



theoriSE

**debating the southeastern
turn in urban theories**

edited by

Oren Yiftachel and Nisa Mammon

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DEDICATION

This publication is duly and solemnly dedicated to Professor Vanessa Watson, of the University of Cape Town, who passed away prematurely on 15 September 2021.

Vanessa was a pioneer in generating the debate on ‘Southern’ perspectives on urban and planning theory. Many of the debates we are having today, and the challenges to mainstream ‘Northern’ theories, originate from Vanessa’s conceptual and practical work.

Her views and methods were shaped during decades of research and activism in planning and society in South Africa and beyond. Her work, and spirit of diversity, originality and quality, paved the way for many scholars and activists who contributed to this volume.

Despite her grave illness, Vanessa was a leading force in organising the *TheoriSE?* Workshop at the University College London in late 2019. She was part of the organising committee, gave the opening address and was a chair and commentator in several sessions.

We therefore dedicate this publication to the lasting memory, courage, rigour, values and friendship of Professor Vanessa Watson.

The Organising Committee
Oren Yiftachel
Jennifer Robinson
Libby Porter
Rajagopal Balakrishnan



Professor Vanessa Watson at University
College London Urban Laboratory Workshop,
November 2019

THEORISE? DEBATING THE SOUTH-EASTERN TURN IN URBAN THEORIES: BACKSTORY AND THANKS

Oren Yiftachel

Chair of Urban Studies, Geography Department, Ben-Gurion,
University of the Negev, Beersheba

This volume has had a long and winding road to publication. It began with a growing interest in 'the Southern turn' in urban studies and related fields during the past decade, which brought a group of scholars to propose a series of workshops on the *TheoriSE?* topic in different locations.

The first of these took place at University College London (UCL) in late 2019, ahead of the Frontiers of the Urban conference.

This workshop was a special event, bringing together for the first time, most of the leading voices in this fledgling debate. Fittingly, the presentations were intense and engaging, and debates enlightening and at times furious. The work of Jennifer Robinson in co-organising the event as well as the contributions and facilities of Bartlett School, the Geography Department and the UCL Urban lab, were most appreciated. The organising committee included the late Vanessa Watson, as well as Rajagopal Balakrishnan, Gautam Bhan and Libby Porter, whose contributions were invaluable.

Shortly after the successful event, COVID-19 hit and brought a long pause to the idea of rolling workshops. Given the new circumstances, we decided to publish the proceedings, and in the meantime hope to renew face-to-face events when time and resources allow. As the chief editor, I was looking for a publisher from the Global South, so as not to replicate the Northern academic domination, particularly in materials generated in, or about, the Global South and East. The task of finding a publisher, unexpectedly, proved difficult, with several leads proving fruitless.

Thankfully, in late 2021, the African Centre for Cities (ACC), headed by Professor Edgar Pieterse, decided to take up the gauntlet and publish the project, for which I am deeply grateful. Given the leading role of ACC in research and policy making in Africa and beyond, there could not be a more appropriate publisher for this book.

The COVID-19 delay required updating and some intensive editorial work, for which I was fortunate to collaborate with co-editor Dr Nisa Mammon, Adjunct Professor at the ACC. Nisa's wisdom, diligence and professionalism are highly appreciated. Without her contribution and effort, this book would never have seen the light. I am also grateful to Alma Viviers (ACC) who ushered the book through design and production.

While we had broad guidelines for the papers, we still kept up the alternative 'Southern spirit', and allowed authors free reign in the manner they finalised their essays, reference others' work, or incorporate visuals. For the purpose of facilitating a direct debate between authors, we listed all references at the end of the publication.

Let us remember that the UCL event was but the first step in a rolling series of workshops and publications. Further events are already planned and hopefully will take place soon.

UPHOLDING THE LEGACY OF VANESSA WATSON

Susan Parnell

Department of Geography, University of Bristol, and African Centre for Cities,
University of Cape Town

At the time of the TheoriSE meeting in London late in 2019, one of the most respected and authoritative voices around the table was that of Professor Vanessa Watson.

Despite ill health, she relished the opportunity for robust engagement with new and old colleagues, and made the most of the personal, intellectual, and political stimulus that the meeting provided. Across formal contributions and side-line deliberations, her thoughtful insertions swayed the collective tone and content of that meeting – as she had done on numerous occasions before. As a cohort, we gain immeasurably by upholding the legacy of Vanessa Watson as we seek to make cities better places for all.

Vanessa Watson's work is an exemplar for the Southern/Southeastern urbanist, in that it spanned deep empirical investigation, high theoretical reflection, savvy practical application, and resilient institution-building – all off a strong normative base. Perhaps because she was a planner by profession, Watson embraced governance issues – aiming always to reform and redefine the institutions of state control, to find entry points for civil action and guide political resistance, and to structure an alternative pedagogy. She premised this action on a deep commitment to theory. We can celebrate her intellectual legacy, which refused to split theory from action, by actively learning from her.

The mode of engaged urban scholarship that Watson exemplifies is rooted in the ability to sustain high-quality academic research, to move beyond narrow

sectarian positions and, crucially, to eschew simplistic interventions.

Vanessa did not shy away from difficult problems, and looked for ways to unlock the conceptual and operational tensions of urban governance. For Vanessa her engaged scholarship came to rely conceptually on the notion of conflicting rationality – or the idea of deep difference (2010) and the belief that planning could be used to navigate, if not resolve, tensions of urban governance.

As the essays in this volume and in many published papers elsewhere reflect, the notion of planning as an instrument of change has galvanised a generation of South/Eastern urbanists. For Vanessa, the diverse claims for the right to the city of different social movements, for representation and accountability in urban management, needed to be fleshed out in real-world detail – defining which forms of political participation and planning would help bring about just sustainable futures.

Vanessa practiced what she advocated. Long before the widespread policy popularisation of the idea of the right to the city Vanessa and colleagues took on the apartheid state – not to themselves make the claim for the right of black South Africans to urban life – but to document, based on careful household surveys and extensive field research in the poorest areas of Cape Town, the

significance of the claims that the illegal movement to and de facto occupation of the city by black people represented. In other words, the role of the researcher here was not claim-making but claim verification – the agency lay with the occupants. Significantly, the team did more than assert a nuanced finding that revealed the additional costs borne by migrants of defying the state in order to make the claim to the city. They revealed how African households flexed/ stretched/moved in order to hold a place in the city. They also went on to engage the specific governance drivers of – in this case in mismatch between – failed state housing policy, dysfunctional land systems, and the shelter needs of newly urbanised and extended households.

Long committed to working through formal as well as informal institutions, we see in Watson an example of the varied ways political claims are translated into knowledges that contribute to the formulation and implementation of policy and planning.

Her record reveals that Southern/ Southeastern urbanists have opportunities to forge just sustainable futures by engaging with/or both/ and civil society, the state, and the professions. For Vanessa this meant taking on the core planning profession – its ideas, sites of action, and ambitions. From a university base she engaged Cape Town, the city she lived in most of her life. At UCT she was a key member

of the Urban Problems Research Unit (UPRU) and also the African Centre for Cities. From these research hubs her involvement with urban policy debates expanded to the national and continental domains. Not bounded by theoretically or internally focused debates, her work was externally focussed, but students and staff were beneficiaries, too.

The boundaries between the academy and other sites of action were porous for Vanessa – and for decades she played a key role in a local NGO called the Development Action Group (DAG), as well as pioneering new structures of planning education in the Association of African Planning Schools (AAPS). In each of these cases she built as well as operated in the institution – putting aside the voice of the individual and creating durable pathways for sustained action to build sustainable futures.

