject to their mobile present, the widening or narrowing of their *space of life*[6]. In the least directive way possible, we asked each collaborator to explain, in a chronological-biographical way, their residential mobility and work history. Together with these two narrative axes, we asked the person to situate their story in terms of attitudes, tastes, options and values. The purpose was to build narratives based on events, on verifiable biographical facts, and then draw these in each embodied subjectivity, looking for the contexts and attitudes that refer to this crossover between chance and necessity and which outline each biography, each personal trajectory.

Does the choice of means of transport (when there is a possibility of choosing) conform to pragmatic, ideological questions, or comfort or convenience criteria?

> *"I am from San Salvador de Guardiola and every day I travel 70 km to work in Barcelona, in my own car; 70 to get there and 70 to get home. It takes me 40 minutes. Living in a rural area makes it complicated to use public transport, and the trip would take more than two hours." (E-32, MS, man, 42 years)*

> *"When I went to live in Renau [a small town located 16 km from Tarragona] I found that there was only one bus a day that sets off really early in the morning to Tarragona and another that comes back at night. A car is the only alternative. What we did was organise a car-share scheme that we call the "car bank". This has gone on for three years so far." (E-21, PP, woman, 33 years)*

Is commuting, or daily travel, a problem or an opportunity?

> *"Ever since I started commuting, I knew I didn't want an annoying journey, because if it was a hassle it would make my life unbearable." (E-6, ChR, woman, 63 years)*

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6 The term *living space* ("espace de vie" in French) was coined by the French demographer Daniel Courgeau (1988). It is defined as that part of the territory where the daily activities of a person take place. For Mendizábal (1991) it would be the space in which the social relationships of each person unfold.

"The hour a day I travel is time to relax and switch off from problems at work." (E-30, RC, woman, 27 years)

The IDBOs allowed us to elicit the meaning of personal choices, to contextualise travel within professional frameworks, social networks, local roots, and family and parental interdependencies. We were able to situate daily routines, and their variants, in meaningful frameworks, which arise from the nodes of that network within which each subject is located.

The *focus group* technique is a good complement to the other techniques for obtaining discourse. Its purpose is to contrast opinions on the topic to be discussed using a plurality of voices (Gutiérrez Brito 2011). In our case we selected a sample of previously interviewed people, looking for the most contrasting profiles possible in order to extend the range of possibilities from personal, family and professional situations, taking into account attitudes, logic and different ways of doing things. We verified that the issue that causes the most debate is always the use of private transport compared to public services. The argument of greater efficiency, autonomy and flexibility that private vehicles provide is set against the criterion of reduced cost for users of public transport.[7]

Network analysis historically emerged with the earliest anthropological studies of the city, through the Manchester School. Its main early proponent was John Barnes (1954) in his study on the social networks of the residents of Bremnes, an insular Norwegian parish. His analytical strategy consisted of identifying those personal attributes that, beyond the social insertion of the person in institutions like the family, the factory or the parish, generate personal relationships: friendships, relationships between neighbours, those with ideological affinity, and others. Also, the great American anthropologist Eric Wolf (1980) observed that beyond institutionalised relationships, personal interactions give rise to what he called *interstitial structures*. These are forms of inter-individual relationships that are neither formally nor informally regulated but nevertheless play a very significant role in the social insertion of people.

Among the many possible options in our research, we identified and analysed one of these relationship networks: the social networks of public transport users. Users of the same means of transport every day find themselves with the same

7 This idea that private vehicles confer autonomy appears constantly, confirming the proposal of Featherstone (2004), who defined the neologism *automobility* as the sum of two elements: autonomy and mobility.

people in the same places. Attitudes change from subject to subject. Many of them greet each other briefly, but refrain from any attempt to approach their fellow travellers. They put up barriers to communication: they want to rest, read, listen to music or, simply, stare at the landscape around them. Others, however, chat with the person sitting next to them, they look out for them, even saving seats, and they end up establishing camaraderie. Many of them have the phone numbers of fellow travellers and let them know of possible timetable delays on public services, maintaining cordial virtual relationships, beyond the face to face. They wish each other happy birthday, explain if they are sick, provide news of third parties, or simply send jokes and press reports via their mobile devices. These also serve to mobilise the users of rail transport with regard to the constant deficiencies of the service in Catalonia. User platforms have been set up where people constantly use their devices to communicate delays or call for protest actions.[8]

Throughout a seven-month period we periodically travelled from Tarragona to Barcelona-Sants on the R15 train line that leaves Tarragona at 7.00 am. Isabel, who catches the train 17 minutes earlier in Reus, saves seats for Mireia, Anabel and Carmen, who get on in Tarragona, and Ángel, who boards the train at the next station, Altafulla, at 7.12 am. With no delays, the train arrives at its destination at 8.05 am. These five people make up a "train social network". They have a communal WhatsApp account through which they send messages to let the others know where they are in the train, and which carriage to get on when the normal one, the first, is full. During the trip they usually chat, although all of them have their mobiles in their hands and are constantly sending and receiving messages.[9]

Isabel is the person around whom the group formed. She works for RENFE, the state railway company, in human resources. She has been making this journey daily for 14 years. Practically everybody knows her, particularly the numerous group of RENFE and Adif employees that also get the train every day. Throughout these years, Isabel has always participated in trip groups like the one we were able to record ethnographically. Over time these groups dissolve, people drop out, and

8 Examples of these user networks include: *Plataforma d'Usuaris de Renfe Portbou-Barcelona (for Renfe train service users between Portbou and Barcelona)* (http://www.usuaris-renfe.com/), Renfadats (https://www.facebook.com/Renfadats/), (https://twitter.com/renfadats), (https://twitter.com/hashtag/renfadats), Plataforma Trens Dignes Terres de l'Ebre-Priorat (for a decent train service in the Ebro and Priorat region) (https://trensdignesebre.wordpress.com/), Renfadats Garraf (angry train users of the Garraf area) (https://plus.google.com/110699929949222800835).

9 There are another two travellers who occasionally accompany the group. The first is Julia, who only travels two days per week, and the other is Pillar, who travels with the group only sometimes as her two regular travelling companions want a quiet, calm trip.

others join in. This is either due to small disagreements between fellow travellers, changes in timetables, transport type, and so on, or simply because people stop travelling. Isabel is aware that she attracts a lot of people into these social relationships for instrumental reasons, due to the fact that she is employed by the transport company and acts as a mediator when there are conflicts or, sometimes, gets free tickets for her peers. This is also true because she has direct sources of information, and is the one that warns her friends of any incidents in the service, strikes, malfunctions or delays in the schedules. During these months, Isabel pointed out to me up to 15 people who were members of her previous journey groups. Some she greeted warmly, while others pretended not to see her.

Mireia is the centre of attention in the group. She suffers from Down's syndrome, but thanks to a good education, despite her problems, she has a good job in the education department in the Parliament of Catalonia and accompanies the schoolchildren who visit the institution. She is regularly in the media as an unofficial spokesperson for those affected by the syndrome, as she is a good example of someone who has managed to obtain a good job, despite her limitations. She is a very caring person, totally uninhibited, a good conversationalist and a huge fan of mobile devices. Between 40 percent and 50 percent of the messages exchanged by the group are sent by her.

Anabel is a young person who lives in Tarragona and works in Barcelona, looking after an elderly married couple. She is not very talkative, although she is committed to remaining an active member of the group. She usually sits next to Carmen, a young soldier from Cadiz, who serves in a battalion based in Barcelona. Finally, Ángel is a high-ranking civil servant in a town hall on the outskirts of Barcelona. He has been making this railway journey for several years and maintains relationships with more than one of these social groups. Especially in the mornings, although he greets Isabel's group, he usually goes to sit separately with a group of men.

The return journey takes place, unless there is some unusual occurrence at work for one of the members of the group, or because of a change in the Renfe timetable, on the 14.33 train along the same R15 line. On the trip back, the first person to get on, in Estación de Francia where the train sets off from, is Mireia, and she is in charge of saving seats as the train passes through Barcelona-Gràcia until it gets to Sants, where Isabel, Anabel, Carmen and Ángel join it. Mireia usually sends the group two to five WhatsApp messages during that short journey, letting them know of any important details: the model of train that she is on, the number of people and her exact location which, normally, is the last row of seats in the last carriage. Depending on the type of train, the group usually chooses to sit at the end of the carriage, where there are four seats facing each other around a small table. It is a seating arrangement that stimulates communication and dialogue.

During these months of travelling with the group we celebrated the birthdays of several of its members, in addition to observing other occasions. On the return trip from Barcelona to Tarragona, on 16 December 2015, we had a Christmas lunch on the train, a celebration that involved the five normal members of the group, two Adif employees, travellers and habitual acquaintances, plus the ethnographer and camera operator who recorded the event. This ritual meal, similar to so-called "office Christmas lunch", shows the degree of institutionalisation the group is slowly acquiring. On 2nd February, they had a Carnival lunch on the train, and on 1 March they celebrated Mireia's birthday. Anything is a good excuse to bring the group together.

This brief narration of our experience of mobile ethnography confirms Urry's hypothesis (2003), which draws a correspondence between bodily, physical sociability occurring during the daily commutes of these people and their connectivity via the social networks of mobile devices. Since the end of November 2015, when the members of the group added Pujadas to their WhatsApp group, they have exchanged more than 7000 messages through this medium.[10] This is how we found out that on New Year's Eve Isabel had to be hospitalised due to respiratory failure, that on 9 February Ángel was on sick leave because of acute bronchitis, that on 10 May his first grandchild was born, and that on 16 May Mireia's pet died. However, most messages deal with logistics, related to the punctuality of the train, the type of carriages, who is travelling and who is not each day, and who is running late. There are also many messages relating to calls for train strikes and the way these may affect journeys. Other frequent reasons for exchanging messages are to share photos, news articles and visual jokes. Current politics very infrequently enters the group's conversations, but when it does it usually involves a certain amount of friction, since the members hold widely contrasting points of view and ideologies. This is why discussions relating to current political issues are often avoided.

We used the *shadowing technique* on a small number of informants who, due to their professional activities, attitude and availability, were well suited to this method, which is both highly intrusive and efficient in equal measure. Put simply, this field technique consists of systematically following a person during their activities throughout entire days, including their travel. The day begins at the home of the informant-collaborator, extends throughout the day, all day at work and during any other matters that the person must address and resolve, and ends at night, when the individual goes back home to rest. This extensive time spent together allows us to see how a person moves in his or her different spheres of activity, but also how each subject, at the same time as undertaking certain activities corporally *in situ*,

10 We counted the messages sent between 28th November 2015 and 30th May 2016.

never stops being connected with people virtually by means of mobile devices or the internet, in both work and family environments. During the day, the relationship between observed and observer adopts different modalities, both intensely interactive and autonomous and distant, during which the researcher simply observes and writes field notes or takes photographs.

The origin of this technique is found in the field of organisational anthropology. Harry Wolcott (1973) published an extensive ethnography on headmasters, conducted from 1966 to '68, in which he explored the roles of that managerial position with respect to faculty members and the families of students. Wolcott shadowed several of them, to gain an in-depth understanding of all the activities, vicissitudes and abilities of a headmaster, which went well beyond the conventionally known and established regulations.

One of the great advocates of this analysis technique is Barbara Czarniawska, a methodologist of Polish origin and researcher at the Institute of Advanced Management Studies at the University of Gothenburg, Sweden. Her research centres on narratology and organisational studies. This author connects the shadowing technique with a very interesting literary precedent, Truman Capote's short story "A Day's Work" (Capote 1997). In this story, Capote narrates a day shared with Mary Sanchez, his cleaning lady, who works "nine hours a day, for five dollars an hour, six days a week". On a rainy morning in April 1979, Capote shadows her over all the floors she has to clean, scrutinising libraries and bathrooms, along with the photos displayed in the rooms, and talks to her about everything divine and human (Czarniawska 2014).

This technique has also been used intensively by the Chilean geographer and ethnographer Paola Jirón, who focuses her research on monitoring people living in the extremes of poorly connected areas in the suburbs of Santiago de Chile (2008), highlighting the class and gender inequalities associated with personal resources for efficient and satisfactory mobility (2007). This author has also made some magnificent contributions to the debate and epistemological reflection on the shadowing technique (2011).

The Argentinean anthropologist Hugo Gaggiotti also used the shadowing technique extensively in his prolonged study of a transnational company whose main trajectory is between Argentina and Italy, undertaking intensive fieldwork in several of the organisation's plants and working closely with expatriates, i.e. high-level business and technical managers who spend a good part of their active working lives in the company, posted to production centres and different countries. In his research, together with the technique of shadowing, he uses formal interviews to obtain discourse on the experiences and the identities of these people (Gaggiotti 2011). One of the characteristics of his work is that it was the company itself that

endorsed the author's ethnographic work. He compared the official narratives of the corporation with those of the people who collaborated with him in the research (Gaggiotti 2010).

This analysis technique, taken to extremes, can lead to research that creates ethical problems. Unlike organisational studies, in our project on mobility we are not as interested in the set of daily activities, including work and family life, as in the journeys made, mobility strategies and the social relationships deriving from these activities. In addition to the train group led by Isabel, we travelled with half a dozen informants on their daily trips, both going and returning. We filmed the entire mobility process, and were lucky enough to observe "special days", days that are different and which break the routine, allowing us to gain a deeper understanding of the real alternatives to the transport modality, to the social and personal logic that surround the daily task. We were also able to explore the tastes, affinities and values associated with the use of certain means of transport, social relationships established "on the move", the limits and restrictions imposed by family budgets on travelling in a particular way and choosing a specific means of transport.

Conclusion

Our approach to everyday mobility, centred on the detection and understanding of these mobile, dynamic and reticular realities typical of metropolitan life, could easily lead us to deny the active role played by the local dimension as a structuring of the personal identity and feeling of belonging. There is, without doubt, a predominant epistemology that tends to dissolve any certainty, betting on liquidity and evanescence of things, uncertainty, provisionality and dissolution of personal identity (Bauman, 2005). It is, according to Sheller and Urry (2003), a state of fluidity that makes old, public and private dichotomies, among others, vanish.

However, beyond these narratives of radical rupture with the old order, what emerges from our ethnography is the permanent search for the sense of place, articulation of multiple factors, complex and sometimes not controllable by the individual. The mobility of people, as documented by our ethnography, takes place within frames of reference where variables such as professional career, family, social networks, and also local rooting, are incardinated. We consider that mobility does not deny the sense of place, but multiplies it, puts it in contrasts, enriches it.

What emerges from the life histories we have collected are individual and family strategies to face the challenges posed by urban sprawl and the widening of living spaces. Anyway, we must not forget that not all people are mobile or, at least, they

are not mobile in the same way. As Glick-Schiller and Salazar (2013) emphasise, mobility coexists with immobility, location with transnational connections, and cosmopolitanism with rooting. In a similar sense, Burawoy (2001), responding to the challenge of ethnography of the global, emphasised the unequal nature of global processes in their local manifestations. The local is not dissolved, although it is drastically transformed, by the impact of the global. The pending task for the ethnography of mobility is to continue to deepen the understanding of the logics, practices, discourses and social frameworks and reference materials, of both mobile and immobile subjects.

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Empty Space: Historical Memory in the Contemporary City

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Space and time appear and manifest themselves as different yet inseparable
(Lefebvre, 1974: 204).

The translation and publication of Henri Lefebvre's *The Production of Space* signals an important turning point in urban sociology (Lefebvre 1992; although first published in 1974, Lefebvre's work would not become known to most English-speaking sociologists until the 1990s). While geographers would claim that "Lefebvre's project is aimed at a reorientation of human inquiry away from its traditional obsession with time and toward a reconstituted focus on space" (Dear 1997: 49), this view neglects Lefebvre's larger body of work and, more directly, does not take into account his earlier writings on historical materialism and political economy (Lefebvre 1940) and his continuing reference to the work of Nietzsche and Heidegger (Lefebvre 1975). Sociologists have long recognized that Lefebvre did not replace temporal with spatial analysis, but thought the relation between space and time, and in the process rethought both concepts. It is crucial to remember that they must be thought together, and that one cannot be reduced to the other. Space and time are the indispensable coordinates of everyday life, and therefore a rethinking of the relationship is essential to that overall project (Elden 2004: 170).

Lefebvre's discussion of social space is fundamental to the new urban sociology: urban space is not a neutral or pre-existing given, but instead the result of the ongoing production of spatial relations, a material form of the social relations of a given society. There is the formal abstract space of the urban planner and architect (the physical contours and organizational structures that comprise the built environment) and the everyday, lived space of 'inhabitants' and 'users'. The contemporary

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analysis of *parkour* highlights the difference between the expected use of urban space and the ways in which individuals and groups adapt to and modify urban space for their own purposes and needs (Kidder 2012).

Lefebvre introduces a distinction between concrete and abstract space: "Concrete space is the space of gestures and journeys, of the body and memory, of symbols and sense." (Eldon 2004: 189). No longer simply abstract space or formal space, concrete space is etched with the knowledge of past lives and earlier events; it is the everyday lived space of the past.

But there also are spaces in cities that appear mediated in some interstitial realm between abstract space and formal space and beyond the realm of concrete space, places where the knowledge of the past has been erased from everyday lived space. This erasure may be purposive (Hitler's birthplace in Austria has recently been demolished) or accidental (a fire destroys a landmark building and it is replaced with a contemporary structure). Spaces that are significant in an individual's life (the house I lived in as a child, the theater where I had my first kiss) have little significance, and may be lost when the individual is no longer present to point them out.

I have labeled this as *empty space*, areas that have become devoid of their original meaning and are lost to historical memory. In the following pages, I want to explore this idea with reference to three events from Chicago that figured prominently in the history of the Great Railroad Strike of 1877: the political meeting on Market Street where Albert Parsons delivered his "Grand Army of the Starving" speech; the police attack on the Vorwärts Turner Hall, and the confrontation between armed troops and workers at the Halsted Street Viaduct. While the Great Railroad Strike is not very well known in the United States (even less elsewhere), these events are chronicled in contemporary accounts newspaper accounts and books (Dacus 1877; Pinkerton 1878) as well as autobiographical statements (Parsons 1886) and more recent scholarly research (Adelman 1977; Foner 1977; Hirsch 1990; Stowell 1999, 2008). Through this documentation, we are able to visit the locations of these events in historical time as well as the present.

The Great Railroad Strike of 1877.

The events of the Great Railroad Strike of 1877 were the consequence of intersecting economic and political forces. Industrial production in northern cities expanded greatly after the Civil War ended in 1865, and with this growth came a renewed effort by labor activists to organize workers in many industries; the galvanizing issue was not simply wages, but the enactment of an eight-hour work day. The labor

movement in Chicago and many other Midwestern cities (including Cincinnati, Milwaukee, and St. Louis) was led by German immigrants who had come to the United States in the 1850s, many of them exiled because of their involvement with the Turnverein ("Forward Turners") movement and political activities in the 1848 revolution (Morris 2016). The Long Depression, as it is known in economic history, began with the Panic of 1873 (caused by the failure of the Jay Cooke bank in New York, resulting in closure of the New York stock market). Unemployment reached 14 percent by 1876 and overall wages declined 45 percent. The economic crisis of the 1870s would rival that of the 1890s; some have suggested that the level of job loss and unemployment in the industrial sector was greater than that of the Great Depression (Mosely 1997).

In July of 1877 employees of the Pennsylvania Railroad arrived at work to the announcement of a yet another reduction of their wage. Railroad workers in Martinsburg, West Virginia (the crucial link between cities on the eastern seaboard and the Midwest) blocked the railroad tracks, commandeered trains, and occupied the roundhouse. In cities across the northeast railroad workers refused orders to return to work. In Baltimore workers were confronted by federal troops who fired into the crowd, killing a dozen protestors. In Pittsburgh, the state militia was called out to force railroad employees to return to work, but they sided with the protestors (many of whom were friends and relatives). Federal troops were ordered into the city and killed a number of persons, including women and children, in one confrontation. Attacked by angry group of citizens, the troops retreated to the Pennsylvania Railroad roundhouse for the night. The roundhouse was attacked and set on fire, and the army troops were forced to withdraw from the city. In two days of fighting nearly a third of the city was burned to the ground, including the roundhouse and millions of dollars of railroad property (Foner 1977).

As the conflict spread westward, railroad workers stopped trains in East St. Louis (the only route across the Mississippi River) and labor leaders in St. Louis called for a general strike; a provisional government was formed and called themselves the St. Louis Commune. The commune would maintain rule for several weeks, until some 5,000 "special police" (deputized agents) supported by 3,000 federal troops occupied the city, killing some 18 persons in skirmishes (Burbank, 1966).

In Chicago, events associated with The Great Railroad Strike of 1877 played out over a five-day period beginning July 22nd, when labor leaders released a statement calling for support of workingmen in the east, and plans were drawn up for a general strike. The following day the governor ordered local militia to assist civil authorities (if needed) and weapons were distributed to police stations amidst numerous confrontations between police and gathering crowds. That night an estimated 15-20,000 persons assembled for a meeting in Market Square in the downtown district.

On July 24th workers in the lumberyard district went on strike, and by the end of the day six different railroads had been shut down. The mayor ordered the militia to the ready, and issued an order for citizens to organize armed guards to protect their neighborhoods. After the violence in eastern cities, federal troops had been ordered to return from the Indian Wars on the Great Plains.

The following day police confronted a crowd (said to be more than 20,000 persons) at the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad roundhouse, where three protestors were killed and 16 wounded. Later in the day the first of the federal troops called back from the Indian Wars on the greed plains arrived in Chicago and were deployed across the city. On July 26th police chasing a group of children who had thrown stones at them broke up a meeting of German furniture workers at the Volwaerts Turner Hall, one person was killed in the confrontation (Hartmut/Jentz 1988). Four blocks to the south, the Second Illinois Regiment, supported by two artillery pieces, confronted a crowd of several hundred persons assembled at the Halsted Street viaduct. The initial attack drove the crowd back, but the troops were forced to withdraw when they ran low on ammunition. Supported by other reinforcements including a cavalry unit, the combined police, military, and cavalry again attacked and dispersed the crowd.

Additional troops arrived Thursday afternoon and evening and were dispersed throughout the city to prevent crowds from forming. On Friday (July 27th) five companies of state militia and federal troops were dispatched to the corner of Archer Avenue and South Halsted Street (five blocks south of the viaduct) where they were joined by 300 additional cavalry and infantry to disperse crowds that had gathered there. This was the final confrontation marking the Great Railroad Strike. The mayor issued a proclamation:

> "The city authorities, having dispersed all lawlessness in the city, and law and order being restored, I now urge and request all business men and employers generally to resume work, and five as much employment to their workmen as possible."

In the following pages, I want to take a look at the location of three important events that took place in the city of Chicago during the Great Railroad Strike of 1877. These events are described in eyewitness accounts published at the time, and two of the events were documented in print illustrations produced for a news weekly in the days following the conclusion of the strike.

The Market Square Rally

Leaders of the Workingmen's Party of the United States in Chicago called for a mass meeting to be held in Market Square on the night of July 23rd. Groups from across the city began arriving in the early evening, and the crowd soon grew to an estimated 15-20,000 persons. The rally was highlighted by Albert Parsons' speech where he addressed the crowd as the Grand Army of Starvation (during the Civil War the northern army was called the Grand Army of the Republic) and called upon them to support the actions of working people in the eastern states. The next day Parsons was fired from his job and later arrested and brought to the mayors office, where he was subjected to more than two hours of questioning about his activities and warned that his life was in danger as long as he remained in the city (Parsons, 1886).

In the 1870s Market Square, located on Market Street between Madison and Randolph, was the central market area for the city, and an assembling place for public speeches and protest marches. There are no known photographs or illustrations of the original Market Square. In the early 1890s an elevated train line ended in this block, and in the 1950s Market Street itself would disappear with the development of the two-story Wacker Drive along the Chicago River. The original Market Square area was revealed during reconstruction of Walker Drive (Figure 1), but as shown in a recent view of the area (Figure 2), there are no historical markers to show the location of Market Square or to inform by passers of the events of the Great Railroad Strike.

The Attack on Vorwärts Turner Hall

On the morning of July 18th the Harmonia Association of Joiners, a group representing German furniture workers, was holding their regularly scheduled meeting at the Vorwärts Turner Hall on 12th Street and Halsted Street. The events are described in an 1896 history of the Turnverein: "The meeting had already been adjourned, only the elected union delegates (*Unionleute*) were still present, when several of the policemen stationed outside the hall were stoned by a group of juveniles. The police pursued the fleeing boys into the meeting room, and, using their clubs, brutally attacked the union people" (*Der Westen: Frauen-Zeitung*, in Keil/Lentz, 1988). One of the workers was killed, shot through the back of the head. The Harmonia Association would later sue the police department for damages, and the judge's decision in the case stated that the police actions at the hall "clearly amounted to a criminal riot" (George, 1912: 334-335).

Fig. 1 The original Market Square area, looking south on Market Street during (re)construction of the two-level Wacker Street Drive. Market Street would correspond to what is now Lower Wacker Street Drive.

Fig. 2 Market Street area, looking north on Wacker Drive from Madison Street, Google Maps Street View (retrieved December 2016). There are no markers to indicate the original Market Street or Market Square area, or the events that took place there during the Great Railroad Strike of 1877.

There are two depictions of the events at the Vorwärts Turner Hall. The first (shown in Figure 3) is a contemporary wood block illustration published in the Harper's Weekly magazine shortly after the Chicago events, titled "Driving the Rioters from Turner Hall: Chicago police attack meeting of striking workers at Turner Hall" (Harpers Weekly, August 18, 1877). It is not known if the (unnamed) artist had first hand knowledge of the events at Turner Hall, but it is clear from eyewitness accounts and later court testimony that the depiction of a large confrontation is not accurate. As described above, the meeting had ended and only a small group of union delegates remained when the police entered the hall.

The second illustration (shown in Figure 4), titled "The Fight at Turner Hall, Arrival of U.S. Artillery" was published in a history of the railroad strike and other events that appeared five years after the Great Railroad Strike (Headley 1882, p. 518). While the depiction of Turner Hall would appear to be an accurate portrayal of the exterior of the original building (there is one surviving illustration of the Vorwärts Turner Hall dating from the late 1800s) the remainder of the illustration seems fanciful: in the foreground a military caisson is pulling a cannon into place, policemen are returning gunfire from the windows on the second floor of the building, and there are at least two bodies in front of the policemen. In the background there appears to be a large confrontation between strikers and police. But eyewitness accounts do not mention a prolonged conflict outside of the building (Albert Parsons said that there were no more than 200 persons present), and we know from police records that the only fatality occurred inside the building, not on the street. Contemporary accounts do not mention troops on the street being fired upon by persons from the building, nor do they describe police (or others) outside of the building firing at persons on the street or inside the meeting hall.

The Vorwärts Turner Hall was the first labor hall built in the city, dating from 1864. In addition to lectures and concerts for the areas German immigrants, it served as a meeting place for a variety of German labor and political groups. In the 1880s and 1890s it was the scene of annual celebrations for the Paris Commune and, later, for the Haymarket events in Chicago, hosting speeches by Lucy Parsons, Emma Goldman, and other labor and socialist figures. It was demolished in 1896 or 1898, and the area would later become part of the massive urban renewal projects of the 1960s (and continuing in the 2000s) to provide space for the new University of Chicago-Illinois campus, as shown in Figure 5. There is no marker to show the location of Turner Hall, or to commemorate the events of the Great Railroad Strike of 1877.

Fig. 3 "Driving the Rioters from Turner Hall" (Harper's Weekly, August 18, 1877).

Fig. 4 "Chicago—The Fight at Turner Hall, Arrival of U.S. Artillery" (Joel T. Headly, Pen and Pencil Sketches of the Great Riots, 1882)

Fig. 5 Location of the Vorwärts Turner Hall, 12th Street and Halsted Street, Google Maps Street View (retrieved December 2016). There are no makers to indicate the location of the original Turner Hall, or the events of the Great Railroad Strike of 1877.

The Battle of the Halsted Street Viaduct

The final and largest confrontation between the assembled working persons and the police and military forces arrayed against them is referred to as the Battle of the Halsted Street Viaduct in contemporary sources. Although rebuilt in the late 19th Century, the location still is marked by a railroad viaduct that crosses Halsted Street; in the 1870s Halsted Street passed over the railroad tracks on a metal bridge. There are two illustrations of the confrontation, although it is likely that the second (published in an 1882 volume titled The Great Riots; Headley, 1882) is redrawn from the original, titled "Fight Between the Military and the Rioters at the Halsted Street Viaduct". This illustration (Figure 6) appeared in *Harper's Weekly* shortly after the conflict, showing a well-ordered line of soldiers from the First Regiment of the Illinois National Guard firing upon a relatively small group of men armed with sticks and throwing stones at the troops.

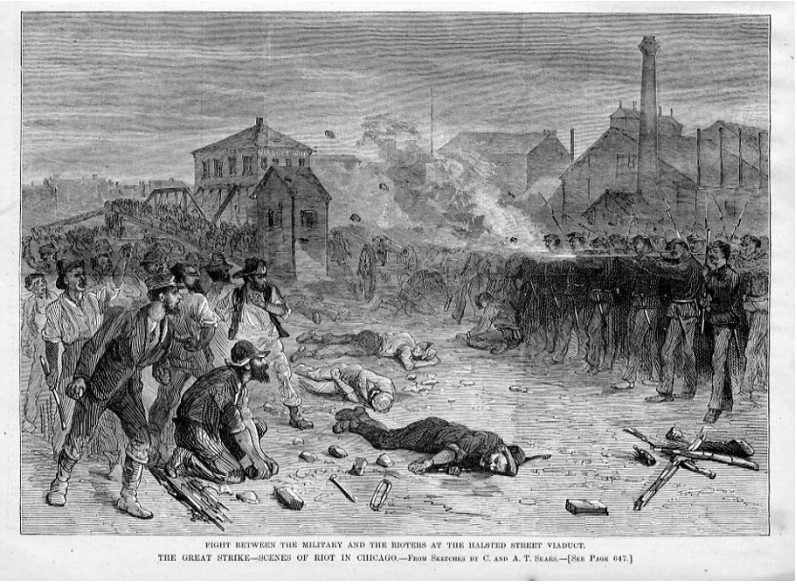

Fig. 6 'Fight Between the Military and the Rioters at the Halsted Street Viaduct'. The viaduct (a bridge carrying the street and a trolley line over the railroad tracks) is shown in the left background (Harper's Weekly, August 18, 1877).

Fig. 7 Railroad Viaduct, Halsted and Sixteenth Street, looking north on Halsted Street (above). The railroad tracks are now located on the viaduct that crosses over Halsted Street. Google Maps Street View (retrieved May 2016).

Albert Parsons (1886) said that the group numbered in the hundreds, while the *Chicago Tribune* referred to a mob of thousands of "people of poor classes", "greasy rioters", and "savages". Eyewitness accounts emphasize that the crowd consisted of men, women, and children (very different from the illustration), and that the majority of those killed were not involved in the strike itself.

Halsted Street is one of the major north-south streets in the city. In the 1870s it connected the downtown area with manufacturing areas and working-class neighborhoods on the south side. By the 1880s the area around Halsted and Maxwell Streets had developed as the focal point for the growing Jewish community, and would later be referred to as the Jewish ghetto in the city (and studied by Louis Wirth in *The Ghetto*). By the 1950s the Jewish population was replaced by African Americans, and the area was home to the well-known Maxwell Street Market. Over the last two decades, all of the original business and housing structures north of the Halsted Street viaduct have been replaced by the University Village development catering to wealthy singles and young families; the area south of the viaduct has yet to be redeveloped. Little of the early housing or businesses remain. A contemporary view of Halsted Street and the area of the earlier railroad viaduct is shown in Figure 7; as with the other areas studied above, there are no historical markers to indicate the events of the Great Railroad Strike.

Empty Space and the Contemporary City

Lefebvre's seminal work on the production of urban space (1974) offers opportunities to connect our discussion of empty space and recent work in social theory. The meanings we attach to a place are always embedded in time, both a specific time (the present) and an abstract time (the historical). Our movement in space and through the built environment is constrained by the passage of time and demands that we connect memories of place and our everyday lives. But what of those empty spaces--areas of the contemporary city that are engraved with historical meaning but have been stripped of historical memory?

The built environment mediates the "near order" of everyday life and its institutions (family, local groups) and the "far order" of the state and ideology: "The city *writes* and *assigns*, that is, it signifies, orders, stipulates." (Shortell 1996: 102). But the urban environment is subject to the social production of space, dominated by the state and by those who are in a position to direct the actions of the state or otherwise benefit from the state of social relations in late capitalist society. Symbols of power and control, like the "law and order" of the Gilded Age, dominate the built

environment, and the transgressions of an earlier historical period are not allowed to intrude. The city erases memory of early events, regardless of the human cost or social consequences, and it requires a new spatial practice to recover those events.

In Urban Space, Memory and the Public Realm, Mammon and Paterson argue for a new spatial practice that can facilitate reconciliation and allow for different narratives of past events:

> "The spaces and places in cities that constitute the public realm function as the containers of collective urban life and it is for this reason that they should be seen as venues for reconciliation and active engagement. While they reflect the past and create memories themselves they also have a role in the present and the future. Cities can contribute significantly to personal development, self-actualization, and what Lefebvre calls the process of 'displacement'—reflecting the moment at which the individual recognizes himself as part of a greater whole" (Mammon/Paterson 2005: 2).

