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BOOK OF ABSTRACTS
THE STRUGGLE FOR GOOD GOVERNANCE: THE DIFFICULTY OF RECONCILING DEMOCRACY, HONESTY AND EFFECTIVE ADMINISTRATION

The multinational development banks recommend decentralisation, local autonomy and privatisation as ways of improving the management of large urban agglomerations in poor countries. However, their advocacy of neoliberal macro-economic policy has come under increasing criticism and electorates in many cities have voted in leaders from the left. I wish to explore how this apparent paradox is manifesting itself in one city in Latin America.

By the standards of the South, Bogotá is by now a well-managed city. It has virtually universal water and sewerage coverage, an improving public transport system, the housing deficit is in decline and the economy is growing rapidly. It is a city that emerged from a major crisis in the early 1990s to establish itself as a model of good urban governance. However the poor were not satisfied with the quality of their lives and they began to elect a series of left-wing mayors. Many observers argue that the quality of the administration has been in decline ever since. The current mayor is being threatened with a revocation vote and his predecessor is likely to be jailed for corruption.

The paper is concerned with the relationship between chronic poverty, democracy and administrative effectiveness. Does the need to maintain political alliances lead to the appointment of poor quality administrators and to the proliferation of political appointees? Can local administrations help the poor without bankrupting the city’s finances, particularly when they have little influence over key issues like employment and wages? How successfully can national and local administrations work when they come from different sides of the political divide? Can the poor’s quality of life be improved in a city located in a wider environment of even greater poverty and frequent economic recessions?

The experience of development in Latin America is too often neglected in other parts of the world. It has particular relevance to cities in Africa, Asia and even southern Europe. After all the region was a relatively early urbaniser and it has dealt fairly capably over the years with a difficult combination of rapid city growth, the arrival of a mass of poor rural people and a frequently unstable political situation.
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‘SOCIAL SPACE AND POLITICAL COMMUNITIES IN AN AGE OF AUSTERITY: KINNING PARK COMPLEX’

This paper interrogates contemporary government discourse surrounding ‘community’ in relation to the complex, performed social networks that sustain a community space within the urban landscape of Glasgow. It highlights the mundane realities of service provision carried out through voluntary labour, which is often presented under the guise of ‘community spirit’ in discourses such as David Cameron’s notion of the ‘Big Society’. It focuses on Kinning Park Complex (KPC); a community centre that was saved from being sold by the council during a 55-day occupation by local activists in 1996 and continues to survive in today’s austere times. KPC serves artists, political groups, asylum seekers and musicians and local children. Thus KPC is a socially and economically valuable space for the diverse local community in terms of affordable facilities, but also ideologically unique in its production of hybrid politics and identities. The sustained political struggle between the City Council and KPC’s committee, positions KPC’s struggle for autonomy in relation to ‘an ongoing contestation of neo-liberalism, rather than as an isolated crisis moment where neo-liberalism has suddenly become challenged’ (Featherstone, 2012:216). KPC appears in-line with the current government plans to expand third sector projects in a context of austerity; whilst simultaneously striving to function as a non-hierarchical and not-for profit space. In this sense it represents a social and political space that continues to exist in, against, and beyond neoliberalism. I focus on the paradoxical nature of KPC; as both an important symbolic and functional community space and a case study to demonstrate the complexities and contradictions of simultaneously struggling against, and providing services autonomously from, the state during austere times.
Recent movements emerging in cities merge, overlap and coincide with national and transnational anti-neoliberal struggles in urban space. From the Spanish ‘Indignados’ to the Greek squares, these become localized moments within broader movements and, at the same time, ground global struggles in local contexts. Urban space seems to hold a key role in these processes, acting both as a matter-subject of contestation and a field for building resistance to austerity neoliberalism. At the same time, the processes through which ‘space’ shapes social movements and is shaped by movements’ strategies and practices reveal the mutual constitution of the ‘social’ and the ‘spatial’. Hence, the socio-spatial practices underlying the dynamics of contentious politics can be unraveled through e.g. the examination of place-specific attributes of collective action, scalar tactics of movements and their articulations as networked mobilizations.

Through a case study on Athens, Greece, the goal is to show how cities in general assume a crucial role within broader movements contesting neoliberalization. In the context of severe austerity, urban-based struggles seek to overcome spatial constraints and expand outside their immediate action settings. The relational attributes found in the city of Athens enable such connections, whilst activists utilize their resources in order to circulate information, communicate and organize collective action. These local movements act as powerful actors in articulating resistance in the neighbourhood and beyond. Place-based solidarity networks, local struggle committees, social centers and social/ solidarity economy experiments have been created as immediate responses to the crisis. These not only seek to cover for basic needs, but also serve as grounds for building on practices which go beyond austerity neoliberalism i.e. enacting new forms of socialization and political cultures in and through urban space.
This paper will explore the ambivalent nature of community organisation as a response to urban crisis. In the discourse of the Third Way, activism was increasingly discursively framed as “participation”, underpinned by the theoretical concept of social capital, legitimizing a shift in welfare provision from the state onto civil society and a proliferation of private actors. In the process, existing local solidarities based on long-term shared interests and histories of conflict with the parts of the state, were transformed (in theory) into social networks, forms of short-term instrumental co-operation based on consensus. However, local participation is a contradictory space of engagement. It continues to provide our most immediate experience of political economy, what Harvey describes as the “spatial fix” of capitalist development, and what Gramsci identifies as a sense of difference, which can form the basis of a challenge to hegemonic thinking. At the same time, it brings community activists into contact with what Rose (after Foucault) describes as the technologies of power which are deployed to close difference down and produce governable subjects, co-opting and dividing them from their base communities. Engaging empirically with local organisers in the East Midlands, and with wider developments in Alinsky-inspired activism, I conclude that the revival of community organisation as part of this process opens up a number of possibilities for alternative configurations of the relationship between state and civil society, based on practical, historically-acquired local knowledge, or Gramscian “good sense”. The potential of this as a source of contestation, however, depends on two dimensions of practice: (i) the development by activists of a critical understanding of how to foster or maintain long-term collective interests, identity and practices within their communities and (ii) maintaining a clear sense of separation from the state which allows power to be confronted.

This proposal is suggested for Stream 2: Contesting Urban Crises, specifically in addressing the tensions involved in combining critique with participation in structures of governance. However, it also raises methodological and theoretical questions which are relevant to Stream 3: Critical Research on Urban Crises, specifically how researchers can map and understand the shifting interactions between governors and activists, and between activists and their communities, and whether this can be done from a position of only peripheral membership.
In March of this year Medellín received the World’s Most Innovative City prize, beating New York and Tel Aviv in the final round. Two significant things stand out. Firstly, the prize was awarded by the American Urban Land Institute and sponsored by the Wall Street Journal and Citigroup, real forces behind transnational capitalism. Secondly, the play-off decision was made by popular vote, and the citizens of Medellín accounted for 70% of the total number of votes received. In other words, not only capitalist interests loved the urban transformations, but local citizens as well, despite the fact that Medellín is one of the most socially unequal cities in the world.

This paper looks at how this was achieved. The most evident artifacts are the (first ever) aerial cable-cars providing public transport in the densely built low-income hillsides and the striking architecture of public buildings (schools, libraries, etc.) in the poorest sectors of the city. However, this strategy of high-profile but site-specific interventions - or ‘urban acupuncture’ – is sustained by a narrative of radical change: a break with the past, paying the city’s historical debt to the city’s poor, social inclusion, citizen formation, administrative transparency, and so on. However, given increasing social inequality and a fragile public order with still high levels of crime and violence, the narrative claims have to be continually repeated and renewed. Recent evidence suggests that the narrative is becoming strained and its ‘truth effects’ weakened, in part because the success of the city’s ‘social urbanism’ has turned an internal socio-spatial project into an external marketing strategy.

The international interest and comparative study potential lies in the adaptation of a European model to the cities of the South, as well as the fact that the now ‘Medellín model’ has been taken up by many cities in South America, for example cable-cars in Caracas, Rio de Janeiro and soon in El Alto, Bolivia, not to mention London.
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ANOTHER URBAN CRISIS “ON STAGE”: CONFLICTS OVER THE PROSPECTIVE EMOLISHMENT OF THE EMEK MOVIE THEATER IN ISTANBUL

Figure 1. From the protests against the displacement of Emek movie theater (The banner reads “Emek will not submit to capital”; “emek” means labour in Turkish)

Unlike its European counterparts, Istanbul is not experiencing disinvestment or financial crisis. If anything, Istanbul’s urban crisis precisely stems from overinvestment and aggressive neoliberal urban transformation projects, which standardize and homogenize the city’s landscape. In fact, it has been argued that Istanbul has survived the global economic crisis through fueling a construction boom in the city, led by new investments and projects. This bulldozer urban transformation meant, however, that neoliberal urbanizers not only package the city’s historical sights and locations for commercial and touristic purposes but also crudely damage the social and historical fabric of urban landscape with no sensitivity to the fact that spaces are full of lived experiences.

Not all neoliberal urbanisms, however, go as planned since, as Lefebvre has pointed out, “neither capitalism nor the state can maintain the chaotic, contradictory space they have produced.” Based on the critical urban theory debates which view space as a “social construct,” we argue that Istanbul’s urban transformation story, as in most globalizing cities, is also filled with contradictions and contestations. The transformation of the city’s entertainment district of Beyoglu in general and the prospective demolition of the historical Emek movie theater in particular provide a crucial case study in this respect. The neoliberal dream of the district municipality involves opening touristic boutique hotels, high-class entertainment locales and shopping centers in Beyoglu so as to serve a distinguished national and international clientele. A typical example is the project aiming to build the replica of Emek, one of the oldest movie theatres in Istanbul, on the upper floors of a building, which will become yet another shopping mall. The case of Emek is indeed symbolic of the kind of transformation the city of Istanbul has been going through in recent decades in that a fake, glittery replica is preferred for a genuine historical theatre.

Building on the case of Emek, this paper will explore the contradictions of neoliberal urbanism by simultaneously looking at how resistance strategies emerge, and how urbanizers introduce and legitimize their projects while devising mechanisms for repressing, silencing, ignoring and circumventing this resistance. The prospective demolition of Emek has indeed triggered a series of protests (street protests and lawsuits) since 2009. To what extent do these struggles signify a move towards a post-neoliberal urbanism and can generate an alternative urban society remains to be seen.
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URBAN SPACE AND ANTI-NEOLIBERAL SOCIAL MOVEMENTS: THE CASE OF “PIAZZA” EXARCHIA IN ATHENS, GREECE

Keywords: financial crisis, urban space, social movements, urban practices, social conflicts, insurgent cities, citizenship, democracy, base activism.
Stream 2: Contesting Urban Crises

In Europe there is a “piazza”, which is not the one of spread and financial markets but the piazza still able to shape the urban space in the name of “the right to the city”. Paradoxically that piazza is based in Greece, downgrade to PIGS by European institutions, specifically in Athens, a social kaleidoscope on the age of the global economic crisis.

The industrial development of the Greek capital proved to be "an history of failure" (Thomas Maloutas), a day scenario exacerbated for the least four years. Following the fast decline of the quality of life, Athens has been the witness of a huge squares movement, that have taken place whether in a central approach (in particular localized in Syntagma, where Greek Parliament is based) or widespread through local assemblies territorialized in every neighborhood. Those political upheavals have recalled the Gramsci’s spontaneity concept and "brought these public spaces close to the ancient Greek agora" (Lila Leontidou). Surely Platia Exarchia, that takes its name from the local district, is the most radical among these piazzas, holding a strong tradition as an anarchist area that continues to play a leading role for urban movements against austerity. Exarchia represent a unique place in the metropolitan European context due to the low level of acceptance to a strict urban neoliberal enforcement. A mix of different political identities and several underground styles marks the district as a political, social and cultural environment where "cry and lament" of Lefebvrian memory sounds lively.