Part 1

Moving Theories South? (and East)?

INTRODUCTION: WHERE/WHY/WHEN THE GLOBAL SOUTHEAST? REFLECTIONS ON THE NEED TO THEORISE

Oren Yiftachel

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Orientalism depends for its strategy on flexible positional superiority, which puts the Westerner in a whole series of possible relations with the Orient without ever losing the relative upper hand.”

Edward W. Said, *Orientalism*

In introducing this special volume, we may begin with the main question of our ‘TheoriSE?’ workshop, which was articulated as follows: Should we, as a group of critical scholars, adopt ‘Southern’ or ‘Eastern’ perspectives on the urban? In this short essay I set up a point of departure for the debate, by briefly analysing the (incomplete) ‘Southern turn’, highlighting some of its achievements and shortcomings, discussing the divergence of ‘South’ and ‘East’, and commenting on the need to continue and ‘theoriSE’. Overall, I contend that ‘Southern and Eastern’ interventions have been, and are, necessary to *rejuvenate and pluralise urban studies*, despite their incomplete and contested nature. This is particularly so as racialised, gendered, and economic neocolonial relations are deeply reshaping most cities and regions.

At the same time, I acknowledge that ‘the South’ and ‘East’ are not fixed geographies, nor stable power positions. The two signifiers originally refer to regions and people colonised by Europeans during the past five centuries in the Americas, Africa, Mideast and Asia, with the North-South axis alluding mainly to patterns of economic domination, while the West-East axis generally refers to cultural and ideological tensions.

Increasingly, however, the terms also

signify the perspectives of indigenous, racialised and migrant groups, sexual minorities, or political ‘outcasts’ in all global regions. Given these variegated grounds, the ‘Southeastern’ provocation may be replaced by concepts such as ‘decolonial’, counter-hegemonic or ‘peripheral’ in the endeavour to challenge domination in the production of knowledge and space.

As articulated by Edward Said above, the ‘South’ and the ‘East’ are fundamentally relational and seeped in colonial power relations. The two signifiers are obviously related to very diverse regions, groups and cultures. As such, their invocation may ultimately function as a manoeuvre of ‘strategic essentialism’, that is, as a critical device aimed at challenging power-knowledge constellations, much like the performance of post-colonial, feminist, or indigenous perspectives.

AN INCOMPLETE TURN

The ‘Southern turn’ in urban studies and related fields has been ‘in the making’ for nearly two decades, as well covered by several contributions to this special volume by Watson, Parnell, Miraftab and Robinson. The new discourse surfaced as a critique, a challenge, even a provocation, from a diverse group of critical scholars who share an interest in regions of the global Southeast, and an opposition to a globalising, universal,

and hegemonic system of knowledge production, dominated by the US and European academia.

Yet, the 'turn' has remained partial, somewhat incoherent and incomplete, situated at the margins of relevant disciplines. As noted by Parnell, Hammer and Robinson (this volume) it needs to be treated with some caution. This is partially due to the persistence of global power structures of knowledge production – heavily tilted in favour of 'the North', but also due to relative lack of alternatives emerging from other global regions. Southeastern thinking on the city, it seems, has remained a frontier, shaped by constant encounters, conflict, and dynamism. It has not yet crystallised into a set of paradigms on their own intrinsic value.

Achievements: On the positive side, a major achievement of the 'unfinished turn' to date has been the emergence of a collective imaginary, self-identified mainly as 'Southern', which openly challenges dominant paradigms, theories, and epistemologies. This is an important foundation for developing further perspectives emerging from colonised and peripheral regions.

This is coupled with the emergence of a *new vocabulary*, in which alternative concepts, tropes, theories, and explanations are used to analyse 'the urban'. These have entered the scholarly and policy discourses as they draw on critical practices and approaches embedded in Southeastern contexts. Such vocabulary includes, but is not limited to, concepts such as

'ordinary cities', 'insurgent citizenship', 'the self-constructed city', 'peripheral urbanisation', 'deep difference', 'conflicting rationalities', 'urban encroachment of the ordinary', 'grey spacing', 'inverse urban coloniality', 'dynamic structuralism', 'Southism', and more recently, following the COVID-19 pandemic and rapid digitisation, also concepts such as a 'colonial city', 'urban coloniality', and 'data colonialism'.

Furthermore, typical 'Southeastern' approaches make a strong epistemological contribution as they develop 'engaged theories' based on their involvement in 'thick' Southern and Eastern contexts. In this way, as well articulated by Bhan, Winkler and Oldfield in this volume, the development of concepts is closely related to urban *practices*, often derived 'from below', engaging with the experiences of communities and localities. They also draw on the urban praxis of professionals, civil society, urban movements, and on the impact of public policies on diverse groups and individuals. This textured, nuanced, and attuned engagement with 'the urban' often stands in tension with more globalising, flattening, and universal theories which have tended to dominate the literature, to which I return below.

Difficulties: On a more negative note, the immensely diverse geographical, political, and cultural settings stretching from Hong Kong through Kolkata, Jerusalem and Dakar to Santiago, prohibit any credible generalisations, beyond very broad concepts, such as the 'post-colonial' or the 'global periphery'. Moreover, despite some beginnings in

academic centres in Africa and South America, Southeastern perspectives have lacked an organising institutional setting (such as scholarly hubs, journals or shared teaching) through which to develop theorisation and comparison. Needless to say, this has constraining implications on the development of theory, pedagogy and ethics, as also noted by Winkler, Ortiz and Oldfield (this volume).

NORTHWEST, SOUTHEAST

Let us explore these concepts further. In the approach offered here 'Southern' and 'Eastern' denote (a) *an empirical reality*, (b) *an epistemology*, and (c) *an ethic of studying and transforming urban societies*. The approach holds that one cannot "theorise from nowhere" or dislodge knowledge from its context, as discussed by Hammer, Winkler and Bhan, among others, in this volume. Hence, Southeastern theorisation highlights the degree to which urban conditions (anywhere) frame the understanding of urban society, rather than present a dichotomous opposition to 'Northern' approaches. And as discussed by Marks and Hammer, several key universal concepts, such as 'spatial justice', 'equality' or 'equity' are welcomed by Southeastern theorists who work to integrate them within societal and government systems anywhere.

Subsequently, 'Southeastern' perspectives take urbanism developed in the global Southeast (itself of course immensely diverse) as empirical and theoretical points of departure to understand contemporary cities. Instead

of universalist and uni-dimensional understandings, rife among leading theories of the city, in that vein I have offered in previous works the analytical concepts of *'Aleph epistemology'* and 'dynamic structuralism', alluding to the parallel existence of several structural systems which cannot be reduced into one another. The Aleph approach holds that the logics of these systems constantly interact, creating assemblages of systemic powers, spaces, and embedded social relations which cannot be pre-determined by a universal logic.

In such structural-dynamic settings, the Southeastern perspective foregrounds the experiences and logics of marginalised populations and spaces often left invisible in the sweeping generalisations typical of 'Northern' theories, such as 'the neoliberal city', 'the post-metropolis'; 'the post-political city', 'global gentrification', 'planetary urbanisation' or even the often used, yet opaque, 'right to the city'.

Hence, there is no one theory of 'Southern' or 'Eastern' urbanism, but rather a series of meso-level conceptualisations that account for the nature of urban societies in post- or neocolonial settings, and conceptualise from them about the nature of contemporary urbanism.