While Mammon and Paterson are concerned about "different narratives of the past and aspirations for the future" in cities from the days of apartheid, their call for a visionary/imaginary approach to city making with an emphasis on public spaces as collective and representative imaginings, and the need for planners and designers to be conscious of the power/knowledge relations at play and to be mindful of "the memories and stories of the people whose lives and struggles were are still silenced, today" is relevent across time and space (2005: 6).

Historical Memory and the Contemporary City

This overview of three events from the Great Railroad Strike of 1877 in Chicago highlights the loss of historical memory in one city; one might suggest that it is especially the important legacy of the early labor movement that is most likely to be overlooked, or that Chicago in particular is a good example of the loss of historical memory, not just of the early labor movement, but of earlier immigrant groups, the Great Migration of African Americans to the city in the early 1900s. and other groups and events There is no historical marker for the events of the Great Railroad Strike, and the events are not included in the official history of the city presented, for example, at websites for the City of Chicago. Events associated with the Haymarket Riot in 1886 have hardly fared better: the original city memorial for the Haymarket (a statue of a policeman) was repeatedly vandalized and later removed to the grounds of the Chicago Police Academy. For many decades there was no marker for the Haymarket, and it was not until 2004 that a proper histor-

ical memorial was commissioned (Kinzer 2004) – yet the actual bombing at the Haymarket was proceeded by weeks of labor protests across the city that are not generally known (see the mapping of labor unrest in the city in Haymarket and May Day at the *Encyclopedia of Chicago*; Thale 2005).

One might ask who is, or who should be, responsible for preserving historical memory in the contemporary city. The Chicago History Museum presented an outstanding exhibit on the Haymarket, including the original trial transcripts, for the centennial, and much of the earlier exhibit has been kept intact in a prominent area of the museum. Events of the Great Railroad Strike are not featured in this or other exhibits. Documentation of labor events in Chicago has generally fallen to the Illinois Labor History Society, a non-profit organization founded in 1969 by the Chicago Teachers Union (the organization published William Adelman's important guide to ethnic neighborhoods and labor history in the Pilsen district; see Adelman 1977). The fact that local governments and public institutions are ambivalent (at best) about labor history, and that historical memory has been placed in the hands of voluntary organizations with little or no financial support, speaks volumes to the challenges of historical memory in the contemporary city.

John Sears' volume on *Sacred Places: American Tourist Attractions in the Nineteenth Century* focuses on the important role of the natural environment – Mammoth Cave, Niagara Falls, Yosemite Valley, and Yellowstone National Park – in the development of tourism in the United States. But he also shows that industry and technology, both in the natural landscape and in the growing cities, was a part of the national tourist culture. Edward Linenthal's *Sacred Ground: Americans and their Battlefields* examines the contested history and symbolic meaning of important battlefields from the Revolutionary War through the Indian Wars of the 1870s. But there are other battlegrounds that expose the contested history and symbolic meaning of sacred places in the urban environment, where persons fought and died in the ongoing struggle for a better life and social equality; these should not remain simply empty spaces in the urban fabric.

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The 2014 World Cup on the Streets of Vila Madalena (São Paulo)*

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Introduction

The goal of this article is to ethnographically reconstitute a range of social interactions on the streets of Vila Madalena neighbourhood in São Paulo, during the soccer World Cup held in Brazil in mid-2014 – although my observations include a period prior to the event – when this neighbourhood became a point of confluence, particularly amongst groupings of young people.[2] These gatherings had as many people attending as those present in the space officially designated by FIFA for watching the matches in São Paulo city centre, the Vale do Anhangabaú "Fan Fest".

Briefly, Vila Madalena is a district located in the western area of the city, marked by large public investments. From the late 1970s on, it became an important space for students, intellectuals and artists. It also became a bohemian nightlife area, expanded and diversified its bars and restaurants, attracted attention from the real estate sector and has become a reference for leisure and sociability (Risério 2015).

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2 About the concept of grouping, see Herzfeld (2006).

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Years ago, it also became one of the main spaces for street carnival – a recurring practice in Brazilian cities, but until recently not in São Paulo's context.

In this chapter, therefore, the plan is to address certain public meanings of the dynamics of interaction in such space at that time, marked by juxtapositions of different layers: the leisure, consumption and dwelling networks that already existed there; the arrival of fans, a predominantly male audience from several countries, boosted by international tourist circuits and combined with presence of a local audience, mainly female, interested in festive interaction with such fans; the growing influx of people from various parts of the metropolis to take part in such events; the growth of informal trade activities related to such gatherings; and finally the intensification of local uses of this space, with all the transgressive practices connected to the festive atmosphere, which led to complaints from residents, claims and actions by the government in order to organise access to the neighbourhood and circulation through the space; it recreated, on another scale, interventions aimed at disciplining the festive dimensions in the streets of Vila Madalena, already present during the carnival.

It is important to point out that ethnographic observation of an event of this nature (Damo/Oliven 2014)[3] implies sacrifices regarding the construction of a regular and long-term sociability with analysed agents. Still, it was possible to select focuses allowing a more precise and detailed observation of such agents. In this article, I aim to reconstruct, in the perspective of floating attention and without a fixed object (Pétonnet 1982), a series of experiences that were made possible due to the fact that I reside in Vila Madalena, although I understand that this circumstance does not limit my point of view to that of a resident, since I also frequent spaces of leisure, consumption and sociability, as well as, in my personal background, having been a student who lived in Vila Madalena, frequented its nightlife, and so on. It is in this multiple condition that I write this text.[4]

3 See also, about the anthropology of sport, Damo et al. (2008), Guedes (2010), Spaggiari/Chiquetto (2014) and Curi (2014).

4 For ethnographic approaches regarding the supporting practices in São Paulo's other public spaces during the World Cup, see Machado (2014), Lopes (2014), Barneche (2014), and Menck (2014).

Vila Madalena: the everyday changes in its streets

It is worth beginning with a memory related to the period prior to the World Cup: there was a certain collective reticence regarding commitment to the 2014 World Cup, not to mention lack of belief in its own viability, due to all the controversies and discussions concerning the legitimacy of the use of public resources. In addition, there were social and urban impacts related especially to the construction of soccer stadiums,[5] which led to protests mainly in 2013, in which the investments and interventions related to the event were among the most frequent targets of the demonstrations.[6]

I will not attempt a profound analysis here of the multiple political meanings of these demonstrations. I should only emphasise that even cheering for Brazil came to be questionable for many.[7] In a very different context, not supporting the team was a position defended by more radical sectors of the left in relation to the 1970s World Cup, at the time of the Brazilian military dictatorship, but without popular adhesion then.

This may even have delayed certain common practices, such as painting the streets in green and yellow, or painting the Brazilian national flag on the streets. Unlike with previous World Cups, at Vila Madalena, as well as at São Paulo's many neighbourhoods, this only happened around the beginning of the tournament, with such street and pavement paintings as well as the display of Brazilian flags in bars, bakeries, restaurants etc. The subway strike in the days before the opening of the World Cup may have been, in the case of São Paulo, the last worrying sign of an urban chaos that eventually did not happen.[8]

5 In Brazil, the new venues were named arenas.

6 Without exhausting the subject, see the approaches of Damo/Oliven (2014: 163-185), Gohn (2014), Judensnaider et al. (2013) and Hamburger (2016).

7 Regarding the political atmosphere in the days before the 2014 World Cup, see Pardue (10 June 2014).

8 About this, see Folha de São Paulo, "Com greve, estações do metrô de São Paulo amanhecem fechadas", 5 June 2014, http://www1.folha.uol.com.br/poder/2014/06/1465345-com-greve-estacoes-do-metro-de-sao-paulo-amanhecem-fechadas.shtml, (accessed 29 December 2015).

Fig. 1 A bar in Vila Madalena at the opening of the World Cup (Brazil vs Croatia). Photo: Heitor Frúgoli Jr, 12 June 2014.

Days before the beginning of the World Cup, it was possible to observe the arrival of a number of foreigners in the neighbourhood, many of them staying in local hostels. It was a common practice for them to ask for information about some whereabouts (many walked from the subway, with bags or backpacks). It is important to stress that several foreigners complimented the way that they were treated on a day-to-day basis by the Brazilians, an immaterial dimension that needs to be further addressed in its meanings. The hostels of the region had a predominant presence of foreign people between 20 and 35 years of age. The overall movement was smaller than expected (between 60% and 75%), including places that were opened only for the World Cup, whose daily rates varied between R$85 and R$300 (€28.30 and €100).[9]

I have memories of several Chileans and Uruguayans (identified by the use of their national teams' shirts) in the streets of Vila Madalena, during the period of

9 See Soraggi, B. B., "Turistas lotam Vila Madalena em busca de festa na Copa", 29 June 2014, Folha de São Paulo, http://www1.folha.uol.com.br/saopaulo/2014/06/1477406-turistas-lotam-vila-madalena-em-busca-de-festa-na-copa.shtml, (accessed 15 December 2015). At the time, one euro was approximately equivalent to three reais.

the first games. On Girassol Street, it was possible to see many Uruguayans walking towards Vila Madalena's subway station, heading to Itaquera, on 19 June (for the game taking place that evening against England). Several Uruguayans also wore the yellow and black shirts of Peñarol, a traditional and popular team in the country. Also, among Brazilian supporters, it was common to see in the streets those who preferred singing chants of their own club (especially Corinthians fans).[10]

It is worth noting that the last World Cup in South America had taken place in 1978, in Argentina, which may help to explain the strong presence of South American fans in the stadiums and in the streets of Brazilian cities, as it was possible to see in Vila Madalena and elsewhere in São Paulo.

There are moments in which a more detailed observation allows us to capture certain aspects that are hardly visible. On 21 June, the day of the match between Argentina and Iran (held in Belo Horizonte, at 1 pm), I was walking around the streets of Vila Madalena when I realised that the scale of use of the neighbourhood streets, nine days after the beginning of the World Cup, had already increased considerably. On this late morning, a Saturday, there was a street market (with fruit and vegetables, which occupy two blocks of Mourato Coelho Street and one block of Aspicuelta Street), and only later did a wider audience occupy the streets (which usually happens on Saturdays, when many bars and restaurants are already quite crowded during the afternoon).

On this day, there was a slight predominance of Argentinean fans on the streets and in bars and restaurants – unlike what was observed days later, when this national team played in São Paulo and the presence of its fans was far more visible and, quite often, sharply territorialised. This took place in several cities, such as Rio de Janeiro, when around 5000 Argentineans occupied the promenade of Atlântica Avenue, in the days before Argentina's debut in the World Cup, against Bosnia.[11]

That Saturday in Vila Madalena, these Argentinean supporters were mostly silent, especially because the game was tactically difficult, with only rare scoring opportunities, despite Argentina's dominance.

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10 Such hybridism – let us put this way – would deserve a separate analysis: before the World Cup, several Brazilian clubs paid homage to national teams, wearing kits that dialogued with their colours (especially the national teams that used their own clubhouses during the World Cup for training purposes). Some national teams also paid homage to Brazilian clubs, such as the German team, who wore shirts closely resembling those of Flamengo (as in the match against Brazil, for example).

11 See Brisolla, F. "Copacabana vê 'invasão' de argentinos e confusão com polícia", Folha de São Paulo, 14 June 2014, http://www1.folha.uol.com.br/esporte/folhanacopa/2014/06/1470562-praia-de-copacabana-ve-invasao-de-mais-de-mil-argentinos.shtml, (accessed 29 December 2015).

By half-time, one could see two supporters of Iran (who lived in Atlanta, United States) on the pavement of Aspicuelta Street acting quite sociably, and I talked to them (in English, obviously) before the restart of the match. During the second half, one of them mobilised a lot the Brazilians present at Boteco Coutinho (where the traditional *feijoada*, a traditional dish that somewhat resembles American soul food,[12] was served), encouraging them to cheer against Argentina. Something said by him in Persian, as a chorus, was to be responded to (in the same language) by the Brazilians. Gradually, many people became involved, including bar attendants, but a goal scored by Lionel Messi almost at the end of the match cooled such impetuosity… Still, it was impressive to observe a person's ability to "shake up" the environment so much, although his attempts after the end of the match no longer had the same level of persuasion. This was, however, a cheering practice only possible in an event such as the World Cup, marked by a certain cosmopolitanism, something distinct from the conflicts generally observed in games involving club rivalries.

Fig. 2 Iranian, Argentinean and Brazilian fans in a restaurant in Vila Madalena. Photo: Heitor Frúgoli Jr, 21 June 2014.

12 See Fry (2005).

On 23 June, the day of the match between Brazil and Cameroon in Brasília (on the same day and a few hours before, the Dutch team had played against Chile in São Paulo), one could see an even greater influx of people to Vila Madalena. Newspapers such as *Folha de São Paulo* had already guided them on how to get to the neighbourhood, where the numbers in the agglomeration of fans exceeded that of the Fan Fest space.[13] Before Brazil played, there was a dense inflow of people coming from the green subway line and walking through what would be a strange path for residents or habitués, as they descended a narrow and steep alley until Girasol Street, before making their way up the street, when it was possible to take shorter and flat paths. In this period, some statements of residents against what would be the transformation of Vila Madalena into "Woodstock" (an expression of Cássio Calazans, president of a local neighbourhood association[14]) started, as well as the first criticisms regarding moral boundaries between party and disorder. Days later, Tom Green, representative of the group SOSsego Vila Madalena, stated: "Vila Madalena is a neighbourhood of mixed and residential use. Noisy events and night parties are incompatible with the residential use, since the noise limit allowed by law is exceeded. The City Hall should inhibit the sale of alcoholic beverages on the streets, define limits of time and noise, and inspect irregular nightclubs."[15]

Having researched relationship networks at Bairro Alto in Lisbon (Frúgoli Jr 2013 and 2014[16]), I observed certain moral accusations attributed to the nightlife. Now I followed these events as both an anthropologist and as a resident, thinking about how to get a balanced look, paying attention to the morality implicit to the descriptions of violations of various orders that were present there.

13 See Folha de São Paulo, "Mapa Vila Madalena (a Vila Madalena é o terreno escolhido por turistas do Brasil e do mundo para torcer)", undated, http://www1.folha.uol.com.br/infograficos/2014/06/84811-mapa-vila-madalena.shtml, accessed 15 December 2015; on 29 June 2014, a calculation made by São Paulo's City Hall pointed to an average of 50,000 people at Vila Madalena and a peak of 35,000 at the Fan Fest (Folha de São Paulo, "50 mil estrangeiros e brasileiros invadem a Vila Madalena na Copa", 29 June 2014, http://www1.folha.uol.com.br/saopaulo/2014/06/1477389-50-mil-estrangeiros-e-brasileiros-invadem-a-vila-madalena-na-copa.shtml, (accessed 29 December 2015).

14 See Takahashi, F., "Vila Madalena é o ponto preferido da torcida em SP, para desespero de moradores", Folha de São Paulo, 19 June 2014, http://www1.folha.uol.com.br/esporte/folhanacopa/2014/06/1472749-vila-madalena-e-o-ponto-preferido-da-torcida-em-sp-para-desespero-de-moradores.shtml, (accessed 15 December 2015).

15 See "Vila do barulho", Guia da Vila Madalena, July 2014: 17.

16 For more about urban life in Lisbon, see Cordeiro/Baptista (2015).

Vila Madalena in the final matches: a melancholic closure

On 28 June, a Saturday, I walked around the streets of Vila Madalena after the game between Brazil and Chile (won by Brazil on penalties after a disputed match). There was nothing new in terms of a meaningful register, except for a more intelligible occupation of the streets, with certain recurrences, although on a growing scale, with a greater presence of informal trade – ranging from those who carry their own Styrofoam to those who use cars or station wagons with neon ads, to sell drinks, sandwiches etc. – and even small favela funk block parties. In this period, there was more police control regarding points of circulation and even stipulated hours in which people could be present on the streets.

At this point, several media sources (press, blogs, specialised websites etc.) were regularly addressing the particularities of Vila Madalena streets, generally emphasising the following aspects. First, *the dimensions of the party* – it is estimated that around 50,000 people came to the neighbourhood during the match between Brazil and Chile. And this number would increase to 70,000 for the match between Brazil and Colombia, while the Fan Fest registered an attendance of between 25,000 and 35,000 people present, expanding the perimeter of the crowd concentration. Second, the *consequent diversity* – seen as positive when referring to foreigners (and especially intensified at the start of the tournament), but questionable when it means the increase of "favela funkers", street vendors, "rioters" etc.; the evidence of a variety of events and practices in the same space (striptease, funk, hip-hop and samba gatherings, "cowboys" carrying rope ties, a boy with an inflatable doll – wearing the Brazilian national team T-shirt), shirtless and muscular young men, guys with a poster proposing an exchange of beers for kisses, an Australian man saying that he was already tired of kissing etc. Third, the *various complaints* – those made by both residents and merchants bothered by the excesses, related to moral frameworks (confusion, screaming, bad smell of chemical toilets etc.); the complaints directed, with some humour, by male to female Brazilians who prefer "gringos", leaving for the native men some flirtation tactics (which included using very bad English or *portunhol*, a somewhat disconnected mixture of Portuguese and Spanish, spoken by Brazilians without a mastery of the Spanish language); those complaints against multiple unacceptable behaviours (kissing, hugging, "making out", and even sex in public, people who urinated or defecated on the streets, commercialisation of "poppers" (lança-perfume), marijuana and cocaine; fights leading to bloody injuries, violent and indiscriminate male approaches towards women). Fourth, *governmental actions* – such as the 80 chemical toilets made available, which doubled in the end, the special scheme of rubbish collection (which reached 40 tonnes after the game between Brazil and Mexico), in which the action of street cleaners was linked to

the action of collectors; the increased control of access by cars and buses to the neighbourhood; the ever increasing police contingent.[17]

On 30 June, once more I observed the nightlife, one day before the match between Argentina and Switzerland, due to take place in São Paulo. There was a general expectation that it would bring many Argentineans to the city, as had happened in other towns.[18] This was only partially confirmed. There was a strong police presence and an obviously smaller occupation, compared to the games of the Brazilian national team, although with a dense use of the street area. On the corner of Aspicuelta Street and Mourato Coelho Street, there were small circles of quite cheerful Argentinean supporters, singing several chants and refrains. Occasionally, one could see Switzerland supporters, as well as German ones (whose national team had just won a match against Algeria on that day). There were brief moments of teasing between Brazilian and Argentinean supporters. In one of these moments, Brazilian fans sang: "Don't cry for me, Argentina" – a song dedicated to Eva Perón (the second wife of Argentine President Juan Perón), who died young and is considered a symbol of Peronism – and laughed.

On the following night, after the victory of the Argentinean national team, the area was more crowded, with a greater concentration on Aspicuelta Street, between

17 See the following stories (the last ones, after 29 June 2014): Takahashi, F. (19 June 2014), op. cit.; Pinhoni, M. "Copa na Vila Madalena é céu para uns e inferno para outros", *Exame*, 24 June 2014, http://exame.abril.com.br/brasil/noticias/copa-na-vila-madalena-e-ceu-para-uns-e-inferno-para-outros, (accessed 29 December 2015); Beguoci, L., "Vila Madalena, com loucura e delírio, vira 'buraco negro' em São Paulo", *Trivela*, 6/24/2014, http://trivela.uol.com.br/em-dia-de-loucura-e-delirio-vila-madalena-vira-buraco-negro-em-sao-paulo/, (accessed 15 December 2015); Teixeira, R.Correa, V. "Clima da Copa na Vila Madalena espanta moradores e assusta lojistas", Folha de São Paulo, 29 June 2014, http://www1.folha.uol.com.br/saopaulo/2014/06/1477397-clima-da-copa-na-vila-madalena-espanta-moradores-e-assusta-lojistas.shtml, (accessed 15 December 2015); Soraggi, B. B. (29 June 2014), op. cit.; Neves, F. P./Magalhães, G. "Vila Madalena passará por mudanças depois da Copa", Folha de São Paulo, 1 July 2014, http://www1.folha.uol.com.br/poder/2014/07/1478985-vila-madalena-passara-por-mudancas-depois-da-copa.shtml, accessed 15 December 2015; Bocchi, G. M., "Entre a Fan Fest e a Vila Madalena: buscando a Copa em São Paulo". 3 Toques, 2 July 2014, http://3toques.com.br/blogs/templodabola/2014/07/entre-a-fan-fest-e-a-vila-madalena-buscando-a-copa-em-sao-paulo/, (accessed 15 December 2015); Sievers, T. "Quando a diversão deu lugar ao caos na Vila Madalena". DCM, 8 July 2014, http://www.diariodocentrodomundo.com.br/quando-a-diversao-deu-lugar-ao-caos-na-vila-madalena/, accessed 15 December 2015.

18 Regarding the approach of São Paulo's City Hall towards the arrival of Argentinean supporters for the match of 1 July 2014, see Prefeitura (Notícias), http://www.prefeitura.sp.gov.br/cidade/secretarias/subprefeituras/itaquera/noticias/?p=48787, (accessed 31 December 2015).

Fradique Coutinho Street and Mourato Coelho Street. At a certain point, an Argentinean man playing a bass drum encouraged his countrymen to participate, and a small celebratory chant began. Shortly after that, however, Brazilians took possession of the same space and sang provocative refrains; one could see some Switzerland supporters, as well as Mexicans (whose national team, at this point, had already been eliminated from the World Cup).

This was also the first time I was able to notice a kind of circulation control by the police on Fidalga Street. The following day, the news stated that Argentinean supporters refusing to leave the streets had been repressed by the Military Police, who admitted to using a stun grenade, claiming that these supporters had thrown stones, bottles, and fireworks. According to some calculations, during the repressive operation, 200 police officers and 100 vehicles were patrolling in the neighbourhood.[19]

On 4 July, the day of the match between the Brazilian and the Colombian national teams (at Fortaleza), the confluence of people to Vila Madalena was even larger, delimiting new uses of space; the block in front of the building where I live, somewhat distant from the main agglomerations, for example, had three street vendors. A pickup truck played techno music at a rather high volume for a certain time. Since there were mostly groups of youngsters, I was called "uncle" several times while walking through the neighbourhood, accentuating the generational differences.[20] Taking mobile phone pictures was a pretext for a very brief interaction; there were several people that wanted to be photographed; a group of young African-American men asked me in a playful way if the images would be taken to the police. At night, after the match, a lady asked for the man escorting her to be photographed with me; other women made poses (dancing or showing "Fuleco", the official mascot of the World Cup). A young man asked me, in a slightly provocative tone, if (due to my age) I was not going to sleep…

As most Brazilians know, this would be the last victory of the Brazilian national team at the 2014 World Cup. As I was walking after this match, it was interesting to think about the considerable distance between what was announced on the TV soon after the game – the removal of Neymar, the main player of the team on the World Cup, due to a serious injury, uncertain to participate in the next match, against Germany – and the heavy partying in the streets.

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19 See Araújo, T. "Polícia usa bombas de efeito moral para dispersar argentinos na Vila Madalena, em São Paulo", Huffpost Brasil, 2 July 2014, http://www.brasilpost.com.br/2014/07/02/pm-repressao-argentinos_n_5550934.html, (accessed 29 December 2015).

20 For further elaboration regarding this topic in ethnographic practice, see Augé (1986 and 2008).

Fig. 3 Fans on their way to Vila Madalena. Photo: Heitor Frúgoli Jr, 4 July 2014.

Fig. 4 Vila Madalena streets after the Brazil vs Colombia match. Photo: Heitor Frúgoli Jr, 4 July 2014.

This celebration represented, as is now known, the peak for the Brazilian supporters. At the next match, on 8 July, the semi-final between Brazil and Germany, a historic defeat suffered by the Brazilian national team, I did not walk through the neighbourhood before or after the match. I already imagined a heavier atmosphere because of the defeat, especially considering the way it had happened, although the news revealed some celebrations amongst Brazilians, even under these conditions; this may point to a division between people with a greater commitment to soccer or to partying, although these are two connected dimensions.[21]

21 The news points to distinct aspects; see (as a counterpoint) Ruiz, V./Segalla, V. "Vila Madalena vive insólita micareta após derrota, para espanto dos gringos". Uol Copa, 9 July 2014, http://copadomundo.uol.com.br/noticias/redacao/2014/07/09/vila-madalena-vive-insolita-micareta-apos-derrota-para-espanto-dos-gringos.htm, (accessed 29 December 2015) and Zanchetta, D. "Torcedores queimam bandeira no Brasil na Vila Madalena", Estadão, 8 July 2014, http://sao-paulo.estadao.com.br/noticias/geral,torcedores-queimam-bandeira-do-brasil-na-vila-madalena,1525738, (accessed 29 December 2015).

This melancholic atmosphere of the 2014 World Cup for Brazilians unfolded, in the case of Vila Madalena, in a stronger police operation against those who refused to leave after the hour stipulated by the local government. This was supposedly necessary in order to avoid fights between Brazilian and Argentinean supporters, or because Vila Madalena had become a "drug fair".[22] Around 2 am (on 9 July), an operation (involving the participation of 400 members of the Military Police, 120 members of the Metropolitan Civil Guard and 20 tax inspectors of São Paulo's City Hall) dispersed approximately 5000 people from the streets, through the use of cordons.[23]

The following day (9 July), I did not go out either, but it was possible to hear, at night, timely celebrations of Argentinean supporters, probably making their way from the subway to Vila Madalena, as the Argentinean national team had just won its semi-final against the Netherlands in São Paulo.[24] As previously stated, this represented an unknown aspect: the streets of Brazilian metropolises were densely occupied by Argentinean supporters, whose massive and, at times, quite territorialised occupation of the public spaces questioned the notion of "home" and "away" teams.[25]

22 See Folha de São Paulo, "Traficantes fazem feira de drogas nas ruas da Vila Madalena em São Paulo", 9 July 2014, http://www1.folha.uol.com.br/poder/2014/07/1483397-traficantes-fazem-feira-de-drogas-nas-ruas-da-vila-madalena-em-sao-paulo.shtml (accessed 29 December 2015).

23 See Alves, M./Valente, R./Prado, A./Oliveira, R./Brant, I., "PM dispersa torcedores na Vila Madalena após confusão e brigas", Folha de São Paulo, (9 July 2014), http://www1.folha.uol.com.br/esporte/folhanacopa/2014/07/1483273-pm-dispersa-torcedores-na-vila-madalena-apos-confusao-e-brigas.shtml, (accessed 15 December 2015).

24 Regarding this day, see Bonsanti, B. "Vila Madalena viveu clima de provocação sadia entre argentinos e brasileiros", Trivela, 10 July 2014, http://trivela.uol.com.br/quase-vazia-vila-madalena-viveu-clima-de-provocacao-sadia-entre-argentinos-e-brasileiros/ (accessed 15 December 2015).

25 According to São Paulo's City Hall, during the final between Germany and Argentina, the Fan Fest received 25,000 people, whereas Vila Madalena received only 7000 (see Prefeitura de São Paulo (Notícias), "Mais de 32 mil pessoas se reúnem nas ruas de São Paulo para assistir à final da Copa do Mundo entre Alemanha e Argentina", 13 July 2014, http://www.capital.sp.gov.br/portal/noticia/3437#ad-image-0, (accessed 31 December 2015).

Brief conclusions

Although the Western anthropological fieldwork has been generally based, from a classical point of view, on the observation of social contexts marked by a certain exoticism or a cultural distance, it has also been possible to verify the inclusion of scenarios in terms of a nearby alterity. This is the case of urban anthropology, although this particularity also indicates, in a general way, Brazilian anthropology, which could be conceptualised as an anthropology of "ourselves" (Peirano 2008; Agier/Frúgoli Jr 2016).

In Brazil, the anthropologist Gilberto Velho dedicated his first ethnographic studies to his own neighbourhood (Copacabana, Rio de Janeiro), with special attention to the context of the urban middle classes (Velho 1978a), which led him to point to the challenges of turning the familiar into something strange (Velho 1978b).[26]

In the case of this particular research, such a challenge was also present, but in a different way. Actually I observed the neighbourhood that I live in, although with attention to a transitory event, which lasted a little more than a month, with several impacts on the urban landscape. As already mentioned, I was able to observe an articulated series of events in a circumscribed area, inspired by the method proposed by Pétonnet (1982) – in her case, around the regular visitors to the Père-Lachaise cemetery in Paris.

It is possible to assert, briefly, that it is necessary to create an ethnographic approach to the constant interplay between proximity and distance (Simmel 2005 [1903]; Frúgoli Jr 2007). If several events at Vila Madalena were unexpected, on the other hand, my knowledge about soccer allowed me to develop a closer look. But not only because I am from a country where this sport is very popular. During my research on the Bairro Alto in Lisbon (Frúgoli Jr 2013), on several occasions I was able to apprehend a deep ethos linked to soccer, whether in everyday interactions, or when UEFA Champions League, UEFA Europa League or even Portuguese championship matches were taking place, followed intensely in bars and restaurants.

The streets of Vila Madalena during the World Cup, therefore, allowed an observation of multiple levels, marked by the juxtaposition among its already existing networks of leisure, consumption, and housing, all of them connected to the event in question, increasing its reference as a symbolic space not only in São Paulo or, at times, in Brazil, but also on an international level. The continuity of this phenomena will obviously depend on a combination of factors. As the journalist Matthew Shirts (a frequenter of the place) states, "Vila will not be the same […] I imagine residents are worried and upset with all this. I would even mention a friend who

26 See also O'Donnell (2014).

caught couples making love in front of her house! The whole world now knows about Vila […] Vila is the beach of the city!"[27]

As we have already seen, the streets of Vila Madalena became an area that, for a considerable period during the World Cup, had the biggest confluence of people, stealing attention from the official Fan Fest area. According to Pisani/Monteiro (undated), the participation in the Fan Fest was free, all visitors were inspected by private security guards, and street vendors were prevented from entering; entry was suspended after a certain limit of people was reached; a guidebook (in English, Spanish and Portuguese) was delivered by police officers; in the internal spaces there was an area to watch the games (broadcast on a large screen), as well as stands with sponsoring brands, interactive attractions, press sectors, drink, food and paraphernalia kiosks; the games were broadcasted by Rede Globo, and at half-time and between matches, there were dance performances that called for audience participation (which was characterised, as expected, by the presence of fans from several countries).

In comparison, Vila Madalena represented a more open and public space, without control over access (although from a certain moment on this did start happening) and less exposed to the corporate power of FIFA and its sponsors (regarding the definitions of what and how to consume, or even behave, during the games).

According to the present research, Vila Madalena housed multiple agents and their modalities of supporting their own national teams, which involved the following: gender relations (here only enunciated); interactive relations between people of multiple nationalities by the means of the soccer ethos – whose territoriality (Perlongher 2005) practised by the Argentinean supporters represented a certain rupture in this pattern; relationships between performances of national teams that took part in the event and performative manifestations of their fans in the streets – with a relative level of autonomisation between these spheres, when one considers the Brazilian national team and the manifestations of groups of youngsters, to whom the party itself may have a prevailing character; relations between clubism and supporting national teams.

Such a collective and festive dimension intensified already existing conflicts among neighbourhood residents and frequenters, observed in previous occasions, especially during carnival, demanding interventions by the City Hall, aimed at limiting circulation and the uses of the area. This led to more systematic police presence and resulted in at least two repressive events that could and should have been avoided. The conflicts between residents and frequenters, designated by several conceptions of morality, overshadowed other conflicts, such as those between

27 See "A Vila pós-Copa", Guia da Vila Madalena, July 2014: 11.

the formal and the informal structures of commerce that tend to grow in massive events, articulated to illegal practices. It is important to emphasise that in the case of the World Cup, a certain disgust among residents was related to a more intense dimension of transgressions than those that usually take place during carnival, marked by an already expected ritual of practices and behaviours.[28]

Fig. 5 Carnival in the streets of Vila Madalena. Photo: Heitor Frúgoli Jr, February 2016.

Without considering, in this conclusion, either the challenges posed to more democratic organisation of soccer in several levels or the further developments regarding practices and representations in Brazilian soccer after the impacts of this World Cup, it is important to ensure that mass public events (with all their diversity of agents and the amplification of forms of sociability) can continue to take place in a metropolis such as São Paulo. That way, we can all learn from the experiences and from the various interests at stake, leading towards an expansion of the strength contained in its public spaces. This also involves the need for public management aimed at an efficient mediation of the several agents involved and their confluent or conflicting interests – visitors, residents, tourists, shopkeepers, street vendors – as well as that of different spheres of local management – culture,

28 See, on this subject, DaMatta (1991), Turner (2008 [1969]) and Cavalcanti (1999).

transportation, cleaning, security, tourism, communication – so that such events can amplify the rights to the city, without culminating in repressive practices and restrictive or prohibitive positions.

We shall focus again, in this conclusion, on the anthropology of the city (Agier 2015; Cordeiro 1997; Frúgoli Jr 2007): in fact, the contemporary scene places us face-to-face with a period in which the city of São Paulo – although not exclusively – and its public spaces have been the target of multiple appropriations and occupations. This has generated several debates regarding a certain type of expansion of the inhabitants' relations with the urban context, its streets and facilities. New investigations concerning the meanings of both the public space and the collective dimension emerge and demand further understanding (Harvey 2008; Lefebvre 1968). More than a topic, this has been an agenda that generates growing interest and that is proliferating in many spheres, aimed at understanding a gradient of meanings, as well as possibilities of action.

