

ROUTLEDGE STUDIES IN HUMAN GEOGRAPHY

Locating Right to the City in the Global South

Edited by
Tony Roshan Samara,
Shenjing He and Guo Chen



Locating Right to the City in the Global South

Despite the fact that virtually all urban growth is occurring, and will continue to occur, in the cities of the Global South, the conceptual tools used to study cities are distilled disproportionately from research on the highly developed cities of the Global North. With urban inequality widely recognized as central to many of the most pressing challenges facing the world, there is a need for a deeper understanding of cities of the South on their own terms.

Locating Right to the City in the Global South marks an innovative and far-reaching effort to document and make sense of urban transformations across a range of cities, as well as the conflicts and struggles for social justice these are generating. The volume contains empirically rich, theoretically informed case studies focused on the social, spatial and political dimensions of urban inequality in the Global South. Drawing from scholars with extensive fieldwork experience, this volume covers sixteen cities in fourteen countries across a belt stretching from Latin America, to Africa and the Middle East, and into Asia. Central to what binds these cities are deeply rooted, complex and dynamic processes of social and spatial division that are being actively reproduced. These cities are not so much fracturing as they are being divided by governance practices informed by local histories and political contestation, and refracted through or infused by market-based approaches to urban development. Through a close examination of these practices and resistance to them, this volume provides perspectives on neoliberalism and right to the city that advance our understanding of urbanism in the Global South.

In mapping the relationships between space, politics and populations, the volume draws attention to variations shaped by local circumstances, while simultaneously elaborating a distinctive transnational Southern urbanism. It provides indepth research on a range of practical and policy-oriented issues, from housing and slum redevelopment to building democratic cities that include participation by lower-income and other marginal groups. It will be of interest to students and practitioners alike studying Urban Studies, Globalization and Development.

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Santa Arias*
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Katie Shaw*
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- 43 Locating Right to the City in the Global South**
Tony Roshan Samara, Shenjing He and Guo Chen
- Forthcoming:*
- 44 Fieldwork in the Global South**
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Shenjing He and Guo Chen**

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Contents

<i>List of illustrations</i>	ix
<i>List of contributors</i>	xi

Introduction: Locating Right to the City in the Global South	1
TONY ROSHAN SAMARA, SHENJING HE AND GUO CHEN	

PART I	
A city divided against itself	21

1 Towards the right to the city in informal settlements	23
MONA FAWAZ	

2 Cities without slums in Morocco? New modalities of urban government and the <i>bidonville</i> as a neoliberal assemblage	41
KOENRAAD BOGAERT	

3 The divisive nature of neoliberal urban renewal in Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso	60
WOUTER BERVOETS AND MAARTEN LOOPMANS	

4 Greening dispossession: environmental governance and socio-spatial transformation in Yixing, China	81
JIA-CHING CHEN	

PART II	
Governance and cosmopolitanism: escaping the South	105

5 Urban governance, mega-projects and scalar transformations in China and India	107
XUEFEI REN AND LIZA WEINSTEIN	

6	Bourgeois environmentalism, leftist development and neoliberal urbanism in the City of Joy	127
	PABLO S. BOSE	
7	Public space versus tableau: the right-to-the-city paradox in neoliberal Bogotá, Colombia	152
	RACHEL BERNEY	
8	Resisting the neoliberalization of space in Mexico City	171
	DAVID M. WALKER	
9	City ghosts: the haunted struggles for downtown Durban and Berlin Neukölln	195
	CHRISTINE HENTSCHEL	
 PART III		
	Governance and counter-governance: the shape of urban conflict and the urban future	219
10	Insurgency and institutionalized social participation in local-level urban planning: the case of PAC <i>comuna</i>, Santiago de Chile, 2003–5	221
	ERNESTO LÓPEZ-MORALES	
11	Distinguishing the right kind of city: contentious urban middle classes in Argentina, Brazil and Turkey	247
	RYAN CENTNER	
12	Bloggers' right to Cairo's real and virtual spaces of protest	264
	WAEEL SALAH FAHMI	
	Afterword: re-engaging with transnational urbanism	285
	MARTIN J. MURRAY	
	 <i>Index</i>	 311

Illustrations

Figures

3.1	Map of Ouagadougou	66
3.2	Selected case study areas	67
4.1	Location of Jiangsu Province and Yixing City	83
4.2	The Yixing city region	84
4.3	An aerial view rendering of the New City project as a “green tapestry”	87
4.4	Emphasis on comprehensive urban design: “public cultural services distribution”	89
4.5	Map of “land use present conditions”	90
4.6	“Regional ecological and spatial structure” diagram	91
4.7	“Ecological value appraisal map”	92
4.8	“Ecological spatial structure and conditions” diagram	93
5.1	The administrative hierarchy in China	114
5.2	The administrative hierarchy of India	115
6.1	Greater Kolkata	133
6.2	Builder’s map showing proposed apartment complex	134
6.3	Proposed restoration of parks and water bodies, KEIP	142
6.4	The diverse demands on the East Kolkata wetlands, KEIP	144
6.5	Proposed nature interpretation centre, KEIP	145
7.1	Bogotá depicted as the only municipality in Colombia in the high (<i>alto</i>) category for achieving the UNDP millennium goals	160
7.2	Bogotá envisioned in 2001 as “a city that constructs spaces of citizen encounter” – Plaza San Victorino in the <i>centro</i>	164
7.3	Vendors waiting for customers at one of the entrances to Parque Tercer Milenio, 2006	166
8.1	important sites in Mexico City’s historic center	176
8.2	Calle Brasil filled with informal economic activities	181
8.3	McDonald’s-sponsored trash bin amidst colonial-style Cinco de Mayo Street	182
8.4	Police officer questions <i>ambulante</i> women about their activities	185
8.5	People protesting against the Programa de Rescate in Tepito	185