Most notably, as highlighted by Ortiz and Vainer in this volume, 'Southern' and 'Eastern' urbanisms are marked by pervasive legacies and present realities of colonial oppressions and inequalities, and by the wide presence of urban vulnerabilities. The Southeastern perspective highlights these features of the contemporary city, while increasingly attempting to analyse critically new forms of coloniality, often beyond the domination of Europeans and whiteness. As such, internal colonialism and urban apartheid, for example, also emerge from 'South-South' and 'East-East' domination, as noted by the contributions of Yacobi, Fawaz and Harb in this collection.

SOUTH AND EAST?

A further move in the perspective offered here entails a semantic distinction between 'Southern' and 'Eastern' perspectives. This has the aim of further decentring and destabilising a uniformity and binarism implied by categories such as global 'North' and 'South'. This move attempts to highlight the 'pluriversal' understanding of urban change typical of 'Southeastern'. This distinction draws on differences between the two prevalent axes of power relations: the North-South axis denotes mainly economic exploitation and stratification, and the East-West (Occident-Orient) axis alludes mainly to a gradation of identities and cultures. These are not discrete or binary economic-cultural categories, but rather dynamic 'diagonal assemblages' which combine economic, institutional, and political domination and resistance, through which urban

societies and relations have been shaped and stratified over recent decades.

Hence, the spatial categories echoed in these terms are analytically 'mobile', as one can find 'Southern' and 'Eastern' urbanism in the global Northwest, as in the works of Katz or Mirafab and Jabareen in this volume, who study Northern cities from the vantage point of their peripheries. This resembles other key categories of analysing human society, such as 'female-male' or 'centre-periphery' or 'right-left', which have been mobilised to cases distant from their original embodied meaning. As such, understanding Southeastern urbanism is increasingly important for accounting for new urban phenomena in the global Northwest, when regimes of domination and marginalisation prevail.

OLD AND NEW COLONIALITIES

Rather than 'celebrating diversity', as is commonly advocated by liberal and multicultural planning theorists, or overlooking identity regimes as does most 'traditional-critical' scholarship (using, among others, Marxian, Weberian, Lefebvrian, Foucauldian, or liberal approaches), Southeastern perspectives take seriously regimes of identity. Given their context, they acknowledge that collective identity, often institutionalised by states, military, or traditional ethnic/racial/religious entities, acts as a major force in shaping cities and regions. Hence, they observe that the outcomes of uneven spatial and institutional identity conflicts resemble the *remaking of a colonial city*, with deepening forms of exploitation,

widening ethno-class disparities, clear group hierarchies, and the construction of *essentialised identity boundaries*. Under such regimes, oppression, dispossession, and displacement are rarely colour-blind, or purely legal or economic. These are closely related to identity regimes, backed by the persisting power of (neo)nationalist, statist and militarised powers, and ever-increasing systems of surveillance and digital control.

As Porter, Simone and Vainer vividly remind us in this collection, a fundamental and persisting 'vector' of colonization underlies the working of many contemporary cities and regions. In this process, indigenous groups have been thoroughly dispossessed, often through cultural and physical genocide, losing their lands, natural resources, economic self-reliance, and culture. As Porter argues strongly, the internal colonisation process continues to this very day, which sees dominant settler and immigrant groups appropriate the power of policy instruments such as security, planning, development, and education to deepen their power over urban space.

Colonisation, however, has found new spatialities and modalities in recent decades. The older system of colonisation which ruptured state borders through conquest and settlement has shifted in the 'postcolonial' urban age, articulating new processes that can be conceptualised as *'inverted coloniality'*. Under this process the spatial 'vector' of colonisation is reversed. Rather than the colonising powers expanding their

control over new territories and groups, marginalised groups who lose their lands are controlled by colonial-like forms of exploitation and segregation. As mentioned above, this perspective extends the approach found in most post-colonial theories by referring not only to the persisting legacies of White colonisation, but to new formations of *Southeastern colonialities* appearing in the 'separate and unequal' political landscape of most major urban societies, with stark examples of Dubai, Singapore, or Cape Town, where vast parts of the population are marginalised into 'grey space', as identity regimes interact with the logic of urbanising capitalist accumulation.

Hence, as Simone and Bhan show in this volume, the plight of ever-growing groups of urban migrants – often precarious and temporary – is of particular interest for Southeastern theories anywhere.

As rural migrants, temporary domestic workers, international labour migrants, or refugees are subject to policies of marginalisation, becoming disposable and displaceable, they too are included in the optic of Southeastern theories. Their growing presence as second- or third-class residents means that 'creeping apartheid' has increasingly become a prevalent model of urban regimes.

Resisting colonial walls.
Palestinians in Jerusalem, Al-Quds
PHOTO: Huda Abu Zeid, 2019





ABOVE: Women in Araqib push back the bulldozer and prevent demolition.

PHOTO: Haia Noach, 2016

LOOKING BACK/AHEAD

*Your slogans of 'law and order'/
simply leave me outside the
border*

*Yes, my shack never received/ any
legal approval*

*But no, you will not live/ to see
my removal*

Tamer Nafar, DAM band

The Palestinian rapper Tamer Nafar is seeing his city 'from below', from the experience of living in a displaceable slum. Such vista points have found their way into the conceptual foundations of urban studies. Major challenges emerging from the previously silenced 'Southern' and 'Eastern' perspectives are now gathering pace. The move is energised by the dynamic and often harsh urban reality of the global Southeast and inspired by 'Emancipation scholarship' and decolonising paradigms.

Yet this project still awaits fuller explication and articulation, and still lacks institutional, scholarly, and material framework from which to deepen and broaden the exploration. As reminded us by Balakrishnan Rajagopal in his various writings, mobilisation and institutionalisation are badly needed, as shown by his rich experience with scholars of 'TWAIL' (Third World Approaches to International Law), who have formed a thriving global organisation. Hence, scholars working from, and on, cities of the global Southeast are encouraged to theoRISE, that is, stand up and document, fathom, critique, conceptualise, and generalise from their own engaged positions. This

is the foundation from which we can all theoRISE: derive theories rising from the experience of the global Southeast; namely, from the majority of the urban world. These essays, it is hoped, provides a step in this worthy endeavour.

A SOUTHERN URBAN PLANNING THEORY- BUILDING PROJECT

Vanessa Watson

School of Architecture, Planning and Geomatics, University of Cape Town

This is an edited version of a paper presented by the late Professor Vanessa Watson at the University College London Urban Laboratory on 10 November 2019.

This short input reflects on how I personally came to think about planning theory from what is now called a 'Southern or Southeastern perspective', and some of the main questions which could shape further work in this area.

I am coming into these debates from a planning perspective, and while disciplinary boundaries are often not helpful, my point is that I have always been interested in 'the normative', i.e. in action, and in what to do, in the places I have lived and worked.

Seventeen years ago my first paper in this journey (Watson 2002) started to explore whether or not mainstream planning theories of the time (all originating in the global North) could be used in the very different context of African cities. I looked specifically at collaborative and communicative planning theory and the 'just city' concept. I used a method here which I still find useful: unpacking the usually unexpressed contextual assumptions on which Northern theories are based (political, socio-economic, institutional, spatial, etc.), and then asking if those assumptions hold in other and very different contexts. Understanding the particularities of 'place' or context shows more often than not they do not hold, or hold partially and in different ways, and this has major implications for the theory and praxis of planning. Thinking from 'place' has, for me, been central to Southern planning theory (Bhan, Srinivas and Watson 2018).