The aim of this paper is to give a first ethnographic reading of Exarchia, starting from its contextualization in the Athenian metropolitan space up to the identities and practices narrative that through it. The urban space representation will be aided by the use of smartphone as a visual unprofessional tool for ethnographic investigation.
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RADICAL DEMOCRACY AND THE URBAN CONDITION

Many of the contemporary protest movements, ranging from the anti-globalisation protesters in Seattle to the Occupy Wall Street movement or the protesters in Syntagma Square, have articulated a critique of representative democracy, outlining a democratic deficit, and demanding radical democracy. Within the built environment, this demand has been formulated as a call for participation, whether on the level of urban planning, urban design, or architecture. The paper proposed here intends to provide a critique of the transposition of an abstract ideal to concrete practice by interrogating the ideal of radical democracy, and the relationship of theory and praxis.

Radical democracy has a significant history, ranging from relatively general statements by Marx, via the re-establishment of the Italian Communist Party after World War Two based on Antonio Gramsci’s ideas of hegemony, or the demands of the ‘68 generation, to Jürgen Habermas’s conception of deliberative democracy and more recently to the political theory of Chantal Mouffe. With the exception of some recent work (Dryzek, 2000; Benhabib, 2001), theories of radical democracy have eschewed developing a concrete programme. The absence of such a specific programme for radical democracy has been a tactic necessary to avoid the societal integration of the ideal and its dilution, yet has also meant that radical democracy, in a specific and programmatic sense, is being currently delineated not so much via theory, but via diverse concrete participatory practices. Such practices may, indeed, be primarily ‘bottom-up’, but the lack of totality and overall strategy also mean an erosion of the ideal by the pragmatics of practice. As the urban crisis deepens, and with growing protest movements in the worst hit countries, the need for an alternative based on radical democracy and ‘the right to the city’ is becoming urgent, and requires, as Georg Lukács argued in another context, theories that mediate between abstract theory and concrete practice.
RIDING THE RAPIDS OF AUSTERITY AND MANAGING URBAN CRISIS: A CRITIQUE OF ‘FLEET-OF-FOOT’ PARTNERSHIP MECHANISMS

The form of crisis-governance that is the focus of this paper is what has become known in policy parlance as ‘fleet of foot’ partnership arrangements. Through a survey of international comparative examples, the research contributes to the theorisation of these institutional configurations, which are propounded to be more flexible and responsive than administrative alternatives in pursuing local economic development and managing crises in the face of devolved austerity. Prevalent policy claims and political rationalities are interrogated through an empirical analysis of the situation in England that has unfolded over recent years, culminating in the establishment of 39 Local Enterprise Partnerships covering the country. A noteworthy correlation between them and their institutional antecedents is revealed, emphasising the importance of the legacy of political constructions. The research also draws attention to some of the primary weaknesses of fleet of foot arrangements and assesses their (in-)capabilities as instruments for crisis management. More broadly, the paper contributes to the literature on urban crisis governance, austerity urbanism and contemporary trends in urban management more broadly.
DEALING WITH THE ECONOMIC CRISIS: CITY NARRATIVES IN SPAIN

Our paper analyzes, with reference to the situation in Spain, how cities narrate and manage the economic crisis. We compare the different narratives of four big Spanish cities (Barcelona, Madrid, Sevilla and Valencia) and look into how they have dealt with the economic crises and their policy responses to it. Each city has suffered and responded differently to the crises and the varying policies implemented over the last few decades will be discussed.

Our aim is to understand how the main city stakeholders are reacting to the current economic crisis and the need to manage austerity measures. Analyzing key policy documents and interviewing local politicians, public officials, activists and experts we will grasp the hegemonic discourses and also the more alternatives ones. Firstly, we are going to analyse each city with reference to the following considerations: How have local governments framed the crisis and the possible responses? Have they have changed their narratives or not? What are the new narratives? What are the most conflicting issues in each city? Might we find new post-neoliberal narratives? Secondly, a comparative analysis among the selected cases will be developed. In order to explain their similarities and differences we will explore their path dependency trajectories, how the cities have been affected by the economic crisis and its governance arrangements.

This analysis belongs to a larger research project called “Urban policies 2015: towards urban resilience?” funded by Spanish Ministry of Science that deals with the impact of the crisis on cities and explores innovations in urban policies in Spain.
This paper discusses the ways in which the current global economic crisis is reshaping the politics of urban economic development across Europe. The paper looks at how the local policy agenda is being set by the discursive as well as material battle between the adoption and implementation of austerity measures and the pursuit or only the imagination of novel accumulation strategies. It is argued that this austerity-growth dialectic characterising urban politics in times of global economic crisis is distinctive of what is defined ‘late neoliberalism’. This term denotes a politico-economic regime which is structurally and not only contingently permeated by a multidimensional condition of crisis: moral-discursive crisis, crisis of governance, and crisis of accumulation. The described austerity-growth dialectic is seen as the way in which cities and their politico-economic elites deal with the current phase of ‘late neoliberalism’ and the related multiple crises, giving rise to a form of governmentality centred on the confrontation between the ‘negative’ and the ‘positive’ of urban capitalism.

Over the last three years, the author has participated in a comparative research project, funded by the Leverhulme Trust, investigating governance responses to the global economic crisis in four European cities, two in the South of Europe (Barcellona and Cagliari) and two in North-Western Europe (Leeds and Brussels). Elaborating on the findings of this research project, this paper looks at Turin, in northwestern Italy, focusing on the confrontation between novel accumulation strategies and austerity measures in the city’s public realm. The former are epitomised by the locally influential discourse on the ‘smart city’ and the latter by the budget cuts that are forcing the municipality and the regional government to privatize key local utility authorities such as those dealing with public transportation, waste management and the digitalization of public services. The paper reflects on the ambivalent governmental rationality created by this contradictory co-presence of austerity measures and growth strategies, in material, moral and governance terms.
Crisis is, by definition, new and temporary. Yet the current economic crash, whilst narrated in the here and now, is layered on top of a series of ecological, democratic and political crises broadly identified with the global project of neo-liberalisation. From this point of view, questions about governing the current urban crisis need to be re-interpreted in the context of a broader crisis of governing that has longer and deeper structural and ideological roots.

The paper first traces this theme through re-visiting approaches to urban governance from a comparative perspective and identifying two waves of analysis: from government to governance and from governance to governing. The paper argues that, despite context-sensitive approaches emerging in cities across the world and differing pre-existing conditions, general trends in the circulation of urban ideas – such as creative cities, green cities and smart cities – have flattened distinctive approaches. What has emerged is a predominant set of collaborative practices between state and market, underpinned by elite, entrepreneurial forms of urban partnership and legitimised by consensus around the nature of the urban problem and potential solution. Collaborative practices emerging elsewhere around the world, in squats, favelas and barrios, often through communities and non-state governing processes – have largely been marginalised and not seriously considered as legitimate alternatives.

These pressures are not manifest equally and in all cities. Comparative work highlights differences in how generic pressures are mediated, translated, absorbed, reflected or refracted by different national and urban systems. Similarly, the current economic crash has not affected all cities equally: cities in South Africa, Sweden and Kenya for instance being notably less affected by austerity than those in the UK - and without the mobilisation of austerity as a rationale for the dramatic rolling-back of the state and public sector reform. In this latter context, we are in a potential transition moment where existing collaborative practices are being questioned and new collaborative practices – involving civil society – are being examined. This often includes the consideration of the transferability of other non-elite global ‘models’, such as community currencies, steady state economics or community budgeting. The question is whether these practices are likely to be enshrined in new governing arrangements, to disappear once the crisis is over or whether business-as-usual will be reinforced through a marginalisation and capture of alternatives.
The shift from government to governance has been well documented and has received significant attention both in the academic literature and by policy makers. In a related manner the notion of localism has also been at the forefront of policy and academic endeavour in the last decade- first with David Milibands 'new localism' in 2004-2005 and latterly as an integral part initially of the coalition's governing agenda. But how is 'actually existing localism' being playing out in English communities and to what degree is the promise of local decision-making (if not local control) operationalized by this concept and observable on the ground? In the context of this central question, the paper advances an anarchist approach as an alternative framework with which to further contextualise and interrogate the on-going urban crises. At a time of enduring economic crisis an anarchist approach, understood as a coherent and rigorous theory of organisation from below - is particularly significant. Anarchism promises a meaningful alternative to orthodox, authoritarian, hierarchical and institutional approaches to governance, and thus creates new possibilities for urban communities under conditions of crisis and/or austerity to address these forms of crisis.

In highlighting the limits of orthodox interpretations of 'governance', and 'localism' as a means to resist this on-going urban crisis, the paper concludes by arguing that a truly dynamic, creative and empowered localism - 'a localism of hope' or 'true localism: one which would genuinely "let communities decide" at the grassroots level - should be actively pursued at this time. Supporting the citizens of cities and urban societies to act directly when deciding 'the best' ways to respond to the challenges and threats they face, demands a whole new, exciting and empowered imagining and enacting an inclusive post-neoliberal urbanism.
ATHENS AND THE POLITICS OF THE SOVEREIGN DEBT CRISIS

This paper examines current Athens urban policies as a part of the wider governance system which is established through the implementation of the IMF-EU-ECB bailout program in Greece. Our purpose is to revisit “multi-governance” and “political economy of scale” theories under the light of the politics of the crisis.

The first part of the paper examines the logic of the politics of the crisis at the supranational level. We argue that the main characteristics of this politics are: a. Due to EU’s institutional deficiencies, the management of the crisis took primarily the character of intergovernmental bargaining, b. Decisions taken within this bargaining are imposed to lower institutional levels (individual governments and subnational authorities), as well as to the legislative power of national states, c. Although intergovernmental bargaining is profoundly political, the planning and the implementation of the bailout programs appear as a “technical” process between the representatives of IMF-EC-ECB and the national government, d. The politics of the crisis are associated with significant institution-building processes within the EU (ESM, banking union etc).

The second part of the paper examines the impact of these dynamics on policies and politics. We focus on:

a. The attempted rescaling of metropolitan governance through a recent local government reform (2010).
b. A huge privatization program fostered by the bailout program which includes public real estate assets, transport infrastructures and companies.
c. The politics of securitization in Athens, where a wide range of urban policy issues are being inscribed in multi-level security discourses and practices.

We argue that major political decisions on Athens are now largely directly subordinated to the EU level politics that involve harsh intergovernmental bargaining, the coordinative role of the European Commission and the participation of international organizations like the IMF. This dynamic challenges the supposedly non-hierarchical and collaborative policy-making procedures of EU’s “multi-level” governance system. On the other hand, urban policy making is progressively restricted to security issues that are considered of absolute priority in the local political agenda.

