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Emerging Urban Spaces

A Planetary Perspective

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Editors
Philipp Horn
Urban Studies and Planning
University of Sheffield
Sheffield
UK

Ana Claudia Cardoso
Faculty of Architecture and Urbanism
Federal University of Pará
Belém, Pará
Brazil

Paola Alfaro d'Alençon
Habitat Unit, Institute for Architecture
Technical University of Berlin
Berlin
Germany

ISSN 2365-757X ISSN 2365-7588 (electronic)
The Urban Book Series
ISBN 978-3-319-57815-6 ISBN 978-3-319-57816-3 (eBook)
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-57816-3

Library of Congress Control Number: 2017964437

Printed on acid-free paper

This Springer imprint is published by the registered company Springer International Publishing AG part of Springer Nature
The registered company address is: Gewerbestrasse 11, 6330 Cham, Switzerland

Acknowledgements

The chapters in this book represent a selection of papers presented during two panel sessions on the topic 'Emerging Urban Spaces: A Planetary Perspective' which took place at the 2016 World Planning School's Congress (WPSC) in Rio de Janeiro and the 2016 Annual Royal Geography Society (RGS) Conference in London. We are particularly thankful to Vanesa Castán Broto for providing valuable comments as chair and moderator of our session at the RGS conference. We also thank the Developing Areas Research Group (DARG) and the Planning and Environment Research Group (PERG) for co-sponsoring our session at the RGS conference.

We would like to thank our publishers at Springer for their editorial support throughout the entire process of preparing this book. We also thank the different individuals and organisations that kindly permitted the reuse of some written materials, figures and illustrations.

The preliminary findings of this book were shared with scholars with specialist knowledge during panel sessions at the 2017 RC21 Conference in Leeds and the 2017 Network-Association of European Researchers on Urbanisation in the South (N-AERUS) in Milan. We also benefitted from personal or Skype discussions between the editors and Rodrigo Castriota, Roberto Luis Monte-Mór, Christian Schmid and Matthew Thompson. The editors acknowledge the comments made at conference sessions and during personal/Skype conversations, which have significantly enhanced the intellectual narrative presented in this book.

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.

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Editors and Contributors

About the Editors

Philipp Horn is Lecturer in the Department of Urban Studies and Planning at the University of Sheffield. He is also Honorary Research Fellow in the Department of Planning and Environmental Management at the University of Manchester. His research interests include rights-based approaches to urban development, indigenous rights to the city, ethno-racial justice and models of plurinational citizenship in Bolivia and Ecuador.

Paola Alfaro d'Alençon is a Senior Researcher and Lecturer in Urban Theory and Design and Project Director of the *Urban Research and Design Laboratory* at the Technische Universität Berlin. She also runs her own practice in Berlin, where she works in the interface between research and design in urbanism and in consultancy for international organisations. Her research comprises co-production in housing, urban conversion and challenged neighbourhood processes, socio-spatial cartography as well as resilient urban strategies. She is currently also a Visiting Researcher at the centre *CEDEUS* at the P. Universidad Católica de Chile.

Ana Claudia Cardoso is Associate Professor in the School of Architecture and Urbanism at the Federal University of Pará. She received a Ph.D. in Architecture from Oxford Brooked University (UK) and a Master's in Urban Planning from University of Brasília (Brazil). She investigates the production, management and morphology of Amazonian cities, and the possibilities to articulate urban design to socio-environmental demands.

Contributors

Danilo Araújo Federal University of Pará, Belém, Brazil

Sheere Brooks College of Agriculture, Science and Education, Portland, Jamaica

Ana Claudia Cardoso Federal University of Pará, Belém, Brazil

Nancy Couling TU Delft, Delft, Netherlands

Paola Alfaro d'Alençon Technical University Berlin, Berlin, Germany

Philipp Horn Urban Studies and Planning, University of Sheffield, Sheffield, UK

Ernesto López Morales Universidad de Chile, Santiago, Chile

Ana Carolina Melo Federal University of Pará, Belém, Brazil

Roberto Luís Monte-Mór Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais, Minas Gerais, Brazil

David Mountain University of Manchester, Manchester, England

Harley Silva Federal University of Pará, Belém, Brazil

Elena Trubina Ural Federal University, Ekaterinburg, Russia

Charalampos Tsavdaroglou Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, Thessaloniki, Greece

Chapter 1
Introduction

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

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

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

P. Horn (✉)
Urban Studies and Planning, University of Sheffield, Sheffield, UK
e-mail: Philipp.Horn85@outlook.com

A. C. Cardoso
Federal University of Pará, Belém, Brazil
e-mail: aclaudiacardoso@gmail.com

P. Alfaro d'Alençon
Technical University Berlin, Berlin, Germany
e-mail: paola.alfarodalencon@tu-berlin.de

P. Horn et al. (eds.), *Emerging Urban Spaces*, The Urban Book Series,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-57816-3_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, [1] to investigating urbanisation processes. Following the wellsprings of this theory project, Marx, Lefebvre but also Monte-Mór, it is understood that the planetary urbanisation process takes place along a double movement, namely that of concentrated and extended urbanisation. The former refers to the concentration of population, infrastructure and politico-economic control and resistance within particular places, including cities, while the latter refers to urban features in non-urban settings leading to the disintegration of 'hinterlands' and the end of 'tradition/wilderness'.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1.3 Why This Book? Background and Objectives

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

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

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

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

1.4 Organisation of the Chapters

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1.5 Lessons from the Different Contributions of This Book

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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