A growing conviction about the inappropriate nature of Northern planning theories in my locale led me

to be more alert to the implications of the imposition of these theories and practices. A wonderful local case study presented itself in the form of an attempted upgrade of an informal settlement in Cape Town by local government planners, and a strong rejection of the plans by residents of the informal settlement.

The clash between the highly formalised, modernist vision of the planning officials and the very different and highly complex nature of the lives of those in the informal settlement emerged in published documents of a Commission of Inquiry, providing a very rich source of evidence.

It led me to suggest the concept of 'conflicting rationalities' between the ideas and praxis of planners in the global South – trained through Northern texts – and the rationalities of those affected by such plans.

This work (Watson 2003) subsequently led to a doctoral thesis which tested the concept of conflicting rationalities in a case study in Cape Town, and a co-authored book (De Stage and Watson 2018) The deeper ethnographic work (interrogating both state and society and

their interrelationships) of this thesis showed that there is no simple binary of conflicting rationalities between state and society. Rather there is a thick mosaic of associated social encounters and complex conflicts and alignments which shaped the intervention. These complexities stand in stark contrast to thin and instrumental assumptions of 'public participation' or 'community-driven collaborative planning'.

This work led me to question another binding assumption of Northern planning theories of the time, and that is the nature of social difference and its ethical implications in planning. I was tapping into ongoing challenges at the time (Yiftachel, Flyvbjerg, Huxley) of Habermasian-inspired collaborative and communicative planning, and the assumptions this made on overcoming disagreements in public participation through dialogue. My 2006 paper on 'deep difference' (Watson 2016a) argued that in any context there are major societal divisions and differing rationalities which simple dialogue within 'communities' and with planners is unlikely to overcome. This raises important ethical issues for planners. It suggests that planning's sources of moral philosophy are no longer a satisfactory guide on issues of ethical judgement, in a context of deepening social difference, expressions of identity, and an increasingly hegemonic market rationality.

Recognising the situated nature of knowledge and values is more appropriate than moral theory based on universalist ideals, as in much Northern

planning theory of the time. At the same time it seemed to be important to think how to express this dissatisfaction with Northern planning theory in wider geopolitical terms, and from a Southern perspective. A 2006 conference paper and later article (Watson 2006b) suggested the term 'Southern planning theory', which acknowledged the growing dominance of Southern cities and their particular planning issues, along with the ongoing prevalence of poorly fitting Northern concepts of cities and planning theory and praxis. The works of Jenny Robinson, Oren Yiftachel, Ananya Roy, Libby Porter, Raewyn Connell, and others were hugely influential at the time, and more recent voices have made major contributions.

In the past decade and a half there has been an explosion of Southern thinking (a 'Southern turn', it can justifiably be called) in urban studies, in planning, and in a range of other disciplines (from psychology to law to medicine, etc.). It has of course generated sometimes irate push-back from 'Northern' urban studies and planning scholars, and hence a rich and interesting debate. My own subsequent publications (Watson 2016) have tried to elaborate on what I think is a Southern planning perspective, and also what it is not. Because this is such a new, open, and rapidly developing field of thought I prefer to think of a 'Southern/East planning theory-building project' rather than Southern theory per se. I align with other authors who hold with a rejection of abstract universalised theories which claim to be valid everywhere, while their highly parochial nature is not difficult to reveal.

Recognition of place and context is key to Southern thinking, while at the same time there is a strong rejection of the South as purely a geographical concept. It is important to challenge the idea of North and South as either theoretical or spatial binaries: I go with Connell's proposal that the term Southern means "[to] emphasize relations – of authority, exclusion and inclusion, hegemony, partnership, sponsorship, appropriation – between intellectuals and institutions in the metropole, and those in the world periphery". Also with Gautam Bhan's suggestion the South is a conceptual rather than physical location, a relational geography rather than a set of undeveloped countries or the postcolonial world. This conception, he argues, allows theory to travel, to start from place but then to offer insight into the urbanism of all cities, to use concepts such as informality from the South to understand Northern cities, and thereby bridging essentialist North-South divides. I also hold that if a central role of planning theory is to shape practice, how does the Southern turn offer new understandings of cities and communities in these parts of the world, and new ways to act as planners and agents of change?

THE PROJECT: SOME (OF MANY) THREADS TO FOLLOW

Do we need to disentangle the threads of 'Southern (Southeastern) planning theory'? Are there different forms and genealogies of Southern? With the publication of new work on post-, neo- and decolonial planning (and recognising various forms of this),

how does this differ from Southern planning theory more generally, or is it a sub-set? New work on identity politics (planning and race, class or culture) – is this a form of Southern? There has been little progress on Southern planning and the ethical positioning of planning practice – how do we think through this important issue? Southern theory and activism – how do we theorise action as agent of change in situations of conflict, fluidity, and unpredictability?

Many involved in Southern thinking emphasise place and context, while acknowledging the importance of wider 'structural' forces and the geopolitical positioning of places in cores, peripheries, or cores within peripheries. How do these relate and what does it mean to think relationally about places for planning and praxis? Do we also need to think of the knowledge producers of Southern planning ideas and how they are located in places which shape mind-sets, rationalities and values? Or how they have moved between and within places over time?

What do we mean by building Southern planning theory? I am particularly attracted to Bhan's suggestion (2019) that the construction of a new vocabulary (from place) is a mode of

theorising and practice. From Delhi he offers “squat”, “repair” and “consolidate” as normative concepts which can be tried out elsewhere as part of a process of collectively building a theoretical framework of Southern urban practice. Is this method of building a new conceptual vocabulary a way to move forward?

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Finally, being unable to come up with any great new theoretical interventions, I was reminded that doing so would place me squarely in the category of theories and theorists which we critique. I have been reading with interest emerging work on the concept of Minor Theory (see SI in Environment and Planning D 2017 35(4)), and think it may have something to offer Southern urban and planning theory. To generalise across a number of contributions within this field: Minor Theory differs from Major Theory, which is grand, all-encompassing, universal and overly muscular; Minor Theory is not ‘local’ or ‘small’, but can uncover small variations which make a larger difference; it unsettles received narratives and practices of power; it is about undoing major forms of theory and practice from within; it is a situated politics of refusal and producing ruptures, a production of knowledge inseparable from the mess of everyday life; it is not a distinct body of theory but a way of doing theory differently, a method of working from the inside out, of regarding emergent practices as interstitial with major productions of knowledge; it questions Major Theory and alters its constructions. It is not just critique but must seek hope for other futures.

THEORISEING FROM STOLEN LAND

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Many years ago a colleague expressed to me deep frustration with the language of ‘North’ and ‘South’ to distinguish modes and contexts of experience, or to delineate different kinds of geographical thinking and practice.

My colleague worried that the nomenclature was too binary and indicated an unhelpful kind of spatiality that was inaccurate and misleading. I imagine this debate about “what to call” different kinds of places and cities will continue, and it is not my interest here to attempt to settle the question into an acceptable suite of terms. Instead, I want to consider how the fissure itself is generative because it reveals an interesting presumption that sits at the heart of both global North universalising and global South critique of that universalising and dominatory tendency.

To do so requires positioning where, and who, I am. I am writing this from stolen lands, located as a coloniser whose very existence here is part of a long history of colonial occupation of so-called Australia. The lands and waters that I now call home are the unceded sovereign lands of Wurundjeri Woi-wurrung people here in the northern suburbs of Naarm/Birrarung-ga, or Melbourne. For me to call them home is enabled and sustained by the complex suite of activities, structures, worldviews and violences that we can name as settler-colonial urbanism.

