PREFACE

This book is a collection of texts connected to a project on planetary urbanization which is being pursued by myself and Christian Schmid of the ETH Zurich in collaboration with researchers at our respective institutions. The book is intended to offer our own collaborators, as well as urban researchers and practitioners elsewhere with allied agendas, some orientation for deciphering the variegated urbanization processes that are presently transforming the planetary socio-ecological landscape. This involves a variety of interlayered forays into concept development, methodological experimentation, historical genealogy, geopolitical economy and cartographic speculation, as well as an immanent critique of inherited and contemporary urban ideologies.

In thus proceeding, we aspire neither to make a definitive statement of the approach under development here, nor do we claim to offer a representative selection of the full diversity of perspectives that are being articulated within the vibrant terrain of contemporary urban theory. Instead, this book is intended simply to draw together some of the core texts associated with an emergent framework that we consider fruitful for deciphering both historical and contemporary urbanization patterns under capitalism. The collection includes several classic texts by pioneering thinkers such as Henri Lefebvre, David Harvey, Edward Soja, Terry McGee, Roberto Luis Monte-Mór and Marcel Meili, as well as a selection of more recent interventions from the last several years—mostly by colleagues and students with whom we are engaged in intensive collaborations and discussions—that advance this approach. The book's contents thus reflect the terrain of a transcontinental dialogue on urbanization and urban theory that has been under way for several years, not only among researchers in Cambridge and Zurich, but also with close colleagues in New York City and Toronto, as well as, among other places, Belo Horizonte, London, Los Angeles, Madrid, Melbourne, Miami, Singapore and Vancouver.

At this stage of our work on the *problematique* of planetary urbanization, only our questions have come into clear focus; the heavy labor of conceptualization, analysis and representation has only just begun. Christian Schmid and I are continuing our work in elaborating and applying our own theory of extended urbanization, both in our joint writing projects and in collaboration with research teams in Cambridge, Zurich and Singapore. We hope that others—scholars, practitioners, activists—will join these developing efforts to reconceptualize the contemporary urban question, not least through critical engagement with the ideas assembled in this volume.

My own perspective on planetary urbanization, as presented in my contributions to this book, has been forged through an intense, long-term dialogue, collaboration and friendship with Christian Schmid. His writings figure crucially throughout this volume, and our collaborative work continues as we wrestle with a variety of thorny epistemological, conceptual, methodological and representational challenges. Our theorization of extended urbanization builds upon and attempts to develop many of the concepts, methods and agendas that are woven through the present volume. While our jointly authored chapters in this volume introduce the broad contours of that theorization, our main statement on the topic is not included here; it will be presented separately as a journal article and, subsequently, as a chapter in our book, *Planetary Urbanization*.[1]

An early version of the theoretical agenda presented in this book was developed during the closing years of my work in the Department of Sociology and Metropolitan Studies Program at New York University, in dialogue with a cluster of brilliant doctoral students in Sociology and American Studies. These include Hillary Angelo, Daniel Aldana Cohen, David J. Madden (now at the London School of Economics), Stuart Schrader and David Wachsmuth. Several chapters in this book originated from those dialogues, and I look forward to future contributions and interventions from this remarkably adventurous generation of critical urbanists.

Andy Merrifield, whose texts likewise occupy a prominent place in this book, has been a long-time friend and comrade, and a persistent interlocutor about

the prospects for radical urban theory and practice. His own recent book, *The Politics of the Encounter*, represents a path-breaking foray into the conceptualization of planetary urbanization and the new geographies of political struggle it has provoked.[2] I am hugely grateful for his permission to include several key texts here which are connected to the latter project.

This book is linked closely to my ongoing work as Director of the Urban Theory Lab (UTL) at the Harvard Graduate School of Design (GSD), where I was fortunate to assume a professorship as of summer 2011. I am deeply grateful to Mohsen Mostafavi, Dean of the GSD, for his support of the school's Research Advancement Initiative, which has enabled this and other newly established research/design labs at the GSD to flourish. Additional support for the UTL's ongoing research activities has been generously provided through the Real Estate Academic Initiative (REAI) and the Milton Fund, both of Harvard University. I owe a special note of gratitude to the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, Harvard University, especially to Executive Director Steven Bloomfield, for a friendly welcome to campus and for generously supporting a variety of UTL research endeavors. The UTL is now gaining momentum in several projects, thanks in no small part to the energetic engagement of its key participants from the GSD's doctoral programs (PhD and Doctor of Design Studies) and Master in Design Studies (MDesS) programs. Particular thanks are due to Ali Fard, Kian Goh, Daniel Ibañez and Nikos Katsikis for their substantial contributions to pushing forward the UTL's developing agenda for theory, research and cartographic experimentation.

The design team for the book consisted of Danika Cooper and Ghazal Jafari of the Harvard GSD's MDesS Program in Urbanism, Landscape, Ecology (ULE); both deserve my deepest thanks for a productive collaboration under a tight deadline. I would also like to extend my thanks to Philipp Sperrle and Susanne Rösler of Jovis Verlag in Berlin for their steadfast support for our work on this project. Christine Hwang provided able assistance on various copyediting and administrative tasks. David Wachsmuth, Christian Schmid, Ingeborg Rocker, Matthew Gandy, Margit Mayer and Ann Yoachim provided invaluable guidance on several crucial editorial and production decisions during various stages of the project's development.

The images used on the book's cover, in the opening pages and in the section introductions offer a striking, if disturbing, lens into the intellectual and political *problematique* we are attempting to open and explore in these pages. We are grateful to photojournalist Garth Lenz for generously collaborating with us to permit their reproduction in this volume.

Many chapters in this book are original contributions, but a number have been published in various scholarly journals since 2010. I would like extend my sincerest thanks to the publishers of these works for their kind cooperation with our requests for permission to include them in this volume. Particular gratitude is due to several friends and colleagues—Bob Catterall, Editor of *CITY*; Julie-Anne Boudreau and Maria Kaika, Editors of the *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*; and Stuart Elden, Editor of *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*—for generously supporting and facilitating our use of several key chapters.

—Neil Brenner
Cambridge, USA
August 2013

[1] Neil Brenner and Christian Schmid, *Towards a Theory of Extended Urbanization* (Urban Theory Lab: Harvard-GSD and ETH Zurich, 2013).

[2] Andy Merrifield, *The Politics of the Encounter: Urban Theory and Protest under Planetary Urbanization* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2013).

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1
INTRODUCTION: URBAN THEORY WITHOUT AN OUTSIDE

Neil Brenner

The urban question has long been a flashpoint for intense debate among researchers concerned with the nature of cities and urbanization processes.[1] Despite profound differences of methodology, analytical focus and political orientation, the major twentieth-century approaches to this question have taken an entity commonly labeled as *the city* (or some lexical variation thereof) as their primary unit of analysis and site of investigation.

This foundational epistemological focus was canonized in the 1925 mission statement of urban sociology by Chicago School founders Ernest Burgess and Robert Park, laconically but confidently titled *The City*.[2] It subsequently evolved into a basically self-evident presupposition—so obvious that it did not require explanation or justification—across diverse traditions and terrains of urban research. Indeed, despite their significant epistemological, methodological and political differences from Chicago School urban sociology, the major strands of mid- to late twentieth-century urban studies have likewise focused their analytical gaze primarily, if not exclusively, on "city-like" (nodal, relatively large, densely populated and self-enclosed) sociospatial units. This generalization applies to mainstream quantitative research on city-size distributions, central place systems and urban hierarchies; to the periodizations of capitalist urban development by radical political economists in the 1970s and 1980s; to the influential analyses of post-Fordist cities, global city formation and megacity expansion in the 1990s; and to more recent research forays on neoliberal cities, ordinary cities and postcolonial cities in the late

1990s and into the early 2000s. Whatever their specific methodological orientations, *explananda* and politico-theoretical agendas, each of these influential approaches to the urban question has either (a) documented the replication of city-like settlement types across larger territories; or (b) used a modifying term—mercantile, industrial, Fordist-Keynesian, post-Keynesian, post-Fordist, global, mega, neoliberal, ordinary, postcolonial and so forth—to demarcate its research terrain as a subset of a putatively more general sociospatial form, "the" city.[3]

Of course, there have been many terms on offer for labeling the city-like unit in question—metropolis, conurbation, city-region, metropolitan area, megalopolis, megapolitan zone, and so forth—and these appropriately reflect the changing boundaries, morphologies and scales of human settlement patterns.[4] Concomitantly, across and within each of the aforementioned research traditions, intense debates have long raged regarding the origins, internal dynamics and consequences of city-building, and more generally, regarding the functions of cities in relation to broader political-economic, sociocultural and demographic transformations.[5] But underneath the tumult of disagreement and the relentless series of paradigm shifts that have animated urban theory and research during the last century, a basic consensus has persisted: the urban *problematique* is thought to be embodied, at core, in *cities*—conceived as settlement types characterized by certain indicative features (such as largeness, density and social diversity) that make them qualitatively distinct from a *non-city* social world (suburban, rural and/or "natural") located "beyond" or "outside" them.[6] In effect, as Hillary Angelo and David Wachsmuth explain in their contribution to this volume, the epistemology of urban studies has been characterized by a deeply entrenched *methodological cityism,* which entails "an analytical privileging, isolation and … naturalization of the city in studies of urban processes where the non-city may also be significant."[7]

This book assembles a series of contributions to the urban question that push strongly against the grain of that epistemology. Through diverse modes of engagement (conceptual, methodological, historical, political-economic, representational) and analytical windows (social scientific, cartographic, literary and cinematic), its chapters articulate the elements of a radically different way of understanding the *problematique* of urban theory and research, and more generally, of conceptualizing the imprint and operationality of urban processes on the planetary landscape. In so doing, we aim to advance a hitherto largely subterranean stream of urban research that has, since the mid-twentieth century, cast doubt upon established understandings of the urban as a bounded, nodal and relatively self-enclosed sociospatial condition in favor of more territorially differentiated, morphologically variable, multiscalar and processual conceptualizations.[8] Building upon various concepts, methods and mappings derived from that work, especially Henri Lefebvre's approach, this book aspires to supersede the urban/non-urban divide that has long anchored the epistemology of urban research, and on this basis, to develop a new vision of urban theory *without an outside*.

	Methodological cityism	**Urban theory without an outside**
Unit of analysis	Bounded: the city as a settlement type that is contrasted to other settlement types, usually within a national territory	Open, variegated, multiscalar: the urban as an unevenly developed yet worldwide condition and process of sociospatial transformation
Model of territorial organization	Typological, binary: territory is differentiated among distinct settlement types, with cities contrasted to specific non-city zones—suburbs, towns, villages, rural areas, the countryside and "natural" areas	Processual, dialectical: agglomerations ("cities") relate dialectically to their ("non-city") operational landscapes, which are in turn continually transformed through their roles in supporting agglomerations
Understanding of territorial development	Population-centric: growth of city populations relative to total (national) population size	Mediated through capitalism, state strategies and sociopolitical struggle: worldwide implosion/explosion of capitalist sociospatial organization, encompassing the evolving relations between agglomerations and their operational landscapes within a crisis-prone capitalist world economy
Model of *longue durée* historical-geographical change	Linear, universal: specific cities may grow or decline, but the phenomenon of cityness is increasingly universalized as a settlement type around the world	Discontinuous, uneven: sociospatial configurations (including both agglomerations and their operational landscapes) are creatively destroyed through the crisis-tendencies of capital (mediated through state institutions and sociopolitical struggles), contributing to successive rounds of territorial differentiation and redifferentiation at various spatial scales

1.1 Rethinking the urbanization question

Classic and background texts (1970 to 2007)	• Lefebvre, Ch. 2 (1970) • Harvey, Ch. 3 (1996) • Schmid, Ch. 4 (2006) • Meili, Ch. 7 (2006) • Monte-Mór, Ch. 8 (1994) • McGee, Ch. 9 (1991) • Soja and Kanai, Ch. 10 (2007) • Monte- Mór, Ch. 17 (2005) • Schmid, Ch. 18 (2006) • Schmid, Ch. 26 (2006) • Lefebvre, Ch. 34 (1989)
Recent texts (2011-2013)	• Gandy, Ch. 5 (2012) • Schmid, Ch. 6 (2012) • Brenner and Schmid, Ch. 11 (2011) • Merrifield, Ch. 12 (2013) • Brenner, Ch. 13 (2012) • Schmid, Ch. 14 (2012) • Soja, Ch. 19 (2011) • Brenner and Schmid, Ch. 21 (2013) • Gleeson, Ch. 22 (2013) • Wachsmuth, Ch. 23 (2013) • Angelo and Wachsmuth, Ch. 24 (2013) • Brenner and Katsikis, Ch. 27 (2013) • Madden, Ch. 30 (2012) • Merrifield, Ch. 31 (2011)
Newly commissioned texts	• Goonewardena, Ch. 15 • Sevilla-Buitrago, Ch. 16 • Kipfer, Ch. 20 • Merrifield, Ch. 25 • UTL-GSD, Ch. 28 • Katsikis, Ch. 29 • Ajl, Ch. 32 • Friedmann, Ch. 33

1.2 Overview of chapters—period of publication

yet to be conducted, but it may be productively informed through some of the concepts, methods, cartographies and political orientations assembled in this book. As Figure 1.2 indicates, the chapters included here fall into three broad categories.