8.6	A protestor points the barrel of a pistol towards the camera while holding a placard that reads “I am a street peddler”	186
8.7	A female protestor	187
8.8	Digitized image of would-be Torre Bicentenario	187
9.1	Lion decorating the wall of Egagasini	202
9.2	Graffiti in the underground parking lot beside Egagasini	203
9.3	Graffiti in the underground parking lot beside Egagasini	204
9.4a	Advertisement for Nowkoelln Flowmarkt – poster and web campaign	208
9.4b	Advertisement for Nowkoelln Flowmarkt	208
9.5	Are you also a killer of the neighborhood?	210
10.1	View of La Victoria <i>población</i>	223
10.2	The two pairs of <i>comunas</i> on bid in the Metropolitan Region of Santiago, 2003	227
10.3	Main neighborhood units in PAC	228
10.4	First-draft master plan proposed by the PCF	231
10.5	Images from the meeting in Risopatrón School in 2005	232
10.6	Text of an anonymous pamphlet that circulated in PAC in early 2005	236
10.7	Two different night talk programs in the local La Victoria TV station, focused on the master plan redrafting	239
10.8	Second-draft master plan delivered by the PCF	241
12.1	Map of Cairo’s European Quarter showing spaces of protest	270
12.2	Photoblogs of street demonstrations – Midan al Tahrir (Tahrir Square)	276
12.3a	Video (vlog) stills of street demonstrations – Midan al Tahrir (Tahrir Square)	277
12.3b	Video (vlog) stills of street demonstrations – Midan al Tahrir (Tahrir Square)	277
12.4	Photoblogs of sit-in – Unions Street, Judges Club	278

Tables

3.1	The different phases of a slum redevelopment project	68
8.1	Objectives of the Programa de Rescate	175
8.2	Organizations that supervise the implementation of the Programa de Rescate	177
12.1	Chronology of Cairo’s street movements during 2005	273
12.2	Bloggers’ posts of pro-judiciary reform demonstrations – spring 2006	279

Boxes

5.1	Postings from residents in Pujiang Expo Garden	119
10.1	Translation	237

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Introduction

Locating Right to the City in the Global South

Tony Roshan Samara, Shenjing He and Guo Chen

You don't see yourself as part of the city – there are no places that you relate to, that you love to go. No corner, no area touched by a certain kind of light. You have no memory of any material, texture, shape. Everything is constantly changing, according to somebody else's will, somebody else's power.

Al Weiwei 2011

Cities in the Global South have been moving steadily from the margins to the center of the global community of urban scholars. For far too long cities in the North played an outsized role in thinking about cities on a global scale, contributing to a structural neglect of research on “other” cities. While interest in these cities as objects of study has certainly grown, so too has an understanding that a wide range of challenges that are global in scope can only be properly understood if viewed through an urban lens. At the same time, cities themselves are easier to decipher if we understand them as global spaces. As this awareness increases, it is difficult to hold on to many explicit and implicit assumptions about how we should think about cities, and which cities we should be thinking about. Specifically, global demographics, world events and what appears to be a shifting geopolitical terrain demand that more attention be paid to those cities and metropolitan regions across the globe where the majority of the urban population is located.

Recent empirical and theoretical work is quickly taking us past the era when cities in the South were either ignored or interpreted through analytical lenses produced by research on very different cities, upending much of the conventional thinking about cities and global urbanism in the process (Murray, Chapter 12 of this volume; Roy and Ong 2011; Roy 2009; Mayaram 2008; Huyssen 2008; Amen *et al.* 2006; Simone and Abouhane 2005; Robinson 2005, 2002). Roughly sketched, the recent interest in Southern urbanism, as distinct from urbanism “in general”, began with challenges to research, policy and discourse that attempted to understand or make comprehensible cities in the South based on the experiences of and research on cities of the North. This was followed by efforts to challenge empirically and theoretically the knowledge produced about cities of the South, and to generate new approaches derived from studies that

engaged these cities directly and, as much as possible, on their own terms. Work on the South has now progressed to the point where there is a distinct body of scholarship, with its own questions, approaches and contributions to the urban studies literature. This scholarship will have relevance for the North as well, as the two poles of the urban world increasingly bend towards each other in some important ways (Hirt 2012; Smith 2002). It is perhaps premature to say so, but we can see in these recent shifts the emergence of a truly global urban studies, one that is firmly rooted in a changing understanding of what constitutes urban centrality.

The present volume contributes to these ongoing efforts through empirically rich, theoretically informed case studies focused on the social, spatial and political dimensions of urban inequality. Its goal is not to draw from these an impregnable theory or singular perspective for studying, or even defining, cities of the South: instead, the research published here represents an effort to document and make sense of urban transformations in the South, as well as the conflicts and struggles for social justice these are generating. Drawing from scholars with extensive fieldwork experience, the volume covers sixteen cities in fourteen countries across a belt stretching from Latin America to Africa and the Middle East and into Asia. Central to what binds these cities are deeply rooted, complex and dynamic processes of social and spatial division that are actively reproduced. These cities are not so much fracturing as they are being strategically divided by governance practices informed by local histories and political contestation, and refracted through or infused by market-based approaches to urban development.

This volume advances our understanding of these processes by drawing attention to three defining aspects of the city, according to which the book is organized: first, the increasing social polarization and spatial division of the city, and the local expressions of transnational governance driving these developments; second, the refashioning of certain city quarters of the divided city into cosmopolitan landscapes and the integration of unevenly developed spaces into an unstable and conflict-prone “whole”; finally, many of the chapters gathered here reveal the complicated politics arising from and feeding into the changes that cities are experiencing. Divided cities are sites of competing claims and oppositional forms of governance. These give rise to distinctive political struggles seeking to exert influence across city spaces, and to remake, defend or control those spaces. Taken together these contributions constitute a powerful argument that there is indeed an identifiable, if evolving and contested, transnational urbanism distinctive to the Global South (Smith 2002).