There is a very important concept shared by Wurundjeri Woi-wurrung, Boonwurrung/Bunurong knowledge-holders in the place now called

Melbourne: the concept is *Womindjeka*. My understanding as a coloniser is that the full meaning of this concept translated to English is “Come, what is your purpose?” It is worth noting that this concept is routinely reduced to simply “Welcome” in the politics of recognition that structures settler-colonial relations in contemporary Melbourne. Understood more fully, *Womindjeka* is much more than simply “Welcome”. It’s an invitation, or welcome, that demands both response and obligation. It asks about the purpose of the one who is being welcomed, and requires that this purpose is in a relationship of lawful conduct.

Womindjeka is a concept that frames a relationship of responsibility to the purpose of considering ‘the urban’ from a context such as where I am located. It asks what it means to think about urban geographies in a lawful conduct of relationship with Wurundjeri Woi-wurrung and Boonwurrung sovereignties. This suggests to me that a ‘Southeastern’ turn is an ethico-political commitment, rather than a geography. My understanding of that ethico-political commitment is simply to the truth that there is no view from nowhere. Which is not to simplistically relativise everything, but to simply honour that place and context matter.

This mattering reveals the purported



ABOVE: REMEMBER ME by
Melbourne-based Kamilaroi artist
Reko Rennie.
PHOTO: Libby Porter

placelessness or universalising muscularity and swagger of much work in our field should be the subject of interrogation for what such work is claiming and what it is obscuring. This is at the heart of what I understand to be the ethico-political commitment of so many scholars, participating in this network and beyond, to a broadly defined 'Southern turn' in urban studies. Context and place matters for what is brought into view, what becomes a question for inquiry, and what gets obscured. Place matters for which questions are asked and how, and for how they are answered.

Let me return again to where I am located. Melbourne is geographically Southern, and yet would be categorised uncontroversially by most in urban studies as a 'Northern city' because it displays many of the hallmarks that global Northern theorising decided were characteristics: a liberal democratic system of government, a relatively stable rule of law, and the functioning of a relatively comprehensive system of formal property rights that governs people-place relationships. It is qualitatively similar to cities like London or New York, and qualitatively different from cities like Mumbai or Nairobi.

This is fairly standard thinking for the global North/South debate. I too am both uncomfortable with and seek to critique the forms of urban theorising that produce universalising logics and categories. This discomfort and need for critique is shared across the network of scholars here and elsewhere writing with these dynamics. Yet the critique

that global North theories can't be applied to global South experiences reifies the presumption that global North theorisations are even applicable to their own contexts. Much global North theorising comes from cities which have their own colonial legacies and dynamics. Yet these legacies are almost always rendered silent, thoroughly obscured from view by historical and geographical sleights of hand. They are rarely mentioned, much less foregrounded as conceptually relevant, in either the universalising categorisations of global North theorising or the global South critique of that dominatory work. It is not only the case that global North theorising cannot be applied to cities of the global South, but that global North theorising is not historically or conceptually accurate unto itself. The erasure of such theorising practices is not only of experiences and phenomena from different elsewhere, but to experiences and phenomena right under its own feet.

Taking seriously the refusal of being un-placed therefore demands relational place-based practices of theorising. This should mean more than 'thinking from place', but entails a more demanding thinking with place. This means, the need to deconstruct accepted and presumed norms, categories, conventions, and concepts that are at work. And, it means the importance of centring and conceptualising with experiences and phenomena deemed Other or marginal by Northern universalising power. This requires continually centring analysis on distinct forms of agency and resistance to subjugation and colonial relations

power already at work in our worlds and contexts.

An example from my context here on stolen land in Melbourne may help to illustrate. It is widely held here that there is a 'housing crisis', with rapidly rising houselessness, and deepening housing inequality and precarity. But thinking about 'housing crisis' in a relationship of lawful conduct with the concept of *Womindjeka* means a thorough de-exceptionalising of a 'crisis' in housing affordability. There has been a crisis of shelter, dwelling and displacement here since the first invasion. The idea that housing insecurity and inequality can be resolved through the familiar global North mechanisms of a more just taxation system, or better public housing policy, belies the fact that such policy settings are simply more cogs in the wheel of settler-colonial urbanisation. The standard accounting of Australian cities, the very ordering of space and time, their histories and genealogies here are fundamentally both accounts of erasure and forms of accounting that in their telling re-enact erasure. An ethico-political commitment in this context to deconstructing categories would require, as a matter of responsibility, fully reworking understandings of dwelling, belonging, and housing.

A contextualised and positioned knowledge production that acknowledges its epistemic location is one that also honours and reveals how some knowledges are categorised as knowledge and others are cast as meaningless – as folklore, myth, culture, or story. Some knowledges, or specifically

ONE knowledge system, that of the West, is cast as the only knowledge, and other knowledge systems are ignored or erased. An ethico-political commitment to relational knowledge that is placed, and that honours and foregrounds positionality, is a deeply important part of theorising from stolen land. Yet these also must draw our attention to the practices of knowledge production themselves, and who we each are within those. When the locations and positions of knowledge production practice are foregrounded as intrinsic to the work, not sidelined to footnotes, or smoothed away in neat stories about collaboration (or never mentioned at all), we contribute toward a rejection of claims for singular acts of intellect and scholarly prowess. These are unfortunately just as rife in critical and supposedly progressive parts of our discipline as they are among the mainstream or the neocons.

But this commitment to the politics of knowledge production cannot be straightforwardly practised as if it is not in itself caught within webs of its own fraught politics.

The field of urban studies, and particularly urban environmental studies, can be characterised as either thoroughly silent on Indigenous knowledge systems, or utterly entranced by those knowledges in a manner that furthers their erasure and the dominance of Western ways of knowing. Theorising with *Womindjeka* demands further critical reflection on the role of our own institutions in both the obscuring and

the 'rush to know'. And it will require a significant sharpening of our own critical practices within institutions that are seductively driven toward the rush to know. Too often this rush takes full flight without any attention paid to the relational commitments demanded of such knowledge systems. Meanwhile, universities continue to take up, and expand on, stolen land. These underlying dynamics, of the labour and land relations of colonisation that enable public institutions to exist on stolen land in the first place, are always obscured from view in the rush to know. An ethico-political commitment to theoriSEing is to continually expose that practice.

The necessary and careful ethics and politics involved in theoriSEing from stolen land necessarily swims against the tide.

Our responsibility also resides, then, in creating methodologies and communities of practice that support, enable and en-noble such practices in the context of contemporary institutions and scholarly disciplines which incentivise and reward precisely the opposite. Honouring the value in that work and respecting the particular burden it creates (usually on the shoulders of those who are always asked to do difficult work) is surely just as vital to the theoriSEing project.

Part 2

Conceptualising

THE URBAN AS IDEA: GENERATING CONCEPTS IN THE MIDST OF AN URBAN WORLD¹

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¹ This paper summarises key arguments from *Comparative Urbanism: Tactics for Global Urban Studies* (Wiley-Blackwell 2022), notably Chapter 11.

How we talk about the urban world matters. Much of the vocabulary in urban studies has been generated predominantly in certain places and times, and refracted through the theorisations which pattern the world from particular positions and perspectives.

In the past two decades, though, urban studies has seen quite some shifts in vocabulary – in theory, in concepts.