Classic and background texts. This book is not intended to offer a survey either of work on urbanization in general or on the contemporary formation of this process. However, a number of key texts from earlier periods of research on these topics acquire renewed contemporary significance in the context of the wide-ranging intellectual agenda proposed here. Accordingly, several earlier texts have been included that introduce essential analytical tools for our work. The earliest among these is an excerpt from Henri Lefebvre's *La révolution urbaine* (1970), but others range in publication date from the late 1980s to the mid-2000s. They include one of Lefebvre's last publications—a short, rather gloomy essay for *Le Monde* (1989); as well as Terry McGee's pioneering explosion of the urban-rural divide in relation to the *desakota* regions of Asia (1991); an early theorization of extended urbanization by Brazilian planner Roberto Luis Monte-Mór with specific reference to the Amazon (1994) and spatial development in Brazil more generally (2005); a concise, forceful defense of a process-based theorization of urbanization by David Harvey (1996); several excerpts from the pathbreaking, multivolume study of complete urbanization in Switzerland by two members of Studio Basel's research team, Marcel Meili and Christian Schmid (2006); and Ed Soja and J. Miguel Kanai's preliminary yet precise demarcation of the emergent worldwide urban fabric (2006). While these texts were produced prior to the consolidation of the research agenda sketched above, they offer some essential concepts and perspectives that may inform such an investigation.

Recent texts. The bulk of the book is composed of articles and essays on various aspects of planetary urbanization that have been produced during the last several years, mainly by members of my own research group, the Urban Theory Lab (which relocated from New York City to the Harvard GSD during this time), and through an ongoing collaboration

ideologies; on the role of state strategies in mediating urbanization processes at various spatial scales; on the deployment of spatial representations to serve specific strategies of urbanization; and on the question of alternatives to contemporary urbanization patterns. These, and no doubt others, may be accessed quite productively as readers construct their own pathways through the many layers of analysis, experimentation, speculation and debate that are intermeshed across chapters and sections in this volume. A sequential approach to the book's contents may thus be productively complemented through more topical reading strategies that reflect specific research interests, concerns and agendas. The book's organizational structure is intended less to enclose the material within pregiven analytical boxes, than simply as a pragmatic framing device to enhance the accessibility of an otherwise complex, multifaceted and at times quite challenging intellectual terrain.

• • •

The images used on the book's cover and in the section introductions were produced by Garth Lenz, whose photojournalistic work has dramatically documented some of the most horrific industrial scars on the earth's landscape, especially in the Tar Sands of northern Alberta, Canada, as well as in other zones of intensive resource extraction, which have been induced through our fossil fuel-based formation of worldwide urbanization.[34] In recent years, photographic work on colossal landscapes of industrialized resource extraction and environmental destruction—particularly in connection to the large-scale infrastructures required for the production of petrochemicals—has generated considerable attention both in the public sphere and among environmentalists, conservationists, landscape architects and geographers. In many of the most widely circulated images of such landscapes, the specter of worldwide ecological destruction is depicted with such richly aestheticized abstraction that some commentators have described this genre using phrases such as the "toxic sublime" or the "apocalyptic sublime."[35] Lenz's interventions are clearly connected to that genre—there is a surreal, if deeply unsettling, beauty in many of his images of the shockingly degraded landscapes of the Tar Sands. However, his work is quite explicitly linked to a political concern to use his powerful photographic vocabulary to communicate a cautionary message regarding "the true cost of oil" to the public both in Canada and beyond.[36] Lenz's images thus offer a fitting, if extremely grim, provocation for the arguments and perspectives being forged in the present volume: they illustrate one way of visualizing the socially and ecologically disastrous operational landscapes of urbanization—Lefebvre might have described them as a form of "terricide"—that are being forged at a truly colossal scale to support and reproduce urban life under early twenty-first-century capitalism.[37]

While it was, of course, Henri Lefebvre who forecast the situation of complete urbanization, which is today apparently being actualized on a planetary scale, the iconography used in the cover design of his classic text, *The Urban Revolution*—both in its original 1970 version and in its 2003 English translation—is strikingly conventional (Figure1.4).

In the French version, a classic image of urban density is adopted—a collage of large, iconic buildings pierced by an elevated subway train. In the more recent English translation, a similar, if more readily recognizable, iconography is chosen: one of Haussmann's great Parisian boulevards, forming a knife-like cut through the fabric of a dense urban landscape that stretches endlessly into the horizon. In stark contrast, Lenz's aerial photograph of the Tar Sands on this book's cover takes us far away from the large, dense, vertical landscapes of cityness, into a zone in which the earth's surface has been layered with a viscous sludge, traversed by muddy roads twisting around ponds filled with huge accumulations of toxic waste. As Andy Merrifield proposes in several of his contributions to this book, the Haussmannization of the past, which evicted city dwellers from the center to create a built environment for urbanizing capital, has now been ratcheted up into a worldwide form of neo-Haussmannization. Perhaps Lenz's image of the Tar Sands provides as fitting an iconography for this emergent planetary condition as the image of Haussmann's geometrical boulevard did for an earlier, city-centric formation of urban expansion. The evictions, enclosures and dispossessions continue, but now on the scale of the entire planet, well beyond the inherited built environments of earlier civilizations, leading to unprecedented social devastation and environmental destruction:

> Baron Haussmann tore into central Paris, into its old neighborhoods and poor populations, dispatching the latter to the periphery while speculating on the

1.4 Iconography of the urban revolution?

What is urbanization? How are urbanization processes inscribed in built environments, landscapes and territories, beyond the boundaries of cities? What would a complete or generalized formation of urbanization entail, in experiential, social, spatial and environmental terms?

Henri Lefebvre
David Harvey
Christian Schmid

3
CITIES OR URBANIZATION?

David Harvey

The way we see our cities affects the policies and actions we undertake. Is our way of seeing dominated and limited by an obsession with "the city" as a thing, one that marginalizes our sense of urbanization as a process? What is the nature of an understanding of urbanization that can contribute to emancipatory politics?

At the beginning of this century, there were no more than a dozen or so cities in the world with more than a million people. They were all in the advanced capitalist countries and London, by far the largest of them all, had just under seven million. At the beginning of this century, too, no more than 7 percent of the world's population could reasonably be classified as "urban." By the year 2000, there may well be as many as 500 cities with more than a million inhabitants, while the largest of them, Tokyo, São Paulo, Bombay and possibly Shanghai, will boast populations of more than 20 million, trailed by a score of cities, mostly in the so-called developing countries, with upwards of 10 million. Some time early in the twenty-first century, if present trends continue, more than half of the world's population will be classified as urban rather than rural.

The twentieth century has been, then, *the* century of urbanization. Before 1800, the size and numbers of urban concentrations in all social formations seem to have been strictly limited. The nineteenth century saw the breach of those barriers in a few advanced capitalist countries, but the latter half of the twentieth century has seen that localized breach turned into a universal flood of massive urbanization. The future of most of humanity now lies, for the first time in history, fundamentally in urbanizing areas. The qualities of urban living in the twenty-first century will define the qualities of civilization itself.

But judging superficially by the present state of the world's cities, future generations will not find that civilization particularly congenial. Every city has its share (often increasing and in some instances predominant) of concentrated impoverishment and human hopelessness, of malnourishment and chronic diseases, of crumbling or stressed out infrastructures, of senseless and wasteful consumerism, of ecological degradation and excessive pollution, of congestion, of seemingly stymied economic and human development, and of sometimes bitter social strife, varying from individualized violence on the streets to organized crime (often an alternative form of urban governance), through police-state exercises in social control to massive civic protest movements (sometimes spontaneous) demanding political-economic change. For many, then, to talk of the city of the twenty-first century is to conjure up a dystopian nightmare in which all that is judged worst in the fatally flawed character of humanity collects together in some hellhole of despair.

In some of the advanced capitalist countries, that dystopian vision has been strongly associated with the long-cultivated habit on the part of those with power and privilege of running as far from the city centers as possible. Fueled by a permissive car culture, the urge to get some money and get out has taken command. Liverpool's population fell by 40 percent between 1961 and 1991, for example, and Baltimore City's fell from close to a million to under 700,000 in the same three decades. But the upshot has been not only to create endless suburbanization, so-called edge cities, and sprawling megalopoli, but also to make every village and every rural retreat in the advanced capitalist world part of a complex web of urbanization that defies any simple categorization of populations into "urban" and "rural" in that sense that once upon a time could reasonably be accorded to those terms.

The hemorrhaging of wealth, population and power from central cities has left many of them languishing in limbo. Needy populations have been left behind as the rich and influential have moved out. Add to this the devastating loss of jobs (particularly in manufacturing) in recent years and the parlous state of the older cities becomes all too clear. Nearly 250,000 manufacturing jobs have been lost in Manchester in two decades while 40,000 disappeared from Sheffield's steel industry alone in just three short catastrophic years in the mid 1980s. Baltimore likewise lost nearly 200,000 manufacturing jobs from the late 1960s onwards, and there is hardly a single city in the United States that has not been the scene of similar devastation through deindustrialization.

The subsequent train of events has been tragic for many. Communities built to service now defunct manufacturing industries have been left high and dry, wracked with long-term structural unemployment. Disenchantment, dropping out, and quasi-legal means to make ends meet follow. Those in power rush to blame the victims, the police powers

The ninth myth is that cities are anti-ecological. Opposing this is the view that high density urbanized living and inspired forms of urban design are the only paths to a more ecologically sensitive form of civilization in the twenty-first century. We must recognize that the distinction between *environment* as commonly understood and the *built environment* is artificial, and that the urban and everything that goes into it is as much a part of the solution as it is a contributing factor to ecological difficulties. The tangible recognition that the mass of humanity will be located in living environments designated as urban says that the environmental politics must pay as much if not more attention to the qualities of those built and social environments as it now typically does to a fictitiously separated and imagined "natural" environment.

It will take imagination and political guts, a surge of revolutionary fervor and revolutionary change (in thinking as well as in politics) to address these questions adequately. In this regard, at least, there is much to learn from our predecessors for their political and intellectual courage cannot be doubted. But if the rhetoric about handing on a decent living environment to future generations is to have even one iota of meaning, a radically different collective thought process of some sort has to be instituted. A crucial preliminary is to find an adequate language in which to discuss possible futures in a rapidly urbanizing world, a language that actively recognizes that urbanization is both constitutive of, as well as constituted by, the ways such possibilities might potentially be grasped.

Notes

1 Sachs, "Vulnerability of Giant Cities and the Life Lottery," *The Metropolis Era: Volume 1, A World of Giant Cities*, eds. Mattéi Dogan and John D. Kasarda (Newbury: Sage, 1988) 341.
2 Ibid.
3 André Guillerme, *The Age of Water: the Urban Environment in the North of France* (College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 1988) 171.
4 David Harvey, *The Limits to Capital* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1982); David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989); and David Harvey, *The Urban Experience* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989).
5 William Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West* (New York: Norton, 1991).
6 Harold L. Platt, *The Electric City: Energy and Growth of the Chicago Area, 1880–1930* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1991).
7 Johan Heinrich von Thünen, *The Isolated State*, trans. Carla M. Wartenberg (Oxford and New York, Pergamon Press, 1966).
8 See Alejandro Portes, Manuel Castells, and Lauren A. Benton, *The Informal Economy: Studies in Advanced and Less Developed Countries* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989).
9 Sachs, "Vulnerability of Giant Cities and the Life Lottery," 343.
10 Charles Jencks, *Heteropolis: Los Angeles, the Riots, and the Strange Beauty of Hetero-Architecture* (London: Academy Editions, 1993).
11 Andrew Dobson, *Green Political Thought* (London: Harper Collins, 1990) 96.

4
NETWORKS, BORDERS, DIFFERENCES: TOWARDS A THEORY OF THE URBAN

Christian Schmid

The process of urbanization has changed fundamentally in recent years. For more than a century, the dominant form of urbanization was concentric, with suburbs arranged like belts around an urban core. This is how the large agglomerations of the twentieth century emerged. Around the end of the century, however, urban growth patterns began to change, as manifested in a wide variety of places: the process of urbanization has become undirected; existing urban forms are beginning to dissolve; centrality is becoming polymorphous; and eccentric urban configurations are evolving. Overarching, polycentric urban regions are taking shape. Extremely heterogeneous in structure, they include old city centers as well as once-peripheral areas.

In this process, new urban configurations are constantly evolving. Lightly settled, once rural areas are caught up in various forms of "peri-urbanization." Urbanists have coined a number of terms to describe the new forms of centrality that are emerging in former peripheral areas: "edge city," "technoburb" or "in-between cities."[1] However, most of these terms, and the concepts behind them, are no more than generalizations of spectacular special cases. A general description of the new form of urbanization led Edward Soja to coin the term "exopolis." By that, he refers to the improbable city orbiting beyond the old agglomeration cores that turns the metropolis inside-out and outside-in at the same time, and has a gravitational center as empty as a "doughnut"—that is, those places lying outside of the center, right on the edge, but still in the middle of things.

Can the spatial boundaries of cities be coherently delineated—whether in theory, analysis or experience? Is a new formation of complete urbanization being consolidated in specific regions and territories? If so, what are its major manifestations—whether in built environments, spatial configurations or infrastructural arrangements, in political discourses, or in everyday life?