The empirical material of the paper includes Greek and EU official policy texts and statistics and a critical assessment of their implementation.
This contribution aims at analyzing new patterns of contesting urban space in Cairo. After the January 2011 revolution, the Egyptian civil society has been involved more and more in a process of political participation that implies, among the others, new forms of activism related to urban issues such as the right to public housing, the re-appropriation of urban spaces, contesting public and social policies. The role of this engagement is of great importance in a city where the 70% of the population lives in informal areas and where the lack of a clear public policy in terms of urban planning and social services, in addition to the neoliberal economy adopted in the last thirty years, has led to a growing social and economic crisis. Beside the well-known case of the gama’iyyat al-islamiyya of the Muslim Brotherhood movement that has raised its political consensus providing social services in many popular quarters of Cairo, new self-organized groups are coming up in these areas, assuming a role of political mediation for local communities. One interesting case is that of the ligan sha’abiyya or “popular committees” that have raised in many districts during and after the revolution. These organizations that were born in order to face practical problems such as waste collection and management, or public order issues are now evolving through a more political discourse and represent a new challenge for the government when dealing with local communities. Despite I am at the very beginning of a PhD research, this contribution aims at proposing an outlook on the new processes of urban governance in Cairo and intend to investigate how in cities from the South urban issues are becoming the new arena of the political debate.
URBAN CRISSES IN GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE

The explosion of the world’s cities over the past several decades has propagated a staggering transformation in the global structure of urban development; from the vast new shadow cities to the soaring skylines of current or future world cities. Urbanists conceptualize this process as unprecedented and therefore analyze cities in isolation from the historically contingent, political, economic, and social systems which underly their organizational form and structure. However, new urban forms are the creation of immobile capital, fixed in space and time within the built environment, and thus urban distributions reflect global investment processes and larger conditions of historical hegemony. By placing cities into a marco-historical perspective, the reoccurring condition of urban crisis can be understood as part of an underlying crisis of capital and its associated regimes of accumulation. This paper identifies a recurrent reorganization of urban space, centered on periods of economic instability during hegemonic transitions. Through this prism, the relationship between urban development and the changing structure of world power can be utilized to understand the conditional forces of historical capital and the intertwined relationship of political, economic, and social conditions in twenty-first century urbanization. While many cities have great strengths to build upon for future growth and contribute to their citizens future quality of life, they often lack a longer, global perspective of their relationship to capital accumulation and the changing structure of cycles of accumulation. Through this perspective, a conceptual and theoretical framework can be developed which offers insights into the limitations of cities in crisis, opportunities for new urban centers to emerge, and the struggle for alternative urban futures.
STÅLE HOLGERSEN

IS MALMÖ BUILDING YESTERDAY’S CITY TOMORROW, AGAIN? INVESTIGATING THE DIALECTICS OF ECONOMIC CRISIS AND URBAN PLANNING.

Both economies and cities are changing, but not necessarily in the same pace. This paper aims at investigating this tension by looking at the Swedish city of Malmö and how the city has met two different crises. A severe crisis hit Malmö in early 90's, after its post-war industrial base had vanished. During the 90's and 00’s the city ‘recovered’ through transforming into an archetypical ‘post-industrial city/neoliberal’, i.e. attracting the rich, building offices, education centres and media-clusters, housing exhibition, organising events and so forth. The city met the current crisis from 2008, through actively confirming the visions and tendencies laid out in the late 90s.

Thus, Malmö met the so-called industrial crisis with more industrial policies, and hence extending and deepening the problems. This paper opens the questions whether Malmö is doing the same mistake today. As the current economic situation more than anything can be described as “uncertain” and “long recession”, the official rhetoric at the local level is seemingly as optimistic as ever, as the post-industrial planning of Malmö continues with full force with new Congress and concert hall, hotels and shopping centers.

This paper will draw on Marxian, Keynesian and Schumpeterian theories on crisis, to see how these different takes also provides guidelines for different strategies for crisis management. And from this the paper seeks to an answer whether Malmö is producing yesterday’s city, tomorrow, again.
The contexts and cultures of knowledge production work to create and prevent a practice aimed at positive transformations in socio-economic conditions (May with Perry 2011). Yet in discussions of reflexivity and critique these can be neglected through a focus upon cultures separate from institutional contexts (Knorr Cetina 1999). At the same time we are seeing shifts in the political economy of knowledge relating to the justification, production and application of knowledge across disciplines and institutional settings (Nowotny et al 2001).

This paper charts a journey that starts with existing accounts of reflexivity and governance and the role and place of social research as critique. Against this background, it then moves on to examine experiences of conducting urban research with and for, policy-makers. Those experiences have been gained over a ten year period, but I also draw upon current work that compares cities both within the U.K. (Birmingham, Manchester and Cardiff) and also from research conducted for Mistra Urban Futures with partners in South Africa (Cape Town), Kenya (Kisumu), Sweden (Gothenburg) and China (Shanghai).

Through a comparative and theoretically informed discussion of the issues raised, the purpose is to find how: “The project of governing societies, and its political character, cannot be blotted out by the ‘withering sun of globalization’ or fade to grey in the drab world of governance” (Dean 2007: 14). These are the spaces in which more reflexive, engaged and confident practices can emerge in the search not only for clarification and illumination, but also transformation and critique.
The urban crisis is marked by a sharp increase in inequity. The usual response to this by social-democratic resistance efforts is to call for an increase in redistribution, primarily via an expansion of the traditional welfare state. The conditions of neo-liberalism, however, make these efforts problematic for a number of reasons. Many voices, both in the US and the UK, have suggested, instead, a strategy of “pre-distribution” to address deepening problems with inequity. This paper details how one such pre-distribution strategy, built around the restructuring of the urban political economy to broaden the ownership and control of capital, might be designed in the US context. It thus suggests a vision for a post-neoliberal urbanism that can perhaps become the basis of a program of policy development and institutional design upon which resistance efforts can be productively centered. A key remaining question is whether this program for a post-neoliberal urbanism is feasible and desirable in non-US contexts.
INTERROGATING THE CITY: COMPARING LOCALLY DISTINCT CRISIS DISCOURSES

To discuss the global economic crisis and the interrelated crisis of cities is widespread in current public, political and scholarly debates. The diagnosis of the urban crisis implies a homogenous phenomenon with each city facing similar problems. By treating crisis as an ontological given, research is confined to the question of how problematic conditions ‘out there’ are perceived, narrated and governed at the local level. However, we know little about what cities actually construct as their own crises against the background of their specific cultural and political contexts. Therefore, a critical perspective on urban crises is confronted with the theoretical and methodological challenge of defining its object of investigation.

We want to elaborate on this challenge by advocating an interpretive approach that starts its analysis at the local level by asking what this very city defines as its crisis. Our paper builds on an ongoing research project (funded by the German Research Foundation) that compares the discourses of the cities of Frankfurt, Dortmund, Birmingham and Glasgow with regard to which phenomena are interpreted as urban problems and how they are discursively constructed in local media coverage, council minutes and expert interviews. Therefore, we conceptualise cities not as a derivative of a general ‘social’ or ‘urban’ but as distinct entities of meaning with their very own logics of constructing political reality. In empirical terms, our analysis reveals significant differences between the four cities regarding what is narrated and politically treated as urban crisis, how extraordinary developments are integrated into the ‘daily business’ and what issues are perceived to remain within urban governance’s capacity to act.
PUBLIC IN EVERYDAY LIFE IN MEDITERRANEAN CITIES. OTHER WAYS TO MANAGE COLLECTIVE GOODS?

Historically in Western cities, the modern paradigm describes a specific relationship between the state and civil society. The society expects from the State the definition and the satisfaction of needs in the public interest for the citizens. The creative activation by citizens to care of their needs is not envisaged. In the Southern Europe cities, the division between state and society has always been much less marked. These societies are characterized by a weak welfare state and a developed informal sector, which often compensates for the deficiencies of the state with strategies outside of the normed paths. With neoliberism, and even more face of the current economic crisis, the role of the state in the Western cities tends to be impoverished, not being able to guarantee more collective goods needed by individuals. The response was that the public action is open to the actors pluralism, experiencing new ways of organization. However the literature, only recently, is interested in the strategies of citizens in managing problems related to the public sphere of their daily lives, beyond the public institutions.

This paper shows how the formal dimension of social interaction appear inappropriate for understand a crisis situation, while informal practices can give answers to the needs even in the short term. However, the self-organized practices can not be a only response to the construction of a right city. The problem, for public policies, is how to recognize public action, facilitating the bottom-up participation, without pander to the processes that lead to privatism and to mistrust. In this way, it is important reflect on mediation action that state institutions must exercise.

The analysis of the southern Europe cities may represent a possible lesson for the Western cities face of the crisis. In this sense, we have analyzed the Southern Italy case.
CONTESTING CRISIS IN THE URBAN PERIPHERY: SUBALTERN INDIGENOUS URBANISM IN LA PAZ, BOLIVIA AND QUITO, ECUADOR1

Throughout the last decades indigenous peoples have been confronted by a subsistence crisis in the Latin American countryside and therefore migrated to the city in search for a better life. This is particularly evident in cities such as La Paz, Bolivia and Quito, Ecuador whose urban peripheries are mainly populated by indigenous migrants.

Indigenous migration to the city, however, did rarely coincide with an improvement in living conditions. In fact, urban indigenous peoples continue to be confronted by a lack of economic opportunities in cities which have been repeatedly affected by economic, social and political crisis throughout the last three decades. Additionally, urban governance regimes fail to recognize the specific socio-political, economic and cultural needs and demands of indigenous migrants. Confronted by ongoing crisis and practices of social exclusion and discrimination, urban indigenous peoples therefore have to rely on a set of invited and invented practices that help them to cope with, challenge or change the urban political environment that governs them. Relying on theoretical approaches such as asset and insurgent planning and on results from recently conducted comparative qualitative research in La Paz and Quito, this paper argues that subaltern indigenous practices respond more closely to how a post-neoliberal, decolonial and intercultural urban development approach, so far only discussed at discourse level within urban governance regimes, could work in practice to overcome crisis and patterns of exclusion within cities of the global South. It is therefore important to develop mechanisms and tools that help to recognise and incorporate subaltern indigenous urbanism within official urban policy and planning practice.

1 This paper presents findings of recent fieldwork carried out in La Paz, Bolivia and Quito, Ecuador as part of a PhD research project entitled “Planning to strengthen the assets of excluded urban indigenous peoples: The case of La Paz, Bolivia and Quito, Ecuador”
In both academic and policy circles the idea of resilience has been connected to that of community. Urban communities are being increasingly asked to be self-sufficient and ‘resilient’ in the face of apparent crisis. This paper explores the various incarnations of resilience as a governing strategy expressed in urban policy discourses. It articulates the political values attached to them, outlining nascent democratic tensions and dilemmas involved in their deployment involving both space and time. In them resilience may be presented as an empowering concept, encouraging communities to organise themselves. And yet, simultaneously, resilience initiatives often tend to be directive. This paper asks how much scope for democratic empowerment does resilience actually afford to urban communities in practice? On the hand, the concept concerns empowerment; encouraging communities to determine their own needs. Here the idea conjures up images of self-determination rather than impotence. But for others there is a more insidious side to the strategy. Furedi (2007), for example, shows how resilience can imply vulnerability amongst communities. And he argues that it is this emasculated citizen that is now being asked to be resilient. Urban resilience rhetoric hints at this tension between over and under governing. Foucault (1984) famously said that ‘if one governed too much, one did not govern at all’. However, to provide little guidance about what should be done smacks of what Bauman (2002) calls ‘compulsive and obligatory self-determination’. In this, citizens are ‘responsibilised’ representing a kind of domination of itself. This paper attempts to unpick such democratic paradoxes in resilience governance in cities. It also acknowledges that while the development of any new governance strategy will inevitably involve domination, it is important to recognise that their ambiguities and unintended consequences also provide spaces and latent avenues for a more empowering polity. Here I explore this potential through an examination of the potential for an agonistic resilience politics.
JENNIFER JOEL OBADO
CENTRAL EUROPEAN UNIVERSITY, BUDAPEST HUNGARY

URBAN RESILIENCE AND RESISTANCE: LATENCY OF SLUMS IN LAGOS, KOLKATA AND SHENZHEN.

COMPARATIVE CONTRIBUTION: NIGERIA, INDIA, CHINA

Emerging megacities in developing countries, and its corollary growth of slums, shall have large scale global economic, political and social consequences; many of which are largely unforeseen at the present time. Moreover, several strategies and policies designed and implemented to confront urban poverty and its corresponding problems have met with minimal success. Locating the discourse within the crisis in Lagos Nigeria, Kolkata India and Shenzhen China, this paper explores urban resilience and latency of slums in a comparative framework across different political, economic and cultural contexts.