There is a desire among scholars in different parts of the world to build understandings which engage with their contexts, but which also speak into and learn from a wider conversation about urbanisation. For myself, this trajectory comes from a post-colonial critique of an urban studies too long centred in the Northern urban experience, exceptionalising other cities as developing, informal or different (Robinson 2006). The strong imperative is that, as these contexts constitute the majority urban world, urban theory needs to be rebuilt from these places it has excluded, from its outside (Parnell and Oldfield 2014). But there are other imperatives in relation to the ‘urban now’ which inspire scholars to reach for new vocabularies of the urban. The nature and form of the urban itself is changing. We observe urban processes which are far-flung and dispersed, leading to urban territories which are fragmented, or extended across vast regions and corridors (Brenner and Schmid 2014; Murray 2017). In addition, many different voices are proliferating in urban studies, and scholars are proposing inventive approaches to reconfigure ways of coming to know, and vocabularies for understanding

“cities”, urbanisation, and “the urban” (Buckley and Strauss 2016). In question is the very term and meaning of the urban itself.

Whatever the urban is, or has been, the inherited concepts of ‘cities’, and the inherited methods which rely on dealing with delimited and predictable territories, have been disturbed. These conceptual disruptions draw us to expand understandings of the urban/urbanisation. This requires tactics to sustain a wider conversation across difference and divergence to generate a global urban studies. How might we configure such conversations across space, and across time? How might conceptualisations of the urban emerge across the diversity of urban experiences, and from the divergence and fragmentedness characterising urbanisation today? Can we do this without the intertwined perils of: overly ambitious concepts (universalisation); reverting to a global urban world analytically divided into South-North or by regions (segmentation); or imagining that the rich diversity of the urban brings conceptualisation and wider conversations to a halt?

**COMPARATIVE URBANISM:
CONNECTIONS, DIVERSITY,
TERRITORIES**

My wager has been to start with reconfiguring *comparison as method* for urban studies – for cities in a world of cities – to rebuild a global urban studies, open to thinking the urban through the multiplicity and diversity of experiences. Comparison brings an intrinsic interest in thinking cities through elsewhere; and, in revising the terms of analysis, questioning theory. But urban comparison has been straitjacketed by inherited methodological assumptions about comparability (similar city sizes, similar levels of economic development, similar national systems) and the entities being compared ('cities' in a world of generalised urbanisation). I have proposed a new repertoire of tactics, or starting points, for urban comparison (Robinson 2016). I see them as starting points because comparisons, the objects of comparison, and the terms of comparison morph unpredictably as research unfolds. Working with the *spatialities of the urban* draws us to some natural comparative experiments which stimulate conversations across and about a global urban. In turn, in the process of exploring and inventing a new comparative method, the nature of the urban is revealed: as at once differentiated, diverse, and distinctive.

Differentiated

The *connections and relations* which intrinsically tie cities together produce repeated urban formations which can draw us to design comparative analyses. I have termed these "genetic" grounds for comparison. The urban is to some extent made up of "repeated instances" (Jacobs 2012) which can form starting points for comparisons. If Peter Taylor's (2012)

reading of the urban archaeological record is accurate, the formation of early urban settlements arose precisely out of the long-distance trade routes and connections which energised their economies. Tracing material connections (in an Actor Network Theory or materialities perspective) among urban contexts draws us to think across (and compare) all kinds of widely dispersed and unexpected cases – the investor who is driving housing developments in both London and Johannesburg (Brill 2018), or the vision of a smart, ambitious urban future which is operative in Dubai as well as Addis Ababa (Pagès-El Karoui 2021).

Alternatively, in a more political-economy perspective, we might assemble diverse cases which are entrained in wider processes such as neoliberalisation or financialisation – Tilly (1984) coined the term "encompassing" comparison to describe this methodological approach. Here, in addition to contributing to enriching understandings of the wider processes, the complexity of each case opens up to a much wider range of processes and practices associated with producing urban outcomes (Hart 2018). For urban studies, cases as contexts not only hybridise wider processes, but themselves point to alternative relations and explanations for outcomes, beyond the initial process which drew our attention. Thus, cases strengthen and enrich understanding; they illuminate contingent explanations for variable outcomes; they can identify alternative and/or emergent processes as explanatory; and highly divergent cases might indicate the need to start again with conceptualising a process.

Ultimately, through comparative analysis, a wider process which initially drew our attention might be identified as relatively tangential to the outcomes in particular cases. The terms or processes we began with might turn out to be rather incoherent and/or fragmented, and new concepts might be proposed which better reflect the component elements.

Diverse

Rather than tracing connections, researcher-led comparisons might be grounded in the *shared features* of urban life in different contexts, which invite us to reflect on the diversity of different aspects of the urban. I have termed these "generative" grounds for comparisons. Shared features might be intrinsic urban dynamics, such as land use, agglomeration, spatial form, or certain social organisations and practices. Reviewing the archives of comparative urbanism revealed that traditional urban comparativists were working very hard to identify comparable cities, narrowing the range of possible cases that could be considered; but then they proceeded to develop theoretical insights based on the diversity they found across those cases. Susan Clarke (1995) determinedly identified cities with strong commonalities (of fiscal crisis and common government policies), only to then theorise the variation in responses each made to the challenges of development: some adopted private sector-led independent organisational solutions, some more collective and state-led. I suggest, rather, to simply begin thinking with the diversity of shared features across many different

cities, which can inspire us to think again about urban processes.

In this case, we might ask what are the different ways in which urban development is governed, and compose comparative experiments to explore this further. Assembling cases would then encourage insights on the urban which are mindful of the great diversity of urban experiences in terms of processes, actors, and outcomes, and expand the basis for conceptualisation. For example, a comparison of large-scale urban developments in Johannesburg, London, and Shanghai, considering these to have a number of shared features (long time horizons, inter-jurisdictional complexity, financial and logistical challenges), revealed the diversity of governance arrangements across these very different contexts. Thus, rather than assuming the nature of the social relations and interests of actors involved, we were able to interrogate these and contribute to rethinking urban development politics beyond the US idioms of inter-municipal competition or entrepreneurial states (Robinson et al. 2020, Lauermann 2018).

Distinctive

How is it possible to build comparisons if we can observe that each urban formation is *distinctive*?

Every urban is individual – in the classical Hegelian formulation, the full individual being constantly interrupts the process of conceptualisation, both contributing to and undermining any 'universal' or its assumed relevance to 'particular' cases. Thus, our concepts of the urban will always be exceeded by the

fullness of any given urban experience.

Importantly, Lefebvre observes that “the city’s transformations are not the passive outcomes of changes in the social whole” (Lefebvre, in Kofman and Lebas 1996, p. 100). Any urban territory is, rather, specific – a unique, three-dimensional, socio-spatial formation, made through emergent and often ephemeral practices, with long and layered historical trajectories in specific territories (Schmid 2015). The urban then is comprised of distinctive urban territories. Bringing together different kinds of urban territories to explore and start to build insights is a compelling comparative practice. For example, Roger Keil and a large team of researchers across the world have reframed “suburbs” from across the great diversity of global urban experiences as “a combination of non-central population and economic growth with urban spatial expansion” (Ekers et al. 2012, p. 407). In this way they have opened up the definition of “suburban” to whatever it is that is going on in such territories.² More generally, looser conversations across difference generate potentially rich and surprising analyses, as one case thickens interpretations of another (Myers 2014, Potts 2020, Teo 2022).