Matthew Gandy
Christian Schmid
Marcel Meili
Roberto Luis Monte-Mór
Terry G. McGee

5
WHERE DOES THE CITY END?

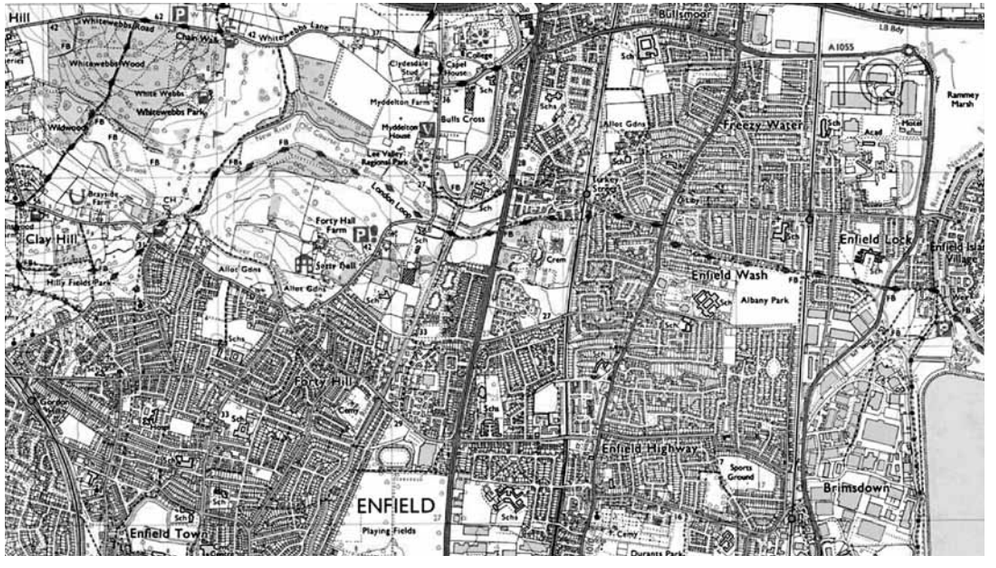
Matthew Gandy

How do we know we have reached the edge of the city? Is it an aluminium sign? Is it a thinning out of buildings until there is little but woods and fields? Or is it an abrupt shift to small towns and villages dotted across the landscape? Perhaps it is really none of these things since the city, or at least "urbanization," is now practically everywhere. In his book *The Urban Revolution*, first published in 1970, the French urbanist Henri Lefebvre makes a clear distinction between "city" and "urbanization." "Society has become completely urbanized," writes Lefebvre, "This urbanization is virtual today, but will become real in the future."[1] In the 40 years since Lefebvre wrote these words, the pace and scale of urban growth has accelerated and so has the more ubiquitous dynamic of "urbanization" as infrastructure and ideas have spread into the remotest locales. The urban and the rural have become increasingly difficult to differentiate despite the powerful cultural resonance of this distinction. We can never really understand cities as simply "things in themselves" since they are manifestations of broader processes of change, connection and re-combination. Cities are just a particular form of urbanization.

If we consider London, the current metropolitan boundaries were created in 1965. For the purposes of data collection, planning and service provision, these administrative boundaries are extremely significant, but they only reveal part of the story of what London is as a cultural and geographical entity. If we look within these "lines on the map" where London's outer boroughs meet the ring of counties stretching from Kent in the South East, through

the affluent commuter belt of Surrey, Buckinghamshire and Hertfordshire, to Essex in the North East, we find that the distinction between London and "not London" is hazy in terms of identity and topography. A closer look at the 1:25,000 Ordnance Survey map of where the outer London borough of Enfield meets the county of Hertfordshire reveals the complexity of the northern edge of the city: a jumble of archaeological sites, allotments, copses, farms, golf courses, housing estates, playing fields, infrastructure installations and other features (Figure 5.1). And just a few hundred meters further north of the London boundary is the constant rumble of the M25 motorway that Iain Sinclair followed as his walking route around the city in *London Orbital*. For Sinclair, the "amphetamine buzz" of this multilane highway, which has encircled London since 1986, marks both the material and symbolic limit to the contemporary metropolis.[2]

At or beyond the urban fringe, especially in the east of London, we find spaces of intense marginalization, which alter the more familiar map of inner-city deprivation. Poorly connected communities, with limited service provision, are criss-crossed by lines of electricity pylons, busy roads and high-speed rail connections. In Andrea Arnold's extraordinary film *Fishtank* (2009), for example, we encounter the working-class landscapes of Rainham on the London/Essex border. Arnold not only reveals a profound sense of social and cultural claustrophobia, but also the striking significance of "edge" landscapes that veer between an oppressive sense of utilitarian functionality and moments of striking revelation through encounters with "wild urban nature."



5.1 Detail from Ordnance Survey Explorer Map 173, London North, 1: 25,000 scale, revised 2010, showing the northern boundary of the London borough of Enfield where it meets the County of Hertfordshire

across the Alps on a European scale has stimulated movement that is uniting areas traditionally separated by the topography. In the sectors of agriculture, tourism and ecology, alpine areas have joined politically across national borders. Even though they have had considerable difficulties pooling forces that have long been separate and distinct, the overcoming of borders has a long-term potential that goes beyond futile citizens' action groups. If the Alps are someday completely stripped of their mythological aura, they will become a purely commercial product—or a raw material. Those in control will also control important resources like water and electricity.

Matterhorn

Is the Matterhorn now an urban locality? It probably is: being Switzerland's most ubiquitous mountain, it has also become a vehicle for a host of different connotations or traits. No other place in the Alps is as symbolically laden and invested with so many different and contradictory interpretations. Its image stands for a mountain world that has taken over all possible urban functions, and its various simultaneous meanings have long since become entangled in conflicts that can no longer be resolved. Its image and its reality have moved close to or right into the centers. Conversely, the mountain is scarcely used or experienced as anything other than an urban monument, an athletic playground, or a nature museum. If someday soon the urban topography of Switzerland, that boundless urban landscape, penetrates not only the everyday lives of its residents but also their consciousness, it will not be the Twin Towers or a cathedral dome that are the icons of this urban structure but presumably the Matterhorn, invisibly transformed. The distances that once separated and isolated the mountain from other regions and cities are at most only transitions now, and the boundlessness ultimately makes it impossible to localize the mountain. The Matterhorn no longer lies elsewhere but somewhere—and that somewhere is quite close.

Figure Credits

Photograph on page 107 courtesy of Marc van Swoll.

8
EXTENDED URBANIZATION AND SETTLEMENT PATTERNS IN BRAZIL: AN ENVIRONMENTAL APPROACH

Roberto Luís Monte-Mór

This chapter uses an environmental perspective to evaluate the relationship between the city and the countryside, the links between the metropolis and the region, as well as the settlement patterns in contemporary Brazilian society. The analysis is guided by the following questions: How have settlement and population patterns changed in Brazil? To what extent are these changes the result of metropolization? At the dawn of the twenty-first century, how should the relations of urban and rural, metropolis and region, be explored? What new patterns of urbanization are emerging?

This text cannot attempt to answer these questions. Instead, it aims to weave together some ideas and reflections that will hopefully lead to new inquiries. It proceeds from the assumption that, first and foremost, we need to develop a different way of conceptualizing the new territorialities (*territorialidades*) that are shaping our contemporary reality in Brazil and beyond.

First, we consider some of the theories that have sought to explain the relationship between industrialization and urbanization, and on this basis we adopt a specific perspective—*that of extended urbanization at the industrial periphery*. Subsequently, we explore the territorial question within the peripheral zones of capitalism—both in industrial centers and fringe areas—vis-à-vis analogous processes that have been identified in the core capitalist countries. We focus on both the similarities and the differences among these zones.

Definitions and Parameters

Since this assertion is quite challenging to those who have vested interests in the persistence of the urban-rural paradigm, it is necessary to spell out in some detail the definitional components of this broader view of the "space-economy transition."

Figure 9.1 presents a model of the spatial configuration of a hypothetical Asian country, which I will label Asiatica Euphoria for the purposes of this exercise.[11]

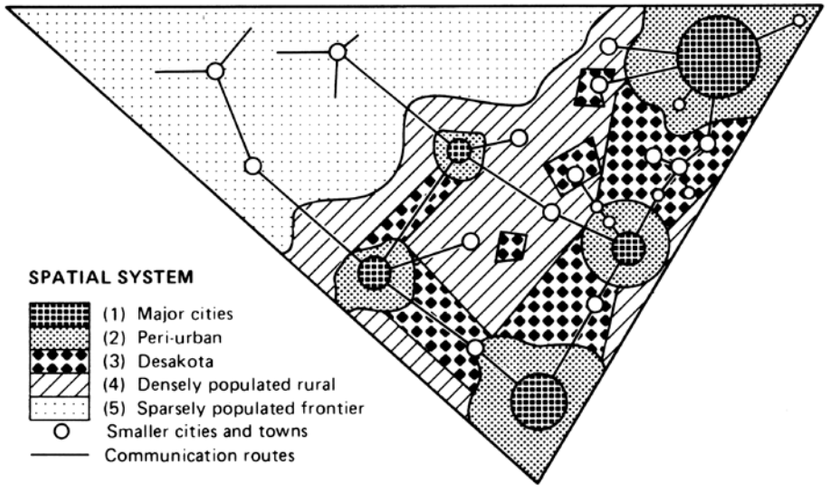
In this example, five main regions of the spatial economy are identified as follows:

1. The major cities of the urban hierarchy, which are often dominated in the Asian context by one or two extremely large cities.

2. The peri-urban regions, which are those areas surrounding the cities within a daily commuting reach of the city core. In some parts of Asia, these regions can stretch for up to thirty kilometers away from the city core.

3. The regions labeled *desakota,* which are regions of an intense mixture of agricultural and non-agricultural activities that often stretch along corridors between large city cores.[12] These regions were previously characterized by dense populations engaged in agriculture, generally but not exclusively dominated by wet-rice.

4. Densely populated rural regions, which occur in many Asian countries, particularly those practicing wet-rice agriculture.



9.1 Spatial configuration of a hypothetical Asian country

5. Finally, the sparsely populated frontier regions found in many Asian countries that offer opportunities for land colonization schemes and various forms of agricultural development.

The model of the spatial economy is, of course, static and must change as the economy changes. The pace and characteristics of this settlement transition vary from country to country, reflecting the features of socioeconomic change at the macro level. The role that the growth of metropolitan cores and the *desakota* process play in this transformation is of major importance. The mega-urban regions that emerge often incorporate two large urban cores linked by effective transportation routes. These regions include the major cities, peri-urban zones, and an extensive zone of mixed rural-urban land use along such routes. Travel time between any two points in a region would probably be no more than three to four hours, but in most cases is considerably less. Mixed economic activities may also occur in villages in these zones, which are less accessible and where economic linkages are more reliant on social networks.

It should be stressed that this model of the transition of the space-economy is not intended to be universally applicable, but to fit the situation where one or more urban cores are located in densely settled peasant rural areas.[13] There may also be cases where the urban cores are located in lightly populated regions of plantation agriculture as in the case of Kuala Lumpur in Malaysia. The contrast between the two agroeconomic systems as they are reflected in socioeconomic systems, export trade, and class relations is not a new theme. It has been used by Baldwin for a theoretical exposition of patterns of development in newly settled regions, by Dowd to explain the differences in the settlement patterns of the American west and south, and by Morse to explain the different urban systems that evolved in the "hacienda" and "plantation" regions of Latin America.[14] These writers are not suggesting that a particular urban system results from a preexisting agroeconomic system, but rather that the existence of these agroeconomic systems provides the possibility for the emergence of certain urban systems and regions.

ln the Asian context, the existence of high-density agricultural regions adjacent to large urban cores offers an opportunity for a particular form of mega-urban region to emerge. Their existence does not ensure the inevitability of the emergence of such regions. These will result from, for example, the policies of private and public sectors, the form of economic growth, and the position of the urban core relative to international connections. In the case of the Republic of Korea, with a precondition of high-density rice regions, the government adopted a strategy of concentrating on industrialization rather than agriculture, which led to slow growth in rural income and a release of surplus rural population into urban-based industrialization. Thus, South Korea was characterized by a metropolis-dominated urban hierarchy. By contrast, in a region of similar pre-existing rural densities such as Jogjakarta in Java, in a slow-growth situation there are only limited possibilities for drawing off surplus rural population to urban centers in other parts of the country, and the

THREE

PLANETARY URBANIZATION— OPENINGS

Is a planetary formation of complete urbanization being consolidated in the early twenty-first century? If so, what are its major experiential, social, spatial and environmental expressions, and what are its sociopolitical implications? What categories of analysis and methods of representation are needed to decipher such trends and transformations?

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11
PLANETARY URBANIZATION

Neil Brenner and Christian Schmid

During the last several decades, the field of urban studies has been animated by an extraordinary outpouring of new ideas regarding the role of cities, urbanism and urbanization processes in ongoing global transformations.[1] Yet, despite these advances, the field continues to be grounded upon a mapping of human settlement space that was more plausible in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries than it is today.

The early twentieth century was a period in which large-scale industrial city-regions and suburbanizing zones were being rapidly consolidated around the world in close conjunction with major demographic and socioeconomic shifts in the erstwhile "countryside." Consequently, across diverse national contexts and linguistic traditions, the field of twentieth century urban studies defined its theoretical categories and research object through a series of explicit or implied geographical contrasts. Even as debates raged regarding how best to define the specificity of urban life, the latter was universally demarcated in opposition to a purportedly "non-urban" zone, generally classified as "rural." As paradigms for theory and research evolved, labels changed for each term of this supposed urban-rural continuum, and so too did scholars' understandings of how best to conceptualize its basic elements and the nature of their articulation. For instance, the Anglo-American concept of the "suburb" and the French concept of *la banlieue* were introduced and popularized to demarcate further sociospatial differentiations that were occurring inside a rapidly urbanizing field.[2] Nonetheless, the bulk of twentieth-century urban studies rested on the assumption that cities—or, later, "conurbations," "city-regions," "urban regions," "metropolitan regions," and "global city-regions"—represented a particular *type* of territory that was qualitatively specific, and thus different from the putatively "non-urban" spaces that lay beyond their boundaries.