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Shops as the bricks and mortar of place identity

A comparison of shopping streets in Brussels, Paris and Geneva

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Introduction

"Think of a city and what comes to mind?" asks Jane Jacobs (1961: 29). "Its streets. If a city's streets look interesting, the city looks interesting; if they look dull, the city looks dull." In our opinion, Jacobs should have answered: its commercial streets. Indeed, on Jacobs' ideal street, small shops attract a diversity of people who use the public space and interact. Residential and side streets rarely come to mind when one speaks about cities. Following her argument, urban scholars often consider functionally mixed streets as the quintessence of cityness. Just as some cities and some neighbourhoods tend to be disproportionately represented in literature (Neal et al. 2015), certain urban settings tend to be overrepresented, because they are thought to be more "interesting", in Jacobs words. Commercial streets are the focus of large amounts of literature concerned with how businesses affect the urban landscape, and how they both reflect and contribute to social, demographic and economic change.

We argue that another reason to focus on commercial streets is their role in the manufacturing of place identities. In other words, cities and neighbourhoods are seen through their main street, and more specifically through their main street's shops. They allow for the construction of a "sense of place" (Massey 1994). Social scientists have challenged the fixed and natural dimension of place identity. As Massey (1994) argues, places are made of social relations. They are always unfixed and dynamic, and subject to symbolic struggles over their identity. However, places are obviously also made of "bricks and mortar". In contrast to people's mobility, shops'

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visible and concrete presence materializes the struggle over place identity. Thus, they might influence the place's identity more than the place's residents themselves.

Based on observations and on 45 interviews with workers and users of three shopping streets in Geneva, Paris and Brussels, we will show, on the one hand, that shop owners and clerks are key actors in the symbolic struggle over place identity. They choose where to set up, select their products, attract certain types of customers and design their shop front. As one interviewed shop owner explained, shop windows are "the neighbourhood's showcase". On the other hand, shops are used symbolically by individuals to objectify place identity (Blokland 2001). We will show how certain businesses are said to be representative of a place's history, while others are seen as symbols of disruptive change, such as gentrification. Interestingly, some of them are subject to opposing interpretations.

But are shops only the means by which their owners shape the streetscape, and by which others sustain differing narratives on place identity? To what extent can they be considered as non-human actors transforming rather than bearing meaning? In order to answer these questions, we will proceed as follows: after a review of the literature, we will outline the methodology used in this study. We will then present the case studies and compare how shops contribute in different ways to the negotiation and the manufacturing of place identities on three streets in Brussels, Paris and Geneva.

Shops in the city

Shops are generally regarded in one of two ways. Firstly, a political economy perspective emphasises the mechanisms – and the underlying political decisions – through which the circuits of capital end up changing the commercial structure of cities (Logan/Molotch 1987). Gentrification scholars, for example, have analysed the relationship between residential redevelopment and commercial upgrading (Zukin et al. 2009). They have also shown that gentrification – in its different forms – can contribute to both the disappearance and the revival of small local shops (Gonzalez/Waley 2012). Others have studied how the marketing of a constructed ethnicity (Little Italy, for example) and the creation of Business Improvement Areas utilize shops in order to increase the value of real estate (Hackworth/Rekers 2005).

A second way is to look at shops from a symbolic economy perspective. Scholars have studied how shops contribute to – and not only reflect – urban change. Here, political economy meets individual and collective choices, tastes and perceptions. Shops are more than places of supply and consumption: they are part of an interac-

tion with city dwellers and users, who read the city by interpreting shops as visual messages about places, their evolutions and the diversity of its populations (Hall 2012 ; Zukin et al. 2015). We will mainly adopt this second perspective.

Scholars have emphasized a variety of functions of shops, aside from their supply functions. Most famously, Jacobs has argued that shops serve as social hubs, around which people are more likely to interact when compared to strictly residential areas or to vacant public spaces. Shops allow for random encounters, but also, as Jacobs argues, they create forms of social control. Both shopkeepers and their customers would be "eyes on the street" exerting a mutual surveillance (Jacobs 1961: 36). Moreover, repeatedly patronizing the same businesses and developing a sense of familiarity with both the setting and the staff can provide users with a feeling of belonging (Mehta 2013: 143) and of moral ownership (Zukin et al. 2015). The development of routines also lends certain businesses emotional meaning, and their loss can be painful (Lofland 1998: 64).

There seems to be a consensus regarding the fact that small businesses better serve these purposes when compared to larger businesses, and that independent shops make for "better" neighbourhoods than retail outlets. This claim is based on the idea that small independent businesses are friendlier, more interesting, and make a street unique (Mehta 2013: 153). From a critical perspective, small businesses "represent the vernacular of the powerless against the corporate interests of chain stores and national franchises" (Zukin 1996: 56). Their disappearance would lead, according to this perspective, to a "corporate monoculture" (ibid.), making every commercial street look similar. Studying a street in London, Miller (2005) argues that small businesses are particularly meaningful for the middle class, for which the corner shops "are the good guys while the supermarkets are castigated as the embodiments of materialistic evil". In practice however, both middle-class and working-class residents favour supermarkets, for their convenience and lower prices.

The same class-based divide appears in Deener's (2007) depiction of the reshaping of a commercial artery in Los Angeles. Newcomers, mostly young and white professionals, support newly opened independent shops "because they provide shoppers with a sense of lifestyle distinction", and additionally because they help prevent an "invasion of corporate commerce" that would threaten the "unique character" of the neighbourhood. However, long-time residents with limited economic resources perceived the new face of their street as a symbol of social and economic exclusion.

The reference to the past is central in the struggle over place identity. Drawing on Massey, Blokland (2001) showed how, by "using the built environment, the process of memory production formats the neighbourhood symbolically, producing one of its many possible identities". She showed how practices of collective remembering helped a group of elderly people in Rotterdam trying to make sense of their chang-

ing environment. Old shops like the butcher's were used as gathering places and as proof of how "things used to be". The fact that the butcher's was not patronized by the newcomers – some of them being Muslim – allowed the elderly to "claim and maintain [it] as their own" (Blokland 2001: 276).

The shopfronts – the most visible part of the shops – are crucial in this regard. They are pieces of the "urban landscape" that mediate the relationship between the city and its users (Raulin 1986). Scholars highlight the role of shops as identity markers. Their names, windows, signs, displays and furniture are aesthetically and linguistically symbolic. Simon (2000) suggests that several shops sharing common symbols affect the whole area: "when several shops belonging to the same ethnic group are located side by side, they constitute a continuous 'area' through the repetition of these 'community markers'" (Simon 2000). Studying an inner-London high street, Hall and Datta (2010) explained that the exteriors of ethnic shops produce a "translocal visuality". They see the choices of names, products and signage as practices of place-making. Through these practices, "mobile subjects situate themselves" and convey understandings of "not only 'who I am', but also 'who else is here'" (ibid.: 73). In this sense, shopping streets are "places of everyday diversity" (Zukin et al. 2015), "in which to engage in difference" (Hall 2012: 108). They are also where globalization and migrations are made visible.

The materiality of shops and their role in making social processes visible deserves attention. In his study of "freegans" in New York City, Barnard (2016: 1024) argues that "relationships between humans and the material world may not just enhance or contribute to the confirmation of moral identities in group life but may actually themselves become the basis of an individual's moral sense of place". Drawing on Latour, he suggests that "objects may actually do things that social actors cannot and can transform rather than simply transmit the meanings that humans attribute to them" (ibid.). Can shops be the "the basis of an individual's moral sense of place"?

This overview of the pertinent literature suggests that shops and shopping streets are more than a context, and that they interact with human actors who simultaneously give them meanings and "read" them to establish place identity. "Place identity", as we understand it, is not an individual feeling, but rather a collective social construct. However, based on Massey (1994), we consider place, like people, to have multiple and shifting identities and to be subject to rival interpretations. We will now outline the methodology used to investigate the roles of shops in the manufacturing of place identities.

Methodology and context

We aimed at comparing streets more than neighbourhoods or cities. We looked for commercial landscapes likely to reflect the dynamics that have affected European cities over the most recent decades: deindustrialization (Mingione 2005), successive waves of immigration, and gentrification processes involving rising rents and the progressive replacement of an elderly population by a younger and possibly wealthier population. The three shopping streets were thus selected in neighbourhoods considered as historically populated by working class and immigrant populations, and recently affected by gentrification. In addition, these streets had to be both commercial and residential and to have numerous and diverse shops likely to reflect the social and ethnic diversity (Hall 2011). Finally, we selected shopping streets in French speaking cities in order to facilitate easy informal interactions.

We asked shopkeepers and shop owners about the history of their shops: when it opened, why in this location, how their shop and the area around has changed. Through the conversations, we also learned whether the interviewees resided in the area or elsewhere. We additionally interviewed a non-representative sample of persons either residing on the selected streets, or frequenting it. We asked how they use the area, and how they would describe it. We purposefully did not specify our interest in the shops. When analysing the transcripts of our 45 interviews, we focused on the descriptions of the areas and on the references to shops. We will now describe the three selected streets and their context.

Rue du Fort, Saint-Gilles (Brussels)

Saint-Gilles is a commune of Brussels, the capital of Belgium. Comprised of several working-class neighbourhoods, it became largely populated by immigrants over the second half of the 20th century (Delwit/Rea 2007). After WWII, southern Europeans came here in response to the need for workers. In the 1970s, Moroccans became the largest group of immigrants. The first decade of the 21st century saw other immigrant groups settling in Saint-Gilles and today, half of the population is of foreign nationality (Van Hamme et al. 2016). In the 1990s, attempting to address the growing segregation between immigrant populations, the city authorities established programmes aimed at increasing the social mix by encouraging the arrival of new middle-class residents (Lenel 2013 ; Van Hamme et al. 2016 ; Romanczyk 2015). Gentrification processes subsequently began in some neighbourhoods of Saint-Gilles.

Rue du Fort, the street we focused on, is representative of these dynamics. The southern half of the 600-metre-long Rue du Fort is mainly residential and bordered by three- to five-storey red brick apartment buildings. A grocery store is located at the southern end of the street, and as you walk towards the north, you pass by

a launderette and a funeral home. A Portuguese bar and a bakery appear to be permanently closed. Other former shop windows are shuttered or have curtains signalling that the shop has been converted to an apartment.

As we reach the northern half of the street, it becomes more lively. A pharmacy, a bakery, an organic grocery store, a record shop, a tobacconist's, a household electrical appliances shop, a restaurant, and a clothing shop can be found in the last 300 meters. The street goes down towards a plaza which hosts a small market on weekdays, as well as a larger one on Sundays. On Saturdays, a small market also takes place on Rue du Fort itself. A member of the local shop owners association explained that the market used to occupy a larger part of the street. Around 2009, business in the area started to decline and many shops, bars and restaurants closed their doors. The municipality started renovating the portion of street close to the plaza – the "Parvis de Saint-Gilles". The construction work lasted for several months, and in the opinion of our interviewees, it had a harmful impact on both the shops and the market sellers. During a visit to the market on a Saturday in February 2016, we noted some fruit and vegetable stalls, as well as clothes and one-euro items stalls.

The shop owners association was created in 2014 by most of the remaining shop owners. Apart from the prolonged construction work, they lament the rise in rents. Their spokesperson explained that business declined, while the real estate was quickly becoming more attractive due to the proximity of the plaza and its redevelopment by the municipality. The demand for housing rose, and it was soon more profitable for real estate owners to transform shops into apartments.

Fig. 1 The Saturday market on Rue du Fort, Brussels (photo by the authors).

Rue Dénoyez, Belleville (Paris)

Like Saint-Gilles in Brussels, Belleville is considered as emblematic of multi-ethnic neighbourhoods in Paris (Simon 2000). The first immigrants to settle in modern Belleville were Armenians, Greeks, and Polish Jews in the 1920s. In the 1950s, Algerians and Tunisian Jews arrived and Belleville entered what Simon calls its "North African period" (Simon 2000: 103). Later on, Chinese immigrants settled in the neighbourhood (Chuang 2013).

In the 1990s, when Simon carried out his research in Belleville, he noted that "although the different ethnic groups tend to mix […], the more dynamic groups have divided up public space through a strategy of occupation and control. This strategy is based on the presence of numerous businesses […] used as identity markers" (Simon 2000: 105). In Belleville, like in other historically working-class neighbourhoods in Paris, gentrification started in the 1970s. Middle-class households moved to areas where rents used to be cheaper. At the same time, city authorities launched a renewal programme, including the demolition of the most insalubrious buildings (Clerval 2008).

We chose to focus specifically on Rue Dénoyez, a narrow, 150-metre-long street. Its commercial landscape represents most waves of migration as well as the gentrification processes affecting Belleville as a whole. At one end of the street, a long wall covered with coloured graffiti attracts some tourists. In the 1990s, artists started occupying empty buildings. Over the years, a formal association came together and artist workshops were built. The association signed an agreement with the local authorities, who owned the buildings. But this situation was only meant to be temporary. In 2015, artists had to leave, to make way for social housing and a new day care centre. The graffiti wall, however, was saved. Walking towards the south, we pass some small businesses. Two of them are explicitly Jewish-Tunisian, one is a café run by Tunisian Muslims. There is a tapas bar and a Spanish restaurant, a Chinese fish-shop, a Chinese restaurant, and a clothing-alteration workshop run by a man of African origin. Other businesses signal the gentrification of the area, as we will describe later.

Fig. 2 View to the south of Rue Dénoyez, Paris (photo by the authors).

Boulevard Carl-Vogt, La Jonction (Geneva)

La Jonction used to be farmland before industry transformed the area over the course of the 19th century. Industrial decline started in the 1970s and factories progressively closed their doors. Simultaneously, large residential buildings were built, as well as administrative offices. Lower-than-average rents attracted low-income households as well as immigrant populations from southern European countries. The geographical origins of the immigrant population (now half of the neighbourhood's population) later diversified, taking in African and South American countries. In the 1970s, the Swiss French-speaking broadcast outlet – Radio Télévision Suisse – built the headquarters for its television arm in La Jonction. The high-rise building is known locally as the "Television Tower". A museum for modern and contemporary art opened in a large industrial building in 1994 and at the end of the 1990s, the University of Geneva unveiled its largest building at one end of the neighbourhood. It is now surrounded by several other buildings hosting classrooms, laboratories and offices, each day drawing thousands of students and staff to the south-eastern part of La Jonction.

Boulevard Carl-Vogt is the street we chose to focus on. It is La Jonction's main street and features a succession of shops – on the ground floor of residential buildings – spread over one kilometre. At one end of the boulevard lies the main university

building, while all the university's premises, as well as the Television Tower, are to be found along the first half of the street. Numerous art galleries, bars and the newly renovated Museum for Ethnography are also in the area. The second half of the street has a different look. As we go deeper into the neighbourhood, walking along the boulevard, we first pass a large residential complex from the 1960s, hosting 445 apartments. We also see a post office, a police station, two supermarkets, several bars, cafés and restaurants, and other shops.

As the transformation went on, businesses adapted to the growing young and highly educated population of students, researchers and journalists, considering it more profitable to target these groups as opposed to the residents themselves. Gentrification processes thus started at one end of the street, but as the university campus expanded, and concurrently, the whole city experienced a dire housing shortage, the rest of the street started to gentrify.

Fig. 3 View to the north-western part of Boulevard Carl-Vogt, Geneva, with the residential complex from the 1960s on the left side (photo by the authors).

Shop-owners as key actors in the symbolic struggle over place identity

Our three case studies highlight several ways in which shops affect place identity. Firstly, shop owners target certain social groups and make choices in terms of design, prices, product assortment and opening hours, which in turn has an impact on the visual aspect of the street as well as on individuals' sense of place. Secondly, residents and users use shops as evidence in order to support their claims about place identity. We will illustrate these points by mentioning one example for each case.

The organic grocery in Saint-Gilles

In 2007, two women had the idea to recreate a traditional grocery store. They targeted customers interested in locally sourced organic products. From the owners' perspective, the diversity of their product matches the diversity of the neighbourhood's population. During our conversation with a clerk, he nonetheless admitted that he does not see many customers of African origin, for instance.

To some street users, this shop symbolises the vitality of Rue du Fort as a shopping street. After the closure of several long-standing businesses, it raised hopes for a revival of Rue du Fort. The clerk logically agrees, considering that the shops that closed permanently in recent years were marginal and failed to attract many customers anyway. He claimed that "Half of our customers come almost everyday". Indeed, it was not hard for us to find people praising the quality and the diversity of their products. Some customers liked to explore the shop by themselves, and enjoyed purchasing unpackaged goods. This kind of consumption appears authentic to those calling it a "real grocery store", as opposed to both more upmarket organic shops and supermarkets.

However, not everyone enjoyed exploring the shop and its unpackaged goods by themselves. Some felt disconcerted by the selection of products and blamed the shopkeeper for not doing his job. Customers said they felt "unwelcome" or "as if [they] were being judged", and concluded it was a shop for so-called "bobos" (bourgeois bohemians). More specifically, they regretted that the shopkeepers did not treat them as warmly and wholeheartedly as they would expect. The products were regarded as too expensive, and consequently, the prices nurtured a feeling of exclusion.

Thus, from one perspective, the shop continues the tradition of Rue du Fort being a shopping street with small independent shops. From another perspective, it disrupts the history of Saint-Gilles being a working-class neighbourhood with affordable shops, where customers can expect to be treated warmly. The grocery store is essential in sustaining the narrative of revival, but it also symbolizes the

gentrification process that leads to rising rents and the closure of long-standing businesses. This disjunction highlights how unequal spending power may influence the interpretation of the symbolic elements of shops.

The café-library in Belleville

In the case of Saint-Gilles, we saw that one shop in particular is subject to opposing interpretations, linked to narratives concerning the neighbourhood's identity. The case of the café-library in Belleville provides us with further insight into how shops may crystallize competing visions. Customers can read second-hand books while they have an organic tea or a piece of cheesecake. One patron explained that the café-library used to be a no-frills neighbourhood bar. The bar closed and the building was abandoned. In 2007, the local authorities bought the building, along with those occupied by artist workshops. The authorities decided to keep the historic building within which the café-library opened in 2014.

When we visited the café, a man in his forties was chatting with the waitress and was complaining about the difficulty of organizing poetry events in Paris. For both of them, the café-library is one of the only "nice" places left in an area that used to be open to artists. The conservation of the graffiti-covered wall is an absurdity, they agreed. Another client added that one cannot "frame" street-art; this wall is there for tourists. However, in their opinion, the café is "typical" of the neighbourhood and represents a certain essence of what Belleville *is*, even if it only opened in 2014.

During another visit to Rue Dénoyez, we sat in the Spanish restaurant and had a coffee at the bar. Just like in the café, the customers and waiting staff all seemed to know each other, and were discussing the evolution of the area. The participants in the conversation were older than most customers in the café-library. One of them talked about his retirement, while the others seemed to be in their 50s or 60s. The owner spoke fluent French, with a Spanish accent – he was originally from the north of Spain. One man mentioned the café-library with contempt. He went there, he said, and paid €2.40 for a coffee. "It was the first and last time. Such a price is just not fair". Another participant in the discussion added: "*Pff*… I don't understand this place". Another one joined in: "This neighbourhood used to be much better, [shops] all closed. [The Spanish restaurant] is the last place where we can hang out and have a beer". We asked about the other bars and restaurants. They patronize neither the Chinese bar nor the Chinese restaurant, because they do not like them. They could not explain why, with one declaring simply: "It's not appealing to me". As for the Tunisian café, it does not serve alcohol, "because they are Muslims", and neither does the café-library.

By choosing not to sell alcohol, the owners of the café-library exclude – although probably not willingly – the group of men we encountered in the Spanish restau-

rant, who like to drink beer or wine while there are hanging out. The café-library was threatening their feeling of moral ownership over the area. Themselves having migration backgrounds from southern Europe, they expressed resentment towards the most recent migrants: the Chinese and the Tunisian Muslims. The opening of the café-library further pushes them to the position of outsiders, whereas they once considered themselves as the established (Elias/Scotson 1965). The café-library is disruptive on a symbolic level ("I don't understand this place") but also practical: their prices are too high and they do not serve alcohol.

The café-library's customers also felt pushed out of the neighbourhood, considering it to be one of the last "nice" places. However, they felt encouraged by this new place as it helped them sustain a narrative over Belleville as a historic home for artists. Thus, even a recently opened café can be seen as representing a certain continuity of the neighbourhood identity. As in Saint-Gilles, it was striking to see how much attention was devoted to one shop, on a street that counts more than a dozen of them.

The grocery versus the frozen yogurt shop in La Jonction

In La Jonction (Geneva), unlike in the two other cases, interviewees did not single out one particular shop, but four of them, perhaps because the street is about twice as long as the two others. More importantly, those businesses were not subject to opposing interpretations. Instead, interviewees mentioned different businesses depending on whether they supported a narrative of continuity or a narrative of change.

A community centre worker explained that over the last two decades, "bars replaced bars" giving "a sense of continuity" to the area. Even if the standing of some of them is now higher, he concludes that "there has been little change. The tea-room has been here for a long time. The [building] number 7 has always been a bit 'underground', with a fair trade shop, a cycling advocacy office. The old pizzeria's owners changed many times, but it is still a pizzeria".

The fifty-year-old Swiss man we met in a café would have concurred with this vision. He lives on disability benefits and has a lot of time to spend in La Jonction, where he also resides. To describe the neighbourhood, he repeatedly used the adjectives "old" and "traditional" and cited shops as evidence. "There are many Arabs here, you notice this when you see how many Arabic restaurant there are", he said. "There are also Italian restaurants, in fact, the majority are Italians (…), old Italians". He then mentioned a record shop that has been there for more than thirty years, as well as a long-standing second-hand bookshop, to argue that "although the neighbourhood has changed, the atmosphere is still the same". Both the record

shop and the bookshop are in the area that has been the most transformed by the new university buildings, which surprisingly, he did not mention.

A woman in her sixties who we interviewed was born in the neighbourhood, then left for another part of Geneva, subsequently returning to La Jonction a few years ago. To her, it is still the neighbourhood she used to like. As with the man quoted above, she acknowledged the changes. But to her it is still "a popular neighbourhood, there is a pharmacy, a grocery. And the grocers are wonderful, they even deliver to elderly people, and there is a great bakery". We repeatedly heard about the grocer's and decided to interview them. To them, La Jonction is the last neighbourhood that is "like a village". Some of their most loyal customers would address them by their first name, and would confide their problems in them. Were they living in the neighbourhood, customers would probably even call them at night "because they forgot to buy some flour".

However, drawing on different interviews, La Jonction can be depicted in a radically different light. An elderly resident, for example, complained that he does not recognize the neighbourhood into which he moved 30 years ago. "There used to be many grocer's and a diversity of shops, now there are only bars and restaurants for young folks. (…) It was handy, and I used to get along well with the grocer's. (…) I feel excluded". Other interviewees complained that most of the small shops had disappeared, which probably means that most of the shops *they liked* disappeared. Just like the woman who feels that La Jonction is still how it used to be, because her pharmacy and her grocer is still there, this suggests that a commercial or emotional relationship with a business increases its relevance.

The narratives of change often included mention of a newly opened frozen yogurt shop. As an interviewee suggested, this type of shop is a symbol of gentrification. "The day you see a frozen yogurt shop on your street, you know what's happening", he said. Indeed, the owner – a man in his late 30s – sees himself as participating in an adaptation of the commercial landscape in response to the growing student population. "Our concept is not for the residents", he said. The opening hours are limited to 11am to 3pm and they are closed on weekends. They decided not to offer seats, in order to encourage the customers to take their frozen yogurt away. His choices in term of interior design, set of products, and aesthetic elements attract certain social groups while deterring others.

The owner of a new bar and pizzeria tells a similar story, even if his business is located at the opposite end to the university and the frozen yogurt shop. "The neighbourhood is in transformation" he said. "I think people do not really know La Jonction, and still think it is an old and a dull neighbourhood. They would be surprised!" He wants to participate in the change, and since he believes the local residents to have little economic capital, he sets low prices. We later interviewed

some of his competitors, who accused him of slashing prices. Indeed, what he presents as a way of adapting to the local clientele might in fact accelerate changes in the commercial landscape, by pushing his competitors out of business.

To sum up, in La Jonction more than in the two other cases, there was strong consensus on which shops signal change in the local commercial landscape. One reason has to do with the fact that these shops target different populations: one made up of students and higher-education and media professionals who need lunch during the week, and one made up of residents, diverse in age, origins and socio-economic positions, who need broader commercial offerings, and extended opening hours, including over the weekend. The difference between the first two cases and the last one also brings into question the capacity of materiality to impose meaning, as we will discuss in the next section.

How can shops be considered as non-human actors shaping people's sense of place?

In each of the three case studies, we described how by setting up their businesses, shop owners decisively affect individuals' sense of place. Their choices of shop name, signs, furniture, product assortment, opening hours and prices not only affect the street's appearance, but they attract and exclude, signalling who belongs and who is "out of place". We also described how shops were used symbolically by individuals to objectify place identity, as Blokland (2001) suggests. However, the question remains as to whether shops are only "symbolic means" (Miller 2005), and to what extent businesses themselves – in their bricks-and-mortar dimension – determine how people perceive place identities? In other words, can shops "actually do things that social actors cannot, transforming rather than simply transmitting the meanings that humans attribute to them" (Barnard 2016: 1024)?

The centrality of shops to interviewees' narratives on place identity, in all three cases, shows how bricks-and-mortar businesses impose themselves as key physical reminders of different facets of a place's identity. They are also material evidence of a place's contested past and signs of what the place's future may look like. Shops were systematically referred to as signs of continuity or change, from either a positive or a negative perspective. These different narratives are represented in the diagram below.

Tab. 1 Different narratives

	Continuity	Change
Positive	Authenticity	Improvement
Negative	Dullness	Loss of authenticity

This diagram highlights differences between Saint-Gilles and Belleville on the one side, and La Jonction on the other. In the first two cases, one particular business was subject to debate, being considered authentic by those with a positive opinion of continuity, and as a loss of authenticity by those seeing them as signs of negative change. For example, for the man organising poetry events, the café-library resonated with the bohemian history of Belleville. Meanwhile, the same café clashed with how the men in the Spanish restaurant saw Belleville, as a historic working-class area. Cultural and economic capital certainly influenced interviewees' notion of authenticity. In Saint-Gilles, poorer residents could by no means think of the organic grocer's as a "real grocery store". The prices as well as symbolic aspects of the shop and its product assortment contributed to a feeling of exclusion. Individuals with ample financial means paid less attention to the prices, instead focusing on the goods and the service.

In contrast, shops that were central to interviewees' narratives about La Jonction were either clearly representing continuity or unambiguously signalling change. Neither the new pizzeria nor the frozen yogurt shop tried to embrace an image of the past, and were never considered as doing so by our interviewees. As a consequence, such businesses were perceived as either contributing to an improvement of the neighbourhood or to a loss of authenticity. Interestingly, this did not prevent conflicting views on whether La Jonction had fundamentally changed or not. Indeed, some interviewees adopted narratives focusing either on businesses representing continuity or on those signalling change.

Nevertheless, our analysis suggests that bricks-and-mortar shops do not have equal influence in defining place identity. Firstly, the three cases showed a limited number of businesses being the focus of everyone's definition of place identity. In Belleville and Saint-Gilles, one business was particularly imbued with historical meaning, playing a major role in the struggle over place identity. However, in La Jonction, we learned that the relevance of a business also depends on an individual's commercial and/or affective relationships with that business. Indeed, some interviewees seemed to turn a blind eye to the changes, as long as "their" grocery store and "their" bakery is still there for them.

Secondly, the comparison showed that among the few shops that are at the centre of the debate, some appear more coercive than others and thus less prone to manipulation by people attempting to "stabilize meanings attributed to space" (Massey 1994). While the café in Belleville and the grocery store in Saint-Gilles allowed different interpretations depending on interviewees' socio-economic positions, most shops in La Jonction were univocal. The clarity, the strength and the coherence of the set of symbols conveyed in their name, signage and other visual aspects, imposed meaning and reduced the possibility for individuals to manipulate them.

Conclusion

In this chapter, we have argued that shops are the bricks-and-mortar of place identity in three ways. Firstly, they are material components of the streetscape, shaped by shop owners whose decisions affect not only the appearance of the street, but also who will feel welcome there. Secondly, shops are symbolic means used to objectify place identity. Thirdly, as material entities, shops play a key role in defining place identity by allowing or restricting interpretations.

As part of the built environment, shops might prove uncooperative in people's attempts to make sense of a place, and therefore force them to adjust their views and practices. However, when it comes to the capacity to influence, some shops are more significant than others. On the one hand, we have shown that only the most symbolic businesses have the capacity to play a key role in this process. On the other hand, some of them appear to send mixed signals and are subject to conflicting interpretations while others are more coercive and less prone to manipulation.

Various material elements contributing to the construction of place identity were not investigated in this study, mostly because they did not appear central to our analysis, and additionally because we chose to focus on shops. Architecture is one of these elements, as we can presume that place identity is influenced by the type, height and status of buildings. Other features like lighting, state of maintenance, width of the road and of the sidewalk, and infrastructure such as benches or trees are also influential. As suggested by Schoepfer and Paisiou (2016: 388), all human and non-human components of a place "gain meaning by being assembled in specific ways". Furthermore, the media, local authorities, and organisations ingrained in the social fabric of the area, such as community centres and schools, also objectify place identities in many different ways. Last but not least, place identity is certainly constructed in relation to other surrounding places.

We aimed at showing why place identities are neither fixed, nor fluid or ever-shifting. A street has different faces depending on when we observe it. It changes from day to night, from winter to summer, and its identity depends on who its inhabitants and users are. The latter groups have different perspectives, partly because of their different socio-economic positions. Yet, we have shown that these narratives have a material base: bricks-and-mortar businesses. This is the reason why narratives on place identity have a certain coherence and stability.

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Measuring Deprivation in the City of Barcelona

Incorporating Subjective and Objective Factors

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Introduction: historical patterns of urban deprivation

According to the Polish historiographer Bronisław Geremek (1998), studies addressing the dynamics of deprivation represent one of the factors that gave impetus to the development of the social sciences. Nevertheless, a comprehensive and all-embracing conceptualization of the notion of deprivation remains complicated. This complexity is partly explained by the fact that the study of deprivation involves the need to establish a link between those who, for whatever reason, are deprived, and those who are not. As Castel (2004) argued, researchers willing to study deprivation cannot avoid taking into account a much broader theory of social integration. Accordingly, the starting point of any analysis targeting the processes of deprivation should include an examination of the nature of coexistence in a given social context, as well as an analysis of the socio-historical characteristics in which the relationship between the whole society and its margins takes place. With this in mind, a review of the historical development of the concept of deprivation uncovers the existence of at least three phases corresponding to three different historical periods.

Throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, deprivation was interpreted in the framework of Catholic doctrine. Geremek (1968: 623) shows for instance how during this period speaking about deprivation basically meant oscillating between "the extreme justification of the poor and the disapproval of misery". Despite this somewhat conflicting vision surrounding the causes of deprivation, it was nevertheless conceived as a social problem concerning the society as a whole. More importantly, deprivation had become increasingly regarded as an urban phenomenon. In fact, the main reason for the emergence of deprivation during

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this period was the crisis of the feudal system that had led to an unprecedented migratory process from rural to urban areas. In the eyes of citizens and municipal authorities in charge of managing this migratory flow, the masses of people moving towards the city in search of new forms of subsistence represented both a resource (i.e. cheap labour) and, at the same time, a potential danger (i.e. extremely poor and vulnerable groups that could alter the status quo). In light of this dual interpretation of the event the public response to the problem of deprivation was itself dual: on the one hand, the first poverty assistance programs were put in place while, on the other hand, penitentiary centres proliferated to repress forms of begging that were viewed as excessive or illegitimate.

In the Fordist period, between the second half of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century, wage labour began to function as a factor of economic and social integration. An increasing portion of the population was now drawing a salary, which in turn encouraged a process of social integration leading to a context of shared values. Thanks to the achievements of the industrial economic system and the diffusion of remunerated work, it now seemed possible to absorb marginal groups into society and, as a consequence, reduce the danger that they might pose to the public order of European cities. The establishment of the welfare state in almost all Western countries supported this belief (Bauman 1998). In the opinion of its supporters, a public system of economic provisions targeting groups at risk of exclusion represented not only a mechanism for poverty reduction but also an essential condition for the development of a wealthy society. As such, and notwithstanding profound differences compared to the previous phase, the problem of deprivation was still considered a public issue concerning the society as a whole.

In contemporary times, the development of a new type of relation between labour and social integration implied a radical change in the interpretation of urban deprivation. As a consequence of a wide range of causes falling under the definition of neo-liberalism (e.g. relocation of the production process towards countries with cheaper labour, increased migration flows, labour flexibility, cuts in public expenditure, etc.), new factors of deprivation emerged. The main historical novelty would be that while "classic" deprivation was understood to be a cyclical problem that could be solved or at least reduced through economic development, nowadays wage labour cannot function as a guarantee for economic and social integration. Loïc Wacquant, whose research is much debated in the academic field (see, among others: Squires and Lea 2012; Sánchez 2012), posits the advent of an "advanced marginality" where the adjective "advanced" synthesizes the idea that deprivation is no longer the result of economic downturns but, on the contrary, it is the product of the same economic development. More precisely, according to this author, labour has currently turned into a factor of instability and precariousness

due to a double transformation: on the one hand, a quantitative transformation involving the destruction of a large number of low-skilled jobs and, on the other, a qualitative transformation implying more unstable labour relations and the emergence of precarious jobs. This two-fold transformation has led to a process of "de-socialization of labour" (Wacquant 2008: 243) entailing a number of side effects for deprived groups, especially in the framework of the current historical context where the State progressively reduces welfare provisions that could have ensured employment and income security. As a consequence of the above, Wacquant (2009) affirms that contemporary cities are facing a growing social insecurity, exemplified by "the removal of social protections for workers, an increase in short-term employment and more punitive attitudes […] accompanied by the expansion of imprisonment" (Cummins 2016: 77).