In this form, as distinctive, as territory, the urban world is also an accumulation of matter, of things, objects, of a built environment, often thrown together and juxtaposed, where proximity does not necessarily have a preordained purpose

or meaning. Some urbanists have called for the idea of ‘city’ to be kept in play, as one way of seeing the urban – in its often jumbled-up heterogeneity (Amin and Thrift 2016). Seeing like a city, in this way, brings us up close with the myriad elements which compose urban life, jostling together in territories. Colin McFarlane (2019) sees this as an invitation to think the urban through its fragments, refusing a wider whole, or any overarching conceptualisation, in favour of staying close to the heterogeneity of urban life (Lancione and McFarlane 2016). However, approaching the urban up close, or as a brute materiality, does not make the problem of conceptualisation disappear.

INTO THE TERRITORY, OR, THE URBAN AS IDEA

It is tempting, from this positioning, in the midst of urban ruins or unpredictable juxtapositions and emergent associations in the close-up territory of the urban, to embrace the shadows of unknowability in all processes of conceptualisation. The urbanist might find their voice as simply part of the general “roar” of the city (Benjamin 2003 [1939], p. 177). As part of the crowd, “detached from the interpretive gaze” (Simone 2019, p. 49) rather than trying to capture meaning or truth from afar, it seems as if conceptualisation of the urban is an impossibility, and comparative method a distant dream. In Maliq Simone’s (2019) ‘detachment’, differences are not translatable into overarching terms, urban life does not support drawing

analogies as disconnections operate to protect lives and livelihoods, and the spectre of an inclusive “we” is repudiated (p. 26-7). Radical detachment is posed analytically as non-relationality, in opposition to processes of conceptualisation “where differences turn to each other”. He asks, “what would happen if such analogies were cut?” (p. 26). It is not simply that such conceptual connections might somehow do violence to the experiences and lives he is recounting – “detachment also indicates that by the time a certain life at the margins comes to be represented, it has already moved on somewhere else” (p. 27). For Simone’s own text, then, and any we might choose to compose, inscriptions of urban experience, incorporations of the practices and ideas in/as scholarship necessarily betray an urban life composed of disparate actors and entities, utterly contingent, refusing relationality, open to “the being of anything whatsoever”, and evading composition. For Simone, this empirical account of the detachments and refusals of associational life in peripheral urban contexts supports a propositional research method. The impenetrability (“compression”) of dense, overlapping urban life, signifies a mode of (non-) conceptualisation.

Rather than an opacity which should (or can) not be revealed, de Boeck and Baloji (2016) consider the conceptual generativity evident in the experiences of residents in Kinshasa, Zaire. Here, in one of the most challenging of urban environments, the “dismal, dreary” quality of contemporary urban life has led residents to turn to new figures to make sense of the city (p. 14). In

contrast to the ambitious dreams of former times, the ubiquitous “holes” – potholes, soil erosion, mining, graves – have made of this term a “mastrotrope” in local discussions of urban life (2017, p. 13-14). Surely one of the places on earth which conform to Simone’s uninhabitable, de Boeck follows Kinois (residents of Kinshasa) who confront the “dark matter of urban praxis” (p. 15), invoking an emergent vocabulary “to overcome chaos” (p. 88). Darkness is, as in the opacity fostered by urban residents Simone discusses, more than simply depletive, and also metaphorically elides “how life continues through, and despite, decline” (p. 16). In the “zero” of an impossible life, as he cites Mbembe, “the end is deferred and the question of finiteness remains unanswered” (p. 16) as residents “read potential, promise and prospect into the blackness of the hole” (p. 17). In order to survive, the city cannot be taken for granted. Insofar as it exists as mystery, it “needs constant elucidation” (p. 296). Emergent on this terrain are lines of desire, possibilities of collective action, and dreams of some kind of shared future (p. 60). De Boeck ties this to an urgent demand for “visibility and presence”, expressed through the infrastructure of bodies, and speech (in Lingala): “Tozali (we are here); Eza, (it is....)” (2016, p. 297).

Could the distinctiveness and opacity of urban life, deflecting and turning away from (existing) concepts, perhaps also be seen as opening to moments of maximum creativity, initiating new, relevant, and embedded insights on the urban in all its diversity? For me, it is here that we find possibly the greatest potential to initiate new concepts for

² Zhao (2020) expresses concern that the term ‘suburb’ still represents a hegemonisation of a certain contextual experience, as it is already freighted with meanings ascribed by the originating context.

21st-century urbanism – open to looking from any urban territory, to exploring the urban in its distended, fragmented formations, to keeping conversations open about the urban, globally.

Reading Walter Benjamin together with Gilles Deleuze reveals resonances which open up to a rich and dynamic account of the process of conceptualisation in relation to the urban. For Deleuze, Nietzsche's "eternal return" frames not the return of the "eversame", as in a dialectic, negative, analogy, or the similar (Deleuze 1994, p. 370), all signifying the failure of representation. Instead it marks the infinite return of concepts as multiplicities of constellations forged in difference, associated with a metaphor of chance – as each throw of the dice, each attempt to reach understanding, invokes all of chance, all the possibilities for thinking. In the sky (of virtuality), as constellations of stars might, Ideas "shine like differential flashes which leap and metamorphose" (Deleuze 1994, p. 183). This signifies the dynamic, open site of the constitution of concepts.

The search for concepts is not a search to represent the world through ambitious or universalising terms, but a creative (and ongoing, always limited) response to seek to determine what this world is that is presented before the subject (Deleuze 1994, p. 354-355; Hughes 2009, p. 47-50). The drama of Deleuze's account of conceptualisation follows the failure of the (fractured) subject to synthesise (passively) the multiplicity of singularities/observations (of intensities) which have been experienced. After our initial efforts, perhaps we are left still staring, incomprehending: *What is*

this??? The subject is then imagined to initiate a new round of active syntheses across the apprehended singularities, bringing them into relation to one another – to question whether they amount to something, to an Idea. In close engagement between the virtualities of Ideas (all possible concepts) and the persistent intervention of intensities (phenomena, matter), working across both ideas and matter, finally these complex processes bring into view, determine, an object. The object, then, for Deleuze, in a Leibnizian perspective which Benjamin shared, also "expresses" the Idea. It is not just our idea. Perhaps here, it is hard to tell "where the sensible ends and the intelligible begins" (1993, p. 137). The subject, the researcher, associates "particulars" or "singularities" (observations) within the Idea as (one of many possible) "constellations" (concepts) emergent from a subject's active processes of thinking (in the idiom of differentiation, or repetition, across a multiplicity of singularities, and configuring a multiplicity of possible concepts); and of the ongoing "rumbling" presence of intensities (the material) which indicates its active "expression" in the Idea.³

Concepts of the urban, to follow Deleuze, are not genres infinitely divided (or hyphenated) and patched together to fit the particular case, or infinitely extended universals which are able to work themselves out across many cases. Rather, whatever the urban might be (and it could be a growth machine, or a generator of inequality, a certain regulatory pathway, or a platform for reproduction), it can be seen as emergent – "as the actualisation

of pre-individual singularities" (1993, p. 73). Here, for Deleuze, singularities are direct intuitions or observations, which can form/be formed as "constellations", generating Ideas/concepts and determining (what) a phenomenon (is).⁴ We come to a different imagination of concept formation from that in which (inherited) concepts are opposed to reality, constantly fail to represent it, or are asserted to adequately convey that reality. With Deleuze, and with Walter Benjamin, we can place conceptualisations of the urban as a multiplicity, emergent in close association with (the formation of) each urban outcome/observation – but implicated in the virtuality of all the possible ways we can think (about) the urban. Extended across singularities (observations), we can define a comparative imagination which starts in the midst of urban territories, is mixed up in the materialities and experiences which compose/are urban life, but is also tethered to the virtuality of possible ideas about the urban.