The demarcations separating urban, suburban and rural zones were recognized to shift historically, but the spaces themselves were assumed to remain discreet, distinct and universal. While paradigmatic disagreements have raged regarding the precise nature of the city and the urban, the entire field has long presupposed the existence of a relatively stable, putatively "non-urban" realm as a "constitutive outside" for its epistemological and empirical operations. In short, across divergent theoretical and political perspectives, from the Chicago School's interventions in the 1920s and the rise of the neo-marxist "new urban sociology" and "radical geography" in the 1970s, to the debates on world cities and global cities in the 1980s and 1990s, the major traditions of twentieth-century urban studies embraced shared, largely uninterrogated geographical assumptions that were rooted in the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century geohistorical conditions in which this field of study was first established.

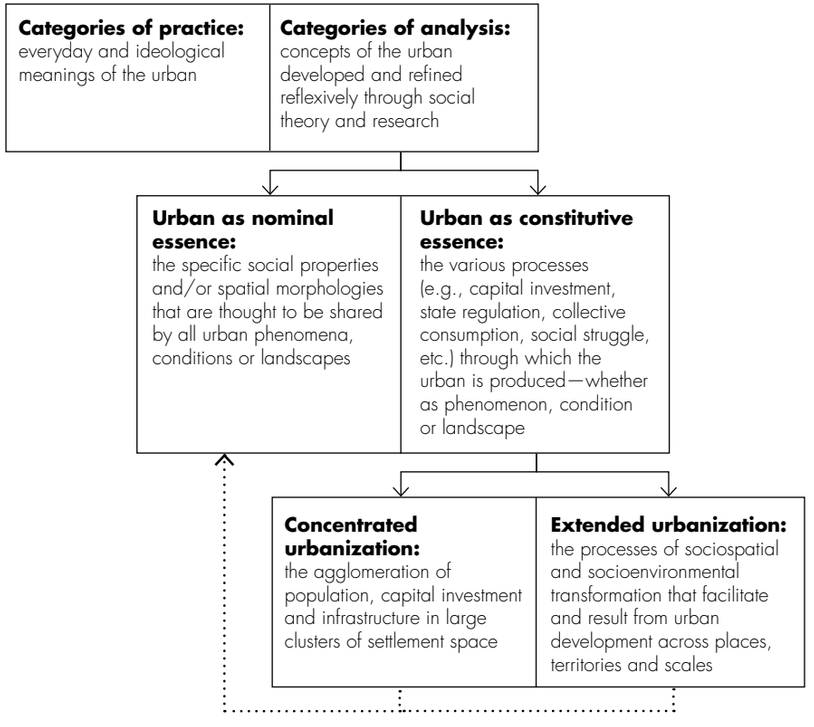
During the last 30 years, however, the form of urbanization has been radically reconfigured, a process that has seriously called into question the inherited cartographies that have long underpinned urban theory and research. Aside from the dramatic spatial and demographic expansion of major megacity regions, the last 30 years have also witnessed several far-reaching worldwide sociospatial transformations.[3] These include:

- *The creation of new scales of urbanization*. Extensively urbanized interdependencies are being consolidated within extremely large, rapidly expanding, polynucleated metropolitan regions around the world to create sprawling "urban galaxies" that stretch beyond any single metropolitan region and often traverse multiple national boundaries. Such mega-scaled urban constellations have been conceptualized in diverse ways, and the representation of their contours and boundaries remains a focus of considerable research and debate.[4] Their most prominent exemplars include, among others, the original Gottmannian megalopolis of "Bos–Wash" (Boston–Washington DC) and the "blue banana" encompassing the major urbanized regions in western Europe, but also emergent formations such as "San San" (San Francisco-San Diego) in California, the Pearl River Delta in south China, the Lagos littoral conurbation in West Africa, as well as several incipient mega-urban regions in Latin America and South Asia.

- *The blurring and rearticulation of urban territories*. Urbanization processes are being regionalized and reterritorialized. Increasingly, former "central functions," such as shopping facilities, company headquarters, research institutions, prestigious cultural venues, as well as spectacular architectural forms, dense settlement patterns and infrastructural arrangements, are being dispersed outwards from historic central city

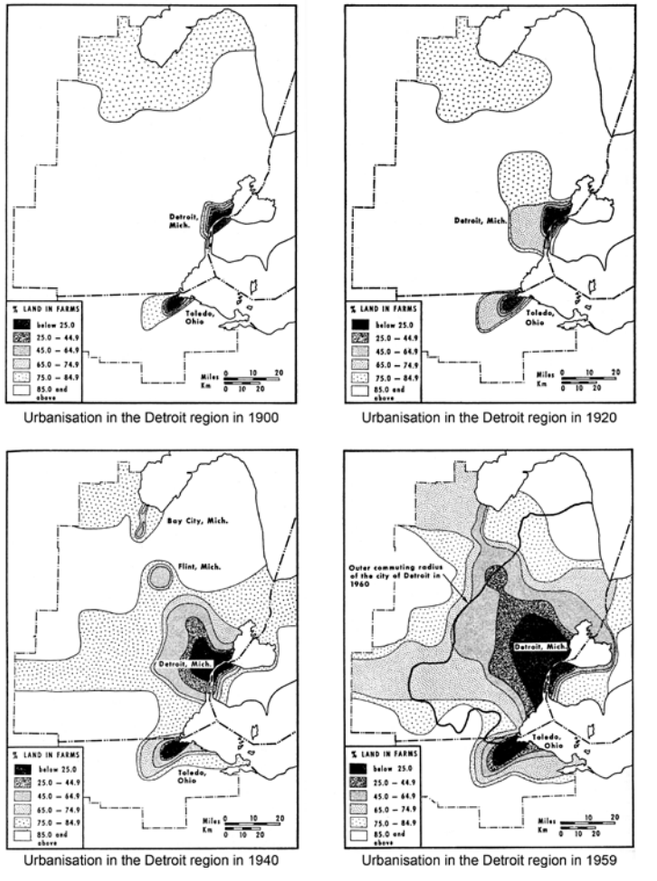
Since that time, the trajectory of urban research has not only involved an accumulation of concrete investigations in and of urban(izing) spaces, but the continual theoretical rearticulation of their specificity as such, both socially and spatially. During the last century, many of the great leaps forward in the field of urban studies have occurred through the elaboration of new theoretical "cuts" into the nature of the urban question.[35]

3. *Major strands of urban studies fail to demarcate their site and object in reflexively theoretical terms.* In much of twentieth-century urban studies, cities and urban spaces have been taken for granted as empirically coherent, transparent sites of research. Consequently, the urban character of urban research has been conceived simply with reference to the circumstance that its focal point is located within a place labeled a "city." However, such mainstream, empiricist positions cannot account for their own historical and geographical conditions of possibility: they necessarily presuppose determinate theoretical assumptions regarding the specificity of the city and/or the urban that powerfully shape the trajectory of concrete research, generally in unexamined ways. Critical reflexivity in urban studies may only be accomplished if such assumptions are made explicit, subjected to systematic analysis and revised continually in relation to evolving research questions, normative-political orientations and practical concerns.[36]



13.4 Some useful distinctions for a theory of planetary urbanization.

4. *Urban studies has traditionally demarcated the urban in contrast to putatively non-urban spaces.* Since its origins, the field of urban studies has conceived the urban as a specific type of settlement space, one that is thought to be different, in some qualitative way, from the putatively non-urban spaces that surround it—from the suburb, the town and the village to the rural, the countryside and the wilderness.[37] Chicago School urban sociologists, mainstream land economists, central place theorists, urban demographers, neo-marxian geographers and global city theorists may disagree on the basis of this specificity, but all engage in the shared analytical maneuver of delineating urban distinctiveness through an explicit or implied contrast to sociospatial conditions located "elsewhere."[38] In effect, the terrain of the non-urban, this perpetually present "elsewhere," has long served as a *constitutive outside* that stabilizes the very intelligibility of the field of urban studies. The non-urban appears simultaneously as the ontological Other of the urban, its radical opposite, and as its epistemological condition of possibility, the basis on which it can be recognized as such (Figure 13.5).[39]



13.5 In this time-series representation from 1973, geographer Brian Berry used a simple empirical indicator to demarcate the changing urban/rural interface—percentage of land allocated to agricultural functions.

Tracing Global Urbanization

Urban development has radically changed in recent years. All over the world, new patterns of urbanization are evolving, "creating the most economically, socially, and culturally heterogeneous cities the world has ever known."[1] Existing urban forms are dissolving and polymorphous urban regions are taking shape. Extremely heterogeneous in structure, they include old city centers as well as formerly peripheral areas.

At the same time, extremely rapid urbanization has led to the emergence of completely new urban forms in the megacities of the global South. Informal modes of urbanization, which were long regarded as temporary aberrations, are increasingly becoming core elements of urban expansion that can no longer be ignored. It is instead to be expected that informal forms of urbanism will become a permanent feature of urban development.

Contemporary urbanization is closely linked with globalization. In an increasingly networked world, industrialization on a global scale has experienced massive acceleration and expansion. This has a dual effect on urbanization: on the one hand, the new global economy has led to strong economic growth in cities, attracting a large number of migrants. Some cities have become centers of decision-making and innovation, and are developing into strategic nodes of the globalized economy.[2] Other cities, predominantly located in emerging economies, are attracting the growing global manufacturing industry. On the other hand, industrialization and rationalization of agriculture works as a push factor and causes additional migration from rural areas to the cities. The increasingly complex mechanisms of urban growth are further aggravated through continuing population growth in many parts of the world. Accelerated urbanization leads to considerable concentration processes in already densely populated urban areas, as well as to dramatic patterns of sprawl manifested in the massive expansion of urban areas into the countryside.[3] In this way, globalization leads to an intensification of urbanization, while urbanization simultaneously acts as a major driving force of globalization.

The unprecedented dimension and speed of urbanization has dramatic consequences. Today, there are around 500 city-regions with populations exceeding one million, around 20 megacity regions with over 10 million residents, and some extended urban areas, such as Tokyo and the Pearl River Delta, with more than 40 million inhabitants (see Figues 10.1, 10.2, and 10.3 on pages 144, 145, and 148).[4] These regions form large, networked and strongly urbanized spaces, which are structured quite heterogeneously. They may include various agglomerations, metropolitan regions and networks of cities, as well as large green spaces and sparsely settled zones.[5] Other far-reaching sociospatial transformations include the blurring and rearticulation of urban territories, the disintegration of the "hinterland" and the end of the "wilderness."[6]

Case Studies and Urban Models

Until recently, urban research remained largely dominated by analyses of individual cities. Accordingly, the understanding of urban development is to a large extent still determined by ideal-typical models. As early as the 1920s, the Chicago School of urban sociology used the example of Chicago as the basis for its famous concentric ring model of urban development.[7] In the 1990s, the Los Angeles School emerged as an antithetical model shaped largely by the discipline of urban geography. It declared Los Angeles, with its massive urban sprawl and polycentricity, to be a paradigmatic example of urban development at the end of the twentieth century.[8] In architecture too, the emphasis was on learning from individual cities; well-known examples included *Learning from Las Vegas* and *Delirious New York*.[9] These examples show that, until the end of the twentieth century, the focus was mainly on developments in the West, especially in North America. This dominance of Western models has been increasingly questioned in recent times.[10] Currently, there is a constant flow of new research and investigations of cities across the world. However, the overwhelming majority of these case studies continue to be case-based monographs, leading again to the promotion of particular cities, such as Mexico City, Shanghai, Dubai or Lagos as spectacular new examples of urban development. While such specific cases can be helpful for identifying typical new developments, they offer little insight into broader processes of global urbanization or their differentiated regional and local patterns. Instead, there is a danger of generalization based on spectacular individual cases, or a reductionist view of highly complex, varied and differentiated processes, resulting in simplified models of contemporary urban conditions and forms.

New Processes of Urbanization

Another important strand of urban research involves the analysis of processes and trends. This strand focuses less on the individual city than on the process of urbanization itself. This approach has gained prominence since the 1980s, when fundamental changes in urbanization became visible and the focus shifted to entirely new trends and processes, heralding a new phase of urban research. Many new concepts and terms have been developed in recent years to designate various newly emerging urban phenomena.[11] First, the emergence of global cities and world cities as strategic hubs of the global economy was investigated and their implications for urban development processes were explored across various places.[12] Second, processes of restructuring and reinvestment in mainly low- and middle-income urban areas were analyzed, with particular attention to processes of gentrification and urban regeneration.[13] Third, entirely new developments were observed in the former urban peripheries of metropolitan regions, where a wide variety of new urban configurations emerged and were referred to as, among other names, "edge cities," "exopolis," and "*Zwischenstadt*" ("in-between cities").[14] Fourth, during the past decade, new patterns of restructuring and uneven spatial development have been detected in the global North and South. In particular, there has been a massive growth of cities in the global

If urbanization includes yet transcends the process of city building, how can the historical geographies of these intertwined processes be conceptualized in relation to ongoing transformations of place, landscape, territory and environment at various spatial scales?

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(b) ongoing extended urbanization refers to subsequent waves of sociospatial restructuring that reproduce and deepen the conditions of territorial heteronomy in subaltern areas that are already inside the system, constantly reshaping the geographies of core/periphery relations associated with agglomerations and their dispersed operational landscapes. The difference among these moments resides not only in their relative historical-geographical context, but in their aims and in the conditions and means of their development.