Studying deprivation through the prism of social insecurity

Studying urban deprivation through the prism of social insecurity is relatively uncommon even though recent years have seen a growing interest in the relationship between insecurity and social affiliation. Dixon and colleagues (2006), for instance, have explored the impact of crime on different groups with reference to their income. According to Davis, Francis and Greer (2007), fears and perceptions of insecurity are experienced through social divisions, while Hummelsheim and colleagues (2011) have found a relationship between increasing welfare expenditure and the reduction of fear of crime. For their part, Vieno and colleagues (2013) show that fear of crime and perceived insecurity are positively linked with vulnerability.

Bearing in mind recent advances in the literature, the present research examines deprivation as a specific facet of the broader concept of social insecurity defined by Robert Castel (2004) as a situation that engenders social risk, that is "an event that confines an individual's ability to take care of his or her own social independence" (Hummelsheim et al. 2011: 5). The loss of independence stressed by Castel could in turn cause a spill-over effect, especially when it occurs, for example, at the same time as the experience of being the victim of a crime. In fact, a sense of insecurity can reinforce conditions of deprivation (Staubi et al. 2013; Valera and Guàrdia 2014). Similarly, Bauman (1999) refers to the German word *unsicherheit* (a combination of the English notions of uncertainty, insecurity and unsafety) to explain the rise of new factors of deprivation. Other authors have used slightly different approaches focusing on the notion of precarity either in an economically-oriented conceptualization (Standing 2011), or theorising precarization as an instrument of

governing that "embraces the whole of existence, the body, modes of subjectivation" (Lorey 2012: 1). Researchers have also pointed out the importance of addressing contemporary processes of deprivation both from an objective and a subjective perspective. As argued by Sen (1982: 16), "the choice of 'conditions of deprivation' cannot be independent of 'feeling of deprivation'".

As such, contemporary research seems to increasingly see the perception of insecurity as a consequence of deprivation. Moreover, the concept of social insecurity has the added value of encompassing concepts traditionally more closely related to economic deprivation (e.g. poverty, inequality, exclusion, marginality) while, at the same time, endorsing a vision of social exclusion as "both a process and condition, resulting from a combination of intertwined forms of social, economic and power inequalities and leading to disadvantage, relegation and the systematic denial of individuals' or communities' rights, opportunities and resources" (Bernt and Colini 2013: 5-6).

Objective

Despite the relative consensus in the literature on the emergence of new factors of deprivation and the need to study them, the development of a sound (and agreed) definition of what deprivation actually is remains a major challenge. Classic approaches introduced by Townsend (1979), Mack and Lansley (1985) or Halleröd (1994) and their indexes of deprivation have all been criticized for their failure to address the subjective nature of this social phenomenon (for a comprehensive review of these indexes and their critics, see Eroğlu 2007). In an attempt to provide a new measure of deprivation encompassing both its objective and subjective determinants, the concept of social insecurity has been used for the purpose of developing a neighbourhood taxonomy for the city of Barcelona.

Operationalizing the notion of social insecurity to study deprivation in Barcelona

The four dimensions of social insecurity presented below are intended to explore the relationship between material deprivation, on the one hand, and feelings of insecurity on the other, assuming that expectations of personal safety in the place where one lives are directly linked to a general feeling of well-being.

The first dimension, defined here as the objective dimension, refers to the amount of crime against a person's physical integrity in a given urban area (in this case a neighbourhood of the city of Barcelona). The selection of the variable identifying this typology of crime over another is justified by the fact that it involves the use of interpersonal violence, which has been proven to have a huge impact on an individual's feeling of insecurity (Sampson 2012). By nature, this type of offence does not necessarily involve the residential population of the neighbourhood in which the crime is recorded, although the fact that it takes place in the neighbourhood is thought to be sufficient to generate fear among residents.

The second dimension, the subjective one in this study, refers to residents' feelings of insecurity. These are usually measured by crime and victimization surveys that can directly address the various dimensions of insecurity perception by asking people about fear of crime, perception of crime trends, the neighbourhood context, and quality of life (for a comprehensive analysis of crime and victimization surveys, see: Van Dijk 2014). However, the conclusions of an analysis of five of these surveys at the EU level performed by Baudains and colleagues (2016) as part of the European research project MARGIN found that poor educational attainment is also a consistent indicator of feelings of insecurity in both the neighbourhood and in the home across all five areas studied in the project (Catalonia, France, England and Wales, Hungary and Italy). Given that, and due to the fact that the reduced sample size of the local crime and victimization survey in Barcelona (*Encuesta de Seguridad Pública de Cataluña*) does not permit a consistent statistical analysis that could directly address indicators related to feelings of insecurity, educational attainment was used as a proxy measure for the perception of insecurity.

The third dimension, or health dimension, was operationalized by creating a variable from the rate of tuberculosis infection recorded by city authorities. Barcelona has seen a drop in tuberculosis rates and recent studies have shown that new cases are closely related to overcrowding and unhealthy housing conditions (Hladun et al. 2013). More generally, the choice of this variable is endorsed by the conclusions of international research that has identified an association between tuberculosis rates and socio-economic factors (Ivanovs et al. 2016; Siroka et al. 2016).

The fourth dimension, referred to here as the ecological dimension, required the selection of a variable that allowed for an analysis of neighbourhood-based measurements of deprivation. The household income index was selected as the best source of information incorporating the relevant characteristics. The index is composed of the following variables: academic achievement (measured as the ratio of graduates to the population as a whole), the employment rate (as a ratio of the unemployed to the working-age population), the number of cars in relation to the population, the power output of new cars purchased by residents, and prices in

the second-hand residential real estate market (Technical Programming Council of the Municipality of Barcelona 2014).

Methods

A quantitative statistical analysis involving bivariate correlations, standardized scores and cluster analysis was carried out to generate the taxonomy of neighbourhoods. Data on educational attainment, health and the household income index were available through the webpage of the Department of Statistics of the Municipality of Barcelona, while data on crime against the person was made possible thanks to the collaboration of the Department of the Interior of the Autonomous Region of Catalonia. The geographic unit of analysis was the *barrio* (neighbourhood). There are 73 neighbourhoods in Barcelona, with a mean size of 2.48 km^2, a mean population of 21,950 and a mean household number of 9,008.

After using Spearman's correlation coefficients for an exploratory data analysis standardized scores (z scores) were calculated for each of the four dimensions and each of the 73 neighbourhoods. The sign of the value of z for a particular neighbourhood (i.e., positive or negative) determines whether that neighbourhood falls either above or below the mean value in the city for a particular dimension. At this stage of the analysis, a cut-off value of at least 1 standard deviation either above or below the mean in at least two or more of the four dimensions of social insecurity was established as the criterion for a neighbourhood to be included in the taxonomy. Data on crimes against the person for each neighbourhood (available for the year 2015) were converted to rates per 1,000 inhabitants. The rate value was then used to create the standardised score for this typology of crime. Data on educational attainment (2015) identifies the portion of the population in each neighbourhood that had no qualifications. This value was converted to a percentage of the population for that neighbourhood, from which a standardised score for educational attainment was calculated. The rate per 1,000 inhabitants of newly diagnosed cases of tuberculosis (2014) and the household income index (2014) were used to create standardised scores respectively for both the health and the ecological dimensions. The standardized score indicates the number of standard deviations away from the mean each neighbourhood was in each dimension and made it possible to compare how extreme conditions were in one neighbourhood versus another.

Finally, cluster analysis was performed to corroborate the results obtained though the analysis of the standardized scores for the 73 neighbourhoods of the city. There are two main sub-division of clustering procedures depending on whether the number

of cluster is pre-defined (i.e. k-mean cluster analysis) or not (i.e. hierarchical cluster analysis). According to the results of the analysis of the standardized scores, seven profiles of neighbourhood could be identified across the four dimensions of social insecurity. As such, being the number of cluster pre-defined, a k-mean clustering method was implemented by selecting all the variables used to operationalize the concept of social insecurity and label the cases with the name of the corresponding neighbourhood. Cluster analysis is commonly used to produce classifications based on the (dis)similarities observed among a set of variables (Mooi and Sarstedt 2011) and, in this case, squared Euclidean distance was the preferred method for measuring the distance or similarity between the neighbourhoods. The entire analysis was performed using the statistical software IBM SPSS Statistics 22.0.

Results

Correlations between the four dimensions of social insecurity are shown in Table 1. The most remarkable correlations were those showing that neighbourhoods with high levels of ecological deprivation were more likely to have high rates of crime against the person ($r = 0.502$; $p < .001$), high levels of subjective insecurity ($r = 0.871$; $p < .001$), as well as high rates of newly diagnosed cases of tuberculosis ($r = 0.402$; $p < .001$). This outcome is in line with the conclusions obtained by Sampson (2012) or van Ham and colleagues (2012) outlining a close link between the socio-geographic characteristics of the neighbourhoods and the socio-economic and subjective determinants of deprivation.

Tab. 1 Spearman's rho correlation between the four dimensions

	Objective	Subjective	Health	Ecological
Objective	1.000			
Subjective	0.375**	1.000		
Health	0.392**	0.300**	1.000	
Ecological	0.502**	0.871**	0.402**	1.000

**Correlation is significant at the 0.001 level (2-tailed).

By examining the standardized scores separately for each dimension, it was possible to provide basic features of the available data across the 73 neighbourhood of the city of Barcelona.

Looking at the crime rates for the offences involving violence against the person, the neighbourhood of La Marina del Prat Vermell at the southwest of the urban area (shaded the darkest black) records the highest rates for this typology of crime. At the opposite end, the neighbourhoods of Pedralbes, Les Tres Torres and Sant Gervasi La Bonanova in the district of Sarrià–Sant Gervasi registered lower levels of crime against the person compared to the average of the city.

The territorial distribution of the proxy measure for the subjective dimension related to residents' perceived insecurity identify an area at the northeast with comparatively higher levels of perceived insecurity, especially for the neighbourhoods located in the district of Nou Barris at the northeast of the city. On the other hand, the neighbourhoods in the district of Sarrià–Sant Gervasi had the lowest level of perceived insecurity compared to the average.

The neighbourhoods of El Raval (an inner city neighbourhood in the Ciutat Vella district) and La Marina del Prat Vermell registered considerably higher levels of tuberculosis rates. The neighbourhoods of Can Peguera, Torre Baró and La Clota are situated at the other extreme of the ranking for this particular measure of deprivation.

Concerning the household income index, the results indicate that the majority of neighbourhoods located in the district of Nou Barris recorded the lowest levels of household income per capita together with the neighbourhood of La Marina del Prat Vermell. The whole district of Sarrià–Sant Gervasi includes the neighbourhoods with the highest levels of household income compared to the city average.

The results of the analysis show that only one neighbourhood satisfies the criterion of having a standardized index score at least one standard deviation above or below the mean in all dimensions of insecurity. The neighbourhood of La Marina del Prat Vermell displays a profile of high deprivation in all four dimensions, which is to say that the residents are affected by comparatively high levels of crimes against the person, high feelings of insecurity (low educational attainment), high tuberculosis rates and a high rate of ecological deprivation. The analysis was also performed by lowering the threshold of one standard deviation from the mean. As Table 2 shows, several neighbourhoods in Barcelona have at least one standard deviation from the mean in two or more of the four dimensions.

Tab. 2 Neighbourhoods in Barcelona meeting the standardized scores criteria. Table cells shaded the darkest grey show standardized scores above 1, while cells shaded the brightest grey show standardized scores below 1.

Neighbourhoods	Objective	Subjective	Health	Ecological
la Marina del Prat Vermell	5,14	1,43	2,92	1,38
Raval	1,5	−0,89	5,8	0,78
Gòtic	1,5	−1,09	1,28	0,03
Barceloneta	2,66	0,45	1,43	0,35
La Dreta de l'Eixample	−0,03	−1,33	−0,46	−1,49
Pedralbes	−0,95	−1,65	−0,83	−3,46
Sarrià	−0,79	−1,18	−0,50	−2,17
Les Tres Torres	−0,91	−1,46	−0,94	−2,68
Sant Gervasi La Bonanova	−0,89	−1,38	−0,80	−2,09
Sant Gervasi Galvany	−0,35	−1,46	−0,51	−2,10
La Clota	3,48	0,53	−1,23	0,22
El Turó de la Peira	−0,06	1,71	0,31	1,12
Can Peguera	0,25	1,34	−1,23	1,12
Les Roquetes	0,24	1,30	−0,11	1,12
Verdun	0,36	1,49	0,51	1,12
La Prosperitat	−0,37	1,92	-0,15	1,05
La Trinitat Nova	0,71	1,86	0,95	1,49
Torre Baró	0,34	0,94	−1,23	1,24
Ciutat Meridiana	0,69	0,58	1,90	1,38
Vallbona	−0,60	1,92	−0,34	1,37
La Vila Olímpica	2,48	−1,01	−0,72	−1,16
El Besos i el Maresme	0,29	1,37	1,81	0,94

By lowering the threshold of one standard deviation from the mean in all dimensions, seven different profiles of neighbourhood have been identified. In order to explore the implications of the results obtained from previous step, a k-means cluster analysis was used to classify the 73 neighbourhoods of Barcelona into homogeneous groups on the basis of similarities and dissimilarities in the values of the four dimensions of social insecurity. The results revealed five proper clusters plus two outliers: El Raval and La Marina del Prat Vermell (see Figure 1). El Raval shows high levels of deprivation in all but one dimension (i.e. subjective), while La Marina del Prat Vermell could be seen as of the most complete example of a socially insecure neighbourhood (i.e. high levels of deprivation above 1 standard deviation in all four dimensions).

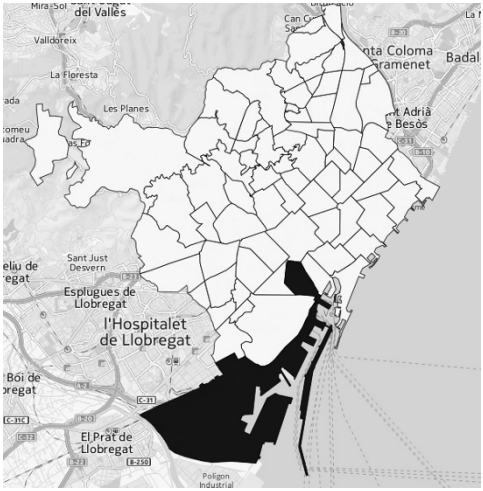

Fig. 1
Outliers

The most common profile identified through the clustering procedure is one with *z* scores below the mean in all but the socio-geographic dimension. This cluster (n = 31) is geographically distributed across the city quite homogenously (Figure 2).

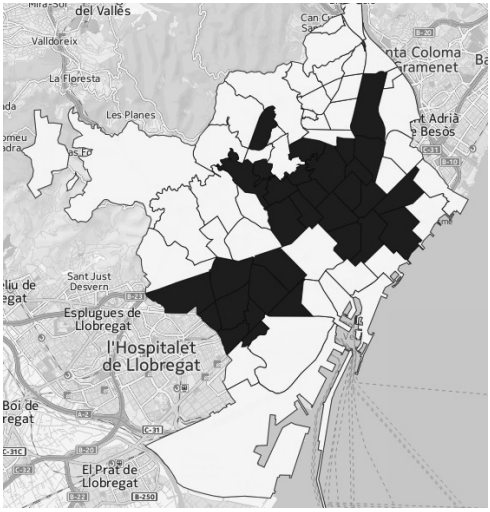

Fig. 2
Geographic distribution of the first cluster

The second biggest cluster (n = 24) includes neighbourhoods with levels of crime against the person that are below the city's average, high subjective perception of insecurity, low tuberculosis rates and generally high ecological deprivation. The spatial distribution across the city identifies a peripheral area (see Figure 3) and it is remarkable that all the neighbourhoods of the district of Nou Barris (at the northeast of the city) fall into this profile, with the exception of Ciutat Meridiana.

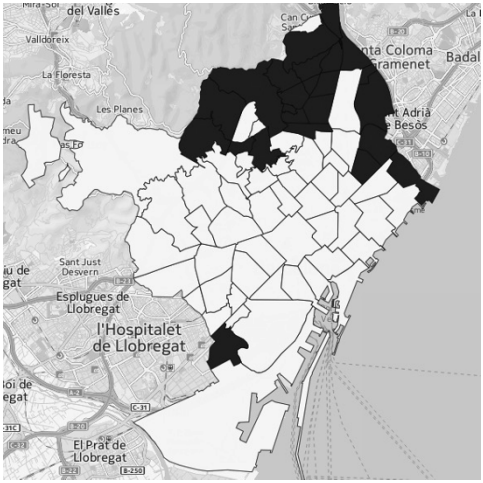

Fig. 3
Geographic distribution of the second cluster

The third cluster (n = 9) includes the neighbourhoods with lower levels in all the four domains compared to the average of the city. From a geographic point of view, the nine neighbourhoods of the third cluster seem to delineate a larger well-off area at the northwest of the city (Figure 4).

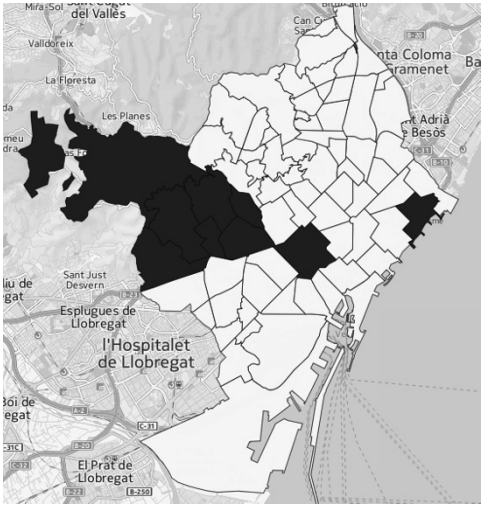

Fig. 4
Geographic distribution of the third cluster

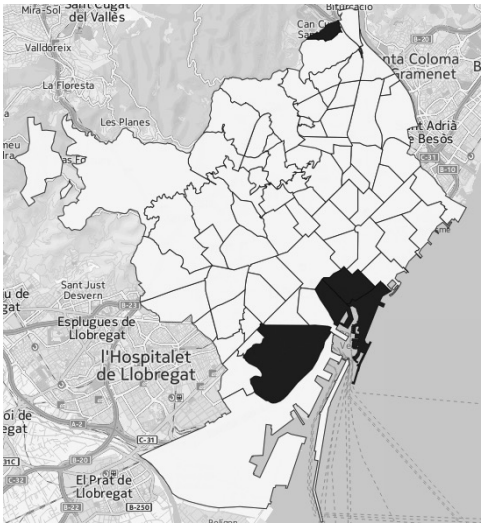

Fig. 5
Geographic distribution of the fourth cluster

The neighbourhoods of Barceloneta, el Barri Gòtic, Sant Pere Santa Caterina i la Ribera, el Poble Sec and Ciutat Meridiana, all fit into the same profile showing *z* scores above the mean in all dimensions but in the subjective one. With the exception of Ciutat Meridiana, all the neighbourhoods within this cluster (n = 5) are located in the city centre (Figure 5).

Two neighbourhoods integrate the smallest cluster (n = 2): la Clota and la Vila Olímpica del Poblenou. Despite being geographically far away from each other (see Figure 6), they have similar characteristics: lower z values in all the dimensions but the objective one (i.e. relatively higher rates of crime against the person's integrity).

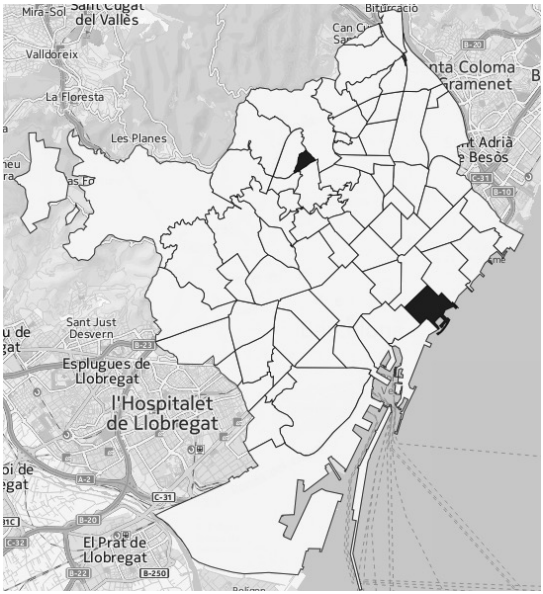

Fig. 6
Geographic distribution of the fifth cluster

According to the data presented in the Table 3, the four domains have significant influence in forming the cluster, being the objective dimension the one exerting the maximum influence (F = 65,735), followed by socio-geographic deprivation (F = 54,707), the rate of tuberculosis infection (F = 45,547) and the proxy measure of subjective perception (F = 41,432).

Tab. 1 ANOVA table

	Cluster		Error			
	Mean Square	df	Mean Square	df	F	Sig.
Objective dimension	10,280	6	,156	66	65,735	,000
Subjective dimension	9,472	6	,229	66	41,432	,000
Health dimension	9,666	6	,212	66	45,547	,000
Socio-geographic dimension	9,991	6	,183	66	54,707	,000

Conclusions

The results suggest that deprivation in the city of Barcelona is mainly located at the geographical margins of the urban areas, with the exception of El Raval, a neighbourhood located in the district of Ciutat Vella (i.e. inner city). The anomaly represented by El Raval may be explained by evoking the arguments of Manuel Castells (1996) who pointed out the difference between where marginalized individuals and/or groups live and where they "become visible". According to this author, in cities such as Barcelona, "it is at the heart of the business and entertainment districts […] where urban marginality becomes visible" (Castells 1996: 480) – although, as has been emphasized, marginal communities live mainly in the peripheral territories of the urban space. Visibility in this sense turns into a strategy to receive public attention. Furthermore, at certain times of the year the neighbourhood of El Raval is hugely overcrowded being one of the most popular tourist destinations in Barcelona, which is likely to inflate crime rates compared with other areas of the city.

At the same time, affluent areas also appear to be spatially concentrated, which is particularly the case of the neighbourhoods located between the districts of Sarrià–Sant Gervasi. This conclusion joins the arguments of other authors such as Musterd and colleagues (2015) that have stressed the shift from a city of social class divisions to a city of socio-spatial divisions.

It should nevertheless be stressed that the taxonomy presented above is affected by some limitations. Firstly, data on crime could be affected by the bias of a mismatch between police recorded crime and the victimization experiences of the population that are not reported to the police. This is known in the criminological literature as the "dark figure of crime" (Boivin and Cordeau 2011; Messner 1984), which is likely to alter the true amount of crime that affects actual residents. On the other hand, although based on solid premises, the selection of the variable identifying educational attainment as a proxy measure for subjective perceptions of insecurity

is limited and a direct measure would have been more suitable. In any case, as mentioned previously the available data on perceived insecurity at the local level does not allow for an analysis at the lowest geographic scale due to the reduced sample size of the local crime and victimization survey. Finally, the implementation of mixed method approaches involving qualitative data collection appears to be essential when it comes to studying complex and multifaceted phenomena such as social insecurity and deprivation.

Despite these limitations, the present taxonomy of the neighbourhoods of the city of Barcelona has been developed with the intention of providing a preliminary attempt at informing a theoretically-driven approach aimed at linking up classical objective measures of deprivation with subjective ones (i.e. peoples' feelings of insecurity), which has been, to date, largely underexplored.

Acknowledgments

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Analysing Pilsen Mexican Neighbourhood in Chicago through the lens of competitiveness and social cohesion

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Introduction

Debates concerning the future of cities often center on the twin issues of competitiveness and social cohesion. Scholars focuses on these two objectives because urban competitiveness, being often economic competitiveness, tends to occur at the expense of social cohesion (Ranci 2011; Ache 2008; OECD 2006). Yet, without both elements in place, urban locales cannot thrive. Social participation, community involvement, and democratic decision-making are key avenues for identifying and satisfying social needs: these processes are intrinsic to what has been termed 'social cohesion' (Jenson 2010; Buck et alt 2005; Forrest and Kearns 2001; Kearns and Forrest 2000). One of the most pressing challenges for cities today is that of developing the ability to forge urban policies that both satisfy local communities' needs and render cities competitive at the global level.

In the current era of heightened neoliberalism, achieving both social cohesion and economic vitality is all the more complicated. Although competitiveness and cohesion were once assumed to be mutually reinforcing rather than in conflict with one another, as Susan Fainstein observes, this initial perspective overlooks the ever-expanding social divisions characterizing our market-driven world (Fainstein 2013). She adds that deregulation invariably produces mounting social inequality, as it has eroded government welfare programs and led to increased competition among places (Fainstein and Fainstein 2013). Moreover, urban policies tend to be defined by those at the top (public actors and municipalities), who generally emphasize economic growth and often have less interest in understanding local

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residents' actual needs. Under these circumstances, social cohesion goals are often relegated to the background. Whereas urban policy makers may assume that touristic branding and marketing of ethnic neighborhoods will automatically benefit locals via the multiplier effect, sometimes these very processes serve to further disenfranchise the ethnic minorities residing in these neighborhoods. Drawing on a case study of Chicago's Pilsen Mexican neighborhood[3], this article examines the complexities underlying the pursuit of these two goals in processes of urban policy implementation.

At the heart of the debate concerning the complex relationship between competitivness and social cohesion is the fact that urban governance has become all the more complicated, in part because many cities have abandoned the managerialism model in favor of the urban entrepreneurial model (Harvey 1989). Fostered by economic lobbyists, the entrepreneurialism model expands the terrain of urban policy to include new dimensions. More specifically, previously-eclipsed concerns of city promotion and attractiveness are now playing guiding roles in urban economic regeneration strategies and processes. In the post-industrial era, redefining the inherited industrial landscape has become an increasingly important dimension of urban redevelopment. Whereas in earlier eras cities established cultural policies primarily as "a welfare service to provide access to artistic and cultural heritages for wider social groups" (OECD 2007: 7), today entrepreneurialism-oriented urban strategists are embracing arts festivals, ethnic neighborhood tours, architectural excursions and other entertainment activities as avenues for boosting urban attractiveness, drawing visitors and fostering economic regeneration (Clark and Lloyd 2001, 2002).

Susan Fainstein's concept of the "just city" merits mention here; the social justice-oriented approach to urban planning she advocates entails attending to equity and material well-being. As she stresses, given the context of a global capitalist political economy, it is all the more important that we attend to questions pertaining to urban quality of life, as this is crucial for developing "just cities" (Fainstein 2009).

In the pages that follow, Chicago's Pilsen Mexican neighborhood is analysed in order to illustrate the complex relationship between competitiveness and social cohesion in contemporary city neighborhood.

3 Pilsen is well known for being an ethnic neighborhood characterized by conflicts moved by local communities against the gentrification processes.

Methodology[4]

The fieldwork upon which this article is based was conducted from September 2009 to March 2010[5] using qualitative research methods. Methodologies employed included semi-structured interviews, photographic documentation of the neighborhood, and document analysis (drawing from both academic and public policy documents). Specifically, the research entailed conducting interviews with community leaders and local stakeholders, including officials at the National Museum of Mexican Art, the Resurrection Project, Pilsen Alliance, Eighteenth Street Development Corporation, Pilsen "Together" Chamber of Commerce, Mexican Immigrant Assets in Chicago, Pilsen Historic Preservation, Pilsen Neighborhood Community Council, St. Procopius Catholic Church; Instituto del Progreso Latino; Mujers Latinas en Accion; El Valor (community organization), Pilsen scholar John Betancur, scholars involved in the Field Museum of Natural History's Creative Networks Project on "Mexican Immigrant Assets in Chicago" and local Latino artists.

This work was supplemented with limited participant observation in the neighborhood, partaking in openings and outsider-oriented tours of Pilsen's National Museum of Mexican Art engaging in informal conversations with local residents.

Originally, the research aimed at investigating the relationships between culture and territory: specifically, the initial goal was to examine how cultural institutions affect urban development and how cultural policies related to cultivating new cultural services affect urban transformations. In investigating these issues at the neighborhood level, I soon realized that the current process in Chicago's Pilsen neighborhood (and more generally in the city of Chicago) is characterized by a clash of interests between predominantly working class Hispanic neighborhood residents and the Municipality (with the support of economic lobbies). Intrinsic to this class is the city's ambition to implement policies aimed at rendering itself more economically competitive and enhancing its reputation on the global stage.

4 The work presented here was funded by the Fulbright Commission and draws from research conducted in Chicago.

5 More recently, other information was gathered with the help of some colleagues from Chicago.

Pilsen: An Immigration Neighborhood

The Pilsen neighborhood lies approximately three miles southwest of Chicago's lakeside downtown district, known as the "Loop." Pilsen has been part of the city since its incorporation in 1837.

Roughly 3.5 square miles in size, the neighborhood includes two hundred blocks of individual and multi-unit homes, as well as manufacturing buildings and commercial structures. Pilsen was one of the few Chicago neighborhoods spared in the city's devasting 1871 fire. Thus, some of Pilsen's buildings that predate the fire have come to be seen as touristically marketable (Keating 2008).

The neighborhood was initially settled by German and Irish immigrants in the mid-19th century. By the late 19th century Czech immigrants moved into the neighborhood and named the area "Plzen" in homage to the fourth largest city in their homeland. Pilsen's residents during this period also included Polish and Lithuanian immigrants and their offspring, as well Slovenes, Slovakians, Croatians and Austrians, many of whom worked in the neighborhood factories and surrounding stockyards. However, not unlike other American neighborhoods of the era, Pilsen also housed its share of wealthier businessmen, doctors and other professionals, alongside it's predominantly working class, immigrant laborers (http://www.encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org/).

From the 1920s until the 1960s, the vast majority of Chicago's Mexican-Americans resided due north of the Pilsen neighborhood on Chicago's Near West Side. However, in the late 1950s and early 1960s, when Chicago razed much of the Near West Side to clear ground for several freeways and the University of Illinois Chicago campus, the Mexican-American community that had been based there was displaced. Many relocated to nearby Pilsen, forming the nucleus of what was to eventually become one of the Midwest's largest Latino communities. By 1962-63 the number of Mexican-Americans in Pilsen had grown dramatically (Keating 2008; http://www.encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org/). As more Mexican-Americans arrived, Pilsen's older European immigrant population began relocating to the suburbs. By 1969, Pilsen's community center, long oriented towards its Czech immigrant founders, shifted its orientation towards Mexican-Americans. This era saw the blossoming of the Chicano civil rights movement: soon the community center, renamed Casa Aztlán, began hosting meetings of the Latin American Alliance for Social Advancement, further inscribing Pilsen on the map as one of Chicago's Mexican neighborhoods. By 1970, Latinos had become the majority population in Pilsen outnumbering the Slavic population. Since that time, the neighborhood has continued to be home to many Mexican immigrants, both documented and undocumented.

The neighborhood's close ties to Mexico are immediately visible to those visiting the area. Those alighting from trains at the neighborhood's Elevated Train (El) platform are greeted by a large mosaic mural showcasing Mexican women of different generations.[6] The stairway leadings from the platform down into the neighborhood is adorned with brightly-colored Day of the Dead skulls and sunburst motifs evocative of Mexico. Lampposts along the main thoroughfare are adorned with images of eagles and snakes, icons drawn from Mexico's flag. The dominant spoken language on the neighborhood streets is Spanish, and Ranchera music booms from street-side businesses and apartments. Likewise, local stores bedecked with Spanish language signs cater to the culinary and decorative tastes of Mexican-Americans. In the warmer months, the central neighborhood park near the Elevated Train station draws young Mexican-American soccer-players and *elote* (Mexican corn-on-the-cob) vendors. Moreover, murals featuring Mexican mariachis, Mexican Catholic imagery (such as the Virgin of Guadalupe; Sacred Heart of Jesus) and Mexican cultural heroes (including Pancho Villa, Emiliano Zapata, Diego Riviera, and Caesar Chavez) adorn walls throughout the neighborhood and have become a focus of several local architectural and cultural tours

Fig. 1
Mexican mural (Photo-credit: Nunzia Borrelli)

The predominance of working class Latinos in Pilsen remained unchanged until the 1990s, when demographic shifts began to make themselves felt in the neighborhood. To date, the percentage of Hispanics in the neighborhood has been declining and

6 This work, by deceased local artist Francisco Mendoza, was commissioned in 1993 and includes a Mayan princess. Significantly, the commissioning of the mural occurred soon after the 1987 opening of the National Museum of Mexican Art (now called the Mexican Fine Arts Center) in one of the neighborhood's larger parks. This era can be seen as an embryonic phase in the gentrification of this neighborhood.

the statistical projections suggest that in the coming years this trend will continue, as illustrated in Figure 2 (for additional data, see also Anaya 2012; Betancourt 2014; Bloom 2014; Lutton 2012).