The remainder of this introduction elaborates these themes and concludes with a discussion of the two interrelated concepts whose meaning they illuminate, and which occupy a central position in the production of contemporary urban spaces in the Global South: neoliberalism and right to the city. If these have distinctive Southern expressions – and we believe they do – then it is important that we try to build them up from a foundation of fieldwork based in the South. The themes are meant to capture important constitutive elements of

the concepts as they are emerging on the ground in the South, and to inform further theorization. We offer the collected chapters here as a contribution to that effort, rather than as a definitive statement of their meaning outside the Global North, where most of the field and theoretical work informing them to date has been produced. The end goal, of course, is to develop further a critical urban theory (Brenner 2009) that allows us to make some headway in addressing the admittedly overwhelming challenges posed by inequality across the vast urban regions of the South. In the conclusion to this volume, Martin Murray addresses this challenge, situating the questions and contributions offered here in the wider global urban studies literature. This, we feel, is an important and useful way to end, as he highlights key issues and questions for future research that complement and complicate the discussion offered here.

A city divided against itself

Under present urban governance regimes, cities of the South are experiencing pressure towards greater and relatively entrenched socio-spatial distance between groups of residents who become increasingly foreign to each other and to other places in the city. The specific outcomes of this pressure may vary greatly, but the differences can be thought of in terms of degrees of apartness. The divided city remains, as it has been for ages, a preeminent urban form, segregation a relative constant rather than an exception in the social and spatial life of cities (Garrido 2012; Nightingale 2012; Elate 2004; Marcuse 2003). Yet, while socio-spatial segregation may be a defining feature of cities, the forms it has assumed, and will assume, are far from uniform across time and space. What we believe to be constant here is the relational aspect; inequality is fundamental to all cities and this inequality has both social and spatial components. The oft-evoked concepts of core and periphery, in this sense, refer to a relationship through which to grasp the urban at its root.

At the same time, the principle of integration and the even less tangible vision of an “inclusive city” retain a certain popularity among many policymakers, planners, officials and scholars, while actual policy and practice often produce (or reproduce) quite the opposite effect. Indeed, the more critical literature notes that the neoliberal or market-driven development approaches that have gained prominence in the past two decades are directly linked to the making or deepening of social and spatial divisions, particularly in the context of the “world city” aspirations which hold a significant proportion of urban elites across the Global South in their grip (Samara 2011; Batra 2008; McDonald 2008; Broudehoux 2007).

The evocation of inclusion and integration in this context of divisions with widening and hardening tendencies is at best naïve and at worst intentionally misleading. The question is not really one of integration or exclusion, at least not without some substantial qualification. The urban poor have been and will continue to be integrated into the city, just not as equal participants politically or as equal beneficiaries of city resources and government policy. Their centrality to

the social reproduction of the city as a whole, and of the lifestyles of more affluent classes, is a direct function of their deep integration; but it is an integration that assumes inequality rather than one which seeks to overcome it, that bespeaks of affluent residents resigned to being dependent on the labor of the poor, yet determined to share the city with them as residents as little as possible. Our understanding of the shape and substance of today's divided city of the South hinges to a great extent on this distinction, and is therefore an essential lens to employ in interrogating urban inequality.

None of this should be mistaken for an argument that urban divisions look the same across vast differences of geography, history and culture, or across the range of integration with the global, or that they are ever absolute and impermeable. While we hold that the principle of divided cities as outlined above is an important one for making sense of inequality and urban politics in the present, there is great variety in how these divisions appear in cities around the world (Abaza 2011; Labbé and Bourdreau 2011; Samara 2011; Kneebone and Garr 2010; Murray 2010, 2004; Roberts and Wilson 2009; Rodgers 2004; Connell 1999).

The making of divided cities is accomplished by a variety of means, but a number of contributions to this volume confirm findings elsewhere that displacement, demolition and other forms of coercion and violence quite often play a central role, and can often be tied directly or indirectly to the introduction or intensification of commodified and financialized land and housing markets (Goldman 2011; UN-HABITAT 2011; Searle 2010; Birkinshaw and Harris 2009; COHRE 2006). There is nothing "natural" about the divided city, nor is it simply an aggregation of individual choices, whether mediated by markets or other institutional forms. Rather, agents of the state, of private security or more shadowy actors play a key role here, often operating as proxies for particular coalitions of interests linked to accumulation and/or class. Great force is often involved in the (re)making of the divided city, and a great deal of force is required for its governance once it has been (re)made (Samara 2011; Amar 2010; Wacquant 2008).

Taking the divided city as a starting point, the chapters in Part I of the book make a number of contributions that fill out these cursory observations, and hopefully provoke useful debate. Mona Fawaz, in her chapter on Beirut, draws our attention to some key overarching themes: the adoption of market-based approaches to "integrate" informal neighborhoods, the uses of violence and the centrality of local conditions in shaping governance practice. Importantly, her research shows that efforts at a particular kind of integration relied on extensive securitization and produced a new kind of marginalization, one that undermines the citymaking power residents had accumulated and created outside of the formal regulatory gaze of state and market. She closes her piece with the argument that a meaningful right to the city must be disentangled from state and market and embedded in the political struggle by residents for secure land and housing.

In the second chapter of Part I, Koenraad Bogaert draws our attention to a similar set of issues in Morocco. The role of slum eradication measures as a form

of remarginalization is detailed through a discussion of how access to informal areas by the market is facilitated by the state. Here again, state and market circumscribe the political space of urban residents through efforts at formalizing housing and civic participation in cities across the country. The resulting governance regime does not simply reflect an imposed neoliberal logic; rather, it represents a complex interplay between local and extra-local forces that in turn constitute the substance of neoliberal globalization. As represented here, this includes as primary features the “rediscovery” of neglected urban hinterlands by the state and market – including “new” populations to regulate, an intensification of land politics and struggles and a reconfiguration of preexisting socio-spatial divisions. Bogaert concludes by evoking Lefebvre’s critique of the formal empowerment of marginal urban residents, noting that social and political tensions generated by inequality (along with potential disorder) have not been defused through the slum eradication program, but have simply been displaced.