This paper argues against current academic doxa that perceive slums as disorganized spaces analyzed in terms of lack, individual and collective deficiencies. This conceptualization has largely influenced present urban development strategies. This might also account for the minimal success of urban governance policies to respond and counteract current urban crisis. This paper further explores factors that underline ‘internal order and specific modes of functioning’1 of slums amidst economic and political deprivations.

Evidence used in this paper largely draws from theories of political-ecology and socio-spatial processes in understanding resilience and resistance of slums in mega-cities. Also, data on current urban crisis in Lagos, Kolkata and Shenzhen from UNHabitat, the World Bank, and the LSE Cities centre is used as evidence. Moreover, theories of structuralism are triangulated with sectoral model analysis to understand power dynamics within slums in relation to the city. It concludes by exploring innovative strategies to address confronts of slums growth in developing countries through an understanding and appreciation of its internal frameworks and institutions. By this understanding, the agenda is to open up new processes for South-West engagement with urban poverty, both in academia and for humanitarian organizations.
GARY SANDS, WAYNE STATE UNIVERSITY
LAURA A. REESE, MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY
MARK SKIDMORE, MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY

NO EASY WAY OUT
DETROIT’S FINANCIAL AND GOVERNANCE CRISSES

Detroit is widely regarded as the poster child of de-industrialization and globalization. Detroit’s crises cannot be attributed to any single event, decision or policy. Rather it is the result of decades of economic decline and racial tensions that have left indelible marks on the city and its surrounding region.

Detroit’s decline began long before the Great Recession of 2008-09. For the last half century, Detroit has suffered significant losses of population, jobs and tax base; each of these measures has declined by at least 25 percent over the past decade. Despite drastic cuts in services and supervision by a state appointed Financial Control Board, the city has a current budget deficit of $320 million and long term debt of more than $14 billion. An Emergency Manager has been appointed to restructure the City’s finances; this is the last step before what would be the largest municipal bankruptcy in US history.

This financial crisis is even more intractable because of the deeply rooted, pervasive racism that divides the metropolitan area. The almost total abandonment of Detroit by white residents and white businesses has left behind an unstable and ineffective governing arrangement that does not rise to the level of regime. Despite the fact that middle income African-American families are rapidly following their white counterparts to the suburbs, the population remaining in the city views offers of assistance or regional cooperation as threats to city sovereignty. Thus, the narratives of crisis differ significantly by race and space. This history of racial distrust, segregation, and discrimination has shaped a culture where the cooperation necessary for regimes to operate has been absent. These crises persist and deepen because Detroit lacks resilience, the ability to recover.

Detroit offers a cautionary tale of race, economic distress, and weak governing arrangements that has wide-ranging implications to cities globally, particularly those that are in the process of deindustrialization and shrinkage but also those facing racial and ethnic contention. The paper will present a longitudinal study using data from both before and after the Great Recession and will address the following research questions:

- What is the balance between exogenous shocks and internal decisions in explaining the City’s intractable financial crisis?
- How has the fiscal crisis affected Detroit’s governing system and how has its weak and fragmented leadership contributed to the current governance and financial crisis?
- Has the crisis opened the door for greater political contestation and potentially, for broader representation of stakeholders?
- How do the diverse narratives (among officials, citizens of different races, and between the City and its suburbs) of the economic and governing crisis hinder effective responses to the crisis?
- Can Detroit adapt to the present financial austerity and emerge from this crisis as a 21st model for the restructuring of 20th century cities?
Urban crises in the countryside: A counterpoint for comparative urban scholarship

Disparate corners of urban research shows that urbanization is in part governed at the intersection of crises and ruptures in financial institutions and practices, environmental conditions, the public solicitation and politicization of expertise, and the contested role of state. While the cascading effects of the 2008 financial crisis continue to resound through major urban centers worldwide, exurban areas distant from these urban centers also experience significant consequences and fuelled the pre-2008 speculative real estate bubble. Our contemporary moment of financial crisis, though, is complicated in exurbia by reorganizations in the governance conditions of the participation of ‘experts’, changing environmental conditions, and the contested role of the state. How exurban communities govern through and during financial crisis depends on past legacies and future visions of expertise, environment, and the state. My research, centered in the historically rural but now rapidly urbanizing area of the southern Appalachian mountains of the southeastern United States, explores how the local histories of these conditions cast a vision for the governance of future urban growth in the global countryside. Crisis-prone exurbanization in the countryside of southern Appalachia is both a regional site of urban growth and also a representative of the frontier of urban governance during the initial phases of urbanization, as local stakeholders attempt to understand, manage, and regulate the influx of capital and residents into their changing landscapes. I use controversies over the adoption of local land use ordinances to illuminate how governance of urban processes and crises is articulated locally and globally at the intersection of finance, environment, expertise, and the state. I propose to offer my research as a useful comparative counterpoint to first, the city-centric understandings of urban crises, and second, to an urban political economy approach to financial crises.
Since the beginning of the current crisis of capitalism, critical geographers discussed whether we will witness a new post-neoliberal period (Peck et al, 2009; Smith, 2011; Soureli and Youn, 2009). In regard to these concerns and focusing on urban governance, I will argue that the scenario of “zombie neoliberalization” as described by Brenner, Peck and Theodore (2010) fits best to portray the recent political and hegemonic shifts in Germany. However, this crisis-induced deepening of the elite consensus is nowadays confronted with a growing public unease with and increasing social protests against neoliberal regulation. During the past two years, increasing rents, a lack of affordable housing, and major urban development projects have, for instance, given rise to growing protests against the absolute predominance of economic interests in general as well as against gentrification processes in particular. Therefore, I will discuss in what way these social protests are able to challenge the elite zombie neoliberal hegemony and to push towards post-neoliberal “regulatory experiments” (Brenner et al, 2010) or whether they provoke a much more authoritarian form of market-based regulation.
In the last decades, many Latin American cities, governed by political parties with different political orientation, have prompted a similar set of public policies, programs and other urban development "recipes" in order to address diverse urban problems, generate economic competitiveness, or to build a good city image. These are public works like the recovery of historic centres, neighborhood and housing improvement, grants and bonds for vulnerable populations, participatory budgets, "urban beaches" and so on.

This paper seeks to: 1. Describe the current economic crisis in three cities (Buenos Aires, Quito and Mexico City); 2. Analyze the public conception of the crisis, especially the discourse that justifies the urban policies that promote economic growth to supposedly fight against unemployment, poverty and social inequality; 3. Analyze some policies that are characterized by asistentialism and focalization, as well as the realization of megaprojects that promote private businesses, under the arguments of the economic growth and job creation (mostly precarious).

Furthermore, this paper attempts to answer a set of questions: Why local governments with different political orientations in different cities perform the same type of urban policies (more or less neoliberal)? The promotion of the same policy and the same type of urban actions in different contexts responds to the same pragmatic view, political consensus or economic pressure, or behind it there is a theory and an ideology that supports these decision-making? This Urban Policies and Programs promote fundamental solutions or are mere palliatives for some urban problems? Do these policies attend population needs or promote private business? It offers circus in absence of bread?
‘THE POSSIBILITIES AND LIMITS OF URBAN CONTESTATION IN TIMES OF TURBULENCE AND CRISIS.’

In this paper we argue that processes of turbulence and crisis, produced through contemporary nation state-led austerity programmes, accentuate two powerful and dialectically related forces within the pluralistic contexts of urban sites. First, there is the opening up of taken for granted social orders for critique and contestation among competing constituencies. Second, there is a heightened impulse to efface the radical contingency of social relations, relating to incomplete ‘symbolic social orders’ (such as the dominance of market values in social life), which such contestation implies. The latter includes the role of ‘fantasmatic’ logics that actors construct in accordance to a symbolic order that seeks to bring about ideological hegemonic conditions of control and subordination. This implies greater theoretical sensitivity to the practices of critique or justification by urban actors as they seek to refute (to critique) or defend (to justify) a symbolic order vindicating contemporary processes of nation state-led austerity and marketisation. In this paper we present a theoretical framework for examining such processes of contestation and the (managerial-ideological) defence of austerity. This involves the utilisation of, firstly, post-Marxist accounts of the construction of (incomplete) symbolic orders, and resulting fantasmatic logics where subjects produce an ordered ‘script’ within such deficient orders, but where ‘dislocation’ forces subjects to ‘confront’ the contingency of social relations; and, second, ‘French pragmatism’ which provides the theoretical framework in which to explore practices of critique, negotiation and justification relating to denunciation or defence of the ‘managerial domination’ of austerity.
AUSTERITY AND THE NEW LANDSCAPE OF URBAN GOVERNANCE

Following the major recession of the early 1980s, debate in Anglophone urban political analysis identified the onset of a ‘new urban politics’ (Cox, 1993). One notable argument to emerge was that amid the fiscal restraint enforced by an inchoate neoliberal reason, policies to stimulate economic growth and signature urban development projects were being prioritized largely at the expense of extending urban services for working class citizens and poorer communities. And to some extent, the language of fiscal austerity continued to define much urban political analysis as the market fundamentalism of neoliberalism continued to gather steam (Peck, 2006). But, of course, this period of consolidated neoliberal urbanism has been superseded by the merciless austerity measures that have been waged across the landscape of many countries following the Great Recession (Peck, 2012). Further, the ensuing cuts in public sector jobs and services have led millions to take to the streets of Athens, Madrid, London, New York and other cities amid insurgent calls for egalitarianism, justice, and democracy (Swyngedouw, 2011). This intensified austerity and rising political temperature demands that some well-established analytical frameworks for interpreting urban governance and politics – e.g. growth machine, urban regime, entrepreneurial governance, and neoliberal urbanism – be placed under critical scrutiny (MacLeod, 2011). It is a demand further augmented when acknowledgement is made of the extraordinary splintering of urban-regional landscapes and estimates which project that by 2050 seventy-five percent of people will reside in urban settlements, and that these two trends are significantly amplified in cities in the global south. With these factors firmly in its sights, this paper takes inspiration from Roy’s (2009) plea to dislocate the Euro-American centre of theoretical production and draws on literatures from radical planning theory and political insurgence with a view to conceptually mapping governance and politics in the early twenty-first century metropolis.
One of the most dramatic consequences of joblessness in Spain is the incapacity of the unemployed to keep up with their mortgage payments which, given an abusive legal system, leads to home repossessions and huge debts. A recent study has shown that in 2012 there were 30,000 foreclosures of first homes. This new phenomena is exclusively linked to the financial crisis with the added element in Spain of the bursting of the housing bubble. While at the beginning the victims were overwhelmingly workers of foreign origin who had lost their jobs and lacked the support of informal networks, by 2012 many Spanish citizens of working-class and middle-class backgrounds were also losing their homes because of insolvent debt. Suicides directly linked to the problem of eviction -14 deaths in the last two years as reported by the media- become the epitome of this social drama. This paper aims to study the role played by the Mortgage Victims Platform (PAH in Spanish) in the current housing crisis. As a new grassroots movement the PAH can be seen as ‘community builder’ offering solutions to what has become a collective problem. With large public opinion support, the PAH is also putting a great deal of pressure on the political establishment to modify the existing legal system. Throughout the investigation of two case studies we aim to ascertain the extent to which the PAH might be put forward as an example of social innovation at a moment of critical juncture (Pierson, 2000) driven by the financial crisis, the severe austerity programmes that followed and a state of welfare state paralysis...
The local state and localities in England are spaces of political struggles over policy-making and service delivery. These spaces and struggles are increasingly emphasised by the need to address the challenges created by the current climate of crisis and austerity through both strategic and reactive projects such as:

- Privatisation of services
- Withdrawal from direct service provision
- Asset transfer and bringing in communities and voluntary organisations to answer crisis
- Mergers/partnerships of councils and local actors including across traditional territorial boundaries
- Collaborative service provision

This panel would examine some of the consequences of these responses for the traditional roles of these different groups in local service delivery and policy-making and would ask what are the practical implications of the involvement of these groups in policy development and decision making, and what this could mean for accountability at the local level?