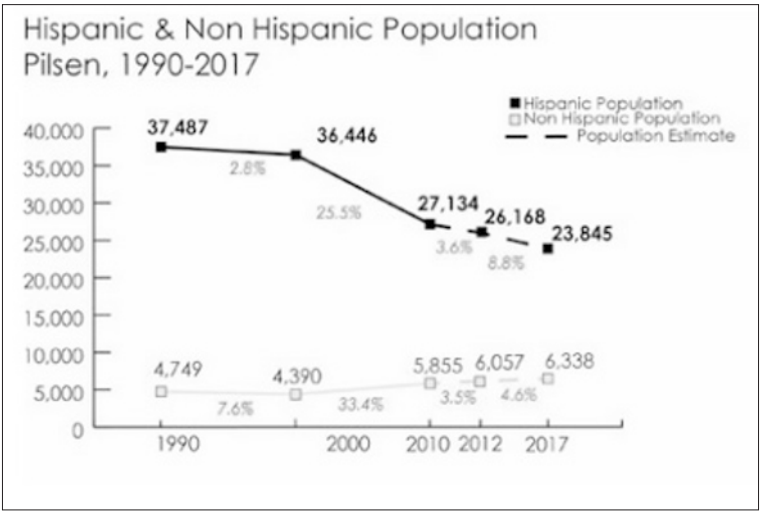

Fig. 2 Population trends in Pilsen (Source http://thepilsenproject.weebly.com/the-problem.html,accessed 13 April 2017)

The population change was paired with a growth in the percentages of those at the highest income bracket, and a decrease in the percentage of the population at lower-income brackets (the lower income population coincides with the Mexican-Americans in the neighborhood). The table below highlights the comparison between the average income growth of the Pilsen population and that of the broader Chicago population from 2000 to 2014.

Tab. 1 Medium income in Pilsen and Chicago

	Residents medium income 2000 (Census 2000)[7]	Residents medium income 2010[8]	Residents medium income 2014[9]
Pilsen	$28,026	$36,154	$42,823
Chicago	$38,625	$47,370	$47,789

Making Pilsen more Competitive: Gentrification, Beautification and Commodification

The beginnings of Pilsen's gentrification process to 1985, as Pilsen gradually shifted from a predominantly working-class to higher-income zone. There are a number of reasons why the neighborhood was a likely target for gentrifying forces: Pilsen is close to both to downtown and the University of Illinois Chicago, and is well-serviced by public transport, with several elevated train stops and an assortment of public bus lines.[10]

However, Pilsen's gentrification dynamics were not simply spontaneously born out of its unique appealing characteristics. Rather, gentrification was jump-started by an intervention on the part of the Municipality as interviews with locals underscored (also see Betancur 2005). Beginning in the late 1980s, the municipality initiated numerous policies aimed at gentrifying Pilsen. The first multi-pronged policies entailed three key elements: Tax Increment Financing (TIF), exceptions to zoning laws and the development of new cultural policies as "Chicago Arts District" (anchored by the 1987 opening of the National Museum of Mexican Art, initially known as the Mexican Fine Arts Center in one of the neighborhood's larger parks). Together, these initiatives sought to transform Pilsen into an attractive neighborhood for artists, small business owners, and middle-class professionals.

7 Quoted in in http://latina-voices.com/2011/03/05/why-one-latino-family-moved-from-chicagos-pilsen-neighborhood/ (accessed 13 April 2017).

8 Data for 2010 were collected from http://www.lisc-chicago.org/news/category/188 for Pilsen and from http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/17/1714000.html for Chicago (accessed 13 April 2017).

9 Data concerning 2014 were collected from http://www.realtor.com/local/Pilsen_Chicago_IL/lifestyle.

10 Because it is so well-served by public transport, Pilsen ranks first amongst Chicago neighborhoods for having the lowest percentage of commuters who use personal cars to reach their workplaces.

Below a description of each of these policies is offered, the next paragraph will be dedicated to the cultural policies.

The municipality of Chicago designated Pilsen as an industrial Tax Increment Financing zone (TIF)[11] in 1998. A neighborhood receives recognition for TIF status on the basis of a survey conducted by a consultant employed by the municipality[12]. In Chicago, the Department of Planning and Development and the Community Development Commission draft TIF proposals and the Mayor and City Council make final determinations concerning whether a particular neighborhood merits TIF status (Saclarides 2010). According to Trkla, Pettigrew, Allen and Payne (2004), the Pilsen Industrial Corridor TIF district was established with the aim of revitalizing the Southwest Side commercial and industrial zones to foster job growth for Pilsen community members (Trkla/Pettigrew/Allen/Payne 2004). This designation occurred during a period in which Chicago-based manufacturing was declining, and working class neighborhoods such as Pilsen were experiencing job losses. Pilsen's proximity to land and water transport routes promised to make the 907-acre TIF district appealing to potential manufacturers who might be lured to the neighborhood with tax incentives. Among other things, funds were ear-marked for facilitating new construction projects and for public and private investment projects, as well as for job-training.

However, the old warehouses and manufacturing structures initially targeted for TIF-based industrial redevelopment purposes (aimed at generating much-needed jobs for local residents) are increasingly being transformed into expensive residential properties designed for higher-income outsiders. Reportedly, the property taxes generated by the new condominiums (in tandem with Pilsen TIF revenues) have

11 "Tax increment financing, or TIF, is a public financing method that is used as a subsidy for redevelopment, infrastructure, and other community-improvement projects in many countries, including the United States. TIF is a method to use future gains in taxes to subsidize current improvements, which are projected to create the conditions for said gains. The completion of a public or private project often results in an increase in the value of surrounding real estate, which generates additional tax revenue. Sales-tax revenue may also increase, and jobs may be added, although these factors and their multipliers usually do not influence the structure of TIF. When an increase in site value and private investment generates an increase in tax revenues, it is the tax increment Tax Increment Financing dedicates tax increments within a certain defined district to finance the debt that is issued to pay for the project. TIF was designed to channel funding toward improvements in distressed, underdeveloped, or underutilized parts of a jurisdiction where development might otherwise not occur" http://www.cityofchicago.org/city/en/depts/dcd/supp_info/tif/pilsen_industrialcorridortif.html (Trkla/Pettigrew/Allen/Payne 2004) (accessed 13 April 2017).

12 It was not possible to collect information about how the survey was carried out.

been managed by the city's aldermen and former-Mayor Daley (Saclarides 2010). Moreover, as the local activists interviewed underscored, these new TIF-funded higher-end condominiums have contributed to spiraling property taxes and dwindling industrial spaces.

The Pilsen neighborhood is zoned RT-4[13], a zoning designation that allows for higher than single-family density. Since many of Pilsen's RT-4-zoned buildings are actually single-family homes or two-flats, Pilsen's over-zoning has made the neighborhood irresistible to developers. As Curran explains, "This mismatch between zoning and actual use means that developers can buy a single family home, demolish it, and rebuild three to four story condominiums or rental units in its place, all without any community or city zoning board approval. It has resulted in a large number of teardowns in Pilsen, so much so that the entire neighborhood of Pilsen was declared one of the seven most endangered sites in Chicago by Preservation Chicago in 2005" (Curran 2006:9).

Thus, the current RT-4 zoning status of much of Pilsen enables developers to maximize profits without bureaucratic obstacles.

Cultural policies in Pilsen

The city of Chicago has increasingly come to view its ethnic neighborhoods as valuable resources for tourism development. Chicago's cultural planning has involved inventorying cultural and heritage-oriented assets in various Chicago neighborhoods, with an eye to rendering Chicago more attractive to domestic and international tourists, prolonging tourist stays, and ultimately generating new revenues for the city. Chicago's ethnic neighborhoods were also seen as potentially marketable to upper middle class day-trippers from other areas of Chicagoland, as their non-seasonal visits have the potential to bolster local restaurants and businesses, and foster gentrification.

Given its culturally colorful assets and its proximity to downtown Chicago, Pilsen was speedily identified as a target neighborhood, ideally suited for commodification and touristic promotion by the City of Chicago (Saclarides 2010). Thus, the primary visual and gustatory aspects of Mexican culture in and around Pilsen--Mexican murals, restaurants, festivals and parades--became central to the city's development strategy.

13 In US City zoning RT indicates Residential Two-Flat, Townhouse and Multi-Unit District (http://secondcityzoning.org/). (accessed 13 April 2017).

The actions of other locally-oriented community groups have inadvertently fueled further re-branding of Greater Pilsen as a Latino arts district, drawing still more outsiders to live, work and play in the neighborhood. For example, in 1978 a group of artists running an arts-education residency program at Pilsen's St. Procopius School (a Jesuit school) founded the group ElevArte Community Studio (formerly ProsArts). By 2002, the group moved its headquarters into Pilsen's main park, adjacent to the National Museum of Mexican Art, rendering their youth arts-oriented activities more visible to both locals and visiting outsiders. As executive director Giselle Mercier observed in a recent interview, their arts-oriented activities enrich residents' connections to their cultural pasts, but "with that comes the curiosity of other individuals that may want to experience what 'real' Mexican culture might be. When that happens we can't help but recognize that we're adding to the problem of gentrification" (Betancourt 2014). In short, ElevArte's community-oriented activities have, ironically, helped fuel Pilsen's rise on the city's radar as a potential revenue-generating arts district worthy of touristic commodification.

In 2011, the Chicago Architectural Foundation premiered its now-annual "Open House Chicago" event (a weekend-long festival of architecture offers free access to over 150 of the city's public and private buildings). It did not take long for a number of Pilsen's artist studios to be added to the list of showcased destinations. The October 2015 Open House Chicago featured six Pilsen sites, three artist studios and artist loft complexes, two churches and the historic Thalia Hall.[14] Annual events such as Open Studio weekend, and Open House Chicago have further underscored the equation between Pilsen, Latino arts, and the leisure pursuits of elites and creative classes (e.g. architecture), drawing growing numbers of tourists and still more gentrification.

Moreover, in 2012, Chicago's Department of Cultural Affairs and Special Events outlined a new cultural plan for the city, highlighting arts education, creative industries, cultural districts and tourism. The plan centers on "marketing the city's cultural assets to a worldwide audience and presenting high-quality, free and affordable cultural programs for residents and visitors" (http://www.cityofchicago.org/city/en/depts/dca.html). Following months of stakeholder meetings in many

14 Thalia Hall is an 1892 historic landmark, built to resemble a Prague Opera House. It originally served as an entertainment and gathering spot for the neighborhood's early Czechoslovakian residents, then as the neighborhood shifted, it served as an occasional meeting space for immigrant Latinos. Finally, in 2014, the building was renovated by a team who had previously developed bars and music venues in two other gentrifying neighborhoods in Chicago. Today, Thalia Hall is a magnet for visitors from outside the neighborhood, serving as a venue for alternative music performances and also houses an upscale eatery serving gourmet food and a bar featuring craft brews.

of the city's districts, several neighborhoods with "high potential" were selected for enhanced touristic promotion and branding as vibrant cultural and artistic destinations, including Pilsen.

In other words, Pilsen is investing in the production of new forms of cultural consumption linked primarily, but not exclusively, to the commercialization of Mexican culture (Anaya 2012; Betancourt 2014; Bloom 2014; Lutton 2012).

There is now a great awareness of the potential Pilsen has of becoming an attraction for culture consumers and the local administration is working to promote this potential by triggering beautification policies and creating new cultural services.

What clearly emerges from observing Pilsen is how the marketing of culture – namely the commercialisation of ethnic neighbourhoods – is becoming a significant characteristic in the development of Pilsen and aims to create a favourable climate for the promotion of new economies that can also channel and incentivise different forms of tourism.

The added value derived from the commercialisation of ethnic neighbourhoods is very evident to the Chicago Office of Tourism and it is no accident, as Saclarides points out, that the website states "Chicago's downtown area and lakefront can keep you happily occupied for days, but you haven't really seen Chicago until you've visited some of our distinct and culturally diverse neighbourhoods. They're fun and fascinating – and they're just minutes away from downtown on public transportation. There are 26 ethnic groups in the Chicago area with at least 25,000 members each. We've counted 132 languages that are spoken in Chicago, but almost everyone speaks English, as well" (quoted by Saclarides 2010 on website).

Some of those interviewed have expressed a similar opinion in this sense, including the Pastor of the Saint Procopius Church, the President of Mujeres Latinas En Accion, the representative of *The Resurrection Project* and the spokesperson for the Instituto del Progreso Latino. All of them have pointed out that Chicago, especially through the Office of Tourism, the Pilsen Chamber of Commerce and the Pilsen-based 18th Street Development Corporation, is essentially appropriating the cultural symbols of its residents with the aim of developing policies for attracting consumers from the upper middle class. The same train of thought can also be applied to the organisation of parades[15] and festivals. All these initiatives focus on celebrating Mexican culture and attracting new cultural consumers. The process is facilitated by the presence in the neighbourhood of the National Museum of

15 A parade is organised in Pilsen every September to celebrate Mexican culture. It is the second most important Hispanic parade in Chicago, where the first is the one organized by the Puerto Rican community.

Mexican Art, the largest institute of Latino art in the entire country and the only accredited one.

Alongside the commercialisation of Mexican culture there is also a large network of artistic workshops developing in *Pilsen*. These are mostly concentrated in the northern part of the district along Halsted Street. Initially most of these studios and workshops belonged to Mexican artists, but in recent years' non-Latino artists have settled there too. The presence of these workshops has led to Pilsen to be listed as Chicago Art District (http://chicagoartsdistrict.org/). This encourages the organisation of public events aimed at introducing the creative activities that take place in the territory to the wider public.

Considering the research carried out by Clark (2001, 2002) it is possible to state that cultural services in Pilsen are important for marketing the Mexican culture, for creating new economies and for attracting a new class of consumers towards specific cultural tastes. The Mexican parades, festivals, restaurants, shops and murals are expression of the cultural identity of current residents, but they are used to make the district appealing to those visiting Chicago for business or holiday reasons, or simply to attract residents towards new cultural and leisure experiences. In the same way that events connected to the artistic workshops aim to promote the development of new economies.

To sum-up, the recent dynamics in Pilsen can be understood by drawing on the theoretical model of "entertainment machine cities" (Clark 2001; 2002). In this perspective, the city is read as a political machine designed to create economic competition. What characterizes the economic competition in post-industrial cities is the ability to create entertainment services capable of attracting the attention and interest of the upper middle class. The implementation of new services and the attraction of new consumers has a predictable effect on sales taxes in the sense that increasing economic transactions simultaneously increases sales tax revenues.

Defending Social Cohesion: Discourse and Practices Promoted by the Local Community

Chicago's tax increment financing, re-zoning practices, and Office of Tourism activities are successfully rendering the neighborhood safer and more attractive for tourists, upper middle class, and higher income residents. Due to these urban renewal processes, Pilsen's property values and taxes, as well as rents, have all increased, making the neighborhood less affordable to its existing Latino residents (Kearney, 2014). In short, the renewal and rebuilding of the neighborhood to draw

higher-income populations is now displacing lower-income residents who can no longer afford the rising property values and taxes. While Pilsen is an example of how an ethnic neighborhood can contribute to the economic competitiveness of a city, it is also an example of how an economically and ethnically disenfranchised population risks further marginalization as part of this process.

As alluded to in our earlier discussion, Pilsen's transformations did not go unnoticed by local community members. Some local stakeholders and activists began organizing protests and taking action to defend the neighborhood. The earliest grumblings about encroaching gentrification began to surface in the summer of 1997 (Marx 1997). Chicago's 25th ward[16] alderman lent his support to a plan to further extend the University of Illinois Chicago campus south to the northern edge of Pilsen. Meanwhile, Chicago's mayor Daley was introducing its TIF program offering tax incentives to attract industry to Pilsen. Local residents became concerned about the potential expansion of gentrification in tandem with these developments. That summer, local artists organized by Hector Duarte (a Mexican-American Pilsen muralist) painted a vibrant new mural in Pilsen entitled "Stop Gentrification in Pilsen."

In a less nuanced fashion, a new generation of Pilsen guerilla activists are registering their disdain for gentrification with signage. In early 2015, after yet another a hipster coffee shop, Bow Truss Coffee, opened in the neighborhood, owners arrived one morning to find signs taped to the door reading "racism & classism smells like your coffee" and "*Sabes donde estas*?" (Mohseni 2015). By late 2015, the owners of this coffee house and other recently-established hipster businesses were discovering stickers attached to their windowpanes decorated with the stars-and-stripes image of the Chicago flag. The stickers read "White people out of Pilsen!" or "Pilsen still doesn't want you." Spray-painted graffiti also appeared on other doors and walls of shuttered Latino businesses displaying redevelopment permits, reading "Pilsen is not for sale".

Pilsen community members have also engaged in more institutionalized means of registering protest and fighting the gentrification fostered by the Municipality's policies. During the last twenty years, several civic enterprises were established in Pilsen, including The Resurrection Project (TRP) and Pilsen Alliance (PA). These organizations, which emerged as part of broader efforts to fight the displacement of Pilsen's Mexican-American community, were staffed and promoted primarily by Pilsen's working-class residents (Curran 2006). They have worked together and

16 At the time the 25th ward included Pilsen and adjoining neighborhoods of Chinatown, Little Italy and the what is today the neighborhood surrounding the University of Illinois Chicago.

independently to battle both official urban policies and developers in order to halt the gentrification processes in Pilsen. The Resurrection Program, established in 1990 sought "to transform disempowered local community members into active defenders of their rights" (http://resurrectionproject.org/). The program works to find alternatives to gentrification, developing different kinds of social housing, and to promote the inclusion of Mexican community members via educational programs health programs and immigrant services. Pilsen Alliance was established in the late 1990s as "a social justice organization committed to developing grassroots leadership in Pilsen" (www.thepilsenalliance.org/about-us/). The group works with local community leaders and organizes meetings to discuss projects proposed by the municipality with the aim of developing alternatives. These newer groups joined the terrain occupied by the older group, Pilsen Neighbors Community Council (PNCC) [17], a group that "works with schools, churches and other community based organizations to empower community voices, foster enhanced educational funding, expand healthcare availability and to revitalize the local economy" (http://pilsen-neighbors.org/). Finally, in 2006, the same year that the Municipality of Chicago designated Pilsen as a "National Historic Register District"[18], the Department of Geography at DePaul University and the Pilsen Alliance conducted a "Building Inventory Project"[19] in Pilsen that became a useful tool for sharing information about building quality and for preventing the destruction of significant structures.

17 "In 1954, PNCC emerged as Eastern European immigrants banded together to confront their community's most pressing needs" (http://pilsenneighbors.org/about-us/history/) (accessed 13 April 2017).

18 "Pilsen became a National Historic Register District on February 1, 2006. There are many reason why Pilsen become National Historic Register District: first 18th Street is an active commercial corridor, with Mexican bakeries, restaurants, and groceries though the principal district for Mexican shopping is 26th Street in Little Village, Chicago's other formerly majority Pan-Slavic community, which is currently the main area of successful Mexican immigrant commerce. Second, the east side of the neighborhood along Halsted Street is one of Chicago's largest art districts, and the neighborhood is also home to the National Museum of Mexican Art. St Adalbert's dominates over the skyline with the opulence typical of churches in the Polish Cathedra style. Third, Pilsen is also famous for its murals. The original murals in Pilsen along 16th Street started as a cooperative effort between Slavs and Mexicans when the neighborhood was undergoing change" (http://www.nps.gov/nr/feature/hispanic/2010/pilsen_historic_district.htm) (accessed 13 April 2017).

19 "Building inventory project is an extensive and systematic community mapping project was undertaken to produce a database of current building conditions and publicly available information on building permits, property taxes, assessed values, property sales, and ownership. The building inventory consisted of both a visual and web-based component. For each one square block of Pilsen assessed the condition of the buildings

Such enterprises, along with the activities of other organizations, aim to counteract the disenfranchisement and potential displacement prompted by Chicago's neighborhood gentrification and commodification programs. Drawing on urban governance avenues, these organizations seek to engage the Municipality in dialogue, to ensure that the concerns of local residents are heard and addressed.

Other efforts to improve and safeguard the social and cultural capital of Pilsen's Mexican community have been spearheaded by Chicago's Field Museum of Natural History, in particular by the Center for Cultural Understanding and Change (CCUC). This museum-based community-oriented research group initiated a "Creative Network" project in 2006. This project's overarching aim was to underscore Mexican cultural assets in Chicago, and to reinforce and consolidate community-based social relationships, drawing on Mexican cultural symbols and practices (Cabrera 2008). In an interview, Rosa Cabrera, the director project underscored that Pilsen's gentrification processes threatened to overwhelm local Mexican-American community members, and to ultimately leave them feel that fighting for their rights against corporate and municipal interests was a hopeless cause. Cabrera believed that the avenue for reversing these dynamics entailed stimulating local "capacity building" (Cuthill 2005). As Cabrera reasoned, developing capacity building is one of the most effective ways to enable people to trust in themselves and become aware of their capabilities to change the situation.

The local community efforts to combat the actions promoted by the top (looks at TIF; zooning, cultural policies) were also underlined during interviews with Professor Betancur, with an employee of The Resurrection Project and with the president of Mujeres latinas en accion. All underscored that the local community were discovering creative avenues rejecting the path forged by the municipality. For instance, the President of Mujeres Latinas emphasized Pilsen residents' determination to defend their rights and, underscored Pilsen's long history of social protests, going back to the protests of working class residents against a factory closure at the end of the Nineteenth Century. She also emphasized that the main aims of current protests are, on one hand, to protect Pilsen's local identity and, on the other hand, to safeguard rights to live near the city center; something that is normally not economically feasible for lower income persons.

In short, Pilsen residents have been protesting because they feel excluded, not heard, and not taken into consideration. They feel disrespected: policies and politics do not take care of them, and do not seek to improve their socio-economic

and the purpose for which the buildings were being used. The web-based component consisted of a search of city and county websites for assessed values of land and buildings, taxes, zoning, recent sales, and recent building permits" (Curren and Hugue 2006).

conditions. From their viewpoint, the Municipality wants to protect the touristically-attractive aspects of ethnic culture, but not to improve the ethnic community's conditions. That is, the ethnic culture is used in a specious way, without promoting community-based initiatives. For all these reasons, the local Mexican community feels unprotected, and at times even attacked, by the Municipality. In their view the policies implemented are not coherent with the equity and cohesion they seek.

Conclusion

Reflecting on the Pilsen case study, several findings emerge. First, the Pilsen case illustrates the ambiguous role of culture as drivers for urban development in impoverished urban ethnic enclaves. Cultural policies (including ethnic neighborhood tourism) are powerful tools for competitiveness, but are not automatically or necessarily key avenues for fostering social cohesion. Observing the socio-economic dynamics in Pilsen, it appears that in the contemporary american context, urban regeneration and cultural policies are closely linked to the current interest in diversity and multiculturalism. The diversity that is celebrated and fetishized via city-subsidized arts festivals and ethnic neighborhood tours, however, is selective and focuses on the colorful, artistic and expressive aspects of Latino immigrant culture, white-washing or romanticizing the more problematic dimensions of economically-struggling communities (e.g. gangs, poor housing stock, etc.). Ironically, when municipalities spotlight the creative, artistic and culinary aspects of an urban ethnic enclave with the aim of generating revenues, they can often end up exacerbating the ailments of the very community being targeted for beautification and place-promotion.

Second, the Pilsen case showcases the emergent and potentially powerful role of civic-society enterprises, cultural institutions and social organizations. Despite the challenges presented by the entrepreneurial model, these varied civic-society groups have shown themselves to be actors who are knowledgeable of and responsive to the needs of the disempowered. Yet, at the same time, they are able to speak the language (literally and figuratively) of the city managers, urban planners and venture capitalists at the top: these civic-society groups are capable of navigating urban political systems that can sometimes be overwhelming for those at the bottom (particularly when those at the bottom are recent immigrants who are not yet confident about their cultural and linguistic abilities). In short, they have shown themselves to be suited to playing the role of middlemen and cultural brokers. In other words, in the entrepreneurialism model, these new actors (social organizations,

civic-society enterprises, and cultural institutions) are reformulating, representing, and supporting issues pertaining to social cohesion. These new actors may embrace different strategies, ranging from protest to dialogue, but they share overarching goals of producing social cohesion and promoting capacity building.

Examining the transformations in Pilsen, it is useful for understanding the challenges entailed in channeling both social cohesion and urban competitiveness in the same direction. Pilsen's recent history serves to illustrate how urban initiatives aimed at revenue generation via cultural policies and incentives can sometimes produce dynamics that run counter to the desires of local inhabitants. Moreover, the Pilsen case suggests ways in which new roots of social cohesion can be grown and reinforced via capacity building. In the Pilsen neighborhood, these social cohesion aims are enabled by civil society enterprises (Wagenaar and van der Heijden 2015; Healey 2015) that arose out of the need to protest the gentrification and specious use of culture and centered on capacity building.

In other words, even though urban competitiveness is often unable to reinforce social cohesion, social cohesion is not demolished by competiveness. As Pilsen case study demonstrated clues of social cohesion (community involvement, social participation, activism) exist and are supported by the actions of the civic society enterprises.

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Perceived social disorder in post-WWII housing estates: recent evidence from Finland

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Introduction

Social disorder in the neighbourhood, such as threatening behaviour, vandalism or public intoxication, has been found to increase feelings of insecurity (Brunton-Smith/Sturgis 2011; Kemppainen et al. 2014) and expose residents to health problems (Steptoe/Feldman 2011). Disorder may also shape moving intentions and behaviour in ways that deepen segregation (Skifter Andersen 2008). In many European countries, post-WWII housing estates have received a negative reputation, one associated with insecurity and disorder (e.g. Hastings 2004; Dekker et al. 2005; Dekker/Van Kempen 2005). However, it remains unclear to what extent this negative reputation is consistent with residents' experiences. Are the post-WWII estates in general more restless and disordered than other neighbourhoods? This study aims to respond to this question, which is difficult to answer solely on the basis of prior literature.

Although estate residents' experiences and perceptions have been widely studied (e.g., Hopton/Hunt 1996; Hastings 2004; Boyce 2006; Van Beckhoven/Van Kempen 2006; Musterd 2009; Dekker et al. 2011; Lindgren/Nilsen 2012; Kovács/Herfert 2012; Kabisch/Grossman 2013), there is a scarcity of reliable, large-scale evidence on where estates in general stand in terms of local social life compared to other kinds of neighbourhoods. Many recent large-scale studies stem from the RESTATE project, which examined thirty post-WWII housing estates across Europe that were selected in a non-random fashion on the basis of problems such as insecurity, unemployment, physical decay, and stigmatisation. Dekker and Van Kempen (2004) report that the physical structure typical for these estates, together with vacant properties and a lack of meeting places for the youth, tends to create problems with disorder

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and crime. Highly relevant is also the study by Skifter Andersen (2002) on a large number of Danish housing estates, which were targets of policy support because of different kinds of problems; the study found that large size, urbanisation, a low level of social activities, the physical environment's poor quality and the socio-economic disadvantage of the estate were related to disorder, as measured in surveys.

Most of the prior large-scale studies focus exclusively on problematic estates, which leaves us with insufficient means for assessing the overall situation and living conditions in the estate neighbourhoods in general. It is even possible that the one-sided focus on problematic estates in the research literature may have further strengthened the unfavourable reputation of these neighbourhoods. In our recent studies, we have addressed this gap in the literature by analysing large sets of estates and other neighbourhoods that cover their entire socio-geographical spectrum in a representative manner. This article presents findings from two of these studies, focusing on perceived social disorder in post-WWII housing estates in Finland. Moreover, the text extensively discusses the implications of these results from various perspectives, including housing markets and tenure mixing.

The first study compared housing estates built in the 1960s and 1970s to other kinds of neighbourhoods, concentrating on the Helsinki region in the Southern Finland (Kemppainen/Saarsalmi 2015). Our research aim was to examine whether housing estates differ from other kinds of neighbourhoods in terms of perceived social disorder. Furthermore, we studied to what extent socio-economic disadvantage contributes to the matter, in the spirit of disorganisation tradition (e.g. Sampson/Raudenbush 1999). For example, if the level of perceived disorder turns out to be higher in estate neighbourhoods compared to other high-rise areas, is it because of corresponding differences in disadvantage? As outlined above, the prior literature does not provide sufficient means for establishing hypothesis for the first question because the samples have been biased towards problematic estates. However, should the difference exist, it is quite probable that socio-economic disadvantage is involved because it is one of the most established ecological determinants of social disorder (Skifter Andersen 2002; Sampson/Raudenbush 1999).

In the second study (Kemppainen et al. forthcoming), 70 Finnish housing estates were examined to disentangle the factors that distinguish these neighbourhoods from each other in terms of perceived disorder. The following were the specific aims: First, we examined the association of tenure structure of the estate with perceived social disorder and the mediating role of socio-economic disadvantage in this relationship. Second, we studied the role that the local social life, conceptualised in terms of social integration and normative regulation, plays between disadvantage and disorder. We expected that rental-dominated estates are more disadvantaged, which should imply a higher level of social disorder; moreover, we hypothesised that normative

regulation, at least partly, mediates the association between disadvantage and disorder (Sampson et al. 1997; Sampson/Raudenbush 1999; Skifter Andersen 2002).

Perceived social disorder in housing estates and other kinds of neighbourhoods

In both of our studies, the focus was on housing estates built in the 1960s and 1970s, which was a period of very intensive estate construction in Finland.[2] As a type of built environment, these neighbourhoods constitute a category of their own and are clearly different from the previous and later suburban developments (Figure 1). In addition, the estates built in this era often have quite a negative image.

Fig. 1 A typical estate view in Finland : three-to-seven-storey flat-roof blocks in square layout, separated by tree-filled yards, parking spaces and walkways and situated outside the local city centre. Gesterby, a Southern Finnish housing estate built in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Photograph was taken by the author in November 2016.

2 To avoid excessive repetition, the rest of the text refers to these estates without always mentioning the time period they were built in.

The data came from a large survey project (Katumetro, Helsinki Metropolitan Region Urban Research Program) that targeted the residents of Helsinki and the surrounding municipalities; the Finnish- and Swedish-speaking residents aged between 25 and 74 years were the target population. The data were collected in 2012 with a stratified random sample of 26,000 individuals, and the response rate was 36 per cent (for further technical details, see Laaksonen et al. 2015). The survey data were combined with contextual register data on the socio-demographic and physical characteristics of the neighbourhood, and statistical grids of 250 metres by 250 metres were used as the contextual units (Statistics Finland 2009).

For comparative purposes, we divided the grids of our study area into three categories. First, a grid was categorised as housing estate built in the 1960s and 1970s if at least 50 per cent of its residents resided in multi-storey blocks built in this period and if the grid was located outside the central area of the town in question (Stjernberg 2013). Next, the remaining grids were divided into two groups on the basis of the share of low-rise house apartments, and 50 per cent was used as the cut-off: thus, estates were compared with other multi-storey neighbourhoods and low-rise areas. Perceptions of social disorder were measured using survey items on how much the respondent had perceived the following behaviours or signs in the residential area: uncleanliness or vandalism, public drunkenness, disturbances caused by neighbours, drug use or trade, trouble-making or threatening behaviour and thefts of damages (cf. Sampson 2009). The factor score of the dominant factor was used as the outcome measure. Finally, four different socio-economic grid indicators were constructed from the register data: tenure type, educational structure, income level and unemployment.

Figure 2 portrays the unadjusted levels of perceived social disorder in the three residential contexts. The main division runs between multi-storey neighbourhoods and low-rise areas. Even though the housing estates built in the 1960s and 1970s differ in a statistically significant way from other high-rise neighbourhoods, the difference is quite small. A design-based regression analysis (Table 1, model IV) shows that this small difference is explained by the socio-economic disadvantage of the grid because estates are, on average, somewhat more disadvantaged than other multi-storey neighbourhoods. When comparing the level of perceived disorder in estates and low-rise neighbourhoods, the regression models show that disadvantage contributes to this difference as well, but also other factors are at play. All in all, the socio-economic disadvantage of the neighbourhood matters significantly, and it is one of the key factors that distinguish the neighbourhoods with high levels of disorder from the more peaceful ones.

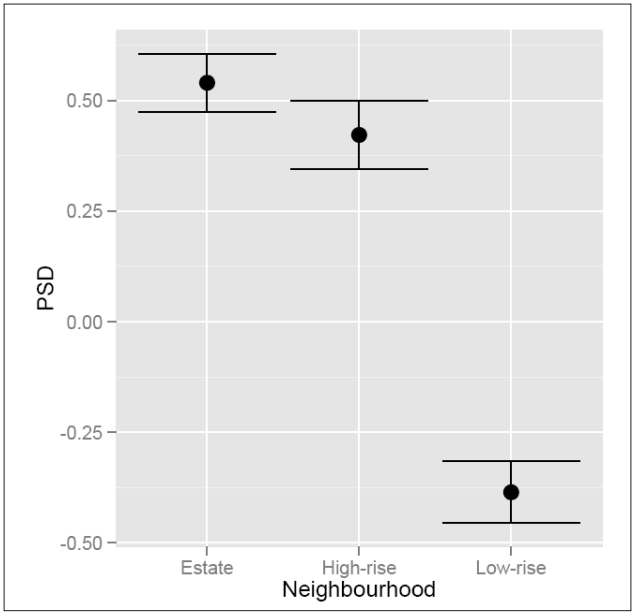

Fig. 2 Perceived social disorder (PSD) in housing estates built in the 1960s and 1970s compared to other high-rise areas and low-rise neighbourhoods. Mean factor scores with 95 per cent confidence intervals.