The next contribution to the volume, by Wouter Bervoets and Maarten Loopmans, is an insightful case study of Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso. While also focused on the recent wave of slum redevelopment schemes, Bervoets and Loopmans detail the differences between current market-driven versions and the socialist programs of the postcolonial period. They situate redevelopment in Ouagadougou within a multiscale context, from the broader “reforms” at the national level mandated by the IMF and World Bank in the 1980s, to the desire of local elites to turn the capital city into a cultural and political center of West Africa, and the subsequent emphasis on downtown and slum redevelopment. Their research demonstrates how local dynamics and global forces combine to form pernicious governance regimes that fail to develop marginal areas, reinforce and expand existing divisions and, importantly, undermine mobilization among marginalized residents. Their insights into the absence of a sustained and popular movement against unpopular reforms are valuable for understanding how divided cities are reproduced and why care must be taken in ascribing inherent radical potential to objectively oppressed communities.

In the final chapter of Part I, Jia-Ching Chen examines a master-planned eco-city in Yixing, China. Chen’s analysis builds upon the previous chapters, particularly in illuminating the state-driven process of, quite literally, producing urban space. His study of green development driven by the solar photovoltaic industry in Jiangsu Province cuts across a number of central concerns, situating regional development within both national and global contexts. Chen shows that the development of Yixing into a green economy is accompanied by large-scale land enclosure and displacement of agricultural villages, as newly minted urban areas are brought under direct state administration. As Chen shows, the combination of state control, market-based redevelopment and a discourse of clean energy and rural modernization integrates Yixing into a transnational green economy, while simultaneously extending and entrenching social and spatial inequality across this newly expanded urban region.

Taken together, the chapters in Part I make a strong argument that neoliberalism remains an important analytical lens for understanding urban change in the

South, even as they reveal how complex the interactions are between markets, market ideology, the state and other elements that comprise urban governance regimes. They also provide compelling evidence that policies and practices nominally intended to promote integration through redevelopment of informal and rural areas fail to overcome existing social and spatial distance. Instead market-based approaches carried out by networks of public and private actors are re-inscribing division across unevenly developed urban landscapes, but through perhaps more palatable discourses linked to markets, growth, ownership, participation and clean energy. Within this context conflicts are emerging between increasingly differentiated populations throughout the city, around the use of and access to space, belonging and citizenship and efforts to remake the image of city. It is to this set of issues that we turn in Part II.

Governance and cosmopolitanism: escaping the South

We have seen in recent years growing attention to those cities of the South that have managed to scale the global urban hierarchy based on the histories and current forms of cities in the North. Scholarly research and popular media coverage of Beijing, Shanghai, Mumbai, Rio de Janeiro, Dubai and a handful of other cities underscore the extent to which large sections of these cities have undergone massive transformations, such that their new façades would be familiar to most visitors from the North. However, while the vast majority of cities in the South will never be prominent world cities, recognized as global brands or specialty destinations, this does not mean the idiom of the world city is without significant influence in the reshaping of their urban spaces. Whatever the degree of success a particular city achieves with these aspirations, we argue that the project itself can engender, reanimate and reframe conflict over visions for and of the city.

Perhaps the most striking and immediate manifestation of this phenomenon is the change in built environment. Locally based growth coalitions seek both to emulate and distinguish themselves from prominent Northern cityscapes, and in doing so make their own contribution to the shaping of a hegemonic transnational urban aesthetic (Ren 2011). Even in the grandest new urban centers, however, the transformation is always partial; this partiality is itself a reflection of the very divisions that shape transformation. The renovated built environment serves to highlight the nature of these divisions under market-driven redevelopment, and the widening socio-spatial inequalities that underpin them. It also, by virtue of its limited reach, draws attention to its own status as exception within the local context (Ong 2006). Far from being seamlessly integrated into the broader urban terrain, this cosmopolitan center is notable for how foreign and even hostile a space it can be for most local residents, even as it provides comfort and leisure to moneyed international visitors (Binnie *et al.* 2006).

The partiality of transformation is not unique to the Global South. Wealthy cities in the wealthiest nations have not succeeded in erasing their own “off the map” neighborhoods, even, in the case of the United States, after three decades

of gentrification. What is different is the size of the marginalized multitudes and the extent of their deprivation, neither of which can ever be entirely escaped no matter how many layers of security and distance more affluent groups put between themselves and everyone else. From formal policy and governance to the rhythms and disjuncture of daily life, the reality of the divided city infuses local politics and culture. The ways in which it does so, and the consequences, will vary greatly between cities undergoing massive, planned redevelopment, such as Shanghai at one end of the scale, to those like Luanda and Managua on the other, where the local elite are too small, and the scope of transformation too narrow to sustain more than connected enclaves in what is otherwise (perceived to be) a hostile terrain (Chen 2009; Rodrigues 2009; Rodgers 2004). What binds them despite their differences are the disjointed, oppositional spaces that result and a politics of social distancing, both deeply shaped by the constraints of being a city of the South.

The creation of cosmopolitan, transnational spaces of affluence and exclusivity is closely linked to emergent identities and notions of belonging (Samara 2010; Young *et al.* 2006). There is more going on here than an attempt to create spectacular and attractive places to live, shop and recreate. Newly built or refurbished urban centers are also markers of territory and points of reference in what are rapidly changing and expanding environments. More affluent interest groups seek to create and cordon off their cosmopolitan enclaves as much as possible from the disorder around them. Through these efforts, the intimacy often shared between the urban poor and middle class becomes a site of intensified conflict. The new urban geography in many cities has given rise to an anti-poor politics often spearheaded by new and more established middle-class groups of residents (Baviskar and Ray 2011; Davis 2010; Swanson 2007; Ferndandes and Heller 2006; Mawdsley 2004).