Jane suggested we invite Neil Barnett from Leeds Metropolitan University who presented a paper at the PSA's local government workshop. He is said to be thinking of coming to the conference anyway and thus, asking him whether to take Neil’s abstract is attached to this email. Finally, a practitioner, Andrew Bibby, who has taken part in community asset transfer in West Yorkshire, would come and complete the panel of presenters, accounting for practices that are currently taking place and haven't yet been analysed in academia such as community design and delivery of services. [His background and presentation are also attached to this email]

We would also need a discussant, a position that Jane Scullion will occupy.

We hope a space in the building and timesheet can be found for our panel and look forward to hearing from you.

Yours sincerely,
Jane, Ed and Eleanor.
Andrew Bibby is a freelance financial journalist, with a particular interest in social enterprise. He has written for a range of national publications including the Financial Times and the Observer, and for clients including Cooperatives UK and the Employee Ownership Association. In a voluntary capacity, he has been actively involved in the successful asset transfer of Hebden Bridge Town Hall into community ownership and management. He was a founder member of Hebden Bridge Community Association, which runs the Town Hall and which has successfully raised funding of £3.4m for a major capital-build extension of the building.

This presentation will look at issues of accountability in asset transfer using a study of one community’s response to a situation where the local authority was starved of resources, and to some extent had lost the demographic democratic mandate that they once had, in that people were no longer identifying or trusting the local state as being the agency that holds local assets and buildings for them. It argues that in these circumstances communities have developed new models which look back — to some extent — to 19th century models of mutuality and self-help. The presentation looks at the parallels with the sort of progressive and valuable mechanisms which led to the development of councils in the 19th century and asks how the issues of accountability can be addressed.
LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND RESISTANCE; WHITHER THE LOCAL STATE?


Local government in the UK finds itself under intense pressure as a result of the government’s austerity programme, requiring unprecedented cuts and a fundamental rethinking of Councils’ roles in direct service provision. Although voices of opposition have been raised, for the most part these challenges have been met with a mixture of pragmatism and resignation, leaving some to lament that local government has been unwilling or unable to lead any kind of any kind of resistance or offer any alternative to the orthodoxy. This, it is argued, contrasts with other periods of ‘crisis’ where local governments have been a focus of counter-narratives and of ‘local’ alternatives. For the left, in particular, this seeming acquiescence stands in stark relief to the ‘municipal socialism’ pursued by various Councils in the past.

However, there is no doubt that now, practically, local government has much less room to manoeuvre, and fundamental questions are raised concerning the position of local government within a reconstituted welfare system. Moreover, new actors continue to be introduced to the local state arena, further questioning not only local government’s ability to resist, but raising questions about whether we should even expect it to.

This paper will consider the potential for local government to be involved in the organisation of resistance and construction of alternatives by comparing and contrasting with previous examples of resistance, using the concept of ‘the local state’ as a theoretical basis. It will be argued that not only is it the case that the importance of resistances in the past have been over-stated, but that now we have to address the issue with a differing set of theoretical understandings; meanings of all of the key words, ‘local’, ‘government’, ‘state’ and ‘resistance’ are all now open to differing interpretations which impact on our assessment of local government’s role.
WHAT IS THE ROLE OF CITIES AND URBAN SOCIETIES IN FOSTERING RESISTANCE TO THE DEPREDATIONS OF CRISIS – AND TO CRISIS NARRATIVES? WHAT, IN PARTICULAR, IS THE POTENTIAL FOR ENVISIONING AND ENACTING POST-NEOLIBERAL URBANISMS?

HOW DO URBAN GOVERNORS RELATE TO URBAN RESISTANCE? E.G. REPRESSING, IGNORING, RECUPERATING, CULTIVATING OR INTERNALISING IT.

This study explores the extent to which urban governors within transport policy making respond to media representation of urban resistance. It explores the extent to which urban governors strategically attempt to influence and use the media to shape or manipulate public opinion not just in the pursuit of their policy goals, but in repressing cultivating or internalising urban resistance. The common view is that urban governors are often at the mercy of media representation of their policy decisions and therefore the media has the power to report on and analyse new developments particularly in such contentious policy domains in ways that are powerful enough to create and influence public opinion on key political issues of the day.

The attempts to understand the perception held by urban governors, with regard to the importance of media influence and the subsequent growth of public relations to cultivate or internalise urban resistance. Also to understand the public relations strategies now employed by urban governors in manipulating public opinion towards a specific policy direction or objective through carefully crafted messages and the perceptions of journalists and correspondents to these messages. Given that most political actors are aware of the media’s power and importance when bringing important policy issues into the public domain particularly for the first time, it could be argued that urban governors are not only dependant on the media in setting the agenda but that there is may be evidence to suggest that urban governors are increasingly depending on the use of more sophisticated public relations strategies in order pre-empt the process of urban resistance and in fact attempt to influence the way that issues are represented in the media in pursuit of their own policy agendas (McCombs, 2004).

Transport geography, fiscal transport policies, traffic congestion, media, political actors, political communications.
MIKE GEDDES, HONORARY PROFESSOR, UNIVERSITY OF WARWICK

REVOLUTIONISING LOCAL GOVERNANCE IN LATIN AMERICA? IMPLICATIONS FOR THEORY AND PRACTICE IN THE GLOBAL NORTH

Drawing on a number of examples from a range of countries, this paper will argue that recent developments in the spheres of local politics and governance in Latin America pose challenges to both theory and practice in the ‘advanced’ world. In parts of Latin America, struggles at the local scale are an important part of the contestation of neoliberalism, while the power of social movements represents a challenge from the left not only to capital but to the state and statist forms of governance. The academic and policy debates which both draw on and contribute to radical local politics, are significantly different from those which dominate local governance in the global North – for example, challenging statism from the left rather than the right, focussing on radical social movements rather than a ‘voluntary and community sector’, on deepening (local) democracy rather than networked governance, and on indigeneity and colonialism rather than ethnic minorities and multiculturalism. While some issues are the same (eg leadership) the focus and nature of debate differs. It is also the case that radical local initiatives in Latin America often have rural rather than (or as well as) urban roots and orientations, challenging any assumption that the urban is a privileged space for the contestation of neoliberalism, as David Harvey has recently argued.

The paper would complement a proposed activists’ session with participation from Latin America.
A major impact of the current economic crisis is the way it is deepening territorial inequalities at a time when the scope for public intervention to tackle inequality is being diminished due to widespread austerity measures. In the UK, the Cameron-led Government moved quickly to create what they and others see as a ‘new’ regulatory system for welfare provision. Yet the extent to which it represents a (re)new(ed) discursive frame for welfare provision remains an open question. What is for certain is the ‘new politics of austerity’ in Britain (MacLeavy, 2010) is having uneven spatial impacts and producing new welfare geographies. Following the argument of Brenner and Theodore (2002) that cities are key sites of welfare provision and where the effects of nascent welfare geographies will be most prominent, my research focuses on cities in England’s North West region. Places such as Liverpool, Manchester, and Blackpool are identified as some of Britain’s least insulated towns and cities, meaning they are most exposed to the potential impacts of austerity-driven welfare reforms. In this paper, I present findings from empirical research undertaken into the nascent geographies of welfare via analysis of the changing the nature of welfare provision, political strategies and their associated material effects, and how (the least insulated) cities are acting as locations of cooperation and resistance to such strategies and policy processes through a comparative perspective across national, regional and local scales. The findings will also be used to identify the uneven spatial impacts on towns and cities across North West England, as well as localised responses/strategies to cope with the impacts of welfare reform.
“A ‘TSUNAMI’ IN ROME AGAINST THE RESIDENTIAL EMERGENCY: BRIDGING THE RESEARCH/ACTIVISM GAP INSIDE THE SQUAT MOVEMENT”

Since the debt crisis eruption in Southern Europe, an increasing literature has focused on challenges and strategies undertaken by grassroots and (new) social movements, especially concerning Spanish and Greek cities. There is a deep lack of investigation on these issues for Italian cities, where squatting has (re)emerged in the last year(s) as a prominent protest form. Being one of the epicentres of the Italian “residential emergency” (Caudo, 2012) because of a dual structure of the housing sector (Lucciarini e Violante, 2007), Rome represents an emblematic case in this domain, with dozens of buildings squatted in the last year. Squats networks are leading a “Tsunami” towards abandoned and/or unsold public and private buildings giving home to hundreds of households that have lost their house because of the crisis.

In this paper, I present some foundational reflections on my ongoing study on squats as a bottom-up response to crisis and the “financialization of home” (Aalbers, 2008) as a part of my PhD research. The research is based on a participatory action research approach, combined to (self)ethnography, participant observation/observant participation, in-depth interviews with activists and life histories. These methods imply trust and a common social/cultural capital, acquired thanks to my (previous) political militantism. Such a methodological choice leads inevitably to a reflection on the (constructed) borders between research and activism, but also on the continuous (re)positionalities linked to the fieldwork: in my case not just as a researcher and a squat movement militant, but also as a LGBT activist. In fact, when discussing about the feedbacks of my research with militants, I have been mostly required to develop projects and action on LGBT issues, in order to create (new) links between these social movements by “queer(y)ing squats’ practices and discourses and, at the same time, spreading the squat practice inside the LGBT movement. This process puts into practice Gibson-Graham’s call for (new) possibilities opened up by our research work (2008), leading to (unexplored) alliances and contamination(s) inside the long-standing Roman squat movement.
Governing Future Urban Crisis in Tanzania
Small Towns’ Lessons From Big Cities

Big Cities in Tanzania and East Africa Region in general are in big problems. A visit into any of the big cities will reveal common problems which are: traffic jam in its worse form, in some cases even in non pick hours; informal settlements, failed waste disposal systems, crime ridden areas, power shortage, water shortage, informal trading activities in bad shape and similar challenges. The state of the situation has called for cities to develop remedial expensive programmes trying to adjust the situation: regularization initiatives, informal trading spaces/markets, new ring roads, bypass, demolition initiatives, privatization of municipal services (waste management) development of new master plans, survey of new plots and similar initiatives. The cost of these projects both in terms of money, inconveniences and lost opportunities is on the higher side and in some situation; there is little hope if there would be success at all in the near future. This is because of the magnitude of the “corrections” that need to be done to address the existing problems in big cities.

Despite these clear lessons from big towns, however, small towns are not learning enough from these experiences. A visit into emerging small towns shows that similar challenges are rapidly gaining momentum and fifty years down the line they will culminate into the same situation as are big towns of today. The fundamental issue therefore is why are small towns taking the same unwanted trajectory even after horrible experiences of big towns? Using empirical data collected from Dar es Salaam City, Kibaha and Chalinze, the surrounding small towns, we examine/compare the underlying forces that push the repetition of the pattern of big town problems in small towns. We provide a discussion of the determinants of urban crisis in Tanzania and ways to enhance development of small towns in a manner that will avoid the contemporary challenges facing big towns in Tanzania.

Key words: Small towns, urban crisis, Dar es Salaam Tanzania, Governance
CRISIS AND URBAN INFRASTRUCTURE: CASES FROM SPAIN

Times of crisis offer opportunities to learn and to do things differently. An EPSRC funded project, *Shock (not) Horror*, uses this concept to explore shocks as key moments to understand infrastructure in action. Different responses to, and learning from shock, begin to illustrate the nature of the processes required to create adaptable infrastructure that can respond to future crises. This paper describes one of the infrastructure cases collected as part of this project. Generated in response to the economic crisis in Spain, the narrative explores different responses to the crisis in urban infrastructure and addresses the role of infrastructure as a means through which new governance to crisis can emerge.