The *ex-novo* subsumption of erstwhile non-capitalist realms is achieved through the direct extra-economic intervention of the state. Merely economic forms of coercion are too slow or unable to transform many aspects of their organization, especially in regards to local forms of social reproduction; it is these new political measures and institutional strategies, not the markets, that push the process forward by enforcing novel, capitalist modes of production and social reproduction. In so doing, the politics of original accumulation tendentially replace a form of dispossession that was based upon individual acts of violent expropriation—the dispersed violence of feudal and piecemeal enclosure—with an emergent juridical modality of coercion based upon the state-enforced universality of socially and territorially standardized legal codes.[21]

In a similar manner, the penetration of urban logics and markets into non-urban territories is preceded by the implementation of a broader political economy mediated through historically and geographically specific state spatial practices to uproot inherited systems of land use permitting the collective appropriation of social resources. The new urban order emerges from the interstices of a foreign territory, beating its path against a set of practices and institutions that produce friction and hinder its advance. Robert Dodgshon has explored this phenomenon with reference to the *inertial* character of societal organization, which he considers to be rooted in the properties of historical systems of spatial organization.[22] Everyday cultures, customs, institutions and the like are spatially reified, he suggests, so that a great part of social resistance against change is actually rooted in the entrenchment or rigidity of extant spatial practices and their routines of social appropriation. Insofar as these spatialities provide the conditions for the persistence of the old order, social change can only occur through their destabilization, erosion or removal. These observations may help illuminate the intensified role of state action in the penetration and disarticulation of non-urban, non-capitalist territories during the *ex-novo* moment of original extended urbanization. For it is precisely through the mobilization of new governmental techniques that the "inertia" of inherited, precapitalist sociospatial arrangements was subjected to the transformative pressures associated with capitalist forms of territorialization.

Subsequent rounds of sociospatial restructuring of the peripheries of the urban system can be understood as successive waves of *ongoing* extended urbanization, as capitalism reworks the sociospatial fabric of already incorporated territories to achieve the conditions for new rounds of accumulation. The operational landscape of extended urbanization, therefore, is not forged once and for all with the destruction of postfeudal social spaces, but is likewise continually creatively destroyed, at once deterritorialized and reterritorialized, during the course of world capitalist development, to support the diverse political-economic processes associated with successive forms of capitalist agglomeration and centralization. The role of the state shifts here, as does the form of violence involved in this process of restructuring. On the one hand, state coercion is not only formally dissolved into the "neutrality" of law, but also naturalized in the social relations fostered by new regulatory frameworks.[23] Paraphrasing Marx, we can say that "the silent compulsion of economic relations" deepens the conditions of submission of peripheral areas to the urban system; enshrined in law, the quotidian violence of spatial divisions of labor and heteronomous social reproduction develops additional, discrete restructurings of sociospatial practices on an everyday basis.[24] On the other hand, the concealed character of coercion disappears when direct extra-economic force is mobilized to unleash new assaults upon the remaining, non-commodified forms of social existence, crushing resistance to the newly emergent processes of creative destruction and dispossession.[25] Figure 16.1 summarizes the key elements of this argument.

Crucially, as is the case with the dialectic of original and ongoing accumulation by dispossession, the dual process of *ex-novo* and ongoing extended urbanization is not specific

	Accumulation by Dispossession	**Original Extended Urbanization**
***Ex-novo* moment**	Initial subsumption of labor to capital Expropriation of the people's means of autonomy State foundation of labor markets Extensive frontiers of accumulation	Inaugural subsumption of the countryside within urban operational landscapes Enclosure/dismantling of self-contained sociospatial assemblages State constitution of capitalist spatial divisions of labor Exo-colonization/focus on areal, absolute territorial expansion
Ongoing moment	Intensified subsumption of labor to capital State restructuring of labor markets Transformation (increasing commodification) of the conditions for the reproduction of the working class Intensive frontiers of accumulation	Deepened subsumption of the countryside in urban operational landscapes State reterritorialization of capitalist spatial divisions of labor Expanded enclosure of non-commodified sociospatial reproduction in already-capitalist territories Endo-colonization/focus on reorganizing the inner structure of social space

16.1 The dialectic between the *ex-novo* and ongoing moments of extended urbanization in relation to accumulation by dispossession

17
WHAT IS THE URBAN IN THE CONTEMPORARY WORLD?

Roberto Luís Monte-Mór

The relationship between the city and the countryside is situated historically and theoretically at the center of human societies. The city's domain over the countryside, as the result of the division between intellectual and manual labor and through the market's command over productive activities, has marked human societies since ancient times, and particularly in the modern capitalist industrial societies to which we belong. However, the adjectives *urban* and *rural*, referring to the city and the countryside, only recently gained autonomy in the sense of referring to a range of cultural, socioeconomic and spatial relations between forms and processes deriving from them respectively, however without allowing the dichotomous clarity that characterized them until the last century. On the contrary, the borders between urban and rural space are increasingly diffuse and difficult to identify. This may occur because these adjectives currently lack their original substantive reference, to the extent that city and countryside are both no longer pure concepts that are easy to identify or demarcate. What are the cities of Belo Horizonte, São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Bela Vista de Minas, or any other large, medium-sized, or even small cities in contemporary Brazil or in the world? Where do they begin, and where do they end? On the other hand, what is the countryside today? Does it consist of remote villages or the outskirts of cities, the so-called rural area? Is it large ranches, agribusinesses, or settlements of the Landless movement, in the Northeast, the savannah (*cerrado*), or the Amazon? At any rate, the definition of the limits and nature of both the city and rural versus urban areas is increasingly diffuse and difficult.

Cities in Brazil are defined legally by the city limits of municipal centers and districts (or townships), and thus what are considered urbanized territories and populations include the city limits of towns serving as the seats of municipal districts or townships. However, urbanized areas encompass broad areas neighboring on cities whose integrated urban space extends over adjacent and distant territories, in an expansion process that began in the nineteenth century and was accelerated irreversibly in the twentieth century.

In addition, the cities, or the political and sociocultural space formed on the basis of them, became the center of organization for society and the economy. On the international scale, a handful of cities organize and command major interest blocs and reorder global economic space.[1] On the local, regional and national scales the cities define forms of organization and the location of both economic activities and population; they also provide the reference points for social identities and define modes of community constitution. Indeed, central concepts in contemporary life derive from the city's spatial form and social organization. The Greek notion of *polis* comes from the concept of politics; the Latin *civis* and *civitas* give us citizen, citizenship, city and civilization, implying the existence of cities. Peoples which did not produce cities, such as the semi-nomads of Americas, were considered uncivilized, as opposed to the Mayan, Aztec and Inca "civilizations," even though ethnohistorical, anthropological and archeological approaches now question such classifications and the very concept of city.[2]

Latin also gives us the term *urban*, with a double connotation: *urbanum* (plow) came from the sense of settlement, the physical form of the space demarcated by the furrow of the plow pulled by the sacred oxen, marking the territory for Roman production and life; thence came the terms *urbe* and *urbs*, the latter referring to Rome, the Imperial city and center of the world, which disappeared until the resurgence of large cities in the modern era. The term *urban* was retrieved in the sixteenth century to refer to the Imperial city, especially the city that was headquarters to the British Empire under construction, where the word *city* relates to the financial center London as opposed to the countryside in the Victorian Age.[3]

City and countryside, opposite and complementary sociospatial elements, thus constitute the centrality and periphery of power in sociospatial organization. The city, according to the prevailing view of political economy, results from the deepening sociospatial division of labor and the opening to other communities and regularized processes of exchange. It also implies sedentary life, sociospatial hierarchy, and a power structure sustained by the extraction of a regular surplus from collective production, in addition to regular flows of goods and people between communities. The city thus presupposes the emergence of a dominant class that extracts and controls this collective surplus through ideological processes accompanied by the use of force.

According to Paul Singer, the city is the mode of sociospatial organization that allows the ruling class to maximize the regular extraction of surplus production from the countryside

20
WORLDWIDE URBANIZATION AND NEOCOLONIAL FRACTURES: INSIGHTS FROM THE LITERARY WORLD

Stefan Kipfer

When hypothesizing about the complete urbanization of society in *The Urban Revolution*, Henri Lefebvre insisted that this process was worldwide but virtual—incomplete and uneven.[1] Among other things, this was so because urbanization remained shot through with territorial relations between dominant and dominated social spaces. Lefebvre proposed that these relations between "centers" and "peripheries" can be compared across scalar divides, and that they also refract, in part, the very historical realities (of "city" and "countryside") that urbanization helps supersede. The not-only metaphorical language he used to describe center-periphery relations ("colonization") cautions us to be mindful of how neocolonial realities, past and present, still weigh on the urban world. Two generations after the publication of Lefebvre's book, this point is still relevant, even though the Three Worlds of the postwar period have been reconfigured and the center of gravity of worldwide urbanization has long shifted away from Euro-America. A comparative analysis of the boundary-destroying dynamics of global urbanization must take into account the reterritorializing neocolonial and neoimperial forces that fracture urban landscapes.

Undertaking such a comparative project is daunting—and vastly exceeds the scope of this chapter. For present purposes, I underscore the importance of such a historical-materialist project by using the literary world as an entry point. We know from Marxist and postcolonial debates that literary texts represent acute mediations between everyday life and the totality of imperial, patriarchal capitalism. These debates approximate Lefebvre's view that urban research should also further a critique of everyday life. My example will be *Texaco*, the thematically most "urban" novel by Patrick Chamoiseau, the Martinique-born writer and promoter of creole literature in the French Antilles.[2] Published in 1992, *Texaco* is a landmark in Caribbean and French literature and has been acclaimed far beyond the Creole-French world, including by Derek Walcott, Junot Díaz and Austin Clarke.[3] *Texaco* places "slum" clearance in postwar Fort-de-France, Martinique in a historical context that reaches back to the last years of slavery prior to 1848. In the novel, the legacies of colonial slavery continue to fracture urbanizing Martinique and clash with Chamoiseau's conception of creole urbanism as a tension-ridden but hopefully deterritorializing force. The novel about the hometown of Frantz Fanon thus points to the continued relevance of the latter's countercolonial—not postcolonial—critique for urban analysis.[4]

Texaco opens a window into the historical transformations that usher in the urban revolution in Martinique. In *Texaco*, the urban makes an appearance as a form of centrality/difference built upon territorialized social relations. As such, it refracts "city" and "countryside" and embodies both hope and repulsion. Yet the territorial relations in urbanizing Martinique, still a French *département*, rearticulate a history of town and country that is formally, not indirectly, colonial, as in Lefebvre's main reference point of postwar French urbanism. *Texaco* thus reminds us that concepts developed in one context must be translated carefully to analyze another.[5] We have argued elsewhere that great caution is warranted when "globalizing" Lefebvrian insights.[6] Lefebvre's urban hypothesis, and his commitment to a multipolar world of knowledge creation, provide us with vital resources for deciphering the urban field and its possibilities not only in Europe. Yet to actualize these resources requires us to move beyond Lefebvre, for whom the starkness of the urban revolution emanates from the transformation of the historic "city" and "countryside" in Western Europe. The novel *Texaco* shows how creole urbanism refracts the contradictions of worldwide urbanization through the racially stratified social mixing characteristic of Antillean plantation economies. It thus underscores that the character of the urban in Martinique is, in comparative terms, coeval: contemporaneous and connected to worldwide (including French) urbanization processes, but also inflected with the histories of city and country in the Caribbean.

Worldwide Urbanization and Revolution

In 1970, Lefebvre argued that society was in the process of being urbanized completely. He made this argument about the world as a whole, not only about national urban systems, within which much urban analysis was contained at that time. Linking the production of space to the production of the world, Lefebvre's claim thus remains vital for any contemporary discussion of worldwide urbanization.[7]

Lefebvre meant his claim as a hypothesis about a virtual reality, not a *fait accompli*. Urbanization thus cannot be grasped adequately in objectivist terms, with disciplinary

What are the limitations and blind-spots of inherited and contemporary approaches to the urban question in relation to emergent worldwide urbanization patterns? What is the role of ideological (mis) representations of the city and the urban in historical and contemporary strategies to shape sociospatial and environmental transformations?

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Christian Schmid
Brendan Gleeson
David Wachsmuth
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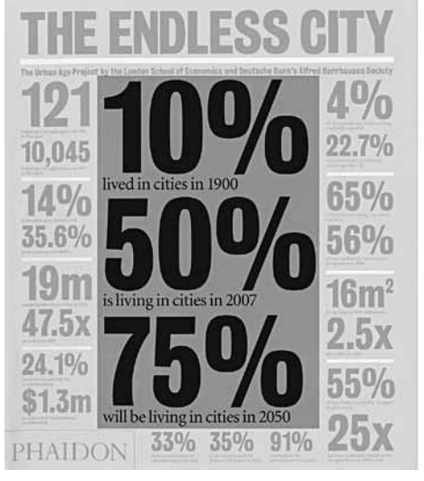
David Wachsmuth
Andy Merrifield

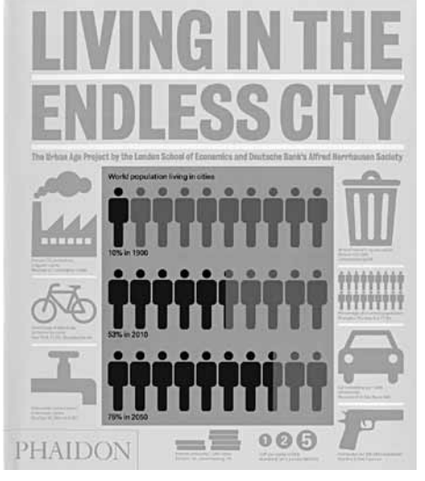
Deutsche Bank's Alfred Herrhausen Society. The LSE-Deutsche Bank project has to date produced two graphically striking and widely distributed volumes, *The Endless City* and *Living in the Endless City*, both of which are framed with direct reference to the UN agency demographers' assertions.[11] Although the LSE-Deutsche Bank volumes contain a range of substantive arguments and place-specific narratives regarding the contemporary global urban condition, the overarching thesis of an urban age is its central framing device. As the volumes' editors explain:

> Given that more than half the world's population is now living in cities—a number that is likely to reach 75 percent by 2050, while it was only 10 percent in 1900— … urban questions have become truly global ones, with significant consequences for the future of our planet.[12]

The urban age thesis is also prominently represented on the cover images of both LSE-Deutsche Bank volumes through a series of numbers, percentages and symbols that highlight the 50 percent global urban population threshold that is claimed to have recently been crossed (Figure 21.1). These pictorial illustrations of the urban age thesis serve as powerful, accessible branding devices through which the LSE-Deutsche Bank project represents its perspective on global urban research and practice.