Tab. 1 Neighbourhood type and perceived social disorder: results from design-based regression models.

	I		II		III		IV	
	B	Sig.	B	Sig.	B	Sig.	B	Sig.
Estate	ref.	.	ref.	.	ref.	.	ref.	.
Low-rise	-0.831	****	-0.465	****	-0.306	****	-0.139	*
High-rise	-0.115	**	-0.116	**	-0.121	**	-0.072	ns.

I: neighbourhood classification + invidual-level control variables (gender, age, education, main activity, household type and subjective economic situation)
II: I + building and tenure type of the respondent

III: II + demographic structure of the grid

IV: III + socio-economic grid variables

Note: * $p \leq 0.05$, ** $p \leq 0.01$, *** $p \leq 0.001$, **** $p \leq 0.0001$; ns. non-significant

Tenure structure and perceived social disorder: a multi-level study on 70 Finnish housing estates

In the second study, we examined the variation of perceived social disorder in a large cluster sample of Finnish estates. Within the framework of the PREFARE project (2012–2015), funded by the Academy of Finland, we constructed a data structure on housing estates built in the 1960s and 1970s. This was done at a national level, using register data on buildings and statistical grids; the work of the Finnish urban geographer M. Stjernberg was pivotal in this process (Kemppainen et al. forthcoming; see also Stjernberg 2013). Further specifying the operational definition of a housing estate, presented above, we required at least five multi-storey buildings dating from the 1960s and 1970s within a close range (maximum distance 250 metres) from each other. Furthermore, a lower limit to the population size was defined (at least 300 residents) with the aim of capturing a certain degree of urbanity and a sufficient sample size. The underlying statistical grids were merged to match the size and shape of the estates.

Using stratified random sampling, 71 estates were originally selected out of the 318 areas fulfilling our criteria. The gross sample included 20,000 individuals, and the response rate was 39 per cent. On average, there were 109 respondents per estate (s.d. 59; range: 14–298). One estate with only 14 respondents was excluded from the analyses because of its small n at level-1; the other 70 estates had a minimum of 35 respondents per estate. Further technical details can be found in Kemppainen et al. (forthcoming). Content wise, the measurement of perceived disorder was somewhat modified from the first study by measuring uncleanliness and vandalism as separate items and inquiring also about poorly managed built environment.

We first examined how perceived social disorder varies within the estate stock. For this purpose, we divided the estates into deciles, according to the share of rental apartments: in the first decile, the share of rental apartments was 22 per cent while in the tenth, it was 93 per cent. Because of the data source, the category *rental* included private and social rental housing as well as the so-called right-of-occupancy tenures.[3] Figure 3 shows how socio-economic characteristics vary by the rental decile. Income and unemployment levels vary quite consistently with tenure structure (cf. Musterd/Andersson 2005); going from the first to tenth decile, the share of low-income earners increases by almost 50 per cent while the share of unemployed residents nearly doubles. Also, the education level varies accordingly, except in the first decile. Using survey data, we also estimated how much of the rental stock is

3 The right-of-occupancy scheme (*asumisoikeus*) involves an initial deposit sum, a permanent dwelling right and a rent level somewhat lower than the market prices.

social rental housing, with the finding that the share of social housing increases along with the overall rental share, as seen in Figure 3. Next, using linear random intercept models (model II, Table 2), we found that the overall rental proportion and the share of social housing within the rental stock were related to the level of perceived social disorder via socio-economic disadvantage.[4] In other words, tenure matters because it participates in shaping the socio-economic reality of the estate.

Tab. 2 Tenure structure of the estate and perceived social disorder: results from random intercept models.

	I		*II*	
	B	*Sig.*	B	*Sig.*
Rental / all apartments	0.80	**	0.18	*ns.*
Social rental / rental apartments (ref: Low)	.	.	.	.
- Mid	0.14	ns.	0.07	ns.
- High	0.26	*	0.14	ns.

I: Tenure structure of the estate + invidual level control variables (age, gender, education, income, occupational status, time one has lived in the neighbourhood, household type, tenure and building height + estate level control variables)

II: I + socio-economic disadvantage of the estate

Note: * $p \leq 0.05$, ** $p \leq 0.01$, *** $p \leq 0.001$, **** $p \leq 0.0005$; ns. non-significant

4 Because of multicollinearity problems, we chose a latent variable approach. A factor analysis was performed for education, income and unemployment of the housing estates. The factor score of the dominant factor serves here as the indicator of disadvantage.

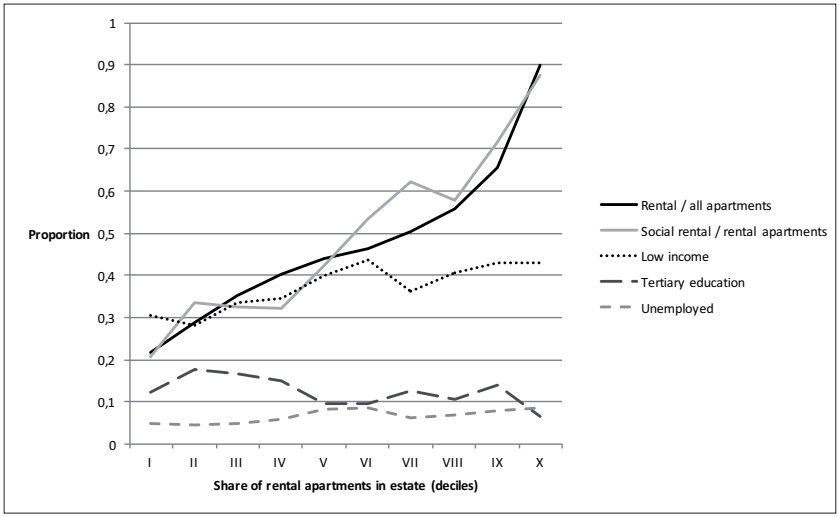

Fig. 3 Socio-economic characteristics of the estates by rental structure (in deciles).[5]

We also examined the social life in different estates. In the neighbourhood literature, there are two major factors of local social life. On the one hand, there are the structures and processes of social integration (interaction, bonds, networks, ties), and on the other hand, there are factors related to normative regulation (informal social control, collective efficacy, norms and sanctions) (e.g. Sampson et al. 1997; Kearns/Forrest 2000; Thorlindsson/Bernburg 2004; see also Kemppainen, forthcoming). Portraying perceived social disorder and other indicators of local social life by rental deciles (Figure 4), a clear pattern emerges: as the rental proportion increases, so does the level of perceived social disorder while social cohesion and informal social control (i.e. collective efficacy) (Sampson et al. 1997) decrease. In other words, the regulative aspect of the local social life is closely associated with the tenure basis. In contrast, and quite interestingly, social interaction does not seem to vary linearly with tenure structure; instead, the most mixed estates seem to be somewhat higher on social interaction compared to others, which is a finding that merits attention in future studies.

5 Low income: gross individual income per year 14,000 EUR or less; tertiary education per population aged 18 years or more; unemployment per total population.

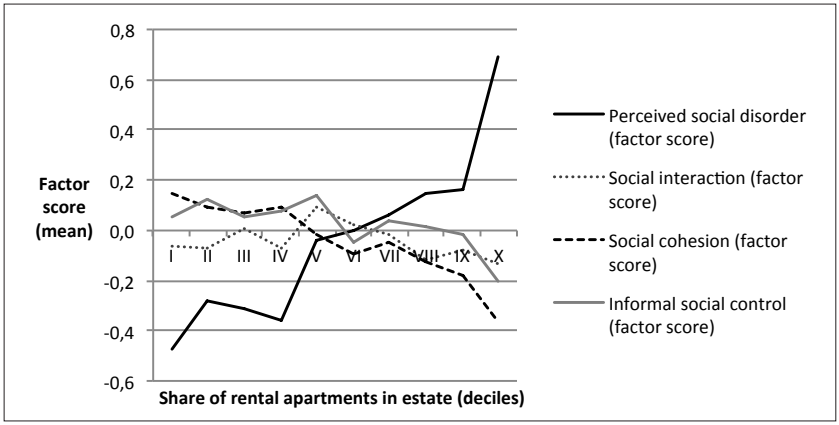

Fig. 4 Social characteristics of the estates by rental structure (in deciles).

Next, we wanted to examine to what extent social cohesion, informal social control and the level of local interaction mediate the impact of disadvantage on disorder. To this end, we first divided respondents randomly into two equal subsets. We calculated the estate-level indicators of local social life from one subset and merged these results with the other subset, with which we then estimated the models. This way, we were able to avoid the possibly problematic individual-level confounding between the outcome and the measures of local social life. According to our analyses, the level of social interaction does not play any role regarding perceptions of social disorder; hence, it was omitted from the final model. In contrast, both high social cohesion and high informal social control were associated with lower values of disorder perceptions. They also partly mediated the effect of socio-economic disadvantage (model II, Table 3). In concrete terms, this means that the more disadvantaged estates have a lower collective efficacy, which partly explains their heightened level of perceived social disorder.

Tab. 3 Disadvantage, collective efficacy and and perceived social disorder: results from random intercept models with split data.

	I		*II*	
	B	*Sig.*	B	*Sig.*
Socio-economic disadvantage	0.27	****	0.19	****
Social cohesion	.	.	-0.33	*
Informal social control	.	.	-0.34	**

I: Disadvantage of the estate + estate level controls variables (population-log, age structure, Helsinki region) + individual level control variables (age, gender, education, income, occupational status, time one has lived in the neighbourhood, household type, tenure and building height)

II: I + collective efficacy

Note: * $p \leq 0.05$, ** $p \leq 0.01$, *** $p \leq 0.001$, **** $p \leq 0.0005$

Discussion

In conclusion, we found that estate neighbourhoods do not substantially differ from other multi-storey areas in terms of perceived social disorder, which is a new and important finding in estate literature. Thus, the negative image in the public discourse seems to be somewhat misleading. Furthermore, estates are rather diverse in terms of tenure structure and socio-economic situation. We found that rental-based estates exposed their residents to higher levels of perceived social disorder because of their higher socio-economic disadvantage. Weaker normative regulation partly mediated the association of disadvantage and disorder. These findings are in line with the well-established insights gained from the social disorganisation tradition (e.g. Sampson et al. 1997; Sampson/Raudenbush 1999).

Estates in the housing markets

We will first discuss these findings from the perspective of housing markets. As in many cities, low-rise living is fairly expensive in the Helsinki region, and is bundled with spacious apartments, private yards, middle-class status value, and, as seen above, peaceful living conditions. On the other hand, multi-storey residences in central urban areas provide a lot of different services for an urban lifestyle, such as trendy restaurants and bars for upper middle-class tastes, venues for elite culture, including museums and classical music halls, and a certain urbanist status value; as a part of the deal, one gets a certain level of disorder. From this perspective, the situation of housing estates appears somewhat weaker because their service supply

is typically poor compared to the central areas. Also, their status value is often lower compared to other kinds of neighbourhoods. There is less privacy than in low-rise areas, but still, there is the urban, or rather suburban, disorder.

This perspective shows a rather pessimist vision concerning the future of housing estates. However, in line with the early planning visions and the Finnish anti-urbanist home ideology, estate neighbourhoods typically come with good access to forests and parks (Ruonavaara 1996), which are assets that many consider valuable in the Finnish culture. Also, good public transportation connections make the notion of peripheral location quite relative in the case of many estates; for example, the factual service supply may be wide with good transportation connections. At the same time, it should be remarked that many estates remain peripheral because of poor transportation connections. Hence, making clear-cut general predictions is far from easy, and it is crucial to take into account the developments taking place at a wider geographic scale: the trajectory of a given estate is not completely determined by its position in the local housing markets but will likely depend on more macro-level factors, such as regional development, as Stjernberg (2015) recently observed in an important large-scale register study on Finnish estates.

From disadvantage to disorder: on the role of regulation and agency

According to our findings, socio-economic disadvantage is a key factor that distinguishes estates from each other. From this point of view, tenure structure seems to be of central importance. In our context, rental tenure is often the only choice for the less-affluent households. In addition, social rental housing typically has upper limits to income. In other words, the tenure structure constitutes part of the mechanism behind the spatial distribution of social disadvantage. In terms of local social life, socio-economic disadvantage can be considered a pathway through which rental-based tenure structure leads to behaviours and signs that we called social disorder. Further still, weaker normative regulation in the estate seems to partly explain why the more disadvantaged estates are typically also more disordered.

Nevertheless, this explanation is only partial, implying that there is also something else in the disadvantage–disorder nexus. Concretely, there may be other relevant factors not captured by our measures of regulation or not covered by the theoretical framework of integration and regulation. A possible direction might be to extend the focus beyond the control side of disorder (Wikström 2010) and reflect on the motivations to engage in disorder or incivilities. As Kearns and Forrest (2000, 998) aptly point out, a possible way to cope with disadvantaged and excluded positions is to search for alternative ways to achieve 'a sense of utility, efficacy and power through engaging in conflict with others, often over the defence of territory'. Hence, contextual disadvantage may echo such attempts to gain a modicum of agency, belong

to a group of peers, or simply rebel against the mainstream norms of a society—a society possibly seen as hostile, indifferent and denying inclusion and protection. Combined with less efficient normative regulation, this *agency-in-exclusion* may, at least to some extent, explain why disadvantage often comes in the form of social life labelled disorder in the research literature.

A related finding was that neighbourhood integration was not clearly associated with disadvantage or disorder. Theoretically, this finding suggests focusing more on the contents of interaction, instead of their formal characteristics, such as density of social ties in the neighbourhood. Might it be the case that, because of its possibly different contents, interaction has more regulative impact in more advantaged neighbourhoods? Or is the normative aspect of local social life completely independent of local social interaction? Be this is as it may, the disadvantage–disorder relationship is not totally clear yet, and future studies might be able to shed further light on it. Finally, there is also a practical implication because policy initiatives aiming at fostering local interaction in neighbourhoods might not necessarily lead to improvements in social order, even though they would be otherwise successful.

Reflections on tenure structure as a policy instrument

The spatial concentration of disadvantage has been a recurrent source of worry since the early industrialisation period, and our late modern era is not an exception. Relatedly, there has been vivid discussion on the possibilities of managing this issue, and, for example, tenure mix has been suggested as a tool. Mixing strategies are in fact explicitly mentioned by many European governments, including the Finnish (see Van Ham/Manley 2010). As outlined in the literature (e.g., Musterd/Andersson 2005; Rowlands et al. 2006; Tunstall/Fenton 2006; Galster 2007; Van Kempen/Bolt 2009; Sautkina et al. 2012), the idea behind mixing social renting and private housing includes various positive expectations; a mixed tenure structure is assumed to create more balanced communities, lead to a mixed income structure, reduce inequalities and promote equal life chances, strengthen communities, reinforce social capital and increase social inclusion. In brief, tenure mix has been considered a tool to introduce a socio-economic mix in the population profile and social interaction across the socio-economic strata. However, for instance, Rowlands et al. (2006) consider that it is unclear to what extent this really happens.

As seen above, tenure structure is related to the income structure and unemployment level of the estate, and as a consequence, it is strongly associated with the local social life in terms of perceived disorder and normative regulation. Based on these results, I would like to propose that there is strong evidence for certain kinds of mixing policies. Not only the studies presented above, but basically all studies documenting the association of local disadvantage with different problematic out-

comes—including the entire Chicago tradition of disorganisation—are evidence for policies that alleviate disadvantage in general and its spatial concentration. It is clear that this is not the only relevant point of view in the matter, and for instance, service supply, social interaction within neighbourhood, reputation, social capital and the equality of life chances of the disadvantaged individuals are important perspectives as well—the evidence on these matters is mostly mixed (e.g., Ostendorf et al. 2001; Musterd et al. 2003; Galster et al. 2008; for a recent review, see Sautkina et al. 2012). Moreover, it is obvious that tenure policy alone is not sufficient to create balanced and sustainable neighbourhood communities (Rowlands et al. 2006). But still, the fairly clear association of tenure structure and social disorder cannot be neglected when the evidence base of tenure mix is discussed.

When discussing the positive and negative impacts of tenure mix, the perspective should always be explicated. From the perspective of mono-tenure social housing estates, a mixed structure is clearly beneficial in terms of disorder. Naturally, the situation looks quite different from the opposite perspective, that of mono-tenure, owner-occupied neighbourhoods. Furthermore, the point of view of the entire urban region may be considered as well, following Galster (2007; see also Kearns/Mason 2007): are there threshold effects in the relationship of disadvantage and disorder that would imply possible net gains? Or is the situation closer to a zero-sum game, in which a fixed amount of disorder is spatially distributed in one way or another? These topics would merit attention in the future. For instance, the question of possible threshold impacts is highly relevant to policy: if there is a certain optimal level of tenure mix, this information might be used in planning new areas and developing old ones.

Finally, it is paramount to acknowledge the role of local context. Finland can be considered a home-owning society, because around two-thirds of the apartments are currently owner-occupied (Statistics Finland 2013). Historically, detached owner-occupied housing has enjoyed a valued ideological position (Ruonavaara 1996; Andersson et al. 2007). The dualised rental market consists of relatively unregulated private markets and a means-tested social housing domain, which has a negative 'welfare housing' image (Andersson et al. 2007). It is this kind of societal context where the findings stem from and which informs the presented discussion on tenure mixing. Moreover, the evidence comes from a situation where the tenure variation is a long-term outcome partly determined by the choices made at the time when estates were built whereas the scholarly tenure mix discussion often refers to cases where repair attempts are made afterwards (Ostendorf et al. 2001). In other words, the tenure variation present in our data stems from a preventive approach, which is different from reactive mixing. In fact, the European discussion on tenure mixing differs from our Finnish case in two ways: not only the timing (preventive

versus reactive), but also the substance matter (social order versus social mobility, life chances and the like) is different. As a consequence, there is not necessarily any stark contrast between this study and the extensive literature on tenure mixing; the perspectives are simply different, enriching the discussion on the matter.

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New Means of Behaviour and Space Appropriation in the Post-Privatisation Era

The Case of Starčevica, Banja Luka (Bosnia and Herzegovina)

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In the late 1990s, almost a decade after the dissolution of former Yugoslavia, Bosnia and Herzegovina commenced its transformational journey of transition. The practice of dismantling all that remained from the socialist legacy assumed "multidimensional transformations in the economies, politics and societies" in all the former socialist countries (Sailer-Fliege 1999: 7). Therefore, this process of "dramatic economic, social and political change" (Tsenkova 2009: 291) resembled those in the neighbour countries of Serbia and Montenegro, where international institutions, such as the World Bank and International Monetary Fund, pressured political elites to implement "neo-liberal strategies that favour the fastest possible abandonment of all aspects of state socialism" (Petrović 2005: 7). Accordingly, transfer of property rights from the state to individuals, or, in other words, privatisation of socially owned property, was introduced as an integral part of political "preparatory strategies for the inevitable economic and political transformation" (Petrović 2001: 216). This strategy of transfer of ownership was perceived as a safeguard with respect to the stabilisation and further development of the (new) state apparatus as well as the economic system (Dugalić/Šokčević 2007). It was furthermore perceived as "an internal political legitimation of the new society" and, as such, was of "great symbolic significance" (Smith 1994: 614). Hence privatisation is to be understood as "the leitmotif" (Hirt 2012: 43) of the overall process of transition.

This research detects a gap in the knowledge with regard to the privatisation-triggered transformation of the biggest local community[2] in Bosnia and Herzegovina

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2 Residential or local communities represent a legacy from former Yugoslavia. They are to be understood as an assembly of people residing in a micro region, such as neighbourhood or residential area, established within a municipality with a task to achieve the common goals of the local population and improve the social life in the neighbourhood. In 1958,

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– i.e. the neighbourhood of Starčevica in Banja Luka, the second largest city in the country. The research firstly articulates the ways in which the process of privatisation of socially owned apartments altered the built environment in the aforementioned neighbourhood. In that sense, this research is primarily concerned with a variety of informal and self-managed practices of homeowners, who, following a do-it-yourself principle as well as their own aesthetic, modified privatised apartments. In this article I firstly discuss privatisation-triggered informal practices as the visual outcomes of the process of privatisation. I argue that they represent the outcome of privatisation-triggered new means of behaviour of the masses. Secondly, I open up a completely new and never addressed chapter in the academic research and introduce *the interpretative dimension* of the aforementioned spatial practices, outlining different ways in which these new privatisation-induced appropriations of space can be understood. I aim to conclude that the process of privatisation elicited significant socio-spatial changes, thereby affecting society as a whole.

Introducing Starčevica: how the neighbourhood came to be

After the devastating earthquake of 1969, Banja Luka was characterised by a shortage in its housing supply, with an estimated three to four thousand dwelling units in demand (SIZ BL 1986). The local housing policy was then primarily based on ad hoc decisions. Overall housing construction depended exclusively upon the assessments made with regard to the physical capacity of a specific building site as well as the cost-effectiveness (SIZ BL 1986). Accordingly, most construction took place at so-called "individual locations" (SIZ BL 1986). These were situated between the existing buildings, and were considered attractive since they were already equipped with all the possible infrastructure (SIZ BL 1986). However, the new buildings, which, where possible, were interpolated in the existing urban fabric (Milojević 2013), could not meet the actual housing demand.

In the mid-1970s, the local authorities proclaimed Starčevica, the hill situated in the southwestern part of the city, a "site of socially oriented housing construction" (SIZ BL 1986: 5). At the time, Starčevica was well known and cherished as a "natural memorial" area (SIZ BL 1986: 31) i.e. a park/forest of significant environmental characteristics. With several single-family houses, which were predominantly built

the Law on residential communities defined local communities as both territorial units and a form of self-association of citizens; however, their exact economic, social and spatial agendas have remained largely unclear until today.

illegally, the area was characterised by "a low level of utilisation of space" (SIZ BL 1986: 17). As such, Starčevica provided planners and architects with an opportunity to do something completely different – to develop the neighbourhood from scratch.

Starčevica was developed according to the principles of the so-called "directed and concentrated housing construction", which primarily aimed, using the funds from workers and labour organisations (state enterprises), to provide every family which needed it housing with "satisfactory living space" (Alfirević/Simonović-Alfirević 2015: 1). The ultimate goal of this centrally planned type of housing construction was "to establish the limits of the existential minimum in collective housing, maximal space 'packing' and optimal functionality of flats" (Alfirević/Simonović-Alfirević 2015: 1). During the 1970s, state enterprises financed all the housing construction, investing 4 percent of their net income on provision of apartments for their employees (Petrović 2001; SIZ BL 1986). In the 1980s, new means of financing called "udružena sredstva" (here referred to as "joint assets") obliged employees to extricate 6 percent of their monthly salaries for the purpose of housing construction, followed by an additional 2 percent of the wages donated to the solidarity-housing fund.

Architects and planners envisioned Starčevica as something of a city within a city and an "oasis for relaxation" (Bodroža 2009: 14), dislocated yet very well connected with the city centre by means of public transport (Bodroža 2009). Since the housing demand called for fast solutions, pre-made and pre-stressed modular concrete panels were predominantly used for the construction. Interestingly enough, these were produced in the neighbourhood itself, within the manufacturing section of the state enterprise – Gradjevinsko-inženjerski kombinat (Building engineering plant) "Kozara" – which was in charge of the overall process of construction. Despite the fact that the use of pre-made panels was considered as some sort of threat to creativity and, as such, likely to undermine "the ability of architects and planners to actually design places" (Hirt 2012: 39), Starčevica turned out to be completely different from a typical "sad, rather miserable grey and dark after dawn" socialist neighbourhood (Czepczyński 2008: 149).

Starčevica first and foremost introduced a wide range of housing typologies. Apart from different types of residential buildings, which were surrounded with greenery and never exceeded six storeys, the neighbourhood made the so-called "Yugoslav dream" – the "house-and-yard" concept (Hirt 2012: 74) – come true, by introducing more than forty single-family townhouses with their own garden. Furthermore, it was characterised by a significant infusion of colours and, as such, had nothing to do with the typical socialist-dormitory kind of neighbourhood, which was primarily recognisable through its "grayness, uniformity and anonymity" (Hirt 2012: 36) that "evoked outright boredom" (Hirt 2012: 37). Starčevica was different: cosy

and colourful, lively yet calm, with green areas spreading all around and, finally, the introduction of what were considered high-quality and modern apartments.

The amount, size and type of the apartments to be built were initially determined on the basis of the programme that was produced by the state enterprises themselves (Petrović 2001; SIZ BL 1986). This programme represented an internal enquiry that embodied the employees' feedback with regard to their housing needs. The document was then forwarded to the local institution in charge of the coordination between housing supply and demand, "Samoupravna interesna zajednica stanovanja Banja Luka" (Self-managed Housing Community of Interest Banja Luka), and served as the basis for the development of the Programme of Housing Construction. This programme was divided into three so-called medium-term plans – the 1976–1980, 1981–1985 and 1986–1990 plans – and finally resulted in an estimated 2300-2500 socially owned apartments built in Starčevica. The system of allocation of the apartments, as well as any priority to be given to certain categories of workers, was exclusively up to the apartments' donors[3] – i.e. "any socio-political community, state organ, working organisation, other legal person or a citizen that built the apartment as an investor or acquired it in some other legal way" (Petković 1970: 313) – and was defined solely in their general acts (Petković 1970).

In 1991, prior to the dissolution of Yugoslavia, Starčevica earned the title of the biggest local community in Bosnia and Herzegovina, with a total of 12,738 people – 6770 Serbs, 2350 Muslims, 813 Croats, 2264 Yugoslavs and 541 declared as "others" (Federalni zavod za statistiku, 1991) – inhabiting the neighbourhood. Most of the inhabitants (60 percent of the overall population) enjoyed full tenant rights in socially owned apartments which they were allocated by their employers (the state enterprises where they worked), while the remaining 40 percent were property owners, inhabiting around 1700 self-constructed family houses. In the 1990s came seismic population movements and migrations from all over former Yugoslavia related to the war, and this left a mark on Starčevica too, changing its demographic structure for good.

According to the unofficial estimates of local community representatives, around 30,000 people inhabit the neighbourhood today. The most famous among the locals are the supporters of the local football team Borac – known as "Lešinari" ("The Vultures"). Starčevica is a long-established home of this group, which sig-

3 The most important apartment donors were successful local companies, such as Rudi Čajavec, AIPK Bosanska Krajina, Municipality of Banja Luka, Incel and GIK Kozara. During the first medium-term housing construction period, for example, these organisations built and donated 296, 255, 250, 199 and 193 apartments respectively at the entire city level (SIZ BL 1986: 38).

nificantly contributed to the neighbourhood's visual identity by covering most of the buildings with various tags and inscriptions, expressing their loyalty to the club as well as their political convictions. Speaking of political beliefs, Starčevica is also characterised by rather interesting local political dynamics. In the last few years, local community officials have been determined to establish Starčevica as an autonomous municipality[4] within the Municipality of Banja Luka. They are convinced that this could solve most of the problems within the neighbourhood, such as the struggle with the lack of facilities – i.e. an additional primary school. In the meantime, Starčevica holds on to its well-earned reputation as a neighbourhood of great sentimental significance for the entire city of Banja Luka, remaining a favourite winter sports destination for more than forty years.

The trigger of the change: privatisation of socially owned apartments

In May 2001, the Law on Privatisation of Socially Owned Apartments marked the beginning of the process of privatisation of socially owned apartments in Republika Srpska (one of the two entities of Bosnia and Herzegovina that emerged after the war, hereafter referred to as "the entity"). Around 70,000 tenants in the entire entity, who were allotted tenant rights in accordance with the Law on Housing Regulations, were entitled to purchase their apartments (Stevandić 2002). An estimated 20,500 apartments in the city of Banja Luka (Federalni zavod za statistiku 1991) were ready to be bought. The Law appointed municipalities and local institutions, such as Zavod za izgradnju a.d. Banja Luka (the Institute for the Development Banja Luka), as being in charge of managing the overall process.

According to the Law, determination of a market value of an apartment to be privatised first and foremost depended upon the age of the building in which the apartment in question was situated. Given the fact that all the socially owned apartments in Starčevica were built before 1 January 1995, the market value of each apartment in the neighbourhood was designated by multiplying the surface area by an amount of 400 BAM (around 200 EUR). The final purchase price, however, was set by the multiplying the market value by three different coefficients – of positional

4 A rather ironic letter that representatives of Starčevica sent to the Assembly of the City of Banja Luka in September 2015, in order to let the political elites know that the local population was perfectly happy with everything they (never) had, was one of the numerous attempts to achieve this goal.

benefits, related to the age of the building, and of personal discounts. The positional benefits coefficient was automatically set to 0.75. The personal discounts coefficient, however, differed from one case to another, and as such, is to be understood as the one on which the final price of the apartment mostly depended.

The purchase price of each apartment was first and foremost reduced on the basis of a tenant's own (as well as their spouse's) employment, with 1 percent of the discount allocated per each year spent in the working service. Tenants were next provided with an additional discount on the basis of their own and/or their spouse's engagement during the 1990s war. Specific categories of population, such as tenants with a disability, the 1990s war handicapped tenants as well as civil victims of war were also entitled to various personal discounts, ranging from 5 to 40 percent. Refugees, returnees and internally displaced persons (IDPs) were entitled to a maximum 75 percent discount. The sum of all the personal discounts each tenant was entitled to could not exceed a total of 75 percent.

The Law moreover introduced several different options for the tenants to pay for their apartments. Purchasing an apartment in cash, for example, would have reduced the final price of the apartment by an additional 30 percent. Tenants were also provided with an opportunity to pay in monthly instalments. Those choosing this option had a maximum payment deadline of twenty years, with 1 percent of additional discount allocated for each year paid in advance. Finally, it was possible to purchase an apartment using 60 percent of frozen savings account funds altogether with 40 percent of cash. Therefore, various personal discounts accompanied by different means of payment made the privatisation quite appealing, providing a wide range of the population with an opportunity to secure their own apartment at low costs.

By the end of 2006, the process of privatisation in the entire entity was almost fully completed. Ownership of over a total 96 percent of dwellings (67,200 apartments) in the entire entity was transferred from the state to individuals (Stevandić 2002). While 17,717[5] out of a total 20,548 apartments in the city of Banja Luka were privatised (Jokić 2011), at least 2300 apartments in Starčevica became individual property. A total of 149,632,169.80 BAM (around 76.7 million EUR) was gained through the privatisation process. The money was transferred to the bank accounts of Fond stanovanja Republike Srpske a.d. Banja Luka (Housing Fund of Republika Srpska, hereafter referred to as "the Fund"), which was established by the entity government with the primary aim of providing citizens in demand of housing –

5 Up to this point, the only official data available are those from 2011. The process is expected to be completed by 30 June 2018, when the remaining 14 percent of the homeowners will pay their last monthly instalments.

families of fallen soldiers, war handicapped veterans, refugees, returnees and IDPs, as well as highly educated newlyweds buying their first-ever apartment – with low-interest loans ranging from 4 to 5 percent. The process of privatisation, however, resulted in a wide range of socio-spatial transformations, producing "more serious negative (social) effects than expected" (Petrović 2005: 10).

The new era: the outcomes of the process of privatisation

Firstly, political elites in all the former Yugoslav countries were convinced that the privatisation of socially owned apartments itself would make all the economic problems go away (Vujadinović 2010). Consequently, former socially owned housing stock was "hurriedly privatised" (Gabriel 2007: 2) without "any strategic thinking" (Vujadinović 2010: 40) being done with regard to prospective housing policy. Unlike former Yugoslavia, where acquisition of dwelling space was the concern of the state, nowadays governments have completely vanished from the housing sector in terms of provision of housing (Hirt 2012; Petrović 2005; Tsenkova 2014). The State of Bosnia and Herzegovina as a whole, for example, is nowadays "almost invisible" (Tsenkova 2014: 96) in the social housing policy. Major responsibilities in this matter, if any, are today "delegated to the entity level and correspondingly to the cantons and municipalities" (Tsenkova 2014: 96). The obligation to settle is nowadays, in principle, transferred exclusively to individuals (Petrović 2005).

Taking into account the fact that the socialist practice of state funding of overall housing construction came to a halt (Gabriel 2007), housing markets in all the countries in the Western Balkans region, including Bosnia and Herzegovina as a whole, simply "tended to informalise" (Gabriel 2007: 2). The vast majority of the urban land was "massively invaded and developed by individual initiative" (Gabriel 2007: 6). It is important to stress, however, that illegal urban development in each of the former Yugoslav countries is related neither to the process of transition nor to privatisation per se. On the contrary, informal housing solutions date back to the socialist period, and hence represent the legacy from former Yugoslavia.[6] However, this practice "went out of control" (Gabriel 2007: 10), completely exploding in the recent history of the successor countries, or, in other words, in the period of transition. Informality is therefore to be understood as an "inevitable response to

6 Since the state proved unable to provide housing for all, individual illegal constructions were widespread and widely tolerated in former Yugoslavia.

social demand" and by far "the only currently feasible solution" (Gabriel 2007: 11) for most of the population in demand of housing.