In Spain, the crisis has generated an outcry against previously popular infrastructure projects. Iconic Spanish urban infrastructure projects proliferated in the decade prior to the crisis, including provincial airports, emblematic cultural projects and daring transportation projects. Popular projects were often seen as a way to establish and reproduce regional identities and to promote what were then seen as key economic activities. In the post-crisis landscape the public outcry against what are seen as white elephants has led to a radical re-examination of the role of urban infrastructure projects in provincial cities in Spain. This paper examines that transition, and in particular, the role of infrastructure projects in governing the crisis in Spain. Many of these actions constitute an attempt to re-govern the crisis and use it to re-define urban infrastructure needs, in line with emerging notions of de-growth. Such demonstrations challenge a long-established paradigm in which construction companies, financial organizations and governmental institutions have shaped the infrastructure landscapes of the country. Learning as a result of crisis thus offers a unique opportunity to reconfigure the institutional landscape towards a more sustainable future.

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CHANGING CONDITIONS, CHANGING VISIONS? MAPPING THE DISCOURSES ON LOCAL GOVERNANCE AFTER THE COLLAPSE OF URBAN GROWTH

Departing from different traditions and sources, in the last 20-30 years in most European countries emerged a certain academic and political consensus around the desirability, or even the necessity of political decentralization at local level. This was understood as the ability to articulate a strong local democracy and to produce specifically local public policies and services. The downward rescaling of the State, although uneven, ambiguous and affected by its parallel neoliberal restructuring, has advanced through reforms and the assignment of more responsibilities and resources. However, the severe economic and budgetary crisis that erupted in 2008 might be reversing the trend and fostering recentralization.

The aim of the study is to ascertain to what extent, due to the crisis, the prevalent narrative of politically strong, participatory and place-shaping local governments is being contested by possibly competing narratives of weak, hierarchical and purely administrative local governments.

The study is focused on the Spanish region of Catalonia, where both, the discourse of new localism and the downturn of urban growth have been especially strong. Moreover the last local elections (2011), heavily influenced by the crisis, ended the electoral dominance of the left, thus creating a more diverse political map.

The unit of analysis are the Mayors -key actors in local politics and policies- of medium-sized Catalan municipalities. Using Q-method, Mayors have been asked to take a position -and eventually comment- on 40 statements (Q-Sample) referred to five categories deemed crucial for the study: 1. Political activism, 2. Strategic approach, 3. Local policies and services, 4. Participative governance and 5. Institutional position and relations. The analysis of the collected data will allow for the identification and description of a specific number of patterns of discourse (Q-Sorts), internally coherent and distinct from each other. In a second step, the socio-political factors that could explain the adherence of certain kind of Mayors to certain kinds of discourse will be analyzed.
THE İNVISIBLE CRİSİS? UNVEİLING THE URBAN CRİSİS CONTAİNMENT STRATEGİES

Our paper concentrates on the potential axes of further comparative research to develop a deeper insight into the dynamics of urban crisis, its contestation and governance. It develops its arguments by addressing the epistemological challenge of rendering the urban crisis “visible” both theoretically and politically.

The paper departs from the observation that public’s perception of “(urban) crisis” is shaped/managed by the key policy-makers employing “veiling strategies” to prevent a lurking “legitimacy crisis”. Public’s perception of “urban crisis” (and the urban side to the crises of capitalism) is manipulated by the national/local policy-makers. We employ the concept “hegemony” and discuss the manipulation strategies lying on the continuum between “coercion and consent”. To establish the analytical categories on that continuum, we benefit from the debates on “formality and informality” in urban politics, which could help us establish a fruitful dialogue between the lessons from the Eastern/Southern and the Western/Northern cases.

In that regard, we also discuss “crisis displacement strategies”, which (re)distribute costs/benefits of counter-crisis interventions across different sections of society and across different scales of urban governance. These strategies aim to concentrate the socio-economic burdens both spatially and discursively, thereby narrowing the socio-spatial bases of resistance to the post-crisis policies. To build a comparative framework of analysis (of crisis governance and contestation), we propose to examine,

a) Changes in the “land property regimes” in cities: The pattern of (re)distribution of urban land ownership across different social groups (social justice) + The legal regulation of the urban land market through key legislations and urban development projects (determining the relationship between the use value and exchange value);

b) How different forms of “place dependency” shape the socio-political reactions to the post-crisis interventions. Here, we further build on the concepts “varying degrees of spatial mobility/immobility” of urban citizens and the question of “spatial entrapment”.

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MUNICIPAL BUREAUCRATS: CONTRIBUTORS TO THE UNDERSTANDING OF VIOLENCE IN THE CITY

The concept of ‘military urbanism’ (Graham, 2012) is useful in framing the militarisation of the state which Mexico has experienced since the last decade. Through the impact of the Plan Merida - an overarching programme to dismantle drug-trafficking with American sponsorship - a reconfiguration of power relations across tiers of government has been developing. This initiative has strengthened federal government’s power in designing and implementing security by enhancing federal police and military and weakening state and municipal police. Capital investment and security, as well as the services and administrative reforms maintaining the former have dominated the political discourse, inevitably impacting urban municipalities’ politics and autonomy from the federal and state tiers. As a result, some metropolitan localities have been left with crime prevention and citizen security as the main areas of municipal competency.

In understanding the relationships of power that contribute in maintaining the discourse of security, the paper will focus on the behaviour and working practices of municipal bureaucrats (beyond police forces) in providing public services, such as waste management, urban planning or street cleansing. The paper will argue that bureaucrats' practices contribute to urban daily survival which, at times, challenge subtly the system of order established by the militarised state. The analysis of the paper aims to prompt reflections on the reconfiguration of power relations within municipal government, between municipal government and citizenry and amongst municipal government, organised crime and higher tiers of government. The analysis will be based on the metropolitan area of Xalapa, a conurbation in the east of the country.
As part of its plans to modernize and develop the Socialist Republic of Vietnam’s capital, Hanoi, the municipal government has banned street vending on 62 selected streets and from 48 public spaces since 2008. Not only do the city’s development plans exclude vendors, but they actually seek to dismantle and eliminate their livelihoods. Yet, at the same time, over 11,000 vendors and marketplace traders still ply their trade through the city’s streets. Moreover, the majority of street vendors, especially itinerant traders, are rural-to-urban migrants, often women, without access to more durable livelihood options due to a lack of formal education, financial and social capital.

Based on ethnographic fieldwork completed during summer 2010 and 2012, this paper examines the infrapolitics of street vending in Hanoi, as vendors vie for access to Hanoi’s increasingly contested public space, and negotiate government regulations aimed at restricting vendor livelihoods in the name of modernization. First, we focus on the dual (and conflicting) perceptions of Hanoi’s street spaces as both sites for development, as imagined by the state, and the locus for survival for those engaging in informal vending (Lefebvre, 1991). Then, we analyse the everyday politics and multiple survival strategies, from covert to overt, that vendors draw upon to continue to trade. As the threat of government regulation and repression becomes increasingly critical, vendors must develop effective resistance strategies in order to maintain their livelihoods, and fight for their inclusion in Hanoi’s future.

This project is unique, in that it considers the relationships between very recent government policies that restrict the use of public space for trade in Hanoi and the daily practices of street vendors. Furthermore, this research contributes to our understandings of the complexities of day-to-day urban resistance strategies in the Global South, and the factors that initiate and sustain such measures.
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CITY GOVERNMENTS AND PUBLIC POLICIES IN TIMES OF AUSTERITY: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF MAR DEL PLATA AND VALENCIA.

My research aims to understand how city governments across the global north and south have responded to economic pressures resulting from fiscal adjustment plans and austerity measures introduced by national governments. Given the ubiquitousness and increasing pervasiveness of economic crises worldwide, and the resulting recession and austerity affecting large proportions of urban populations, there is an imperative need to learn from past experiences as well as finding innovative ways to deal with the consequences of economic downturn. Argentina’s long history of fiscal problems and Spain’s ongoing public debt issues will help to place current global fiscal crises into context, thinking across time from a comparative and historical perspective.

The governments of Mar del Plata and Valencia will serve as case studies. They both share similar degrees of autonomy in their respective national context and have considerable powers to set up their own policies. Hence, their policymakers seem able to deliver more integrated and innovative responses in times of austerity. These coastal cities have favoured policies fostering economic activities such as tourism, commerce and real estate development. Economic and social infrastructure have increasingly become an essential part of their strategic development plans.

Lastly, they are situated in countries that have undergone significant economic and political changes over the last three decades. National macroeconomic reforms, currency/convertibility crises, processes of democratisation and decentralisation have all produced unique and challenging situations since the 1980s.

Theoretically, the project aims to engage with urban research that cuts across cities from the global north and south by exploiting the potential of comparative urbanism and therefore stretching conventional approaches, methods and concepts from urban theory, new institutional economics and positive political theory. Empirically, the research involves the study and assessment of public policies aimed at providing urban economic development, designed and implemented by city governments. While comparative studies on macroeconomic policy are prominent in disciplines such as political science and economic history, comparisons of city government responses to austerity across the global north and south seem understudied. The relative lack of attention to the involvement of cities in policymaking processes would allow us to explore innovations that might challenge hegemonic models – generally designed by the IMF and the World Bank – and to inform policy initiatives for city governments elsewhere.

My research aspires to be relevant for academic as well as wider audiences concerned with governing cities in times of economic uncertainty and austerity. Therefore I would like to be considered for stream 1: Governing Urban Crises.
ASSAMBLING

ALTERNATIVES IN THE PERMANENT URBAN CRISIS: POLICY SHIFTS IN THE CITY OF CLEVELAND

The city of Cleveland has been experiencing conditions of urban shrinkage for over six decades following a typical multi-causal and multi-dimensional pattern of decline. Spreading abandonment, crisis of the real-estate market, poverty concentration, racial segregation, collapse of neighbourhood habitats, decline in government capacity: this is the shared phenomenology of processes of urban and metropolitan shrinkage that have been produced by a complex nexus of causes to be located in the economy and in the spatial organization of society, with an increasingly acknowledged role of the government both at federal and local level. More recently, the over-exposition of the city to the effects of the explosion of the real-estate and financial market bubble has led to a new wave of decline, abandonment and social disorganization.

The paper argues that the case of the city of Cleveland offers three main examples of alternative recent urban development practices that are deeply rooted in the context of persistent urban shrinkage and crisis: 1) the establishment of a county land-bank aimed at assembling unused land in order to repurpose it also in the direction of “alternative land uses” such as urban agriculture and ecological restoration; 2) the design of a program – the “Reimagining a more sustainable Cleveland” initiative - aimed at implementing innovative greening strategies through the activation of local residents and communities; 3) the consistent investment of local philanthropic institutions in new economic development efforts aimed at establishing local cooperatives operating on a local market also but not exclusively focusing on “green economy” products and services.

Following the description and discussion of these practices, the paper argues that the case of Cleveland represents a consistent shift from previous neo-liberal urban development models that have been widely implemented across the urban Rustbelt of the United States. The main elements of this new approach are: 1) a new treatment of the physical footprint of the city that is consistently coherent with the “smart-shrinkage” and “rightsizing” literatures; 2) the acceptance of the return of part of the land to its use-value and away from commodification circuits; 3) the reconsideration of the priority of real-estate development on behalf of the “Community development industry” through the formulation on a more diverse set of policies and programs; 4) the investment of important city actors in alternative economic development models aimed at re-localizing the economy; 5) the increasing relevance of targets of social and environmental sustainability in the expansion of alternative food production and distribution systems.