The chapters in Part II advance our understanding of these dynamics considerably, and pose important questions for future research. In the first chapter, Xuefei Ren and Liza Weinstein approach the question of transformation and governance from the perspective of mega-project development. The authors seek to explain the differences in planning and implementation between two iconic cities in the South: Shanghai and Mumbai. In explaining how different landscapes emerge, their contribution reveals not only that the state remains central to the implementation of market-based urban transformations, but also how variations in landscape transformation between divided cities are substantially shaped by different inter-scalar state articulations, which are themselves embedded in highly specific local histories. Their chapter draws our attention to the broader networks – of which the state forms one central node, through which these projects are initiated, facilitated, obstructed and unevenly implemented – and how these operate effectively to exclude or reduce participation by local residents in the process.

In the second chapter, Pablo Bose presents an indepth study of cosmopolitan transformation in Kolkata by engaging three seeming contradictions: the rise of neoliberal urbanism in a center of Marxist power; the reemergence of transnational forms in a city that many believed had been left behind by globalization;

and the invocation by more affluent groups of an environmental aesthetic at odds with the social and ecological justice agendas of the urban poor. Bose provides a careful and detailed account of how city spaces are shaped by tensions between what a city can and should be in the eyes of more affluent groups and what the city is. Importantly, he reveals the uses of violence in this process, as an accusation hurled against the urban poor when they infringe upon certain spaces, as in the case of hawkers, and as a method of eviction and removal against these very same populations in the name of beautification and modernization. This view, of the street-level reality of remaking city spaces and into the political coalitions behind them, builds on the work of Ren and Weinstein to complicate our understanding of how city divisions are made and remade. Further, it also emphasizes the distance that can separate reigning governance regimes and networks, regardless of expressed ideology, from the politics of the marginalized.

Rachel Berney offers an insightful analysis of how public spaces become sites for the production of citizenship and the regulation of behavior. Drawing from her extensive fieldwork in Bogotá, she examines efforts by city leaders to use public spaces to integrate residents who are both socially and spatially divided. Adding to the analysis provided by Bose, she shows that from the start the process was shaped by two related constraints: the perceived need for the city to be an attractive place for investment, and the desire of middle- and upper-income residents and officials for an “orderly” city. At the outset, then, the meaning of public space was caught between two competing visions, as a space for interaction between citizens of equal status, or as a space of discipline and differentiation. Public space and citizenship, rather than representing institutions of integration, much less political liberty, become intertwined regulatory mechanisms deployed by exclusionary networks of urban actors. A policy oriented around integration through the use of public space to facilitate the creation of more representative publics had become instead a mechanism of governance linked to existing divisions.

David Walker confronts a similar set of issues in his work on Mexico City and the efforts to redevelop the city’s historic center. Walker analyses the connections between the network of actors involved in the redevelopment, the outcomes for the area’s physical spaces and the people who live and work there, and the different forms of resistance it provokes. He shows that here too perceptions by more affluent residents and local officials of appropriate uses of public and quasi-public spaces, in combination with specific market imperatives, act to constrain the lives of marginalized workers, in this case street vendors. Walker also draws our attention to the less than straightforward relationship between the middle class and neoliberalism, showing that more affluent residents are quite vocal and organized in rejecting redevelopment when it is seen to impinge on their quality of life, yet are actively involved in supporting policies that increase insecurity for more precarious workers.

In the final chapter of Part II Christine Hentschel compares struggles against segregation in Durban with those against gentrification in Berlin. She finds that in the former, historically rooted concern over overt and repressive forms of

segregation often miss how in a post-apartheid context micro-scaled “soft” forms of segregation linked to aesthetic and lifestyle markers can function to reproduce exclusivity and apartness. In contrast, Hentschel finds in the gentrifying Berlin neighborhood of Neukölln that the narrow focus by white activists on conventional forms of gentrification fails to appreciate the broader context of racial and ethnic segregation and undermines alliances with working-class immigrant communities. In each case, possibilities for transformative struggles over urban space could be expanded through a more critical view of the processes through which divisions are being reproduced.

The chapters in Part II detail how a particular vision of cosmopolitan urbanism, driven by networks of affluent actors and expressed through redeveloped built environments, figures prominently in creating the texture of urban spaces and divisions. They show how different articulations of this vision appear, but also support the argument that there is a transnational dimension to the environments themselves, the actors involved and the consequences for urban marginality and the lives of less powerful and affluent residents. In doing so they contribute to ongoing discussions over the respective roles of and relationships between state, market and civil society in urban governance, while simultaneously drawing attention to spaces outside these institutions, and forces which cut across and through them. Of particular note is the prominent role of middle-income groups, and their posture towards the urban poor with whom they often, and it seems unwillingly, share urban space. In this relationship we can see a city pulled between two trajectories that are not only separate but mutually exclusive, while remaining intimately and materially bound to each other. These opposing forces will shape contests over space, resources and power in the South for some time to come, and in the final section of the book we turn to the politics of the divided city.

Governance and counter-governance – the shape of urban conflict and the urban future

The politics arising from divided cities in the South are located squarely within a wider global democracy deficit and the concomitant spread of governance regimes in which market-based economies are tightly bound to a variety of formal political systems. The phenomenon is global in scope and transnational in nature, but may be concentrated and at its most severe in the world’s urban centers. While up to this point we have been primarily concerned with the city’s socio-spatial production, the issue of political territory has been at or near the surface the entire time. The aims of distinct actors that form a part of local regimes, coalitions or networks may be driven variously by economic incentives, aesthetic and moral concerns or desire for particular kinds of (secure) lifestyles. Regardless of which of these is implicated the resulting policies and practices are at root expressions of particular systems of governance that function to create and control territories. Further, a defining feature of these systems in relation to territory, and in this discussion to political territory, is a movement towards enclosure.