Local governments in the cities across the Western Balkans region were, generally speaking, completely unprepared for dealing with the consequences of privatisation. This affected cities to a large extent, leaving them to cope with a "set of physical and institutional consequences" (Gabriel 2007: 9), such as, first and foremost, the absence of proper legal instruments, such as rules and regulations related to strategic planning and land management (Gabriel 2007; Hirt 2012). For example, the only valid masterplan of the city of Banja Luka is the one produced in 1975, which is still widely used, despite the fact that it is outdated. Consequently, the new urban development is generally based on the "piecemeal" type of expansion (Leontidou 1993), linked to neither a citywide vision nor a programme (Hirt 2012). On the contrary, it represents modifications of the neighbourhood-scale plans "that could be easily modified without extensive legal wrangling to suit the aspirations of any private developer" (Hirt 2012: 76). In the last decade, Starčevica experienced radical transformation due to both intensive and extensive urban development, or, in other words, the "unleashing dynamic" of private housing construction sector (Gabriel 2007: 9). This massive influx of private investors resulted in the housing sector being predominantly one of private production, rather than consumption (Petrović 2001; Vujadinović 2010).

What makes privatisation extremely important for this study, however, is the fact that it primarily focused "on the wellbeing of the individual" (Keil 2011: 46). As such, the process firstly introduced a new social category – that of homeowners (Dugalić/Šokčević 2007; Keil 2011). Therefore, privatisation clearly marked the end of the era of tenants and, accordingly, imposed a radical shift from the nation of tenants to the nation of the homeowners. The fact that privatisation provided thousands of "recently freed inhabitants, released from the ruthless chains of socialist regulation" (Czepczyński 2008: 150), with an opportunity to "enjoy freedom and full protection in their own property" (Dugalić/Šokčević 2007: 107), is of the greatest significance for this research. Thousands of homeowners were given a chance to finally set free what was within and what was suppressed during the socialism – "personalism, spontaneity, fragmentation" (Hirt 2012: 65). In other words, thousands of individuals were finally able to express their true self and "deviate from the norm" (Hirt 2012: 39). And so they did.

Homeowners embarked on a massive scale in different self-managed processes of modification of apartments, according to their own needs and, more importantly, personal taste. The first changes undertaken by all homeowners were very large-scale replacement of (dilapidated) entrance doors. These were quite minor, yet very perceptible visual conversions. With every single homeowner choosing

a different type of entrance doors according to their personal preferences and taste, the post-privatisation period in its early stage introduced massive infusion of different types of entrance doors, differing in colours, materials and overall appearance. What followed were different processes of rearrangement and reorganisation of apartments.

It is important to stress that the size and the structure of the apartments built in Starčevica were ultimately determined by the financial capabilities of the state enterprises that financed the construction (SIZ BL 1986). Accordingly, it was predominantly two-bedroom apartments that were built, with an estimated 3.6 people inhabiting each single dwelling unit (SIZ BL 1986). According to the Yugoslav classification of housing, the aforementioned two-bedroom apartment, in fact, consisted of a living room, "where a bed is also foreseen" (Giofrè/Miletić 2012: 66), followed by a regular bedroom. As a result, in the past, a certain number of tenants were, without doubt, provided with an apartment that could not possibly meet their families' demands.[7]

Thus, modification of apartments was first and foremost a necessary action for some homeowners. When taking on this process, they primarily aimed to solve the actual needs of their (growing) households, and hence to gain some additional living space. In order to solve this kind of problem, most homeowners opted for the easiest, fastest and cheapest solution – i.e. converting an existing balcony or a terrace into an additional room (see Figure 1). On the other hand, those homeowners who had enough money to do so embarked on more complicated (and, obviously, more expensive) processes of rearrangement and reorganisation of their apartments,[8] by first and foremost demolishing interior party walls. The most radical forms of self-managed modifications of apartments for the purpose of gaining additional living space included different means of illegal appropriation of common spaces, such as courtyards, corridors, building entrances etc. (see Figure 2 and Figure 3), where a variety of permanent structures were built solely for the purpose of "personal use and private profit" (Hirt 2012).

These do-it-yourself spatial practices spread rapidly, resulting in something of an epidemic (Galster 2001; Hirt 2012) and provoking a specific kind of behaviour that may be understood as "the contagion model" (Galster 2001: 2119):

7 Due to the constant gap between housing demand and supply, architects were struggling "to identify minimum standards" in order "to ensure the same housing conditions to all members of society", hence "the needs, habits and preferences of the potential user groups were not considered" (Giofrè/Miletić 2012: 66).

8 In most cases, this type of alterations was not done solely for the purpose of obtaining additional space. Rather, they were the result of the changes made in the name of personal lifestyle and/or personal aesthetic preferences.

"…if decision-makers live in a community where some of their neighbours exhibit non-normative behaviours, they will be more likely to adopt these behaviours themselves" (Galster 2001: 2119).

Fig. 1

An example of "statutory secession": conversion of balconies was the most common act of modification of apartments undertaken by homeowners. Photo by the author

Moreover, due to "fairly spontaneous understanding of freedom on both personal and institutional levels" and personal taste adopted as "a significant landscape management canon" (Czepczyński 2008: 150), self-managed conversion of balconies and/or terraces de facto changed the original appearance of a building, hence vio-

lating the core principles of the original building design.[9] Therefore, these practices represent a violation of the local Legislation on Internal Regulations in Apartment Buildings (Skupština Grada Banja Luka 2005).

The widespread homeowner-managed modifications of apartments are to be understood as the new type of informality – i.e. "spatial secessions" (Hirt 2012). These stand for the acts of "the post-socialist re-commoditization of space" and are primarily characterised by the "overwhelming feeling of disorder" (Hirt 2012: 46) and often "accompanied by the physical enclosure of the newly acquired land" (Hirt 2012: 49) (see Figure 2). It is, however, necessary to make a distinction between converted balconies and appropriated common spaces. Firstly, thousands of converted balconies and/or terraces are to be understood as a specific type of spatial secessions – i.e. "statutory secession" (Hirt 2012). The latter represents "the widespread process of violating public planning and building statutes" (Hirt 2012: 50) and goes hand in hand with the paradigmatic shift in the ownership pattern (see Figure 1).

Fig. 2 Roof of building entrance appropriated for the purpose of construction of a personal terrace (left); for the purpose of gaining additional personal living space, homeowner-occupied and physically enclosed common space in the building (right). Photo by the author.

9 Alterations limited to interior space only were never considered a violation of any legislation.

Acts of illegal appropriation of former common space are, on the other hand, to be understood as a phenomenon of "spatial seizures" (Hirt 2012), or, in other words, "the wilful act of disjoining, disassociating, or carving space for oneself from the urban commons" (Hirt 2012: 49) (see Figure 3).

Fig. 3

An example of spatial seizure. The homeowner illegally appropriated one of two building entrances and used it for the purpose of gaining additional personal living space; for the same purpose, the homeowner walled up a balcony. Photo by the author.

The role of condominiums and their contribution in the emergence of the new informality is quite minor. Individual acts by homeowners prevail in that sense. The most common alterations undertaken by condominiums were, for example, those made for the purposes of security, such as the installation of intercoms and replacement of building entrance doors. These changes indeed altered the original visual identity of a building to a certain extent, but it is not clear whether acts of

this kind are considered a violation of any legislation. Large-scale investments, such as repair of roofs and renewal of facades, have to date been quite rare, since they primarily depend upon the financial capacities of a condominium (or, in other words, the homeowners). However, due to misinformation and/or the lack of expertise, specific examples of condominium-led projects of renewal of facades failed to maintain the original appearance of the building and violated core principles of its original design. Therefore, they are without doubt to be considered another example of spatial secessions (see Figure 4).

Fig. 4

An example of spatial secession. Renewal of one part of the façade failed to maintain the original appearance of the building. At the same time, the process revealed the financial incapability of a homeowner who was not able to keep up with the maintenance costs (bottom right), giving a hint as to *who is who* in the nation of homeowners today. Photo by the author.

Fig. 5 Self-created staircase leading directly from the ground floor apartment to the common courtyard. The case of Starčevica tells a story about the post-socialist cities as a product of "the spread of cultural values of 'an almost unrestrained personalism and privatism'" (Hirt, 2012: 78). Photo by the author.

Towards a conclusion: why do converted balconies matter?

Privatisation-triggered practices in Starčevica resulted in various types of informal spatial configurations. These vary from different unauthorised physical or functional remodelling of the buildings to "self-styled building additions and renovations" (Hirt 2012: 58) (see Figure 5). These altogether undoubtedly brought "the visual uniformity and commonality" (Hirt 2012: 47) of the socialist system to an end. Furthermore, they serve as evidence that the post-privatisation built environment is characterised by a "wide plurality of styles – perhaps a vibrant plurality – but also one that creates aesthetic conflicts" (Hirt 2006: 480) (see Figure 5). One may even further contemplate these new spatial configurations and assign them different labels, such as that of "aesthetic deficiencies" (Hirt 2012: 100). However, what one needs to remember about homeowners' privatisation-triggered spatial practices is

that they are first and foremost related to the concept of "newly gained personal freedom" (Czepczyński 2008).

The anarchy-driven spatial practices discussed here represent both the result of the lack of the homeowners' affiliation with the rights, duties and obligations prescribed by law in the post-privatisation era and examples of complete ignorance. This therefore illustrates that this new kind of informality is not to be labelled as "linear" – on the contrary, "it can follow conscious choices by individuals and societies" (Leontidou 1993: 962). In that sense, privatisation-triggered informal spatial practices represent a consequence of "a particular mass mindset" – that which "pursues the perpetual decomposition of urban commonality not only with impunity but also without regrets" (Hirt, 2012: 56). Extreme examples of "spatial seizures" (Hirt 2012), for example, represent an embodiment of a specific mind-set and a widespread belief that "my land is my castle, and now only I decide what my landscape will look like" (Czepczynski 2008: 150) (see Figure 3).

It is necessary to stress that, depending on their financial capabilities, different categories of homeowners used different materials when modifying their apartments. Thus, converted balconies and terraces can, to some extent, give a hint about "poor, unemployed, unsuccessful" or simply called "project-less" individuals (Czepczyński 2008: 178). Therefore I argue that these types of conversions may indicate *who is who* in the nation of homeowners today. Furthermore, converted balconies and terraces may be understood as a visual manifestation of the recent trend – i.e. "a newly sharpened focus on the individual, the family, the home, the small, the secure, and the interior, in opposition to a public world" (Hirt 2012: 55). They may also be interpreted as examples of "growing social atomization" and "loneliness in the city" (Czepczyński 2008: 164). I argue that, as such, to a certain extent they may also represent the embodiment of the shift from the socialist practice of living together to the post-privatisation tendency of living alone.

The self-managed informal acts of modification of apartments undoubtedly resulted in an "overwhelming feeling of disorder" (Hirt 2012: 46), with illegality so deeply embedded that it "attained such an air of banality and ordinariness" (Hirt 2012: 56). These practices are overlooked and mainly go unnoticed, since the local governments, which used to be "merely units subordinated to the state administration during the socialist era", nowadays lack "sufficient institutional capacity, knowledge and funds" (Petrović 2005: 8) to deal with these complex changes. Hence the thousands of converted balconies tell a story about "'the quiet revolution' of decentralisation and the devolution of power and responsibility to local governments", which "significantly affects the performance of post-socialist cities" (Tsenkova 2006: 23). Converted balconies and occupied former spaces, which are so widespread and widely tolerated that "one might even hesitate to call them

illegal" (Petrović, 2005: 18), bear witness that the chaos and anarchy represent something of a new social norm and, moreover, way of life. To what extent is it true that the privatisation-gained freedom of making choices "deprives societies of the possibility of common acting for the common good" (Czepczyński, 2008: 153)?

Final thoughts and concluding remarks

This study described the relationship established between a specific socio-political context, in particular, the post-socialist process of transition, and the practices of homeowners in the neighbourhood of Starčevica in Banja Luka, Bosnia and Herzegovina. Focusing on the impact of the process of privatisation of socially owned apartments, the chapter's objective was to tell a story about "the particularities of place" (Grubbauer 2012: 42) by describing the outcomes of the very process – previously never addressed routines, to begin with, as well as newly emerged spatial configurations. The study did not seek to offer solutions to urban problems. On the contrary, it aimed to point out that privatisation-triggered illegal practices of homeowners are not *just another urban problem*.

At the initial stage of my research, I often heard that what one does with one's personal living space should never be an issue. Why would these practices represent a problem, after all? Why should anyone bother? Why would these practices be of any interest?

In order to properly define the post-privatisation spatial practices and their final outcomes, I initially coined the phrase "new residential landscapes". These were first and foremost supposed to be perceived mainly as *the visual outcome* of the process of privatisation. However, after I approached different people and interviewed various families, it was obvious that there was more to the story than meets the eye. In my research, for example, I came across certain examples of condominium-led projects of renewal of facades, where, behind all the new layers of Styrofoam and colour, I discovered that the dark secret of social exclusion was hidden. In other words, I came across families who were, still with no precise idea why exactly, simply never approached and asked to participate in a condominium-led project of obvious common interest.

Who gets to decide to exclude the other? Who are those who decide? Who are those who believe they are entitled to make a decision on behalf of the other? To what extent is it true that the privatisation-gained freedom of making choices "deprives societies of the possibility of common acting for the common good" (Czepczyński 2008, p. 153)?

"The new residential landscapes" are without any doubt not only the visual outcome of the process of privatisation. Despite the fact that the converted balconies and appropriated common spaces indeed illustrate that the "aesthetic integrity of the street is in danger of becoming a victim of aggressive individualism" (Hirt 2006: 481), they are first and foremost to be understood as something of a mirror where one may observe and reflect how a specific socio-spatial process unfolds. This is where one is provided with "greater awareness of the divergent ways in which transition is lived, experienced and interpreted" (Hörschelmann/Stenning 2008: 345). All of those converted balconies tell a story about who we genuinely are. What do we want? What do we need? How do we behave and where are we going? All of those appropriated spaces teach us a lesson about the society we live in today.

Observing what one does with one's personal living space, *reading and interpreting* practices of that kind, is where and when one may recognise and witness the new social order. This is where one may reflect to what extent we, as a society, have most of all experienced some sort of personal transition "from a society projected towards the values of solidarity of local communities to a society focused on individual hedonism and evident manifestations of social Darwinism" (Giofrè/Miletić 2012: 61). This is how "other things could be learned by reflecting on other places" (Massey 2005: 161). All of those converted balconies and appropriated common spaces are far beyond visual. They are the social process themselves, and, as such, demand immediate research attention.

Balconies *do* matter.

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Urban Gardening between Agency and Structure

The Potential for a New Form of Social Activism to Inspire Bottom-up Processes of City Making

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"The question of what kind of city we want cannot be divorced from that of what kind of social ties, relationship to nature, lifestyles, technologies and aesthetic values we desire. The right to the city is far more than the individual liberty to access urban resources: it is a right to change ourselves by changing the city."

(Harvey 2008: 23)

Introduction

This article examines the potential of urban gardening projects to provoke processes of city making from below. In the context of bottom-up city making, urban community garden projects might play an important role because of their potential to inspire participatory approaches to city development. Furthermore, this specific type of city making seems to be linked to an alternative understanding of city development based on ecological and social factors.

This article is structured as follows: first, it explains the meaning of the term "urban gardening". Considering that urban gardening is an umbrella term, the phenomenon itself and the specific manifestations examined in this article have to be elaborated. In connection to this, a presentation of the political claims of the movement and the special character of this form of social activism is presented. Following this, some results of scientific studies as well as some empirical data collected in an exploratory study in 2015 are laid out. The exploratory study is one part of a dissertation project which focuses on urban community gardens in Germany and their potential to serve as a transmitter for social change. Both the scientific studies as well as the data from the exploratory study will illustrate the

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conflicts that arise between urban gardening projects and city planners and are directly linked to the question of the potential of urban community gardens to inspire bottom-up city-making processes.

What is urban gardening?

Urban gardening is a relative new phenomenon in Europe, which has emerged significantly in the last fifteen years. Beginning with the community gardens in North America, more and more garden projects have evolved in large European cities. In Germany, interest in such projects is increasing steadily. Urban gardening therefore functions as an umbrella term: it comprises permanent urban gardening practices as well as irregular practices like guerrilla gardening (Lohrberg 2012; Müller 2012).

The phenomenon is therefore characterised by a high diversity and dynamic, and as a result there is no clear definition. Nevertheless, a very broad definition of urban community gardens is given by Marit Rosol:

"The gardens are urban open spaces created by users according to their own needs and ideas, and functionally different from traditional parks. Residents are not only the dicision-makers of how to use an empty lot, but also responsible for the creation and maintenance of the open green space." (Rosol 2011: 240)

However, the field is very innovative and dynamic. Steady alternation and progress is the normal agenda, and thus it is hardly possible to identify any general characteristics of urban community garden projects. They differ in their size, their form of financing and their organisational structures. Nevertheless, it is necessary to point out some aspects which are important for the following discussion.

As declared in the definition: urban community gardens are mostly initiated by civil society actors or neighbourhood initiatives. They are most commonly located in the brownfields of the city, so that previously idle places are transformed into useful spaces in which various local actors can function. According to the literature about the phenomenon, most gardeners aim to meet local needs for urban green, so that every citizen gets access to green areas in the city. Christa Müller (2015) explains that urban gardening is a very specific form of space appropriation which demands the renaturation of the city.[2] Furthermore, the gardeners try to create space for political and ecological discussions, and in relation with this they try to

2 The term "renaturation of the city" merely means that urban gardening often goes hand in hand with demands for more green spaces in the city.

draw attention to the deficiencies of local urban planning and development, which links the gardens to themes like social inequality, integration and gentrification.

But why should one say that urban gardening is a political practice that generates bottom-up processes of city making? The next section examines the political claims and the specific form of social activism that the participants of urban community gardens pursue.

Urban gardening – political claims and the specific form of social activism

Many papers about "urban gardening" point to the movement's interest in the public space and the demand for participatory approaches in dealing with it (Müller 2014; Scheve 2014; Krop. 2012; Rosol 2006). "Urban gardening" is about a local search for space – space which is open for social exchange, testing new forms of the city apart from routines and traditions (Lange 2013). The gardeners do not only criticise the utilisation of public space according to economic principles. They also try to negotiate the understanding of urbanism, to the end that new conceptions of the city arise which focus upon social as well as environmental needs (Brückner 2012).

In this context, the urban community garden appears as a kind of intervention in the urban space which is based on a creative form of local self-organisation. The gardeners and their community garden projects generate public attention through small, less expansive activities which irritate because of their unusual appearance. By creating these new types of green spaces, the gardeners leave marks (Baier et al. 2011: 81).

In this context, the removal of the "Rosa Rose" urban community garden is a good example of a specific form of staging. In 2009 this garden was taken away from its piece of land in Berlin due to a building project. Karin Werner (2012) reports that the removal was staged as a spectacle because the gardeners transported their plants in colourful, self-constructed cargo bicycles across the streets of Berlin. But instead of staging a noisy protest, the gardeners moved silently, becoming a kind of hybrid entity which constitutes a special kind of symbolic politics. Bicycles, plants and people – the result was something more than the sum of its parts, and because of this the removal stands out in the memory:

Fig. 1 Bicycles, plants and people. Source: http://anstiftung.de/do-it-yourself-lexikon/105-diy-lexikon/1162-gartenumzug (retrieved: 4 December 2015)[3]

For the purpose of evoking civic engagement and the attraction as well as integration of different local actors, the gardeners try to generate spatial identities (Krop. 2012). In this context, the garden functions as an alternative to the dominant capitalist order, because it combines what had been separated: production and consumption, urban and rural, nature and culture, and sometimes animals and humans (Motakef/Münter 2013). On these grounds, community gardens might become a place of social change.[4]

Therefore, urban gardening can be understood as a form of symbolic politics. In accordance with this, Claire Nettle's study *Community Gardening as Social Action* (2014) shows under which conditions urban gardening can be described as an alternative form of political activism and how the actors try to contribute to social change. Nettle undertook an ethnographic study in three central community garden organisations and 60 community garden projects in Australia, which included

3 The photograph was shot by Susanne Quehenberger. For further information, see also: http://www.rosarose-garten.net/.

4 The word "might" is used on purpose. Studies have shown that the potential of an urban community garden can only exploited under specific circumstances. For further information, see Firth et al. 2011; Manhood et al. 2011; Turner 2011.

ethnographic observations as well as semi-structured interviews. In contrast to those studies which focus solely on the positive effects of the initiatives, she pursues a different goal with her work:

> "While my research may be of limited utility to community gardeners in terms of securing funding or gaining support from local authorities, I hope it contributes to a richer and more complete picture of the scope of community gardeners' impacts and ambitions." (Nettle 2014: 198)

Nettle explains that urban gardening is not only about gardening itself, but rather a starting point for many activities with a social, ecological or political claim. She states that "[…] community gardening is a way of acting with others to do 'something positive' towards environmental and social goals. It is a way of enacting social change" (Nettle 2014: 17). And because of this observation, the declaration that urban gardening is only a reaction to the problems of contemporary society has to be rejected, because the phenomenon must be understood in terms of a social movement. If the latter is defined by intentional and collective action for the purpose of social change, urban gardening has to be included, too.

> "In some ways, the match between community gardening and social movement is clear: the Australian community gardening movement is composed of fluid networks of interaction among individuals, gardens, and other groups and organisations, and has connections with wider social movement networks, including environmental and social justice groups. Members of the movement see themselves as acting in solidarity with each other and as having shared beliefs, analyses and ways of doing things." (Nettle 2014: 51)

In contrast to other social movements, however, the political activism of urban gardeners is peculiar because it does not appear in the form of a large and noisy protest. This leads to the necessity to think about the definition of politics:

> "Within this dualistic framework [cultural vs. political], strategies aside from protest are frequently understood as 'lifestyle' or 'consumer' practices, even when they are the result of collective action." (Nettle 2014: 67)

If "urban gardening" should be understood as political activism, every sort of practice directed at the change of social order has to be integrated in the definition of politics.[5] Thereby the political action of the gardeners is based on prefiguration,

5 It is important to mention that the theoretical reflections of Claire Nettle about the possibilities of declaring urban gardening as a form of political activism are more

which gives rise to the description as constructive or positive social activism. "Urban gardening" is not about large protests against political institutions and decision makers; it is about the implementation of practical examples on a micro-scale level.

> "Through the gardens they create, community garden activists develop understandings, construct knowledge, frame issues, communicate with wider audiences, challenge perceptions and make political claims. As pedagogic displays, community garden sites demonstrate the ways that global issues such as food security, climate change and the commodification of urban space intersect with everyday life. They present tangible examples of the possibility of things being otherwise. These gardening practices also make practical contributions to addressing issues of food security and food sovereignty at a local level." (Nettle 2014: 199)

These theoretical reflections show that urban gardening is a special form of political activism which includes several topics related to city development. The following section illustrates the conflicts that arise between urban gardening projects and city planning as well as the structural conditions of the city. The focus is therefore on the consequences for the gardeners and their ability to maintain their gardens, to face local needs and to address political, social and ecological issues. Furthermore, these aspects are directly linked to the question of the potential of urban community gardens: do they initiate processes of bottom-up city making?

Bottom-up city making?

In the last twenty years, city planning has faced divergent challenges which have caused a rising need for multidisciplinary approaches. Often summarised as "urban agriculture", the different manifestations of urban gardening projects have been awarded as important venues for environmentally friendly and sustainable city development because they contribute to a hybrid cityscape which includes urban as well as agricultural structures (Brückner 2012: 196). Especially urban community gardens became renowned for their potential to promote a socially inclusive urban development because they are very capable of evoking civic engagement (Krummacher 2003; Bläser et al. 2012).

complex than this short presentation shows. She defines specific characteristics which make cultural actions into political actions. For further information, see: Nettle 2014: 47ff.

> "Developing community garden programs can be a great way for municipal government to engage citizens in addressing the social problems in their neighbourhood. Community gardens can bring tangible, immediate benefits to virtually every resident of a local community, including beautifying trash-filled lots, eliminating gangs and drug sellers from formerly empty lot, and eradicating vermin from abandoned lots. They also furnish a designated local space for community health and wellness programs, fresh produce to eat, and a forum for constructive after-school activities. The list goes on." (Hartsfield/Henderson 2008: 13)

In this context, it is important to mention that the advantageous potential of community garden projects can only be realised if specific factors are fulfilled. First, it is very important that the garden projects suit the needs of the civil society. Second, urban community garden initiatives must fit the central goals of the city planners, because "urban gardening" as well as civic engagement are very susceptible to urban political decision making. Political support is therefore essential for the projects to realise their whole potential (von der Haide 2014).[6]

The third factor is information exchange between the municipality and the gardeners, which is very much dependent on general appreciation. Another factor which cannot be underestimated is the available space in the city, which should be promised to the gardeners for at least five years to run a project successfully.[7]

In relation to this, some scientific studies point out that urban community gardens often play an important role in public green management. For example, in Berlin the preservation of the public green space is not possible without the engagement of civil society actors, because only 38 percent of the financial requirements are covered (Rosol 2011). In this context, we should mention that studies show that the inclusion of civil society actors is only successful under special conditions, and that most commonly it is not a long-term solution of a mistaken financial calculation:

> "In sum, the interviewed local politicians and administrators hope for more engagement of citizens in the maintenance of urban greenery. But they also recognize that their hope for long-term commitment of volunteers to maintain the existing green spaces of the borough independently from administrative support cannot be realized currently. The projects where residents maintain small new green spaces or the occasional Volunteers Days might fulfil other hopes – like the beautification of the

6 In this context some scientists point out that there is a need for monitoring systems that are able to quantify the positive effects of urban community (Beilin & Hunter 2011; Turner et al. 2011).

7 For further information, see the study "Is Getting into the Community Garden Business a Good Way to Engage Citizens in Local Government?", by Kimberly Hartsfield and Bethany R. Henderson (2008).

> neighbourhood, community building and preventing illegal dumps. But they fail to reduce costs for green space maintenance by the parks department." (Rosol 2011: 246)

On the one hand, this intensifies the appreciation of urban gardening projects, but on the other it also leads to specific problems because in the majority of cases the motivation to integrate urban community gardens in the city development is mostly caused by financial reflections, so that the requirements of the projects are often not regarded. Additionally, most urban gardening projects retain an insecure legal status because they are not integrated in the city development strategies (von der Haide 2014; Dams 2012). As a result, they are often threatened by building projects which are more profitable for the municipalities.[8] This shows that concerns about the relevance of community garden projects remain (Bläser et al. 2012).

Nevertheless, urban gardening projects seem to have the potential to bring about sustainable urbanism, which is very important, especially at a time of climate change. On the one hand, it is shown that community gardens might function as practical models for a sustainable city development which integrates local needs (Holland 2004). On the other hand, they improve the ecological situation of cities (Heather 2000). So the studies show that urban gardening features many advantages for city planners, but that actually concrete integration of urban gardening into the city development does not take place. The problems which come along with this are thematised in many interviews in an explorative study carried out in 2015 in Germany.[9] The following paragraphs will present some recurring aspects of the discussion.

One of the main problems is related to public funding. In many cases this is only granted if community gardens are publicly accessible at all times. No fence or other limitations are allowed, and gardeners therefore have no possibility to prevent vandalism, soiling and theft. In those gardens that are publicly funded,

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8 The importance of an integration in planned urban development for urban community gardens cannot be underestimated, as the study "Incommensurability, Land Use, and the Right to Space: Community Gardens in New York City" by Karen Schmelzkopf (2002) impressively shows.

9 The exploration is one part of my work for my doctoral thesis. It is based on a methodical mix of ethnographic observation and semi-structured interviews. Altogether the study encompasses six community gardens which can be contrasted in size as well as organisational and financial forms. The gardens are located in various cities in Germany. Overall the study contains 14 interviews – five of them group interviews. All interviews were completely transcribed, and then openly coded. It is important to note that a generalisation is neither desired nor possible, so the following statements are just examples to indicate the problems which arise between city planners and urban community garden projects. The original language of the interviews is German.

the people told me that vandalism and stealing are frustrating problems – not only because they destroy their work but also because they undermine their own ideal of a socially inclusive space in the city.

> *"It is really frustrating. The spirit and purpose of the garden is that it is publicly accessible. Everybody should be allowed to come and see what we are doing here. And we hoped that it was common sense that nobody would destroy this. But well, it seems as if some people do not get it."*

Sometimes dealing with these conflicting priorities is somehow creative. For example, the people try to establish fences which do not appear as such. Or they plant a network of willow trees that functions as a symbolic boundary.

Another issue which shows the importance of successful cooperation of political decision makers and garden activists is the facilitation as well as the disruption of bottom-up mechanisms. In general, social movements or subcultural elements, in addition to the engagement of individuals or groups, need an atmosphere of being deliberated and specific structural conditions to become effective (Brückner 2012). In the case of community gardens, city planners and political decision makers regulate the space appropriation by community gardens in a legal way. A special issue in this context is the legal grey area in which many community gardens remain located. Mostly they just have a temporary right of residence, because they are not integrated in urban development measures. This degradation as intermediate users of space which has not so far been economically usable for the city planners is very problematic for the garden activists. They told me that they often think about it when they are planning to build something, and that the attempt to remain mobile leads to the problem that the claim of a circular economy cannot be invented. One interviewee explains:

> *"The garden is very important for us, but for those who have the power to decide what happens to the space, it isn't. For sure, city planners want to support urban gardening projects, but more as intermediate usages of the space – really just intermediate, not long-term."*

In relation to this, economic factors play an important role which subverts social and ecological claims.

> *"It is always a problem for the city planners if you use the space unprofitably."*

Unfortunately, this is a clear contrast to bottom-up development and the potential for city making from below, because the gardeners' fear of removal hinders them from developing the garden and further social or ecological projects related to the garden. Nevertheless, some gardeners try to convince city planners:

> *"We told them [the city planners] that they have to be grateful that we started the community garden because it benefits the city's image. […] I think gradually they understand this, although they remain distrustful and try to regulate us. But as a start it is important that they see the positive effects and that they understand the importance of the project."*

The person continues with a description of the special character of the community gardens:

> *"In the garden you can do many things without paying for it. I think this is very important for a city – participating in public space without consumption. Where do you find something like this?"*

The garden activists show an alternative and socially inclusive form of city development not based on consumption, in which unprivileged people can also participate. Drawing on the explanations that urban gardening is a constructive form of political activism, it has to be pointed out that urban community gardens are not only models for sustainable city development – like those shown in some of the studies mentioned earlier. Urban community gardens are also models for a social city making which comes from below. Up to this point, one can see that urban community gardens are located between agency and structure, because on the one hand they do have the potential for bottom-up city-making processes. On the other hand, city planners and urban development measures constitute obstacles in realising this potential.

In this context, another topic has to be mentioned: the question of gentrification.[10] In most cases, urban community gardens are located on brownfields. This open space is mostly found in deprived urban areas, so many projects are initiated there. The problem which is pointed out in some studies is that the initiation of community gardens goes hand in hand with an appreciation of the city district, and furthermore with gentrification. As a result, the positive effects of the community garden change to their opposite – the influx of privileged people eliminate the

10 Gentrification is conceived as a fundamental transformation of building and population structures in a district (Geschke 2013).

unprivileged, investors' involvement leads to an increase in rents, and open space becomes sparse, so that the value of land escalates (Baier 2012). In the end, the movements' calls for integrating socially deprived people might not be fulfilled.

> *"It is a great problem that the community garden might lead to processes of gentrification, although everybody refuses it."*

Again, the discussion leads to reflections on responsibilities. Gentrification is a process which is strengthened by multiple factors, so community garden projects are only one aspect. The municipalities are in great demand to cooperate with civil society actors to counteract the processes of gentrification.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the article has shown that urban community gardens do have the potential for bottom-up city making, which might function as a practical model for a socially inclusive as well as sustainable city development. The garden activists try to show the social and ecological potentials of urban space usage based neither on profit seeking nor on consumption. They thereby also demonstrate the right to the city for everybody and show that city making from below is a good possibility for dealing with the requirements of a sustainable city development mainly based on civic engagement, i.e. local needs are inbuilt. Because of this, in urban community garden projects the participation does not rest upon the availability of economic capital, but it is rather the result of interests and needs.[11] In this manner, the participants of the community garden projects act experimentally on the city space, which leads to the potential for unplanned results that nobody is able to anticipate beforehand.

At first, this potential for unplanned results does not sound that promising. However, considering the theory of automatisms developed at the graduate school of the same name at the University of Paderborn, it becomes clear that many processes of societal development are based on the unplanned emergence of social structures (Bierwirth 2010; Bublitz et al. 2010b). Such processes are observable when many actors are behaving independently and in a distributed fashion, but repeatedly in the same way, so that the behaviour becomes manifested into structures – first on

11 Note that this circumstance might lead to short-term commitment of the citizens. For further information, see also Rosol 2011.

an individual scale, but later on also on a collective one. Clearly neither intention nor planning is the origin of such structures (Bublitz et al. 2010a).[12]

But what is special about unplanned structural emergence? It is the potential for something new – something which is not foreseeable.[13] With this in mind, the effects of urban community gardens might not only be diverse, but also unpredictable, so that positive as well as negative outcomes are possible. Considering that community garden projects try to function as a practical model for socially inclusive and sustainable city development, it seems obvious to expect favourable results.

Nevertheless, it becomes clear that the garden projects are confronted with various problems which should be mentioned as well. First, the article shows that urban community gardens remain embedded in social structures which do always have a strong impact on them. Although the projects are constituted as alternative spaces, which appear virtually as heterotopias in the city, this should not hide the fact that they are never entirely autonomous.[14] Examples are not only the declaration as intermediate users of the space by city planners, but also the fact that the garden activists are confronted with demands that do not fit into an alternative city development. It is therefore evident that in most cases they have to deal with economic claims and often rely on public funding, which is mostly bound to specific restrictions, leading to further problems on their part.