But the urban age thesis is not only the province of UN demographers and the LSE-Deutsche Bank research team. Since the late 1990s, it has been embraced with increasing frequency in international urban scholarship and policy research, often by influential thinkers and practitioners, as a convenient metanarrative for framing a wide variety of investigations within or about cities. Thus, in the early 2000s, Rem Koolhaas' Harvard research team opened its *Mutations* report with a page-sized, large-font rendition of the UN's urban age thesis (Figure 21.2).





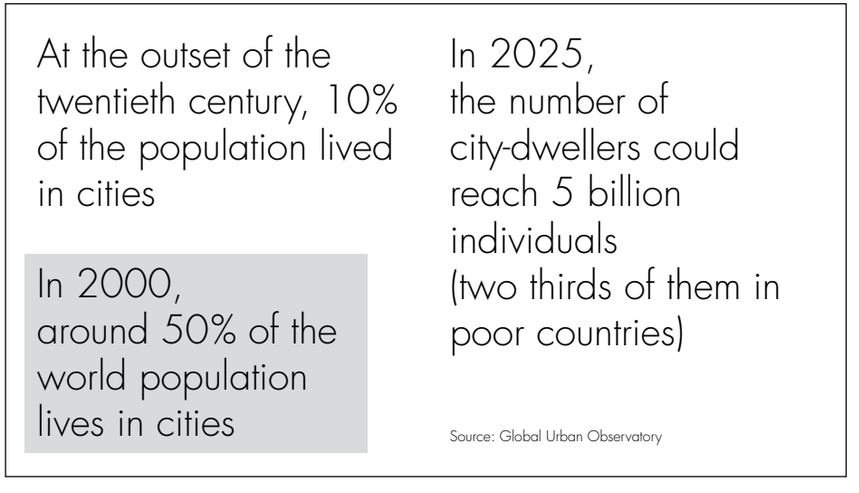
21.1 The urban age as a branding device

Similarly, Manuel Castells introduces a volume on urban inequality and community action in the developing world by suggesting that:

> Our blue planet is fast becoming a predominantly urban world. Probably around the time you are reading this book, we will be crossing the threshold of 50 percent of the world's population living in urban areas, up from 37 percent in 1970 … The forces behind this process of accelerated urbanization appear to be irreversible.[13]

The claim is dutifully repeated by the editors of a 2008 special issue of the respected journal *Science*: "cities are now home to more than half the world's 6.6 billion humans. By 2030, nearly 5 billion people will live in cities."[14] The trope is also repeated by researchers working for the consulting firm McKinsey & Company in a recent report on the economic role of cities: "the world is in the throes of a sweeping population shift from the countryside to the city … for the first time in history, more than half of the world's population is now living in towns and cities."[15] Even the fiercely critical urbanist Mike Davis opens *Planet of Slums* with his own formulation of the UN's declaration:

> Sometime in the next year or two, a woman will give birth in the Lagos slum of Ajegunle, a young man will flee his village in west Java for the bright lights of Jakarta, or a farmer will move his impoverished family into one of Lima's innumerable *pueblos jovenes*. The exact event is unimportant and it will pass entirely unnoticed. Nonetheless it will constitute a watershed in human history,



21.2 The urban age as framing metanarrative

The New Urban Enthusiasm and its Discontents

The shifts explained above were corrosive to urban social science, and emerged as much from within its borders as without. At least for a time, many urban scholars shared Dear's enthusiasm for a "postmodern urbanism" before it reached the "dead end" foreseen by Sui.[58] The new urban analyses proceeding from popular urbanology and the physical sciences are less corrosive and more in open antipathy to social scientific urbanism. They are distinctive not identical oppositions, but with a strong area of overlap in their positivistic assumptions and preferences. The physical scientific urbanism is rather undiluted in this respect. Urbanology, by contrast, harbours positivism as a tendency, sometimes leavened with recognition of the role of social processes in shaping the course of urbanization. Taken together, however, as popular and policy conversation tends to do, the two influences prosecute a generally determinist view of urban change.

In a separate review, I have explained at some length the positivism that partly if clearly characterizes the new urbanology.[59] It runs as Arendt would have it, like a "red thread" through voluminous urban commentary. The strand of positivism most strongly apparent in the literature is that of naturalism, which asserts a unity of method between the natural and social sciences, to the exclusion of social determination.[60] The urbanologists' premises and projections frequently lean on naturalized abstractions about the overarching "power" of the urban process. A totalizing, law-bound view of urbanization is never far from the surface of discussion. Brugmann, for example, seeks "the hidden logic of global urban growth."[61] He is taken to task for this by both Nicholls and Purcell, who think that his search for hidden laws neglects the obvious fact of social power.[62]

The new urbanology leans heavily towards naturalized ontology, stressing unity not contradiction; connection, not disconnection; certainty not contingency. Brugmann's chapter subtitles signal this faith in a knowable, if secreted, urban process: "The Hidden Logic of Global Urban Growth," "The Inevitable Democracy of the City," "The Irrepressible Economics of Urban Association." He offers a unifying construct "the City," that conveys

> … the merging of cities throughout the world into a single, converging system that is reordering the most basic dynamics of global ecology, politics, markets, and social life.[63]

The tendency to naturalism, and its determinations, is in tension with the explicit social concerns of the urbanologists. Brugmann, Saunders and Glaeser have generally progressive values, each embracing social and ecological sustainability in different ways. The "challenge" of global urban poverty is a central theme—though Glaeser also states that "there's a lot to like about urban poverty."[64] Their frameworks nonetheless bear many determining assumptions—for example, Glaeser's "near perfect correlations between urbanization and prosperity."[65] They are not, however, unyieldingly deterministic. Thus Glaeser acknowledges that whilst "the city has triumphed …, sometimes city roads are paved to hell."[66] Testimony to naturalism arises in the urbanologists' enthusiasm for physical density as a determining force (for good) in human relations. Glaeser opens his book with the claim that "cities are expanding enormously because urban density provides the clearest path from poverty to prosperity."[67] Further, he asserts that "human creativity is strong, especially when reinforced by urban density."[68]

Potentially then, in urban thought and debate, the "crypto-positivism" of urbanology has the potential to reinforce the neopositivism of the physical sciences. The two conversations seem yet to meet and partner, but the dance cards are surely marked. In urban social science, this possibility and its broader prospects remain unrecognized. Concern arises not merely from antithesis to social science, but also the wider implications of positivist (re)ascendancy for human thought and response in an urban age. From the 1970s, there emerged a broad consensus in the Western social sciences that the long dominance of positivism had eroded human knowledge and too often licensed, actively or otherwise, institutional oppression and political reaction.[69] It was judged necessary for a while to speak of "postpositivist social science" as both a marker of the new intellectual consensus and a watchword against regression. The never-quite-defeated claims of determinism and naturalism are constantly enjoined and adjudicated in the mainstreams of social sciences through mechanisms such as peer review and scholarly critique.

The new urban positivism, at least in prospect, may conceivably reinforce the neoliberal urbanism that has plagued human urban life in recent decades.[70] The sympathies of urbanology certainly lie with market capitalism. Most of its contributors are consultant/advisors and their works tend to highlight and favor urban entrepreneurship. For example, the impressively credentialed Kasarda is Professor of Strategy and Entrepreneurship in the Kenan-Flagler Business School at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, and director of the Frank Hawkins Kenan Institute of Private Enterprise. Glaeser, the Harvard economist, works—with originality to be sure—within a strongly neoclassical economic framework.

By contrast, the emergent urban physics seems more inclined to the idea of structural change, at least in terms of urban administration. It ultimately seeks a simpler, predictable world that is best managed by experts. Bettencourt and West make the point:

> The difference between "policy as usual" and policy led by a new quantitative understanding of cities may well be the choice between creating a "planet of slums" or finally achieving a sustainable, creative, prosperous, urbanized world expressing the best of the human spirit.[71]

The Urbanization of Ideology

The term "ideology" has nearly as many meanings in social theory as there are authors who have written about it,[13] and any reading of it must be selective. Here I draw on the "negative"[14] or "critical"[15] tradition, according to which ideology expresses the way that the forms of appearance of social reality under capitalism are systematically distorted to the benefit of some and the detriment of others. While critical conceptions of ideology often draw on a realist philosophy which posits an experience-independent "objective" reality which science can hope to access[16]—they do not require a radical distinction between "Science" and "Ideology" which maintains that the former can somehow escape the latter completely.[17] It is sufficient simply to posit that: 1) different theoretical and practical understandings have varying degrees of adequacy to the phenomenon they attempt to understand, with adequacy here being defined as distinguishing *necessary* properties from *contingent* ones[18]; and 2) some (more ideological) forms of understanding, which claim to understand the reality of things, actually do not manage to penetrate much beyond those things' forms of appearance. As Andrew Sayer lucidly argues, "it does not follow from the fact that all knowledge is fallible, that it is all *equally* fallible."[19]

Drawing on the critical usage of ideology, my argument is that, in the context of the contemporary North Atlantic, "the city" is a form of appearance corresponding only partially and problematically to urban reality. Or, rather, realit*ies* in the plural: critical geographical scholarship shows that they are multiple, complex and contradictory. But the concept of the city obscures this multiplicity, at the very same time that it is a product of it. The city is an *ideological representation* of urbanization processes rather than a *moment* in them.

The premise for this claim is that the experience of urban space is necessarily partial, and that representations are the corollary to any complex social process that we cannot immediately experience in its totality. Representation is a cognitive shorthand, a way of rendering *conceivable* aspects of social reality that exceed our ability to *perceive* them. As Goonewardena explains, en route to a theorization of the "urban sensorium" to which I will return shortly:

> Now, if society were actually transparent, that is, if the totality of the structure of social relations were directly accessible to everyday human consciousness—then there would be no pressing need for an ideological representation of it. But it is clearly not so.[20]

Representations are not optional. Goonewardena makes this observation with respect to capitalism itself, but more modest social ensembles also elude our direct perception. What about urbanization? Surely so, particularly if we define the term expansively as Lefebvre would have us do, as a multiscalar process of the production and reproduction of the built environment, linking global structures of capital and the state with practices of everyday life[21]—a process that historically characterized the space of the city but has since shattered that space and become generalized. How can planetary urbanization be comprehended *except* through representation?[22]

Here it is worth emphasizing the difference between the city-urbanization relationship I have in mind and the standard understanding of this relationship in urban and spatial theory. Risking some oversimplification, the standard understanding of the city-urbanization relationship—both in mainstream and more critical traditions—is one of moment and process. "Process" because urbanization has been understood as a transformation over space and time: of population,[23] of urbanism as a way of life and its corresponding form of settlement space,[24] of relations of accumulation[25] and social reproduction,[26] or of some combination of these. "Moment" because, in the standard understanding, cities are the still frames which the urbanization process comprises: stop the process at any point in time, and the discrete spaces you observe are the extent of urbanization. Within this metatheoretical consensus, there have been disputes about whether the city or urbanization is the proper object of analysis, but no real disagreement about the basic relationship between the terms.[27]

In contrast to this standard understanding, I am here following Andrew Sayer's suggestion to treat the city as a "thought object" rather than a "real object," or, in the sociological language I have been using, as a "category of practice" rather than a "category of analysis."[28] This theoretical maneuver shifts the explanatory task away from condensing complex urbanization processes into the objective city-moments that comprise them, and toward charting how these processes are experienced and interpreted by social actors in everyday life and thus formed into practical representations. While urbanization might now be a planetary process, it is not lived or experienced as one.

This implies that any tenable concept of the city will look less like a scientific abstraction and more like a cognitive map.[29] After all, depicting the spontaneous representations that arise directly out of everyday urban spatial practice was precisely the goal of Kevin Lynch's justly celebrated exercises in cognitive mapping. But I have in mind something closer to Jameson's cognitive map of postmodern totality, which, as Goonewardena reminds us, was meant explicitly to despatialize an operation that for Lynch was always self-evidently spatial.[30] Totality, Jameson argued, could "obviously" not be represented spatially, so the exercise in mapping it might be able to "transcend" the spatiality of the map. And the same could be said about urbanization and the everyday experience of it: *there is no reason to think that it can be adequately mapped*. As insightful as Lynch's cognitive maps are, we risk a kind of design-fetishism if we imagine that the experience of urban space can be adequately reduced to a cartographic representation. If we redirected Jameson's impulse to despatialize the cognitive map back toward Lynch's original object of analysis, then, what would we find? What would a non-cartographic representation of urban spatial practice look like?

Methodologically, cityist studies have at least the virtue of research design simplicity, but that simplicity is not always (or often) compatible with their objects of inquiry.

In tandem with UPE's methodological cityism comes the fact that it and political ecology persist as two solitudes. Indeed, the degree to which political ecology, including its most critical wing, has almost completely ignored its urban counterpart is astonishing. Two recent magisterial surveys of critical political ecology and a special issue of *Human Organization* devote between them not one word to UPE as a research program and no more than a few words to urbanization as a problematic relevant to the broader discipline.[44] This is not necessarily a problem for political ecologists, few of whom presumably hold to a Lefebvrian analysis of urbanization as the emerging dominant mode of global social change. But for urban political ecologists, many of whom presumably *do* hold to such an analysis, the disciplinary divide is problematic indeed. We argue—and suspect Swyngedouw and his colleagues would agree—that strip mining is no less an "urban" political ecological problem than urban agriculture. What about political ecology's "amenity migrants," those city expatriates who increase rural or exurban property values in their search for spiritual renewal and authentic culture?[45] Are they any less urban?