The enclosure of political space under market-driven forms of urban governance is a rational development given the general drift of the control over a range of resources from the public domain to private and public-private networks; it is indeed a movement that has been central in reinvigorating the interest in right to the city and urban democracy more generally (Purcell 2002). In the Global South there appears to be a rough match between the division of city spaces and the political disenfranchisement of the majority of urban residents, as local, national and transnational actors combine to form highly effective governance networks that even the most organized local opposition will struggle to locate and access, much less impact. Yet, local struggles to defend, retake and remake urban spaces abound, and in many cities the so-called peripheries are sites of social, cultural, economic, political and technical innovations that somehow and at least for some time evade the reach of governance regimes (Roy 2010; Simone 2010; Holston 2009; Lazar 2008; Neuwirth 2004). Enclosure may be a powerful repressive tendency, but it is not one that can ever be fully realized in practice.

Urban politics arise from the struggles to survive, live and thrive within the constraints of the divisions the city imposes on its inhabitants. In most if not all cities of the South these constraints include dependence on the labor of the poor by more affluent groups who do not necessarily want to live side by side with them. We can refer to the politics arising from this as expressions of governance and counter-governance. If the former can be characterized as attempts to exert decisive control over territories in pursuit of specific agendas, then the latter refers to efforts to oppose this control and, beyond that, to assert alternative control over the same territory. These do not encapsulate the entirety of politics in the city, either of affluent or marginal residents, but they do speak to a central political dynamic. The politics of counter-governance play out across and outside formal institutions and processes (as do those of governance), they can engage with, subvert or ignore (at least to some extent) existing governance structures, as well as produce their own. What binds them is that they in some way represent responses to political exclusion, whether through a lack of legal protections/rights, inadequate enforcement of existing rights or the imposition of disempowering “development” schemes (Huchzermeyer 2011; Brown *et al.* 2010; Kranthi and Rao 2010; Chatterjee 2004).

Taking up these issues directly in the first chapter of Part III, Ernesto López-Morales uses the real estate-led expansion of middle- and upper-income housing in Santiago to explore resistance by working-class residents to gentrification and displacement. Although the immediate target of the activists was the redrafting of the master plan for the Pedro Aguirre Cerda district, López-Morales shows that this opposition was at the same time a contestation of power along class lines, in this case over the remaking of a working-class community, and of the relatively unaccountable and unreachable institutions of governance that characterize the Chilean planning system. In response, an increasingly organized and active social movement has emerged to project its own power in the contestation of urban space and maneuver against top-down planning processes. Mobilizing

and disseminating technical knowledge at the grassroots level, the movement was able to counter plans generated by powerful local actors through innovative engagement with and shaping of the political process.

Returning to the role of the middle class in the city, Ryan Centner examines a similar set of issues from quite a different perspective: how the middle classes in Buenos Aires, Istanbul, Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo negotiate and construct identity while producing and mobilizing around particular notions of the right kind of city. He draws attention to the relationship between urban governance, the shifting, malleable meanings of “middleclassness” and the complex politics of distinction that result, with great consequences for city spaces. Centner locates these phenomena in the growth of the middle class in many countries of the South and the intensification of the politics of urban space that has accompanied it. He finds that although class remains central to urban struggles across the cases, class itself is less a fixed category than a complex and contested one linked to other dimensions of identity and status that draw legitimacy from a range of sources, not all rooted in the local. What emerges in all cases, though, are exclusionary notions of citizenship and rights that complicate attempts to link rights-based movements and discourses facilely to the production of more just cities for all urban residents.

Finally, Wael Fahmi presents research on the innovative interpenetrating, hybrid spaces being created by bloggers in Cairo. Constrained by government repression and surveillance in the city’s public squares, bloggers and “hacktivists” are creating new spaces within which to claim and exercise rights, moving between real and virtual worlds. In doing so, protestors have been able to re-empower themselves in the city, and remake the spaces from which they had either been excluded or within which their activities were being constrained. Fahmi’s piece provides crucial insights into how spaces of freedom are constructed and continuously evolving in response to hegemonic, and in this case authoritarian, governance structures. Further, the activists in Cairo show that even in the most repressive conditions possibilities exist for producing, expanding and inhabiting political spaces of resistance.

These chapters touch on a number of key concerns that are useful in orienting our thinking on these issues. In Santiago and Cairo, mobilized residents intrude into existing spaces and create new ones within which to enact improvisational forms of urban citizenship that overcome deficiencies or obstacles in existing citizenship practices, and themselves have the potential to become institutionalized. Cairo bloggers in particular demonstrate the possibilities of autoconstruction in the context of political spaces (Holston 2009). Centner, however, provides an important reminder that both the definition and outcomes of rights-based struggles are indeterminate, linked to complex local dynamics and shifting terrains that can produce competing and contradictory rights claims. In the final section of this introduction we draw from the volume’s contributions and offer some thoughts on urban political struggles and, more specifically, right to the city across the Global South, as well as the hostile terrain that generates them.

Neoliberalism versus right to the city

To close, we offer some thoughts on how the work in this volume contributes to building an understanding of neoliberalism and right to the city. It might be useful to begin by positing that each of these concepts capture and isolate opposing time- and place-specific tendencies that push cities towards two fundamentally different urban futures: one characterized by various forms of enclosure; the other by various forms of justice. We must stress that these are tendencies, and that they are subject to alterations and mutations that cannot be anticipated and may render the terms themselves anachronistic. In that sense, we see this discussion as one of many that can take place, and has been taking place, about the making of cities of the South, while we hold that the research presented here offers compelling evidence that at present the concepts remain important for thinking about these cities from a critical social justice perspective. Developing a distinct and independent Southern urbanism is still in the early, basic research phase; consequently we offer early reflections on these concepts that will hopefully continue to undergo critique and refinement. To begin, we suggest that neoliberalism functions as a mode of economic inequality and marginalization that articulates with three other interlocking modes of exclusion: physical, social and political.