But the interdependence between the urban community garden projects and their social, political and architectural environment is not only a problem for the garden activists themselves. The line of thought also works in reverse, as shown distinctly by the topic of gentrification. This negative effect of urban community is a large problem to them, because it is directly the opposite of their targets. Furthermore, it shows the importance of considering the unplanned consequences of action, as well as the planned ones.

Considering all these aspects, the importance of a cooperative relationship between the garden activists and the municipalities becomes very clear – not only making use of the positive effects of urban community gardens, but to prevent the negative aspects too.

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12 For further information about the automatism approach, see also: Conradi 2014; Conradi et al. 2011; Leistert et al. 2010; Winkler et al. 2010.

13 In this context a question that arises is what is meant by the word "something"? "Something" includes (inter)actional patterns as well as social structures in the sense of institutions. In this sense it indicates the theoretical idea that automatisms can be found at the individual as well as the collective level of social life.

14 Heterotopia is considered in the sense as defined by Michel Foucault (1992).

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The Pop Up City in a Time of Crisis

Experimental Strategies for Rebuilding Detroit

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Introduction

'This is the story of what happens when a great American city goes broke'
Nathan Bomey (2016)

At 4:06pm on 18 July 2013, the city of Detroit, Michigan declared itself $18 billion in debt, filing for the largest ever municipal bankruptcy filing in United States history. Democracy was temporarily suspended, an emergency manager was put in place, and negotiations began in order to restructure the city's finances and government organisation. The city however was not only broke; in the words of Judge Steven Rhodes, it was also in 'service delivery insolvency' (Eide 2016), nearly half of the property owners had stopped paying their tax bills and a large portion of the city's water accounts were delinquent (ibid.). This meant that Detroit suffered a dramatic decline in capital, resulting in the city being unable to provide basic municipal services to many of its residents – public parks were not being maintained, the response times of the police and fire departments were unacceptably long, street lights were scarce, the public transportation system was inadequate to service the needs of its residents, and properties all over the city were abandoned and blighted by neglect. The city was in the middle of a financial and urban crisis brought on by decades of disinvestment and cumulated debt.

Within eighteen months the bankruptcy case was settled, but the consequences of this urban crisis still permeated the city's fabric, resulting in widespread vacancy, emptiness, abandonment and ruin. However, built into this emptiness was a sense of opportunity, provoked by the notion of corrective urbanisms that are designed to fix, solve or improve a city in decline (Herscher 2012). The city has become

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somewhat of an urban laboratory where citizens themselves are engaging with the cityscape through small scale and in some cases, unorthodox, interventions as a way to bring order to chaos. This chapter explores how pop ups in Detroit, Michigan contribute to a new understanding of city building processes. In Detroit, where the city government has long struggled to provide municipal services to maintain the physical fabric, pop ups have become a way to not only address the issue of vacant land, but also as a way combat negative social issues. In doing so, they expose a reimagining of urban space.

The Pop Up City

'Pop-up' has become a ubiquitous expression describing a wider trend of temporary urban practices (Harris 2015), including DIY urbanism (Iveson 2013; Kinder 2016), tactical urbanism (Mould 2014), insurgent place making (Merker 2010) and guerrilla urbanism (Hou 2010) among others. There is no clear definition of what constitutes a pop-up or a pop-up city, nor is the academic scholarship on the topic well advanced. Perhaps this is somewhat reflective of the ambiguous nature of the concept as a whole, that it can exist simultaneously as a noun and a verb (a pop-up/to pop-up), signifying urban forms that are at once entities and processes (Harris 2015). Though the interpretation of pop-ups differs depending on context, here I will adopt the understanding of pop-ups as a single informal intervention usually attached to or associated with a physical structure or specific place. The most common use of the term pop-up typically describes temporary commercial and retail spaces. Examples include the BoxPark in London Shoreditch, the pop-up food market at UrbanSpace in New York City's Midtown neighbourhood and the No Man's Art Gallery based Amsterdam but with rotating pop-ups galleries in different countries. In recent years, pop-ups have become a way to revitalize and reinvigorate distressed urban neighbourhoods suggesting alternative futures and raising provocative questions about public, private and citizen ownership and control (Ashley/Mondada 2014). Although this behaviour appears a recent trend, this idea of do-it-yourself urbanism has existed for most of the twentieth century. In an American context, where cities were growing and shrinking continuously due to the rapid growth and decline of modern industrial metropolises, there has always existed the need to adjust to these shifts seeking communal solutions to common problems (Shane 2016).

Today, pop–ups of these types typically emerge in ambiguous spaces described as the 'in-between' areas of existing urban order (Hou 2010; Brighenti 2013) or 'gray

spaces', places that are neither integrated nor eliminated from the urban region, existing partially beyond the gaze of state authorities and city plans (Yiftachel 2009: 243). Pop-ups create new visions for places, re-activating them with alternative uses. Pop-ups become 'envisaged as spaces of alterity, disrupting both the rhythms and aesthetics of city spaces by repurposing sites temporarily…' (Harris 2015: 596). Pop ups as interstitial spaces, 'can then be understood as sites that exist within the margins of dominant distributions of space but are also instrumental in defining, debating and policing those distributions. Pop-ups can challenge ideas about who and what city space-times are for' (ibid., 598). Whereas the idea of having an informal urban system is widespread in developing cities, many do not typically associate this type of urbanism as taking place within the United States (Mukhija/Loukaitou Sideris 2014: 3). However, 'informal activities have proliferated in U.S. cities and are clearly reflected in their built environment' (ibid). Informal urbanism in the form of pop-up interventions and the physical setting that they occupy has 'become an increasingly visible and relevant part of the city for a number of social groups' (ibid.). The rise in these types of informalities can be attributed to a variety of conditions: globalisation, deregulation, an increase in immigration flows, economic instability, a rise in unemployment and the 'inadequacy of existing regulations to address the complexity and heterogeneity of contemporary multicultural living' (ibid.). In a city like Detroit, where disinvestment has left much of the landscape abandoned, pop-ups have the capacity to reanimate 'urban spaces which would otherwise lie dormant, helping temporary projects that benefit communities to get off the ground' (Harris/Nowicki 2015).

These often-low-cost quick interventions transform space without heavy capital investment and in a relatively short period of time. Unlike traditional master plans and long-term strategies for development that take extended periods of time and resources to cultivate and implement, pop-ups allow for quick urban intercessions that foster the initiatives for incremental change (Bishop/Williams 2012). In a world where flexibility has replaced solidity as the ideal social condition to be pursued (Bauman 2000), we must demand a new approach to planning that is flexible and able to incorporate and embrace temporary uses (Bishop/Williams 2012). Pop-ups can become a powerful tool in addressing the immediate needs of cities as they have the advantage of being community-focused initiatives with realistic goals (Berg 2012). In the case of Detroit, where very basic needs such as adequate food, housing, education and a safe physical environment have been neglected as a result of decades of disinvestment, pop-ups have proven successful in providing immediate short-term relief.

A Landscape of Disinvestment

The city of Detroit is located in the Midwest region of the United States, bounded by the Great Lakes and shares a border with Canada. It is roughly 140 square miles (370 square kilometres) with a current population of about 677,116 people (US Census Data). Detroit's downtown core, known as the central business district, begins on the Detroit River's edge and extends north following Woodward Avenue to Grand Boulevard (Figure 1). It is made up of a diverse mix of commercial and retail buildings, residences, and sporting venues. This area makes up about 7.2 square miles out of Detroit's 140. The rest of the city is comprised of residential neighbourhoods.

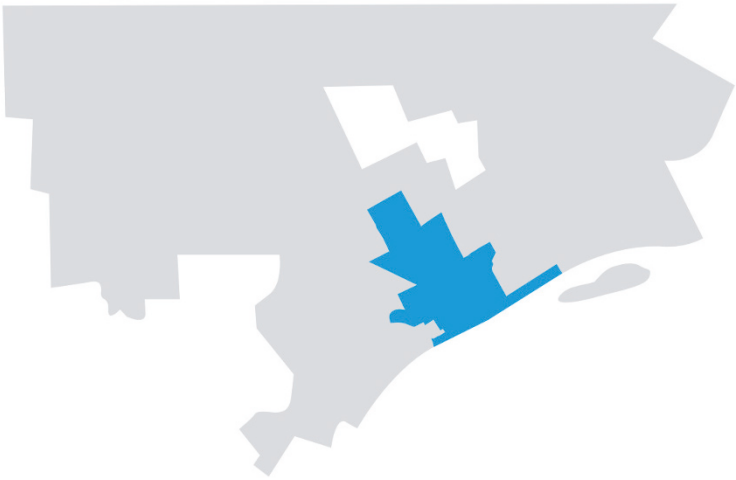

Fig. 1 Map of the municipal boundaries of the city of Detroit highlighting the Downtown area. (Bell et al.: 8)

Detroit is known for the automobile industry and serving as the centre of industrialized production in the United States, subsequently bestowing upon it the identity of one of the most prosperous and modern American cities at the turn of the twentieth century. The growth of the automobile industry completely transformed the city demographically, physically and economically. From 1900 to 1920 Detroit's population grew from 285,704 to 993,678 people with its land size increasing fivefold from 28 to 136 square miles (Gavriolovich/McGraw 2001). Social scientist

Steven Klepper explains, 'There was no secret formula behind this growth. It was fuelled by the concentration around Detroit of the automobile industry, which by 1929 was the largest industry in the U.S.' (Klepper 2002: 1). In the mid-twentieth century, Detroit acquired nicknames such as 'America's arsenal of democracy' and the 'Paris of the Midwest', jobs were abundant, consumerism was booming, in 1950 the population reached its peak at 1.8 million people.

Yet as Detroit entered the post-war period, it experienced a host of urban issues. The auto industry started to decentralise and move out of the city, racial tensions increased which resulted in mass 'white flight' out to the suburbs, and the economy began to cripple, so that 'by the 1970s, Detroit's image had been completely transformed from the mighty engine of American capitalism to the embodiment of America's urban woes' (Sugrue 2007). Over the later half of the twentieth century Detroit continued to suffer. Today, the city remains in a state of financial distress, vacant land is abundant, the school system is one of the worst in the country and unemployment has consistently been in the double digits since the 1970s (Michigan Bureau of Labor Market Information and Strategic Initiatives 2016; Reese et al. 2016: 369). The city is one of the most racially segregated cities in the United States, poverty remains widespread, crime rates are still high in comparison to other US cities, and the city continues to struggle to provide for basic human needs such as access to healthy food and water.

However, the last decade has seen a shift in the narratives applied to Detroit produced by both the popular media and scholars alike focusing on themes of 're-growth', 'regeneration' and 'revitalisation'. The attractiveness of Detroit is a result of low residential property rates, the burgeoning artistic scene, the vibrant restaurant and entertainment district, evidenced by new levels of investment and a surge in entrepreneurship (Reese et al. 2016: 369). However, while narratives 'emptiness': bankruptcy, the burned-out buildings and the large swaths of vacant land; crime; poor schools, and the poverty, are still mentioned, 'these problems are increasingly being presented as simply the back-drop for the regeneration' (ibid.). Regeneration narratives of Detroit are primarily geographically limited the 7.2 square miles referenced in Figure 1. Beyond these select areas of renewal the landscape feels unshaped, unformed, chaotic and complicated, communicating a loss of control, disorder and danger (Gregory 2012: 218). Here there persists a need for adequate food, housing, education, health care, social institutions and social services. These are the spaces of the city in which the landscape of disinvestment is most visible and where pop-up interventions typically occur.

The Detroit Pop-Up City

The partial cessation of state involvement in much of Detroit's disinvested neighbourhoods has fostered the introduction of a type of urban informality of self-provisioning (Kinder 2016). Detroit's urban crisis 'enables, however fleetingly, a community to experience its life, its experiences and realities, in their own terms' (Simone 2004: 20). Though this situation is 'overwhelmingly interpreted as an urban failure, Detroit partakes of the possibilities brought about by emergency, and, as such, is one among a global ensemble of similar urban sites' (Herscher 2012). In Detroit, pop-up interventions tend to emerge in response to the fragmented social and physical landscapes that are a result of years of disinvestment. They respond to cracks in the urban environment that are generated when tension develops between the normative and chaotic elements of the space (O'Callaghan 2014). In Detroit's neighbourhoods where disinvestment is prominent, pop-up urbanism becomes a way to reclaim space, attempting to restore a sense of social order or combat the widespread physical decay and abandonment. Kimberley Kinder's recent book, 'DIY Detroit: Making Do in a City without Services' (2016) provides an in-depth analysis of self-provisioning activities that have arisen in Detroit as a result of this landscape of disinvestment. This chapter builds on the work that Kinder has completed by specifically analysing pop-up interventions that utilize the urban fabric to reimagine alternative uses for space. The notion of the 'Pop-Up City' becomes one way of interpreting the current wave of do-it-yourself urbanism in Detroit, a way, I argue, that allows us to investigate wider issues concerned with the creation and functioning of cities. Pop-ups in Detroit can be a vehicle through which to understand and perhaps challenge the institutional order of traditional city making.

A certain category of the pop-up urban intervention is unique to the context of Detroit. Unlike pop-ups that are a highly-commercialized phenomena, such as retail spaces, cafes or art galleries that one might encounter, for example, in areas of London, Berlin or New York, Detroit's pop-up interventions emerge in response to the lack of resources in the city and as a way to counteract issues that have developed out of the urban crisis such as the lack of community space, food injustice, the breakdown of social networks, poverty and homelessness to name a few. In Detroit, pop-up interventions 'compensate for the retrenchment of governmental and social control brought on by [the city's] decline' (Smith/Kirkpatrick 2015) and seek to address the physical landscape of disinvestment which plagues the 140 square miles of the city. Observing different types of pop-ups in Detroit not only reveals much more about the current state of the city, but sheds light on possible ways to re-imagine civic use of space in a time of crisis.

Abandonment, blight and lack of community space

One of the main issues facing Detroit today is the level of blight and abandonment in many of the neighbourhoods. In 2014, the Detroit Blight Removal Task Force determined that nearly 23% of Detroit's properties met the definition of blight[2]. This has a profound effect not only on the visual appearance of much of Detroit's neighbourhoods but on the way people live in the city. When a neighbourhood is plagued with blight, the viable homes and businesses surrounding it soon become empty as well. In a city where the level of blight is as widespread as it is, it becomes hard to find a neighbourhood not affected by abandonment. A map (Figure 2) produced by the Blight Removal Task Force highlights the extensive distribution of blight in Detroit. Whereas in most American cities, you find vacancy confined to an isolated area, Detroit's abandonment spreads throughout the city. This has a profound effect on the strength of communities and neighbourhoods for it affects the physical spaces in which people live and interact.

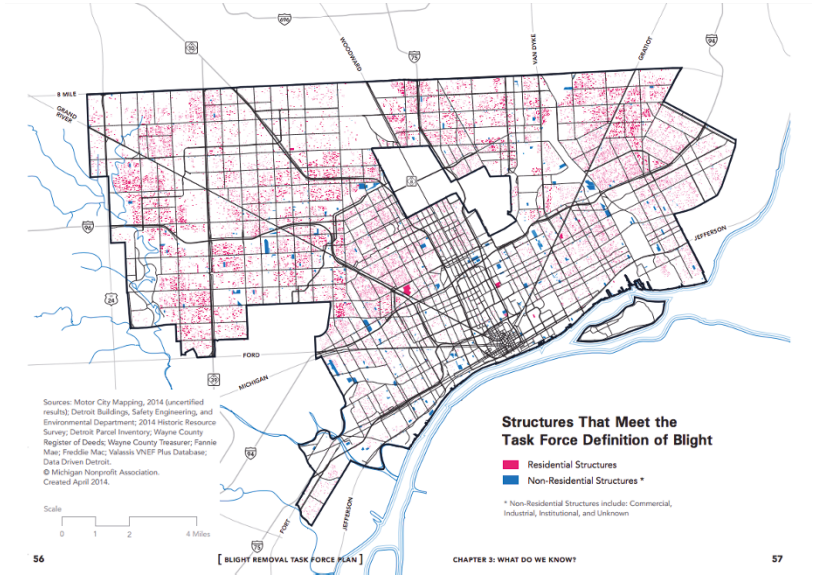

Fig. 2 Map depicting widespread blight in Detroit (Detroit Blight Removal Task Force 2014: 57)

2 For definition of blight and full report, see Detroit Blight Removal Task Force (2014) p. 13.

As a result of the urban crisis, years of disinvestment and level of abandonment, many of Detroit's neighbourhoods 'lack public spaces where people can gather, they lack lively shopping streets where street life binds residents together, and many have limited numbers of neighbourhood destinations' (Project for Public Spaces 2012: 22). Pop-ups have become one way of creating community spaces in areas where there are none. Taking advantage of abandoned lots, organisations such as Bleeding Heart Design, work to transform unused land into neighbourhood gathering places. Since 2012, Bleeding Heart Design has completed projects including the building of an outdoor community stage in an abandoned lot, transforming the façade of an abandoned liquor store, repurposing it as a community bulletin board, and drenching an entire dilapidated house with paint in order to visually conceal the building's decay. For Rebecca Willis, founder of Bleeding Heart Design, these places of disinvestment in the city are seen as opportunity rather than blight. They become spaces that can be transformed physically and socially. Benefiting from participatory design and allowing the community to engage in the design process, Bleeding Heart Design spear-heads public art projects that present a 'plausible solution to devastating societal and environmental issues' (Bleeding Heart Design). In one particular project, community members that lived near an abandoned lot that was to be transformed were asked what they would need there in order to make it a useable space (Krueger 2014). Similarly to many other disinvested areas in Detroit, the residents noted that they would like to see a place for gatherings, a community space. Bleeding Heart Design facilitated the clean up of the lot, the painting of a mural on a building nearby, and the construction of a stage. Since the transformation, there have been pop-up events including jazz concerts and barbecues that have successfully brought the community together. The pop-up nature of Bleeding Heart Design's intervention was able to transform a vacant lot into a place for gathering by reactivating dead space into something usable and accessible for the community.

Food justice, access and insecurity

Pop-up gardens are another way to reactivate space through informal interventions. The issue of 'inadequate food supply to poor, inner-city communities has long been viewed as a problem by planners and food activists' (White 2011a: 408). The Detroit Food Justice Task Force explains,

In the city of Detroit, the most accessible food-related establishments are party stores, dollar stores, fast-food restaurants and gas stations. Although most neighborhoods may have a grocery store within a "reasonable" distance, the quality and selection of food items is exceedingly lacking. Most city stores have a very limited

variety of unprocessed (fresh) vegetables and fruits. Most foods are canned, boxed, frozen and/or highly processed.

The inadequate public transportation system in Detroit plays a significant role in determining where people can access food and the lack of available and affordable, let alone organic, products, keeps them out of reach of the majority of residents. In response, there have been several initiatives to develop community food security for the citizens of Detroit (White 2011a: 408).

Today, roughly 1,500 urban farms are spread throughout Detroit, some are large and operating at an industrial scale while others are single lots transformed into vegetable gardens servicing a few families (Guzman 2017). Research and critical analysis of urban gardens in the context of Detroit is extensive. They have been understood in terms of community building (Kurtz 2001; Schukoske 2000), education (Pothukuchi 2004), promoting healthy living, as a tool of resistance (White 2011a; White 2011b) and fighting poverty (Hanna/Oh 2000). Although many cities in the United States and in Europe are embracing urban agriculture, arguably few could benefit more from this intervention than Detroit due to the size and scale of its vacant land problem (Mogk et al. 2010). Deemed the nation's 'laboratory for urban farming' (Whitford 2010) community gardens began as a way to provide a solution to the issues around food including access to food and wider food justice concerns in Detroit. Brightmoor is one of the many neighbourhoods in Detroit that use pop-up urban gardens as a catalyst for food justice. This neighbourhood struggles particularly heavily with food affordability and food accessibility (Mather 2015). There is no local grocery store (the closest is five miles West), almost all food shopping is done at corner stores, and the majority of purchases are made with government subsidy money (Flintoff et al. 2011: 18). The neighbourhood also struggles with high levels of vacancy and abandonment compared to other parts of the city.

One neighbourhood organization, Neighbours Building Brightmoor, began transforming vacant lots in their neighbourhood. A 15-block area that used to be characterized by abandonment has been transformed into what has been termed the 'Brightmoor Farmway', now growing large amounts of vegetable crops (Neighbors Building Brightmoor). The abandoned houses have been transformed with messages of hope, vacant lots are full of flowers or vegetables and art projects dot the landscape. The growth in urban gardening in this community provides fresh and healthy food to the neighbourhood, saves grocery costs, engages youth in the summer when they are out of school and repurposes vacant and unused land which helps infill street blocks (Flintoff et al. 2011: 18). In addition to the gardens, Neighbors Building Brightmoor have created an amphitheatre in a cleared field, playgrounds, public park areas and facilitated educational classes to teach children and adults about healthy food choices. These urban farming initiatives are not just

geographically restricted to areas like Brightmoor; all over Detroit urban gardens are occurring as pop-up interventions so that today, 'there are more urban farming, community and school gardening, and farmers' market venues in Detroit than there are supermarkets' (Taylor/Ard 2015: 15)

Though much of the neighbourhood still physically appears as a landscape of heavy disinvestment, Flintoff et al. (2011: 20) describe,

> "the energy on the ground, from the residents in their gardens to the community organizers to local leaders, belies such an interpretation. There is an incredibly positive and surprising energy to be found in Brightmoor. In many ways, Brightmoor is a microcosm of the struggles of Detroit at large, with many hurdles to overcome but a local leadership exists that is up to the challenge of rebuilding and reinventing one block at a time from the bottom up".

Pop-up gardens have become a tool to positively transform the physical landscape while at the same time providing necessary food to the community.

Re-building social networks

As the last two examples have shown, pop-ups not only have the capacity to reactivate unused space, but by bringing people together they strengthen social networks. Detroit has long struggled with racism and segregation, issues that were further intensified with the mass 'white flight' that occurred in the later half of the twentieth century. Pop-up interventions such as the Eden Garden on Detroit's East side show how these informal, bottom up initiatives foster social interaction that work to strengthen communities. The goal of the garden is two-fold: it provides much needed nutrition to a low-income neighbourhood where healthy food options are absent and it 'aims to build a bridge between two estranged communities: Jews who grew up in Michigan's affluent suburbs after their families joined the 'white flight' in the 1950s and African-Americans who live in the city of Detroit, which has been struggling for decades with record numbers of unemployment and foreclosure' (Starosta 2014). In a documentary film about the garden, Chava Karen Knox explains, "The Black community was resistant to the Jewish community coming into the neighborhood at first because there's so many stigmas connected to the Jewish community and the black community," Noah Purcell, the volunteer coordinator for the Garden states, "Jewish people, white people are afraid to go there"(Lengel 2014). The pop-up garden has not only reactivated the space, but it has facilitated the meeting and interaction of these two formerly segregated groups, developing bonds and strengthening the community.

Another pop-up intervention on Detroit's West side serves a similar purpose. 'We want to dispel myths about cultural differences', explains Phyllis Edwards,

president of the non-profit organisation, Bridging Communities located in Detroit's Southwest neighbourhood. Southwest is one of the most racially, ethnically and age-diverse neighbourhoods in Detroit and Bridging Communities works to stabilize the neighbourhood through a host of activities and interventions. Phyllis described that over years of disinvestment and urban decline, people began leaving the neighbourhood, severing relationships and breaking apart the strong community that was once very vibrant in this area. In the last decade, Southwest has seen an influx in international immigrants moving into the neighbourhood. For many, this was the first time they were living in such an ethnically diverse community. Bridging Communities began noticing a strong sense of unfamiliarity amongst new neighbours, especially considering that they were all from different cultures and backgrounds. Bridging Communities observed this as an opportunity to create a pop-up outdoor theatre in the vacant lot across the street from their building, hosting movie nights twice a month celebrating the different ethnicities and cultures of the residents living in the area. At each event, a family friendly movie was shown, food from the particular culture they were celebrating was served and music and games were played. Not only were the nights meant to be celebratory occasions to bring the community together, they were intended to be educational events as well, where residents could learn about the culture and traditions of their neighbours. The first few pop-up theatre events started with about fifty families, but by the end of the summer, this number would grow to two hundred. Edwards noted that something as low-budget and easy as their pop-up theatre event was able to strengthen the community ties and foster a sense of familiarity between new residents. The examples of the Eden Garden and the pop-up theatre in the Southwest neighbourhood illustrate the capacity of pop-up interventions to reactivate spaces in non-traditional ways in order to facilitate the building or re-building of social bonds.

Poverty and Homelessness

In addition to activating space and restoring social bonds, pop-ups also have the potential of addressing social issues present in the city. 41% of Detroit's residents live at or below the federal poverty threshold (Svoboda 2015a) and within Detroit's neighbourhoods, there are census tracts reaching poverty rates of up to 83% (Svoboda 2015b). To put this in perspective, in 2014, the median US household income for a family of four was $53,657; in Detroit, this number was $25,074. Furthermore, Detroit has the highest concentrated poverty rate among the top twenty-five metropolitan areas in the United States with 32% of the population living in census tracts with a high concentration of poverty, more than twice the rate of areas like metro Chicago and Houston and far above the national average of 13.5% (Kneebone/Holmes 2016). A visible representation of this poverty is the amount of homeless

people in the city of Detroit. The Homeless Action Network of Detroit (HAND) reports that over the course of 2015, 16,040 people, or 2.4% of the city's population, have experienced homelessness (2015: 9). Most of the funding that provides services to the homeless come from the federal government and is administrated by the city or state. While these funds do help, they are far from what is needed to assist the homeless. Furthermore, considering Detroit's financial, the city does not have adequate resources to devote to financing these social services.

There has been a widespread response by many different non-profit groups to address the issues of poverty and homelessness in the city. Elevate Detroit, a Michigan non-profit network, began a pop-up tactic of urban intervention by hosting community barbecues on an unused lot in Detroit's Cass Corridor. Every Saturday throughout the year, Elevate Detroit gathers to host a barbecue aimed at feeding the homeless and hungry and building community relationships. 'CommuniD BBQs' provide food and friendship to roughly two hundred Detroiters every Saturday. Barbecues, tents, chairs and benches and the presence of a diverse group of people transform the vacant lot into a lively community space. After the event is over, the barbecues are removed, people clear out, and the lot is returned to its vacant state. The pop-up 'CommuniD BBQs' continue to play a role in helping Detroit's homeless population when the state is unable to provide adequate resources.

Learning from Detroit Pop-up city

Devoting attention to pop-up culture in Detroit contributes to alternative ways of looking at temporary urbanisms by moving beyond the idea of the pop-up as a trendy commercial enterprise. Reflecting upon pop-ups in Detroit contributes to narratives of temporary interventions as a 'compensatory or diversionary urbanism in the face of political retreat and economic recession' (Tonkiss 2013: 316). Though they do have their challenges, which will be discussed, pop-ups become useful tools to understand and recognize alternative ways of city making and as well as unlocking the potentials of alternative forms of urbanism. Perhaps the most obvious potential of the pop-up is its capacity to re-activate and re-purpose otherwise abandoned space through low-cost, quick interventions. Each of the examples described above transform vacant lots into active zones of participation, both in terms of citizenship and political decision making, as we saw in the example of the lot transformation by Bleeding Heart Design, and in terms of consumption and leisure activities as we observed in the transformation of abandoned lots into urban farms. Detroit's under utilized physical landscape is given new meaning and purpose through the

use of pop-ups. These vacant spaces are no longer redundant and residual; instead, they become reabsorbed into the physical environment through adopting a new function. Not only do pop-ups reactivate the spaces in which they are located, but they have the capacity to transform the properties around them as well. A report compiled by Johns Hopkins' Center for a Liveable Future, for example, noted a link between community gardens and increased property values explaining, 'community gardens are associated with improved neighborhood aesthetics, reduced crime, and community cohesion. Such factors contribute to the finding that community gardens, particularly in economically disadvantaged neighborhoods, are linked to higher home property values and tax revenues in their 1,000-foot radius' (Santo et.al 2016: 16).

Pop-ups emphasise an alternative way of producing the city that focuses on bottom up city making processes. In the context of Detroit, pop-ups are often initiated by the residents and communities themselves and not by external companies, or 'cultural producers' such as artists or millennials (Novy/Colomb 2013: 1818). Furthermore, the fact that many of the pop-ups occur in Detroit's areas of greatest disinvestment illustrate the potential of these interventions to engage in becoming their own city makers and agents of change giving agency to those areas of the city that have been pushed out to the periphery and marginalized through processes of target investment. As David Harvey notes, under conditions of fragmentation and segregation, 'ideals of urban identity, citizenship and belonging…become march harder to sustain' (Harvey 2008: 32). I argue that pop-up interventions are one example of what Harvey describes as 'urban social movements seeking to overcome isolation and reshape the city in a different image from that put forward by the developers who are backed by finance, corporate capital and an increasingly entrepreneurially minded local state apparatus' (ibid., 33). Therefore, this process of city making from the ground up through the use of pop-ups emphasises different political and social dimensions of space, accentuating hidden layers of the city-as-palimpsest (Lashua 2013:130). Pop-ups have the capacity to 'empower artists, architects, cultural activists and ordinary citizens to become key players by inventing new practices strategies, and tactics to claim their rights to their city and to freely project alternative possibilities for urban life' (Ashley/Mondada 2014).

Challenges

Though pop-ups unlock potentials of alternative forms of urbanism and often have the capacity to positively transform urban fabrics and social relationships, we must be critical of their long-term possibilities. The very nature of pop-ups makes them vulnerable. As previously mentioned, pop-ups in Detroit often occur in the 'in-between' or 'gray spaces' of the city. Although these spaces are not occupied

and often vacant and unused, there are still issues of property ownership. In many instances, pop-ups are set up on land illegally, and though there are numerous instances of people trying to legally acquire the land, tracking down land ownership records remains difficult for both the city and the citizens (Hester 2016). Pop-up urban gardens illustrate this struggle well. Many urban gardens around the city are established on properties that do not legally belong to the farmer; yet if the farmer wishes to purchase the land there are a host of legal issues that make it extremely difficult to acquire the property (Berg 2012). During the process of the city's regeneration, many of these farms have been dismantled to make way for new developments (Crouch 2011). Despite the farms making a positive impact in the community, and perhaps even more so than a traditional commercial development, issues of land ownership often jeopardize their impact. The 'CommuniD BBQ' is another example of the struggle for land ownership and the vulnerability of pop-ups. As a result of the regeneration in Detroit and property restructuring, CommuniD was under threat of being forced off the land in which they held the barbecues. They ended up having to legally purchase another vacant lot in the city in order to continue their event. These examples illustrate that the uncertainty of changing physical and administrative structures place these informal pop-up urban interventions in jeopardy. This issue is directly reflective of the nature of pop-ups; the process of popping up is easy, but just as easy as they come up, they can come down.

Furthermore, we must question their capacity to move beyond their temporariness and informal nature. These interventions provisionally fill voids left behind by the city government but do little do address the deeper structural problems within the municipal administration. Though they are able to offer a temporary positive response to social and spatial concerns, pop-ups are unable to resolve problems rooted in larger economic and political processes. Ella Harris and Mel Nowicki (2015) explain, 'in celebrating pop-ups as the solution to urban problems, are we simply distracting from the lack of structural public provision in these areas – and worse still, normalising, even glorifying, its absence through passionate avowals of temporariness?' We must inquire whether these pop-ups have the ability to transform spaces for the long term or if they are truly just temporary interventions aimed at addressing a particular need at a particular time. The 'scalability' of these interventions is another factor to consider. As Boer and Minkjan (2016) point out, 'the possibility of scaling up such a project beyond its most immediate surroundings or replicating it in other areas, is often minimal due to the specific local conditions of the project'. Despite the potentials of pop-up urban interventions to offer possibilities to addressing social and spatial issues in a state of decline, we must be critical of their long term impacts.

Conclusion

This chapter, albeit exploratory in nature, has attempted to initiate a critical discussion on the nature of pop-up interventions in the city of Detroit in the context of the urban crisis. The perfect storm of 'tough economic times, the emergence of a new kind of creative culture, and a preponderance of stalled development and vacant properties' (Greco 2012) has opened the door for these pop-up interventions to occur. Pop-ups not only support and combat social and spatial issues in Detroit, but they very visually expose them, showing common roots of the deprivation and discontent that emerges out of the urban crisis (Marcuse 2009: 195). Detroit in particular illuminates the potential of pop-ups to provide short-term services and respond to the immediate needs of neighbourhoods in the disinvested areas of the city. Though these often fragmented, small scale, bottom up acts do not lead to structural reform, they have the capacity to provide meaningful change in the community, reworking the traditional logic of the city (Kinder 2016: 199) by creating cities of participation, sharing and resourcefulness. Supporting pop-ups and other self-provisioning activities does not alleviate the need for structural reform instead their long-term success is dependent on their integration within more structural policy changes. Therefore, the condition of the pop-up city should inspire 'designers and planners to take on the task of re-inventing the American City—reprogramming its function, redesigning its urban form and architecture, and identifying and/or legitimizing a new and expanded range of protagonists with the authority to act' (Shane 2016). Pop-up culture in Detroit reveals that there is potential for small changes built around minimum design and extensive programming (Greco 2012) to positively begin to transform the urban environment both spatially and socially.

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