The disciplinary divide is drawn between what we might call the political ecology of cities and the political ecology of the countryside, and the methodological focus of the former helps widen the divide. It is time, we suggest, for UPE to return to its Lefebvrian roots and take up again its motivating *urban* themes, by challenging us to move beyond the city to develop a political ecology of urbanization.

A Political Ecology of Urbanization

A fruitful place to begin such a project is to return to Lefebvre's contention that "the city no longer corresponds to a real social object," and that the proper object of analysis for urban studies would soon have to become a worldwide urban society exploding out of the historical space of the city.[46] After the metropolitanization of medieval European cities in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries sharpened the qualitative differences between town and country, Lefebvre argued, postwar decentralization undermined these differences, rendering the town-country opposition an insufficient basis for understanding urban change.[47] Urbanization processes would thus have to be traced far beyond the physical boundaries of cities, and increasingly analyzed as global or planetary phenomena, while cities themselves would need to be analyzed as phenomenological or even ideological phenomena.[48] As Harvey has argued and as Brenner has recently affirmed, a long legacy of city-focused urban studies has thus failed to do justice to the complexity of contemporary urban reality.[49] The urban is a process, not a site:

> Urbanization must then be understood not in terms of some socio-organizational entity called "the city" (the theoretical object that so many geographers, demographers and sociologists erroneously presume) but as the production of specific and quite heterogeneous spatio-temporal forms embedded within different kinds of social action.[50]

In the contemporary context, the processual dimensions of planetary urbanization take (at a minimum) two broad forms. First, "urbanism as a way of life" is no longer coterminous with the city as a form of settlement space (if indeed it ever was).[51] Economic globalization, the information and communications technology revolution, and related sociocultural transformations have scrambled inherited spatial divisions of labor and of consumption in ways that make a mockery of the city-countryside division. Second, urban systems are being rearticulated at a range of scales, from the enormous megaregions emerging within both the Global North and South to networks of migration and policy that connect North and South and indeed blur the lines separating them.[52] And though these new urban geographies are constituted at ever-larger—even planetary—scales, they are constitutively uneven, connecting some spaces as they disconnect others. The result is that the city, as a signifier of or way of experiencing complex urbanization processes, stands in an increasingly problematic relationship to these processes, and is not necessarily a methodologically sound frame for studying them.[53] An urban studies that is (city) site-focused rather than (urban) process-focused thus risks ignoring much of what is distinctive about the contemporary urban world.

To say that UPE's current research program does not systematically address these dimensions of urbanization is not to say that they have gone unnoticed. Gestures in the direction of a process-oriented urban studies have been visible at least since the original publication of *The Urban Revolution* in 1970, both in and outside of the bounds of self-consciously urban research.[54] Sociospatial transformations of the past half-century have troubled a range of modernist binaries, and cyborgs, artificial natures, and information and communication technologies have prompted new analytical tools for exploring the relationship between society and nature as well as interconnectivity between places.[55] New geographies of global production and international finance in the 1980s and 1990s highlighted a changing relationship between an increasingly urbanized world and cities as territorial objects.[56] The possibilities of new electronically mediated environments prompted parallel questions in cultural studies and the humanities about non-linear narratives and spaces, and contemporary social theory continues to grapple with the relationship between changing city forms and forms of citizenship, community, and governance.[57] Among political scientists, Timothy Luke, in his work on "global" cities—with emphasis on the word "global" as scope and process, rather than "Global" cities as particular places where such forces "burrow"—explicitly defines urbanization in processual terms and discusses its effects on natural resources and social inequality outside the limits of a particular city.[58] Most recently in urban studies, two of the most vibrant approaches to thinking across the crumbling boundaries of the formally bounded city have been the study of networked infrastructure and "assemblage" urbanism.[59] While otherwise springing from different

How to develop appropriately differentiated spatial representations of historical and contemporary urbanization processes? What taxonomies are most effective for mapping a world of generalized urbanization, massive uneven spatial development and continued territorial differentiation? What are the limits and possibilities of inherited mapping strategies and new geospatial data sources for developing a critical cartography of planetary urbanization?

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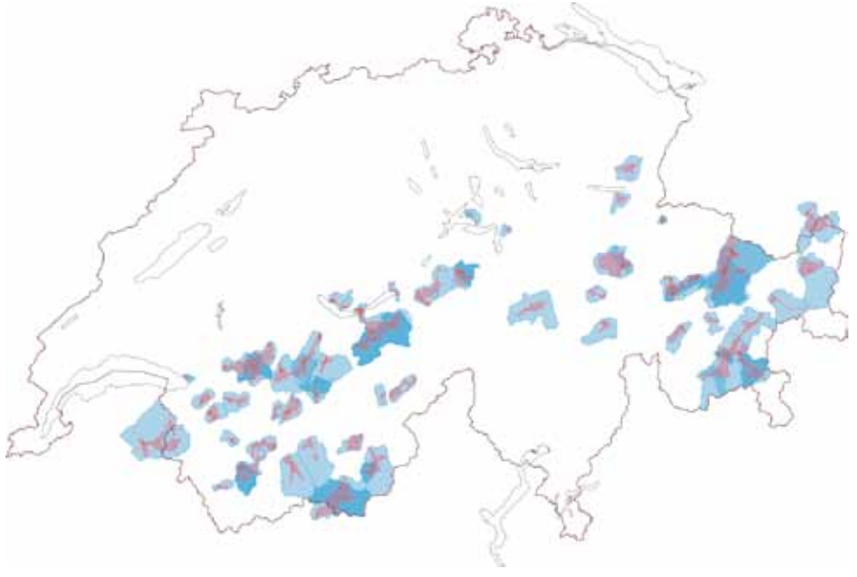
Alpine Resorts

Alpine resorts are urban regions in the mountains that belong neither to networks of cities nor to metropolitan regions and whose only economic function is tourism. Alpine resorts are temporary and polycentric spread-out cities of leisure (Figure 26.8). The intensity and character of their *networks* is cyclical. During the brief high season, they are national or even international in scope; in the off-season they are above all local and regional. Essential features include good accessibility, well-developed internal transportation systems of relatively large scope, and an infrastructure of a very high standard nearly identical to that of a city.

The *borders* of alpine resorts are not very permeable. As a rule, the outer borders are defined by topography: because alpine resorts are broken into distinct chambers, their structure is that of an island. Even when the ski areas of different resorts are linked, the only thing it affects is the recreational activity of the guests. When the snow has melted and the ski lifts have stopped running, the topography reemerges as a limiting factor. Hence the resort remains largely a self-contained world, even when it is networked.

The *differences* are also cyclical, because of the specific structure of activities. During the high season the alpine resorts are places where local and global worlds collide. A unique culture has evolved that can be described as an overlapping of alpine culture with urban elements, although the typical separation into locals and visitors limits the effect of this heterogeneity. In fact, restriction to a world of recreation fosters homogeneity. During the off-season, most of the alpine resorts come to resemble the quiet zones.



26.8 Alpine resorts

Tourist zones are an old urban phenomenon. In many respects, the history of tourism in the Alps can be described as one of urban colonization; essential elements of alpine culture have, however, been retained. Urban culture has formed a stratum over alpine culture. The transformation of old tourist locations into modern resorts took place gradually and in parallel with the changing character of tourism. Since the beginnings of alpine tourism in the nineteenth century, various forms of experiencing nature have represented a central motivation for visiting the mountains. Even the mass tourism that began in the Alps from the mid-1950s during the summer season and a decade later during the winter season initially had a strong connection to "nature" and to local alpine culture. Gradually, however, the practices of appropriation changed, and increasingly the practice of tourism was disengaged from unpredictable natural conditions. The mountains became a piece of leisure or sports equipment, as it were, and the distinctive features of the various sites receded into the background. The moment "nature" is no longer experienced as a contrast to "the city," and mountain tourism is no longer a form of compensation, the tourist locations become an integral element of everyday urban life. The alpine resorts reinforce this trend by adapting their infrastructure and programs to meet changing needs. For this reason, the term "resort" is explicitly used here to distinguish from earlier forms of touristic development.

The most important feature of alpine resorts today, the thing that distinguishes them from all other forms of urbanization, is their pronounced seasonal rhythm. Everyday life follows a clearly structured annual calendar: once or twice a year, the alpine resorts swell up for a few weeks into densely populated, almost metropolitan places. For the most part, the summer season attracts domestic and older visitors, while the more important winter season has clearly international traits. It is not just the number of residents, but their increasingly urban lifestyle that gives the alpine resorts a distinctly urban character. At its most extreme, a resort can become a temporary world city, like Davos during the World Economic Forum.

The island-like nature of the small topographic chambers in which the alpine resorts are located makes them look like patchwork on the map. They are not, however, evenly distributed throughout the alpine region. Because they are attractive to tourists, the three large regions in the high mountain zones—eastern Grisons with Klosters-Davos, the Upper Engadine Valley and the southern Valais—have a high density of resorts and complex regional networking patterns.

Alpine tourism in Switzerland not only began earlier than in the neighboring countries, but from the beginning has also been distinctly international in character.[33] It has, however, passed its peak. Since the 1980s, most alpine resorts in Switzerland have seen a slow but steady decline. The number of overnight stays and the number of jobs have been falling nearly everywhere.

27
IS THE MEDITERRANEAN URBAN?

Neil Brenner and Nikos Katsikis

1

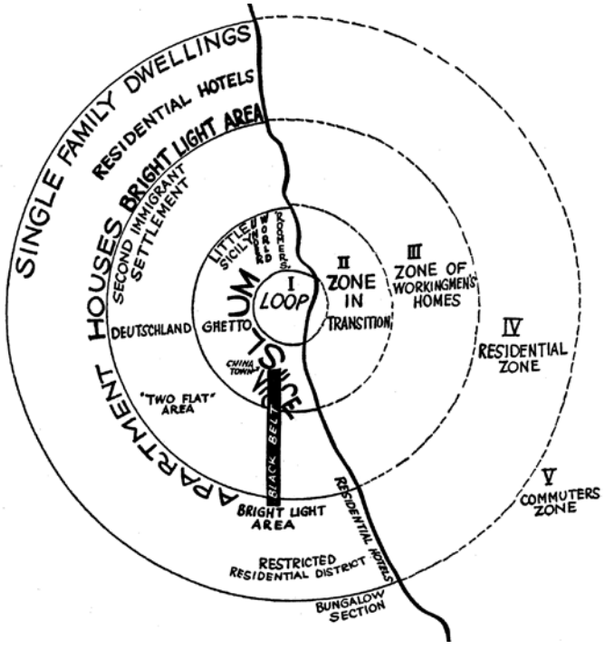
Where do the boundaries of the urban begin and where do they end? This question has long preoccupied urban scholars, and it continues to stimulate considerable debate in the early twenty-first century as urbanization processes intensify and accelerate across the world.

Despite major disagreements regarding basic questions of method, conceptualization and ontology, most twentieth-century urban theorists conceived the urban (or: the city) as a distinctive type of settlement space that could be delineated in contradistinction to suburban or rural spaces. The nature of this space, and the appropriate demarcation of its boundaries, have generated considerable disagreement.[1] However, all major twentieth-century traditions of urban theory have presupposed an underlying vision of the urban as a densely concentrated territorial zone that is both analytically and geographically distinct from the putatively non-urban areas situated "outside" or "beyond" its boundaries.[2]

Such conceptualizations are embodied paradigmatically in Chicago urban sociologist Ernest Burgess' 1925 "dartboard" model of the city, in which diverse population groups are clustered densely together in concentric rings radiating progressively outwards from a dominant central point until the map abruptly ends (Figure 27.1). Beyond the single family dwellings of the suburbs begins a void, a realm disconnected from the urban territory and thus representationally empty.[3]

Jean Gottmann's equally famous 1961 vision of the BosWash Megalopolis complicated the clean, monocentric geometries of Burgess' model and considerably expanded its territorial scale (Figure 27.2, next page).[4] Yet Gottmann's otherwise pioneering approach continued to embrace a notion of the urban as a type of settlement, now upscaled from city to megalopolis, and a vision of settlement space as being divided, fundamentally, among urban and non-urban territorial zones. In Gottmann's provocative map, the territory of megalopolis is vast and its boundaries are jagged, but the zones beyond it are, as in Burgess' visualization of the city, depicted simply as empty spaces.

In contemporary debates on global city formation, the urban/non-urban opposition is reinscribed onto a still larger scale, but the basic geographical imaginary developed in earlier twentieth-century traditions of urban theory is perpetuated. Thus, in John Friedmann's foundational speculations on the emergent world city network, the urban is understood not as a bordered territory, but as a concentrated node for transnational investment and corporate control embedded within a worldwide network of capital flows (Figure 27.3, page 431).[5] Yet, here too, the non-urban zones surrounding the world cities are depicted simply as a void—as a vast empty space that is both functionally and geographically disconnected from the urban condition. Indeed, in the models developed by world city theorists, the



27.1 Burgess' dartboard (1925): the urban as bounded, concentrated settlement space

28
VISUALIZING AN URBANIZED PLANET—MATERIALS

Urban Theory Lab–GSD

Any attempt to understand and influence urbanization hinges upon representations of (a) the core spatial units that underpin this process; and (b) the spatial parameters in which its effects are thought to be circumscribed.[1] As other contributions to this book demonstrate, inherited approaches to urbanization demarcate this process with reference to spatial units characterized as "cities"—variously defined with reference to population size or density; land-use features; or nodality within transportation and communications networks. Within such frameworks, the spatial parameters of urbanization are generally represented with reference to two major vectors—inter-city relations (expressed, for instance, in exchange or communications networks); and city-suburban-hinterland relations (expressed, for instance, in flows of labor, food, energy and materials). While many twentieth-century approaches to urbanization conceptualized such parameters primarily within metropolitan, regional or national contexts, a major contribution of more recent, post-1980s studies of globalized urbanization has been to extend them to the world economy as a whole. From this point of view, the geographies of (capitalist) urbanization are necessarily global insofar as (a) cities are connected to one another across the entire world economy; and (b) they consume the resources of widely dispersed territories, which are in turn massively operationalized as their linkages to cities intensify.