The exclusive city

While the socio-spatial division of urban space is not new, the chapters here suggest that neoliberalism is linked to the production of particular kinds of cores and peripheries through the commodification of land and housing markets, playing a central, historically grounded role in the deepening and hardening of divided cityscapes. These processes produce important differences shaped by local context – as in those between Beirut and Ouagadougou, for example – but important aspects that bind them include an articulation or rearticulation of land value through the real estate market that is directly linked to enclosure, displacement, eviction, commodification, redevelopment, piecemeal upgrading, containment or neglect, depending on assigned values. These in turn shape socio-spatial marginalization and help to define core and peripheral spaces, whether through increased distance from economic, political and cultural “centers” or various forms of in situ regulation when physical distancing would be an onerous undertaking. The primary constraints on how far market-led redevelopment can penetrate into and monetize “disorderly” spaces in the South are the power and organization of state actors and the networks in which they participate for these purposes, the size and durability of “troublesome” neighborhoods and populations, the extent of urban poverty and the degree of inequality.

The rise and expansion of affluent classes in the South has been attributed to the adoption of market reforms by many nations. The disproportionate concentration of these populations in cities has, of course, had profound implications for urban space and politics. Kolkata, Durban and Mexico City certainly differ in many ways, but there is a clear convergence in the carving out of certain spaces

from their hostile and disorderly surroundings, and not only redeveloping these sequestered spaces but also infusing them with a certain status and class-based morality qua civic virtue. Belonging is coded here in terms that betray a differentiated citizenship, linking social status to territory. From here an entire politics of place becomes possible, which functions across numerous cities as a mechanism of exclusion from or regulation in public and quasi-public spaces. Again, the constraints imposed by cities in the South are important, particularly the dependence of affluent groups on the labor of the poor and the proximity of unequal groups to each other in many places. Affluent and poor are more tightly bound together because of the central role of cheap labor in underwriting affluence, and more distant because of the often glaring contrasts between living space, lifestyles and life trajectories. It makes sense that a particularly intense spatial politics of belonging emerges with clear markers given this cheek-by-jowl existence, whether these result in fortification, repression or simply dispersion as affluent groups move away.

Neoliberalism in the South is implicated not just in physical and social exclusion, but also in the enclosure of political space. The splitting of social space and subsequent distancing of the urban poor, as well as elite control over nominally democratic institutions and processes, contribute to the unequal distribution of political power and access. The rise and expansion of governance networks to which most urban residents have limited access, comprised of affluent citizens, local officials and representatives of the private sector seeking to extend control over territories, can limit and even effectively disenfranchise large numbers of residents. From efforts in Casablanca and Ouagadougou to eliminate slums, to mobilizations by middle-class residents in Rio, Buenos Aires or Istanbul to assert their own vision of the right kind of city, we see policies and practices that are often about the urban poor, but rarely from them. As Ren and Weinstein suggest, while variations in local and national political context can play an important role in determining pace and scale of transformations, spatial and political marginalization mark mega-project development in both Shanghai and Mumbai, despite the very different political systems in each case.

Neoliberalism in the South is associated with the (re)production of urban divisions and the emergence of redeveloped cosmopolitan spaces of affluence that increasingly are in tension with, even as they are bound to, the peripheral spaces of the urban majority. From this emerges a politics of physical, social and political distancing, as affluent citizens seek to remove themselves from the poverty around them, and the populations upon whose labor their affluence largely depends. Central to this politics are efforts to enclose and commandeer political spaces themselves. While these dynamics are not absent in the North, and may in fact be increasing in importance, they operate at a scale and intensity in the urban South that produces a distinct category of urbanism and, as we turn to next, a distinct set of political questions and politics.

Right to the city as counter-governance

For now, right to the city cannot be understood separately from neoliberalism, it must be located within the context of and as a response to the substantial rescaling of inequality, crisis and, to a great extent, global governance (Harvey 2012; Samara 2012; O'Connor 2008; Purcell 2002). If neoliberalism is viewed as an innovation in the reproduction and recreation of socio-spatial inequality, then right to the city is a political response and challenge to this development. If neoliberalism is a central force driving the enclosure of political spaces, then right to the city, to start, can be understood as both resistance and an attempt to create or open existing political spaces. Taken in aggregate, the daily pushes against various sub-populations in cities across the South, just as cities have reemerged as spaces of citizenship, amount to a collective effort to deny urban majorities the *right* to be *of* the city, or at least those parts of the divided city in which certain forms of power (linked to governance) and types of resources (linked to affluence) are concentrated (Isin 2002; see also Sassen 2004).

Writings on right to the city relevant to the South cover a relatively broad spectrum of thought, underscoring the challenges of conceptual and political specification. From these a number of key issues and debates emerge. In a useful distinction, Peter Marcuse separates the demand for rights *in* cities (cities as sites of politics) from a right *to* the city (the city as the object of politics), the latter a potentially more transformative approach which can include a constructive power (of space, for example) that goes beyond mere participation in existing structures and processes (Marcuse 2010; see also Harvey 2008; Isin 2002). Developing this line of thought in his work on water provision in South Africa, Patrick Bond distinguishes between what he calls the limited scope of consumption rights and a more expansive and radical right to the commons (Bond 2010). Other writers have taken up the critique of right-to-the-city approaches that center state, law, civil society and other institutional sites of reform, and marginalize more radical and politicized iterations (Kipfer *et al.* 2012; Samara 2012; Mayer 2009; Fernandez 2007). This focus is matched by attention to the meaning of right to the city for traditionally excluded social groups, in particular women, racial and ethnic minorities and undocumented migrants (Taylor 2011; Gilbert and Dikeç 2008; Varsanyi 2008; Fenster 2005; McEwan 2005).

