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# Emerging Urban Spaces

A Planetary Perspective

 Springer

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Philipp Horn · Paola Alfaro d'Alençon  
Ana Claudia Cardoso  
Editors

# Emerging Urban Spaces

A Planetary Perspective

 Springer

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Finally, the editors thank Sally Cawood, Brian Honeyball, and William Wheeler for offering proofreading and editorial support for selected chapters.

# About the Book

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

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

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



# Contents

<b>1</b>	<b>Introduction</b> . . . . .	<b>1</b>
	Philipp Horn, Ana Claudia Cardoso and Paola Alfaro d’Alençon	
<b>2</b>	<b>The Ecumenical ‘Right to the City’: Urban Commons and Intersectional Enclosures in Athens and Istanbul</b> . . . . .	<b>21</b>
	Charalampos Tsavdaroglou	
<b>3</b>	<b>Emerging Urban Indigenous Spaces in Bolivia: A Combined Planetary and Postcolonial Perspective</b> . . . . .	<b>43</b>
	Philipp Horn	
<b>4</b>	<b>The Urban as a Concrete Utopia? Co-production and Local Governance in Distinct Urban Geographies: Transnational Learning from Chile and Germany</b> . . . . .	<b>65</b>
	Paola Alfaro d’Alençon and Ernesto López Morales	
<b>5</b>	<b>Continuity and Change in Decentralist Urbanisation: Exploring the Critical Potential of Contemporary Urban Theory Through the London Docklands Development Corporation</b> . . . . .	<b>87</b>
	David Mountain	
<b>6</b>	<b>Comparing at What Scale? The Challenge for Comparative Urbanism in Central Asia</b> . . . . .	<b>109</b>
	Elena Trubina	
<b>7</b>	<b>Growth of Tourism Urbanisation and Implications for the Transformation of Jamaica’s Rural Hinterlands</b> . . . . .	<b>129</b>
	Sheere Brooks	
<b>8</b>	<b>Formats of Extended Urbanisation in Ocean Space</b> . . . . .	<b>149</b>
	Nancy Couling	

**9 Urban Tropical Forest: Where Nature and Human Settlements Are Assets for Overcoming Dependency, but How Can Urbanisation Theories Identify These Potentials? . . . . . 177**  
Ana Claudia Cardoso, Harley Silva, Ana Carolina Melo  
and Danilo Araújo

**10 Urbanisation, Sustainability and Development: Contemporary Complexities and Diversities in the Production of Urban Space . . . 201**  
Roberto Luís Monte-Mór

**Index . . . . . 217**

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# Chapter 1

## Introduction

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

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

**Keywords** Emerging urban spaces • Right to the urban • Difference Pluralism • Naturalisation

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1

## 1.1 Emerging Urban Spaces and Research Questions

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

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

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

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

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

## 1.2 Emerging Urban Theory Projects: From Planetary Processes to Particularities

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

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

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

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

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

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

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<sup>1</sup>For a review of advocators of a city-centric approach, see Scott and Storper (2015).

<sup>2</sup>For an even more capitalocentric reading, see Wilson and Bayón’s (2016) work on planetary urbanisation, here defined as a process of universalising ‘black hole’ capitalism.

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

### 1.3 Why This Book? Background and Objectives

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

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

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

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

## 1.4 Organisation of the Chapters

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## 1.5 Lessons from the Different Contributions of This Book

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

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

### ***1.5.1 The Importance of Specificities, Everyday Struggles and the Right to the Urban***

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

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

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

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

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

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



### 1.5.2 *Difference and Plurality*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## 1.6 Naturalisation of the Urban

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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## Chapter 4

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

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

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This chapter is based on the authors’ research projects: ‘Ansätze von koproduzierter Stadtentwicklung und ihr Einfluss auf die Entwicklung von sozial-inklusiven Stadträumen—ein internationaler Vergleich von Theorie und Praxis’, preparation studies for the DFG Research Project, 2018–2021, TU-Berlin; ‘Spatial capital, social complexity of the rent gap formation, and social stratification: a comparative analysis of gentrification in Santiago, Buenos Aires, Rio de Janeiro and Mexico City, 2005–2017’ (Fondecyt Chile, Project #1151287); and the Centre of Conflict and Social Cohesion Studies (Conicyt Fondap #15130009). It also draws on findings from consultancies by uLab for several urban projects in Berlin (Initiative RAW. Kulturensemble; Ostkreuz Initiativen Netzwerk). Data was obtained through discourse analysis and comparative case studies in different German cities (e.g. Berlin, Leipzig and Hamburg) and Santiago de Chile (Estación Central comuna), involving municipalities, planners, various actors in civil society related to local urban development, and through consultation and monitoring of collaborative projects within local communities and the private sector. In both cases, the work concentrated on the processes of adaptation and transformation, which is accompanied by in-depth research on development approaches that initiate new forms of collaboration, local economies and local learning processes.

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

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

## 4.1 Introduction

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## 4.2 The Context

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### ***4.2.2 The Practices that Challenge Global Capitalism***

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

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

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<sup>1</sup>Not In My Back Yard (NIMBY).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### 4.3 Trajectories

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### 4.4 Encounters and Everyday Processes of Interactions

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

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<sup>2</sup><http://infoinvi.uchilefau.cl/por-que-en-chile-falta-medio-millon-de-viviendas/>



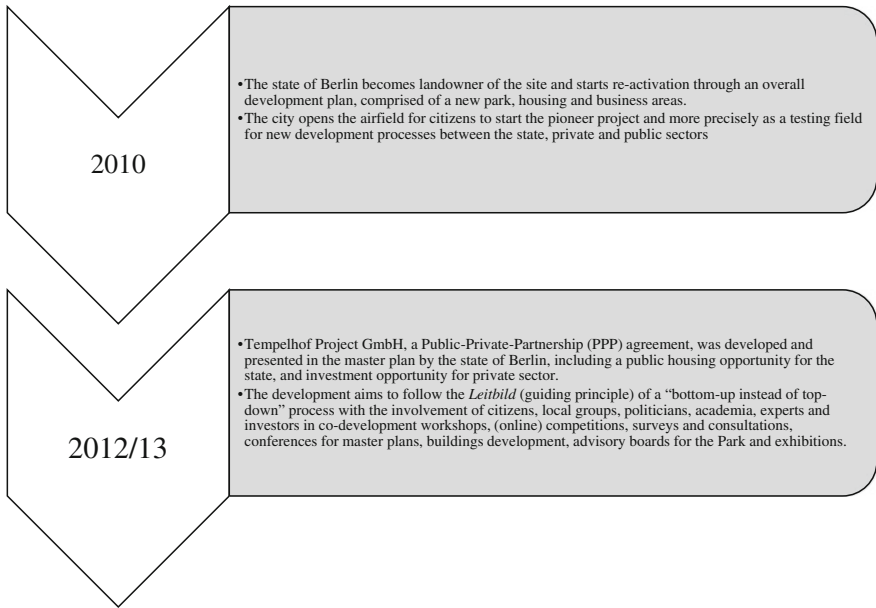
inequality'. The right to the city implies not only threats, but also the promise of urban protest (Merrifield 2011). In particular, reflections on 'encounters' in urban development projects shed light on the value of the concept. Hence, the goal here is to define the urban as active, everyday processes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

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

#### ***4.4.1 Berlin: Airfield Tempelhof***

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

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



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

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

**4.4.1.1 Local Networks and Actors’ Constellations**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### 4.4.2 *Santiago: The Ukamau Residential Community Project*

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

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

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

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

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

#### 4.4.2.1 Local Networks and Actor Constellations

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## 4.5 Concluding Remarks

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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