In the final remarks, the paper argues that these main drivers of change are closely related to the context of persistent urban shrinkage and crises discusses possible limitations to its own thesis.
FRACTURES POLICIES, ENDURANCE AND URBAN GOVERNANCE. RECONSTRUCTION OF SOCIAL ALTERNATIVES TO THE NEOLIBERAL CITY.

Keywords: Displacement – Gentrification – citizenship - Latin America- contested

The chapter discusses social movements citizen resistance against recent neoliberal urban policies and conflicts among the socially excluded two cities in Latin America, Buenos Aires and Santiago de Chile.

The comparative analysis will focus on two districts with similar socioeconomic characteristics, and where the symbolic control of their space is marked by the powerful logic of public and private interventions that produce gentrification due to the implementation of various policies aimed at gentrification (officially named as "reform through greater") through: a) new real estate markets, b) control of public space and other technical, social and political, and c) displacement policies. Despite the paradox of daily life shows evidence of counter-hegemonic practices re-appropriation of public space management for the practice of the lower class which struggle against displacement for confronting the gentrification processes.

As neoliberalism is not just a package of variegated policies, but also a crucial technology of governance that establishes exceptional regimes of citizenship, the “untamed” practices may be addressed by a frame that concentrates on the relational “acts” of citizenship in and through various sites and scales. In this regard, this chapter examines citizenship as a counter-hegemonic articulation of new scripts against and beyond urban neoliberalisation, constituting new actors who develop networks and produce alternative “geographies of subversive citizenship”, cracking existing power relations and disciplinary control capacities. It explores innovative methodological approaches rooted in visual sociology, ethnography and activism to discuss the subaltern re-appropriation of urban space, the representations of control and contention.
While crisis has been a recurrent situation in several periods and places around the world, the beginning of the 21st century has witnessed a surge in the occurrence of crises as well as in the strategies concerning their governance. Although its economic dimension has dominated the recent discussions, this crisis is multifaceted, entailing political, cultural, economic and even moral aspects. Simultaneously, cities have been a prevalent terrain of its manifestations resulting – in some cases – to what has been described as a ‘humanitarian crisis’.

Through the lens of ‘crisis’ and focusing on the ‘crisis of the centre’ of Athens, this presentation examines a number of intertwined tactics of urban governance that have emerged during the past years (albeit not only as a result of the latest crisis). These tactics, that work in tandem, include politics of fear that occasionally transform into geographies of fear, processes of defining ‘enemies’, creating divisions among deserving or ‘average’ citizens and ‘Others’ and of altering (or violating) legal frameworks. The pretext of the crisis-associated ‘emergency’ is often employed, not only for passing legislative changes, but also for advocating and mainstreaming extreme measures in the urban context, and for delimiting acceptable behaviours and what is perceived as illegal. Yet, tactics as such tend to mask other, critical issues, such as the rising inequalities and injustices as well as the structural causes behind crises.

Although such tactics inspire counter-tactics and actions, this analysis focuses on how they are employed through dominant public discourses, legal changes and institutional practices. Following Bailey’s (1984) notion of ‘crisis regimes’ it questions the relevance of this term for the particular context, while it also explores the impact that these tactics, measures and transformations have on people and places.

Being at the forefront of news for the past years, the case of Athens might be a particular case, yet not a unique one. Rather, along with its contextual characteristics, the crisis of the centre of Athens and its associated governmentalities reflect the multidimensional aspects of ‘urban crises’.
AUSTERITY URBANISM BEYOND THE UNITED STATES – THE CASE OF GERMANY

Around five years after the initial outbreak of the current crisis of capitalism it becomes more and more evident that not only the formation of the crisis (Harvey 2011), but also its “management” through public austerity has an distinctive urban dimension: either cities are targeted directly because of their poor fiscal situation (itself often, but not always the direct result of the economic crisis) or they are indirectly hit by general cutbacks in public services and other socially regressive measures. Obviously the most prominent examples of the hence emerging “austerity urbanism” (Peck 2012) are yet to be found in the United States, where the authoritarian appointment of external “emergency managers” by the state, draconic forms of budget cutting or new rounds of privatization promote a further deepening of neoliberal urban governance. However, understanding the United States as a „living laboratory of the neoliberal future“ (Wacquant 2009: ix), it seems likely that very similar policies can increasingly be found elsewhere too. Against this backdrop my paper will investigate the transferability of the concept of “austerity urbanism” to different countries by analysing the ongoing “management” of the urban crisis in Germany. In stark contrast to the dominant rhetoric of the country being a big “winner” of the current crisis, many German cities face a serious fiscal crisis that is now being dealt with by imposing strong austerity measures – accompanied by rather inclusive forms of urban governance such as participatory budgeting. Discussing these distinct policies (as well as their contradictions and the emerging forms of resistance) and comparing them to examples from the United States, the paper contributes to a critical mapping of different, path-dependent forms of “austerity urbanism”.
URBAN DESIGN IN AN AGE OF RECESSION

The after effects of financial crash of 2007 had a global reach, bringing the ‘tiger’ economies in Western Europe to a juddering halt and even slowing the growth of China, projected to be the world’s next leading economy. The impact on the development industry has been profound, leaving a wake of unfinished developments, stalled masterplans, ghost towns and empty sites.

Yet this impact is uneven between countries in the same economic grouping. These differences are made worse by severe austerity measures on the part of governments. Budget cuts have blocked development at many scales, from major infrastructure projects to public realm improvements. Not all investment has dried up, however, and some imbalances are exacerbated as sources of private capital look for safe havens for their wealth, in both residential and commercial property in certain premium centres.

We bring together contributors from the UK and Greece to look at the variations of the effects of crisis on the practice of urban design, with examples from London and Newcastle & Gateshead, UK and Athens, Greece. Although recession has many negative dimensions, which cannot be dismissed, it also contains new possibilities. We will explore the variance in impact that the recession has had on urban design from global economic centres, such as London, to post-industrial cities in the weaker economic regions of the UK, such as Newcastle, and their south-European counterparts, such as Athens. Practices ranging from ‘business as usual’ to ‘life in limbo’, temporary revitalisation, or neo-liberal approaches, will be explored through examples across a wide range of intervention, from airport redevelopment to small scale temporary use of stalled sites. The identified contrasts will be critically assessed to point to differences in local policies and the way these play out on a horizon of global uncertainty, drawing on Gospodini’s work on post industrial landscapes (Gospodini 2009). Crucially, through reflection on these examples, we are interested in identifying the challenges to contemporary urban design theory, itself already under attack (Marshall 2012; Punter 2011), that the uneven impacts of the recession pose. We shall interrogate the extent to which the underlying principles claimed by contemporary theory can hold sway in this unstable pan-European context.
This paper* is a comparative study of fiscal crisis narratives in statements by financial ratings agencies, government analysts, and state and local officials. These narratives seek both to explain urban fiscal crisis and to prescribe normative solutions (privatization, outsourcing, service cutbacks, restructured employee contracts, and increased limits on revenue, spending, and borrowing). These narratives also promote private financial expertise and state intervention as ways to discipline local government finance.

Using a critical policy studies methodology, I describe how narratives of crisis are mobilized in five U.S. cities experiencing very different levels of crisis: Detroit, Dallas, Charlotte, Philadelphia, and San Jose. I also trace how these narratives mirror the language of structural adjustment and austerity deployed in the Global South and now in Europe, framing certain policies as the “only alternatives” by foreclosing discussions of the political and policy decisions that have produced localized fiscal crisis.

These narratives simultaneously blame crisis on structural problems with urban finance and on local political failures. Both explanations naturalize the need for extra-governmental intervention, such as the recent state takeover of Detroit. The reduced scope of city governance that serves as a mechanism for implementing such austerity is framed as necessary to implement “tough” decisions and to distance fiscal matters from political processes.

I argue that while 1970s-80s urban retrenchment severely reduced urban services, the post-2008 U.S. urban fiscal crisis is more fundamentally reshaping the normative framing of local governance and the scope of the city. Urban austerity is framed as responsible local policy in order to prevent future crisis, making crisis governance the new normal even in fiscally resilient cities. By examining the narrative framing of this new normal in five different cities, Detroit appears to be less an outlier than a harbinger of the future U.S. city.

*Part of my dissertation project, to be completed in 2014: Governing the Broke City: fiscal crisis and the future of urban governance
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NEIGHBORING RESISTANCES TO THE URBAN CRISIS: THE CASE OF THE DISTRICT OF CARABANCHEL, MADRID

The economic crisis has impacted, directly, in the neighborhoods of the Spanish cities. The development of the crisis, together with the social cutbacks and the economic reforms of the last governments, has caused a spectacular increase of the unemployment, the social and laboral precariousness, the housing evictions, the spatial segregation and the poverty in many neighborhoods, leading to a huge urban crisis. At the same time, in several Spanish cities, urban movements have emerged in order to fighting the social consequences of the crisis and they have put the social question at the focus of the political discussion. These movements has put into practice collective action of civil disobedience, as squatting or stopdeshaucios (stop evictions), that are trying to discredit the current legal frame, which is considered unfair and unsocial. The economic crisis and the boom of the new grassroots come together with a political and institutional crisis, making visible, mainly, from the emergence of the 15M movement who has brought a loss of support and legitimacy of the major political parties, of the political institutions and to a lesser extent, representative democracy.

In this context, Madrid has become in a good example of the emergence of these new movements and grassroots. After the arrival of the 15M movement, in many neighborhoods in the city have surfaced assemblies and neighborhood spaces to resist the consequences of the urban crisis on issues such as housing, public services or privatization of the public space. These assemblies and collectives have been created, in their respective districts, a huge network of resistance and a neighborhood support against the economic crisis in a self-organized and independent of institution and that focuses on collective action based on civil disobedience.

This paper expects to visualize these new forms of urban resistance looking cushion the social impact of the crisis. In this sense, we present the case study of the neighborhood of Carabanchel, in Madrid, work class neighborhood of the suburbs and strongly beaten by the crisis. Carabanchel is an important case of neighbor resistance, as result of the emergence of the assembly in May 2011, it was created a complex and huge network of assemblies, collectives an autonomous spaces looking counteract the impact of the crisis, proposing alternatives and solutions ranging from housing to the squatting, to supply or labor with the creation of worker cooperatives. The present case study will put the focus on the main characteristics of the community resistance space created in Carabanchel in the last two years. We will explain the social autonomous network emerged during these last year’s just like the services and the projects that the network offers, we will analyze his political organization based on direct democracy and we will study their collective action forms.

Keywords: urban crisis, social movement, direct democracy, Madrid, Carabanchel, 15M Movement, neighborhood resistance
After the economic crises, the current demographic and physical transformation of a neighborhood in Budapest is rooted in the socialist period. The rational labor market determined the first wave of inner migration from the country side to the capital, shaping the urban texture. Furthermore, after the change, ‘Roma question’ in the city has been attached to the concentration of the ethnic minority into a certain district near to the city center. During the transformation, those who became unemployed either moved back to the country side, or moved to the ‘cheap’ neighborhoods of Budapest.

The low skilled Roma to a great extend remained low educated after the collapse of the previous regime, but had been employed in the construction sector. Thus after the crises and the falling down of the sector, the pattern of the deprivation (Steward) occurred again.

After the collapse of the construction sector, drug as an achievable exchange commodity spread out in the neighborhood attaching new meaning to the urban setting and creating a “social prison” (Waquant) including a mobile police station and permanent surveillance. Moreover, the ‘street’ market has been evolved next to neoliberal, unfinished urban ‘development’ ended up after the economic crises and became the site of gentrification.