Looming behind many of these arguments and discussions is the meta-issue of socio-spatial segregation, which as we have argued here is a defining feature of cities and, from the point of view of inequality and social justice, an especially salient one. Calls for urban policy and practice that integrate divided spaces and populations, or for building inclusive cities, remain popular among many non-governmental organizations, scholars and community organizations (Zerah *et al.* 2011; Parnell and Pieterse 2010; UN-HABITAT 2010; Brown and Kristiansen 2009). A common thread uniting many of these calls is a belief that integration is possible and necessary for equitable urban development, and desirable as a matter of principle. The massive challenges facing cities of the South, emerging from such scale and depth of inequality, should caution us against too

readily accepting any of these beliefs as essential features of what right to the city can mean in the South. Indeed, we should consider whether right to the city may require new conceptions of centrality and more radical forms of politicization of urban conflict than the integrationist approaches offer (Kipfer *et al.* 2012; Turkmen 2011). At the very least, the reality on the ground suggests that we reconsider the parameters of possibility. What does the divided city tell us about right to the city as a particular intervention into urban politics, and, then, what can right to the city tell us about the possible futures of divided cities?

There is much to suggest that divided cities will be the predominant urban form for some time to come; David Harvey (2003), Bervoets and Loopmans (Chapter 3, this volume), Chen (Chapter 4, this volume) and Fawaz (Chapter 1, this volume) all show urbanization across the South operating as a mechanism of enclosure and separation. Before positing that right to the city is dependent of some form of integration, we must ask whether the divided city is an obstacle to be overcome or a relatively fixed urban configuration from which new politics (and polities) will emerge and new, unanticipated urban forms produced? Is the goal an integrated city or is the integrated city a proxy concept for other goals whose achievement is not dependent on (a highly unlikely) integration? Inherent in these questions are two assertions: that, whatever the answers to them may be, right to the city is fundamentally linked to place; and that the city alone is too broad a spatial lens and can make it difficult to see – and center – the important fault lines upon which it is constructed.

An additional phenomenon that work in this volume also documents is that affluent groups, networks and coalitions seem to pursue, often quite vigorously, exclusive cities, and it seems a conception of right to the city would need to contend directly with this political reality. A conception which is in any way reliant upon petitioning (state, the “public”) to “let the poor in” or building partnerships with these groups for various development schemes seems to misrecognize the problem as one of historical inertia, resource scarcity, bureaucratic inefficiency or some other explanation that discounts the centrality of self-aware agents who are very much certain of the kind of city they want. The thinness of such an approach becomes clear in light of the contributions here by Bose (Chapter 6), Walker (Chapter 8), Hentschel (Chapter 9), Centner (Chapter 11) and Berney (Chapter 7), each in its own way detailing the power of cosmopolitan urbanism in remaking places but also politics, as new and established affluent groups confront the perceived disorder that often surrounds them and, for some, the fragility of their own positions. The point is not that such approaches are doomed to failure or should never be pursued, but that analysis of their potential must take the political limitations they often entail more seriously. At present, right to the city in the South has to be built upon the antinomic political foundation that divided cities produce and are produced by.

Divided cities in which more powerful groups collaborate in enclosing political spaces and excluding urban majorities raise the question of where a politics of the excluded is located, if not in the formal institutions and processes that, at

least in liberal democracies, are meant to afford all legal residents with access to political power. Partha Chatterjee offers a useful orientation to this question through his discussion of popular politics. Although not writing in the idioms of urbanism or geography, the civil society that appears through his critique resonates with both: “Civil society ... will appear as the closed association of modern elite groups, sequestered from the wider popular life of the communities, walled up within enclaves of civic freedom and rational law” (Chatterjee 2004: 4). Political exclusion, to the extent we see this as an effective exclusion from civil society and state, then raises two related questions: where is the actual or potential political power of the excluded centered, and how it is expressed?

The loose correlation between social, spatial and political exclusion requires closer examination in future work. To the extent that marginalized populations construct homes, communities and economies in peripheral spaces, further exploration of how political power and right to the city are produced from this position is needed, from exploring how working-class communities in Santiago mobilize in innovative ways to enter and control institutions and processes from which they have been excluded, to Fahmi’s study of how activists in Cairo construct new – in this case virtual – political spaces from which they orchestrate efforts to claim downtown public spaces for political protest. What binds these efforts, those that are successful as well as those that are not, is the labor of building political centers outside of enclosed spaces, from which a range of options present themselves. While many of these are certainly driven, at least in part, by a desire for participation, they also open up the possibility of a politics beyond integration and inclusion.

Conclusion

The aim of this introduction has not been to provide readymade definitions of neoliberalism and right to the city in a Global South context, but to explore the terrain from which conceptions of each emerge. This is what is meant by locating the concepts: situating them in specific spaces and as aspects of distinctive processes and dynamics. If we privilege them here it is only because they appear to have a value in capturing certain important and common aspects of urban life in the South related to the global challenges of inequality and deprivation. We add our voices to those who have warned against claiming exaggerated, and unsubstantiated, explanatory power for either concept, and liberatory power for right to the city. At the same time, we hold to the continued significance of and potential in each concept, and in their interrelationship. More broadly, in our focus on the urban South, we hope this volume marks a contribution to efforts at situating what have for too long been considered marginal and peripheral cities and spaces as centers, both longstanding and emerging, while also avoiding the pitfall of attributing to these inherent or essential social, spatial or political qualities. We do believe, however, that a fundamental shift is occurring and that it will be increasingly untenable to refer to as marginal or peripheral those areas of the world where most people live, where most economic activity takes place,

where multiple forms of global urban culture are forged and from which the strongest political storms of the future may well emerge.

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