Within urban social science, assumptions regarding the spatial units and parameters of urbanization are largely implicit, but have occasionally been articulated in reflexive cartographic forms (see Figures 27.1, 27.2 and 27.3 in Ch. 27). Such cartographies of the urban are of considerable interest and import, because they put into stark relief some of the dominant metageographies—frameworks of assumptions about spatial organization—that inform both research and action on urbanization processes.[2]

One of the major agendas of this book is to supersede city-centric metageographies of urbanization through the development of new conceptualizations of how urbanization processes are imprinted upon the landscapes of capitalism. The pursuit of such an agenda requires us not only to develop new theoretical categories, but also to excavate the ways in which methodologically cityist metageographies have been constructed, disseminated and naturalized through hegemonic strategies of spatial representation. The materials assembled in this chapter represent an initial contribution to such an endeavor, derived from a more comprehensive investigation into the historical and contemporary cartographies of urbanization that is currently being undertaken in the Urban Theory Lab-GSD.

For present purposes, we have selected 14 maps, mostly from the last 60 years, which articulate some of the most prevalent understandings of the spatial units and parameters of urbanization within the social sciences and planning/design disciplines. In curating this selection, we are concerned less with representations of cityness *per se*, than with maps that represent the entire planet as a *space of urbanization*. The majority of these representational strategies reproduce the bounded city metageographies discussed at length in Ch. 27, albeit through a diverse, often quite ingenious range of data, analytical methods and representational techniques. However, several of the maps presented here begin to open up important windows onto the operational landscapes of urbanization, and thus contribute to the construction of countervailing metageographies. As in the various forms of geospatial information on the Mediterranean discussed in Ch. 27, the maps considered here emphasize several core indicators of the urban condition—population (Figures 28.1–28.4); economic activity (28.5–28.7); transportation networks (28.8–28.10); communications infrastructures (28.11, 28.12); and patterns of worldwide land occupation and environmental transformation (28.13, 28.14). These materials also illustrate how, even as new, potentially more sophisticated data sources become available, many of the same basic representational taxonomies remain operative in relation to the classic indicators that have long been used to demarcate urbanization processes.

Urbanization as a Cartography of Population

Figures 28.1, 28.2, 28.3 and 28.4 contain various representations of the spatial distribution of population on a worldwide scale. Figure 28.1 (page 463) is from the *Atlas of Economic Development* produced at the University of Chicago in the early 1960s. Following the population-centric definition of urbanization developed earlier by Kingsley Davis, national territories are shaded according to the percent of their population living in settlements with 20,000 or more people.[3] Insofar as data on settlement sizes are aggregated on a country-by-

How are worldwide urbanization processes, past and present, mediated through political and institutional strategies? What are their operational elements and targets? What are their implications for spatial organization, resource distribution, power relations and political life? What, if any, alternatives to contemporary urbanization patterns have been envisioned, and/or pursued by theorists, designers, policy makers, citizens, inhabitants and activists?

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The Persistence of Technoscientific Ideologies

Doxiadis and Fuller viewed their approaches as realistic responses to emergent challenges, not as utopian dreams. Fuller proposed the "World Design Science Decade" to the International Union of Architects as a way to transform the curriculum of design schools and to reorient the profession towards his agenda of anticipatory design practice. Doxiadis, meanwhile, organized a series of interventions for the 1976 UN Conference on Human Settlements and prepared several books for release in order to publicize and advance his proposals. However, Doxiadis died in 1975, and thus it was Fuller who eventually presented his "red books" to the plenary session "with an emotional speech, after which the UN's Secretary General referred to Doxiadis as 'the father of human settlements' and suggested that the conference be dedicated to him."[35]

Although both approaches did deal with important questions of global governance, especially in relation to urbanization processes, they were largely driven by a naïve faith in the positive agency and universal knowledge of the "expert." Thus Doxiadis viewed the UN largely as a transnational agent for implementing his proposed solutions for Global Ecological Balance.[36] By contrast, Fuller generally preferred to bypass political institutions entirely; his approach is strikingly summarized in his remark that it would be preferable to invest in "technologically reforming the environment instead of trying politically to reform the people."[37]

Consequently, both Doxiadis' and Fuller's approaches largely ignored the political-economic contexts in which world urbanization was unfolding, and the intense sociopolitical conflicts (for instance, over resource distribution, decision-making authority and public accountability) this process was provoking. It is characteristic, therefore, that state territorial boundaries and systems of economic power were almost completely absent from their analyses of global issues. The proliferation of new information technologies, with their promise of offering ever more fine-grained quantitative descriptions of the world, further entrenched both thinkers' preference for statistical description, quantitative reasoning and calculative modes of argumentation over any form of political-economic or institutional analysis.

Indeed, both Doxiadis and Fuller viewed the realm of politics basically as a disturbance to the scientific procedures of world management. As Lefebvre pointed out in a more general critique of such views in the early 1960s: "the political [*le politique*] was viewed as an obstacle to rationality and scientific procedure, as a perturbation, a kind of irrationality."[38] Lefebvre's harsh critique of such technoscientific approaches in the mid-1970s thus applies with remarkable precision to the two approaches outlined in this chapter:

> In these approaches toward the political and its intervention in urban planning, the postulate of space as objective and neutral was retained. But now it appears that space is political. Space is not a scientific object removed from ideology or politics; it has always been political and strategic.[39]

Doxiadis and Fuller naively saw their models as rational tools for promoting social and economic modernization. Although driven by a radical reformist optimism, and intellectually pioneering in several important ways, support for their projective models for comprehensive land-use and efficient resource management largely dissolved in the late 1970s with the collapse of the Fordist-Keynesian-national-developmentalist growth regime and the subsequent global turn to neoliberalism in the 1980s.

And yet, even as politico-regulatory struggles and socioenvironmental challenges intensify under the contemporary formation of neoliberalized urbanization, the tendency to neutralize, quantify and objectify planetary space through technoscientific reasoning is being reinvented in a radically new geoeconomic context. Methodologies borrowed from the natural sciences, reinforced through the development of new informational technologies and new forms of geospatial analysis, are now being widely mobilized, especially in relation to debates on sustainability and urban governance. Quantitative, statistical approaches are once again seen as the optimal means for grasping and managing the complexities of large-scale urban transformations, and once again the normative and political dimensions of such processes are being hidden behind a techoscientific veneer. The development of advanced computational and remote sensing techniques, which have dramatically increased the capacity of designers, planners and policy makers to process, analyze and visualize spatial information, appears to offer contemporary "experts" a comforting reassurance—strongly reminiscent of the approaches developed by Doxiadis and Fuller nearly a half-century ago—that the global problems of urbanization can be resolved through the rational deployment of science and technology.

Reflecting this paradigm, efforts to establish universal technoscientific methodologies are becoming increasingly influential within the scientific community as well as within popular media outlets. Influential examples of this renewed, largely unreflexive reliance on natural-scientific paradigms in debates on urban questions include, among many others, studies of urban metabolism through the standardization of material flow analysis (MFA); the physicist Geoffrey West's "general equation" governing city sizes and characteristics; and the popularization of the notion of the Anthropocene to characterize humanity's impact on the transformation of the planet.[40] Whatever their differences of method, data and empirical focus, such approaches share an understanding of urbanization as a politically neutral, almost organic force, and in this sense reintroduce some of the same technoscientific ideologies that were endorsed and popularized among urbanists by Doxiadis and Fuller.[41]

Admist these scholarly trends, influential international institutions are also promoting new forms of research that still further legitimize and entrench the vision of planetary space as politically neutral and fully accessible via quantitative forms of knowledge. A paradigmatic

As critics of these ideas have pointed out, each of these new urbanisms can be seen as compatible with an unequal urban order, if not generative of new forms of inequality.[25] And as these examples show, many usages of concepts such as globalism, cosmopolitanism, community and urbanity are unable to articulate critical perspectives on today's city or world. In contrast, both Nancy and Lefebvre provide critical global-urban imaginaries. I will not attempt here to provide comprehensive overviews of their social thought, nor do I intend to affirm one over the other. Rather, by exploring the ways in which they imagine the global-urban, I want to show how both Lefebvre and Nancy point towards new theory and new political possibilities for an urban planet.

Urbs et orbis

> These days, it seems like the world is being stolen from the world, at the very moment it's becoming "worldwide," at the very moment of globalization.
>
> –Jean-Luc Nancy[26]

In *The Creation of the World or Globalization*, Jean-Luc Nancy asks, "can what is called 'globalization' give rise to a world, or to its contrary?"[27] This question at first seems to be nonsense. But Nancy's "critical way of thinking the world," drawing from Hegel, Marx, Derrida and especially Heidegger, is built upon a number of important contrasts, and one of the most central is the distinction between different meanings of "the world."[28] Nancy argues that two senses of "the world" are generally conflated: "world as the givenness of what exists" and "world as a globality of sense."[29] The former sense of "world" is merely the sum total of things in existence, as in the phrase "everything in the world." In contrast, the latter is "a totality of meaning. If [for example] I speak of 'Debussy's world' … one grasps immediately that one is speaking of a totality, to which a certain meaningful content or a certain value system properly belongs."[30] A world in this latter sense means a meaningful, shared context. Worldhood here implies "an ethos, a *habitus* and an inhabiting."[31] A group that holds anything in common—living in proximity, or sharing vulnerability to disease, say—can be said to exist in the same world in the first sense. But in order to qualify as sharing a world in the second sense, they need to be able to form this bare world into something more sensible or inhabitable—to be able to communicate dialogically, for example, or to cooperatively transform the conditions of their coexistence.

This contrast underpins another distinction that Nancy deploys, between globalization and *mondialisation*. The former refers to the integration of world in the first sense. It has "up to this point been limited to economic and technological matters."[32] Globalization links together the world, but its links are purely formal. As I shall explain, globalization, as "enclosure in the undifferentiated sphere of a unitotality," has something threatening and overwhelming about it.[33] The qualities of enclosure, finality and totalistic lack of differentiation are central to it. *Mondialisation*, in contrast, stands for incompleteness, becoming, openness, natality. The term refers to becoming-worldwide, or "worldwide becoming," "world-forming" or the "creation of the world." It could be put as "worldization," or perhaps as "worlding."[34] It refers to the emergence of a world in the second sense of a shared context or dwelling. Nancy is not the only theorist to make use of the globalization/*mondialisation* distinction.[35] Jacques Derrida, one of Nancy's mentors and inspirations, used these same terms in a number of interviews in the late 1990s, a few years before *The Creation of the World* was originally published.[36] But Nancy is probably this distinction's most systematic and creative user.

Considering that "*mondialisation*" is the French equivalent to "globalization" in English, there is obviously some potential for confusion. Indeed, the terms present perennial problems for translators.[37] But Nancy would insist that this confusion is actually a symptom. He casts the English language as something like the official dialect of neoliberal economic integration. The English word "globalization" thus names precisely a process where the distinctiveness of the world is drowned by something becoming ubiquitous. Whereas *mondialisation* suggests something else: the emergence of a world that is open-ended and creative, a way of social existence that is necessarily shared and inherently unique. That is why Nancy insists that "*mondialisation* preserves something untranslatable while *globalization* has already translated everything."[38]

Globalization, for Nancy, has unfolded over centuries. It is the process whereby "the West has come to encompass the world," where scientific modernity colonizes the planet and severs all connection to an otherworld.[39] Globalization is constituted by a long process of secularization and disenchantment. Nancy sees "the modern enigma" as "the end of the world," in the sense of loss of order and orientation.[40] "There is no longer any world: no longer a *mundus*, a *cosmos*, a composed and complete order (from) within which one might find a place, a dwelling, and the elements of an orientation."[41] There is now only *this* world, with no constitutive outside or next-world—neither a transcendent god nor external nature—from which to provide limit or meaning. The process of becoming-global—so far it has been only technological and economic—removed the beyond-world that had been the source of our "sense of the world," which now must be formulated, by us, from within this world.[42]

This centuries-long process of globalization has entered a new stage with the increased integration of the planet into a social and spatial system dominated by the world market of neoliberal techno-capitalism. Nancy's critique is that with this phase of globalization, "the world has lost its capacity to 'form a world' (*faire monde*)."[43] Not only is globalization the creation of a whole (in the first sense) that is not a world (in the second sense), it is the *opposite* of world-forming, in that it means "the suppression of all world-forming of the world."[44] In fact Nancy identifies globalization with "that capacity of proliferating the unworld"—*immonde*, which also means unclean, vile or sinful.[45] Globalization here is the proliferation of something uninhabitable, something deadly. Indeed, for Nancy, global experience today originates in the concrete possibility of planetary destruction. "The fact

If the traditional city is dissolving, and urbanization is being generalized across the planet, can new forms of citizenship be constructed that empower people collectively to appropriate, transform and reshape the common space of the world?

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Ch. 1 Original contribution.

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Ch. 15 Original contribution.

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