To reveal the current stage of the ‘ghetto’ formulation and the sharp border between the deprived neighborhood and the crashed development project, the production of ‘locality’ should be placed not only into a global economical context but also into the transformation of the industrial socialism during which the material transformation of the identity and a need for modernization to achieve European citizenship arose with the deprivation of Roma in a certain neighborhood.
The central problematic of this proposal is to pursue comparative research on post-crisis urban transformation while also attending to pre-crisis origins and patterns of urban inequality. Studies of cities in the aftermath of the 2007-2008 global economic slowdown tend to portray post-crisis urbanism as an era of distinct governance and transformation. Yet these urban transformations did not simply begin with the crisis. Pre-crisis governance trends, socioeconomic inequality, and spatial unevenness have been extended, exacerbated, or otherwise reproduced through post-crisis governance and policy. How might critical comparative studies build on these important histories?

To begin to approach these questions, I draw from my work on post-crisis urban transformation in US rust belt cities. This work examines two types of government intervention into the disinvested built environments of cities like Cleveland and Detroit: 1) demolitions of abandoned, foreclosed homes and 2) the use of land-banking to control investment speculation in depressed land markets. Policy and media accounts that portray these measures as necessary steps for economic recovery belie the predatory roots of this land re-distribution. To complicate depoliticized narratives of demolition and land-banking, my project uses both quantitative and qualitative methods to place post-crisis policies into conversation with their historical roots, extending these narratives backwards to 20th century Urban Renewal and to the more recent predatory mortgage practices that emptied this land. My methodological challenge, then, is to foster urban comparisons both temporally and spatially. Further, I argue that framing the current crisis in the context of past rounds of discriminatory land redistribution is an important political tool for planners, researchers, and activists. This is especially so in a climate of neoliberal urban governance that portrays rising urban inequality as inevitable and increasingly relies on private sector “partners” with ties to the real estate and property development sectors.
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CLAIMING THE ‘RIGHT TO DWELL’?
THE HISTORY OF COMMUNITY OWNERSHIP OF HOUSING IN LIVERPOOL

Through the history of capitalist crises, popular struggles for access to, and control over, housing have produced radical alternative models for affordable housing and community governance. From the Garden City movement, through self-build cooperatives, to Community Land Trusts (CLTs) – models for local autonomy and mutual ownership of housing aim to fix in place increasingly mobile capital and capture land value locally for long-term community benefit (Defilippis, 1999). Responding to relentless acts of enclosure in the ‘new urban enclosures’ – the privatisation and residualisation of public housing, and the ‘accumulation by dispossession’ wrought by large-scale housing-led state regeneration programmes – these small-scale alternatives can be interpreted as radical attempts to (re)claim an urban commons and assert the right to the city (Harvey, 2012; Hodkinson, 2012).

The Housing Market Renewal (HMR) Pathfinder programme – prematurely cancelled by the Conservative-led Coalition government under post-crash austerity urbanism – caused much displacement yet left swathes of empty homes without funds for either demolition or refurbishment. This paper examines the emergence, in Liverpool, of grassroots campaigns to contest post-HMR austerity urbanism and establish CLTs as new institutional structures to bring empty homes back into use under democratic community ownership. Liverpool is the contextual lens through which a genealogy of radical self-help initiatives to acquire land for affordable housing can be drawn for historical comparison – one in which different models emerge in different periods under changing political conditions, and in reaction to successive state regeneration policies and crises in capital accumulation. A critical comparison of these historically-situated models, and the urban politics shaping their development, is made in the hope of revealing insights into our contemporary condition.

Recent CLT initiatives will be evaluated against Liverpool’s 1970s cooperative movement, in which Colin Ward’s (Ward & Goodway, 2003) anarchist ideas of ‘dweller control’ were influential in the UK’s first new-build resident-developed housing cooperative; paralleling the establishment of the UK’s largest community-owned housing trust, the Eldonian Village. Based on comparative-historical research of these case studies, this paper offers reflections on the conceptual relations between dweller control, the urban commons, and the right to the city – and presents some initial ideas on bringing these together as a ‘right to dwell’.
Attempts to govern urban crisis have a long heritage in the City of Baltimore in the US as austerity constitutes continuity rather than change in the City after decades of neo-liberal urbanism. Justificatory narratives about the need for the ‘greater realism’ of market-based approaches have had transformative effects on city-based collaborative processes. The City’s collaborative governance is regime-like in structure, comprising City government working closely with private interests made up of ‘non-profits’, such as the City’s ‘ed and med’ institutions, and private local, or locally-based, philanthropic interests.

This paper will focus on these philanthropic interests and the role they play in collaborative governance, with particular regard to collaborative processes of spatial (neighbourhood) governance. Philanthropies have exerted significant influence in policy-setting, identifying priorities in terms of the spaces, actors and behaviours which gain the attention and resource of City elites. How do philanthropic actors see their role in collaborative governance? How does this compare to the views of other actors - included and excluded - in collaborative governance processes? To what extent do philanthropies enhance, transform or undermine civil society leadership, action and innovation? How does this vary spatially across the City’s neighbourhoods?

The comparative contribution is rich as Baltimore provides a harbinger of trends elsewhere given that austerity governance has long been operating in the City. Its population loss and concentration of poverty, exacerbated by the self-reliance of the federal system, has resulted in a constant ‘fiscal squeeze’ deepened by broader economic crisis. In particular, the paper will consider the potential lessons regarding the role of philanthropies in the City’s collaborative governance processes and how this is spatially manifested. The emphasis on neighbourhood governance augments the comparative contribution, as economic crisis and austerity measures have heightened the imperatives for communities of place (or neighbourhoods) to engage in self-help activities, such as creating associations, gaining assets and engaging in service delivery.
“URBAN UNCERTAINTY: COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVES ON GOVERNING CRISIS IN ACCRA, BOGOTÁ, KARACHI AND JOHANNESBURG”?

This paper is a product of collaboration between researchers studying various aspects of urban governance (energy, disaster, security, and transport infrastructure) across cities of the global South. At its heart is the potential usefulness of approaching the contemporary city as characterized by uncertainty; and particularly accepting that everyday experiences, management, and contestation of urban crisis is inevitably tied to conditions of urban uncertainty. The authors argue that it conceptually and empirically useful to place uncertainty at the front and center of any discussion on how contemporary cities are planned, built, governed, and lived. This is demonstrated through case examples which read moments of crisis concurrently with urban uncertainty as a condition that is produced through contests, negotiations, and implementation of governing policies across the urban environment. Each author offers a concise case study which examines a different dimension of uncertainty, locates it in a different city, and mobilizes different conceptual tools for making it intelligible with the purpose of thinking through the utility of such a notion in urban studies.

In Karachi, Kaker demonstrates that tactics to manage everyday life in a city characterized by uncertain security and infrastructure provision are rooted within wider processes which also become a cause for crisis and perpetuate uncertainty. In Bogotá, Zeiderman highlights how conditions of human and environmental insecurity are governed, but despite this the uncertain future is a terrain of political engagement for technocrats, government elite as well as the marginal and poor. In Accra, Silver traces the temporal and material uncertainties caused by the political ecological dynamics of electricity provision/disruption, and shows how urban residents create collaborative possibilities across and beyond the energy infrastructure system to respond to the energy crisis. In Johannesburg, Wood highlights the contests between policy ideals and practice in the past and present which resurface at the intersection of BRT planning and implementation, causing uncertainties of service provision. These diverse cases are presented to create a conversation around the analytical value of examining uncertainty to open up new ways of thinking about cities and to begin to articulate the conceptual value of such a notion. It is argued that uncertainty is not only produced in times of crisis, but is also productive of the alternate urban environment and systems of urban governance which materialise along various temporalities and topographical scales, opening up a series of questions about the politics of certainty and uncertainty.

My colleagues and I came across details of this conference recently, and are keen to participate given its relevance for our current work. At LSE Cities, we have recently been involved in a collaborative project on urban uncertainty across Karachi, Bogota, Accra and Ghana. Our project is empirically grounded, and views crisis governance as a condition tied to urban uncertainty. Keeping this in mind, the conference stream of ‘governing crisis’ is particularly relevant for our project, and we look forward to contributing to it.
TROUBLED WASTEWATERS: CHALLENGES OF URBAN SANITATION GOVERNANCE IN MEXICO IN A TIME OF CRISIS.

The impacts of the urban crisis on water governance are often overlooked. Much of the literature on urban water governance focuses primarily on the neoliberal turn in development policy and the role of privatization in a time of increasing water scarcity. However, very little has been written on issues in urban sanitation governance. Water supply remains the main focus of urban water governance research, thus leaving contaminated effluents out of the scholarly discourse. In this paper, I interrogate the challenges of urban sanitation governance using a comparative approach within Mexico at the sub-national (municipal) scale. Mexican municipalities are required by law to provide public services including water supply, sewerage and wastewater treatment. Mexican water utilities in cities facing urban crisis are confronted with substantial challenges. I explore the realities of wastewater governance in two Mexican cities, Leon (in the central state of Guanajuato) and Aguascalientes (in the neighbouring state of Aguascalientes). Through this comparative case study analysis, I offer insights into how Mexican cities are facing and responding to urban crises in the water management sector.
Since the initial impact of the economic crisis in 2008 the effects have rippled out from cities to towns and villages in the UK and are still keenly felt today. Communities are demonstrating their resolve and resilience in a number of ways from the provision of food-banks in towns to ambitious plans to develop housing for local people priced out of the market. Such attempts to co-produce services traditionally provided by government, such as social housing, is necessary in austere times when budgets have been cut and private housing developers have yet to step in to sufficiently meet demand, as imagined by government.

This paper examines the attempt by communities to provide housing for themselves in creative and alternative models. In order to provide housing and keep areas alive for the future, community land trusts (CLTs) may be part of a solution. As well as attempting to provide physical bricks and mortar at affordable prices, the process of developing CLTs can help to improve skills capacity as well as emboldening the sense of community. The paper will analyse two CLT examples, one in an urban area, the other rural, in order to compare approaches and outcomes.

A critical analysis of CLTs as collaborative practices, between local people and organisations, to meet demand for housing, will be undertaken. The aim is to better understand the conditions needed for successful delivery of schemes in the current economic climate, as well as to understand the affect such practices have on those community members involved. There are unintended consequences of such community-driven responses to delivering local services in the absence of government provision: both positive and negative, and these will be explored in the paper.

**Key words:** housing, community land trust, collaboration, co-production
SUSTAINABLE SERVICE DELIVERY IN DEMOCRATIC LOCAL GOVERNMENT: SOUTH AFRICAN CHALLENGES AND PROSPECTS

South Africa gained its democratic system of government in 1994. The newly elected government was faced with the daunting task of transforming the total structure of the state’s machinery to accommodate the fragmented society which existed under the former apartheid regime. The local sphere (level) of government revealed the most glaring inconsistencies of the former regime. This system has been totally re-engineered since 1998.

The former racially based local authorities were transformed into municipalities covering the total geographical area of South Africa. However, the consolidation did not solve the problem of equitable service delivery to the newly integrated communities. Several challenges were and still are experienced in government’s efforts to deliver sustainable services to communities. In many cases communities are either unwilling to pay or are unable to pay due to unemployment (indexed at ± 25%).

The crises experienced by most municipalities could partly be ascribed to the lack of a political will to enforce the collection of revenue due to municipalities. They collect only ± 68% of revenue from the resources they are entitled to use. National government annually allocates additional funds through the Division of Revenue Act. Local government receives only ± 14% of revenue thus collected. Additional funds are allocated through a variety of grants, but are inadequate.

A serious challenge to municipalities is the lack of properly qualified managerial officials. Senior appointments are mostly politically motivated, resulting in municipal managers (administrative head of a municipality) and chief financial officers not able to manage the financial affairs.

The paper addresses the challenges facing municipalities and will also address the initiatives introduced to alleviate the crises by e.g. requiring minimum qualifications for appointment in managerial posts and emphasis on demanding accountability from elected councillors in the case of non-compliance. Reference will also be made to the situation in other African states for comparative purposes.