INFORMALITY AS IDEA

The life cycle of the concept "informality", traced from 1973 to now, articulates a pragmatic approach to the process of conceptualisation. An idea of the urban economy emerged in a specific context, defined in a narrow way,

and established somewhat fierce borders with an apparently opposite term – the informal economy. But this new term gained in richness with mobility across continents and cities. It has confounded attempts to define it, while at the same time opening up repeatedly to the potentiality it offers in relation to observations and experiences in different urban contexts. The deep "informality" across all elements of urban life in many African contexts, as well as the forms of associational governance in Indian cities (Benjamin 2008, Ghertner 2015a, Bhan 2016, Sundaresan 2019) have driven the expansion of the term, as have the diverse experiences and meanings of the "(I)n(f)ormal" across these regions (Myers 2011, Chapter 3). "We might need new terms", Garth Myers notes, "for the apparently fading dichotomy of formal and informal given how interwoven they are" (p. 103) – and given how very core "informal" processes are to whatever the urban might be. The term, "informality", has migrated in terms of the contexts considered, been reconfigured in terms of the constituent elements, and completely relocated in terms of its analytical centrality as a way to draw attention to key aspects of urban life. In its generalisation, moving from exception to the urban to key formulation of what the urban is, "informality" is now fragmenting as a term. Other 'stars' will dazzle us in their illumination

3 "We teach that, in the stratification of the dream, reality never simply is, but rather that it strikes the dreamer. And I treat of the arcades precisely as though, at bottom, they were something that happened to me" (Benjamin 1999, p. 908).

4 The social science vernacular tends to use singularity to imply a single case or phenomenon of anything, standing only for itself. In Deleuze's philosophical account of conceptualisation the singularity is rather one observation/intuition, which exists in a prolific series with many other neighbouring observations, together constellating into a concept, and contributing to the determination of an object/phenomenon. Instead of reducing "representation" to one thing per concept, Deleuze's analysis opens (in both virtual series, the material and Ideas) to the prolific generation of inter-related concepts and phenomena, always one of a kind, always multiple.

as they realign the ‘singularities’ of observation and experience into new formulations. These emerge now on the field of a global urban, rather than terms like ‘Third World’ or ‘African’ cities.

The very marker of the former untheorisability of global South cities now speaks to the core of what(ever) the urban might be. “Informality” indexes the emergent, associational, provisional (Devlin 2018): The social life of cities, which emerges in rumours, in everyday practices and movements. The governance capacities which arrive at the interstices of institutional reach, where improvisations and duality are what makes things happen, or which in being evaded or negotiated make living in the city possible. “Informality” has highlighted some of the core features of urban life: emergence, proximities, transience, the social worlds, and words which produce whatever space or the urban might be(come). It might be that prominent theorisations invoke the potential planetarity of urbanisation under conditions of global capitalism (Brenner and Schmid 2015), or systematic analysis of common elements of all urban form (Scott and Storper 2015). But it is in attending to the immediate, the given, the emergent in some of the poorest cities in the world, that the nature(s) of the urban has not only come to be known, but identified as that which makes urban living possible. The concept of informality, launched from so many urban contexts which have lived under the sign of theoretical erasure as (not) urban, now circulates widely, finding purchase to address many different urban contexts. Many writers on Northern and other contexts

have come to find the generative conceptualisation of informality good to think (the urban) with more generally (Le Galès 2010, Schindler 2013, Simone, Blokland and Schilling 2019).

CONCLUSION

Thinking the urban, with its differentiation, across its diversity, and through its distinctiveness, can only ever yield a partial perspective: someone, starting somewhere, in what is always a distinctive urban situation. But, also, any attempt to think that specific urban entrains a multiplicity of elsewheres, of other urban experiences, in the tracks of the many interconnections which shape every urban territory and produce many repeated/differentiated outcomes.

Whoever the someone is, from wherever they are thinking, a comparative gesture follows. Thinking the urban in a “world of cities” incites the potential for insights to emerge from the diversity of the urban world, across similar processes of spatial formation and shared histories, or in relation to divergent outcomes. All these, as we have seen, inspire comparative experiments. On this basis thinking the urban from (some)where, in relation to (else)wheres, can help to displace inherited knowledge, revise concepts, and disperse weighty, over-ambitious theorisations circulating parochial insights as universal claims. The wide array of practices which emerge from this ambition I have called “comparative urbanism”.

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CRITICAL PERSPECTIVES ON THE URBAN FROM (PLURAL) SOUTH/ EASTERN POSITIONS

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The question of positionality is well-established as a necessary critical consciousness in studying and speaking about social worlds. This refers to a consciousness – be it feminist, postcolonial, decolonial, and so on, or in combination – of there always being a particular somewhere from which a situated someone speaks (Haraway 1990, Chakrabarty 1992, Sabelo-Gatsheni 2018), in which historically informed, context-specific relations of power are always present.

In studies of the urban, as in other fields, this critical consciousness has been framed as the now-familiar ‘Southern turn’ or ‘theorising from the South.’ However, within urban studies in particular there has been an increasing prompt toward the expanded notion of a ‘Southeastern’ perspective (Yiftachel 2009). Debates continue about the definition or scope of what (or where) ‘Southeastern’ incorporates or implies. However, what can be agreed upon is its positive spatial-symbolic widening of the collective critique of “dominant paradigms, theories and epistemologies” (Yiftachel 2022; p. 2) that have persistently failed, if not refused to extend beyond narrowly, provincially constructed analytical framings of the world.

My brief reflections here on the ‘Southeastern turn’ in studying the urban arose in response to two of several sets of questions posed by the organisers of the TheoriSE Workshop held in London in November 2019. The first set asked

what the provocation of a ‘Southeastern’ theory was trying to explain or achieve, and what are both the potentials and limits of this way of theorising. My initial reaction to what to do with the notion of ‘the Southeast’ and ‘Southeastern theory’ were mixed, I confess. As a critical African Studies scholar, among other things, I related easily to challenges from a symbolic (if immensely diverse) global ‘South’ to hegemonic ‘Northern/Northwestern’ theorising. This is indeed familiar intellectual terrain. Yet I was also cautious as much as curious about a potential over-reach in pooling together such a wide landscape, and the dangers of underplaying crucial differences across diverse spaces and histories.¹

Acting in some ways as a counterpoint to a potentially singular Southeastern perspective, the second set of questions asked what could be gained from a *comparative* urbanism, seeking to develop insights across different regions. This too was a familiar consideration. Again, from a critical African Studies

position, I have long seen the value of combining the depth of particularity in relation to a given region, country, or locality on the continent, with comparative work on elsewhere. In fact, at the time of the conference I was engaged in co-editing a special issue of an urban journal, in which one of the core intentions was to generate comparative insights from and between African and Asian case studies and perspectives.

In the two sections that follow, I respond to the sets of questions posed, concluding with some ‘encouragements’ for what might broadly be included in future Southeastern analytical practices.

REFLECTIONS ON SOUTHEASTERN THEORY/THEORISING

I will begin by slightly rephrasing the first provocation. Rather than considering Southeastern theory, I prefer to think of Southeastern *theorising*. The first notion implies the possibility of ‘a’ theory, or a particular body of theory that might counter another body of theory. This is valid in itself. However, when thinking about what’s at stake in the work of dismantling dominant paradigms of thinking, I see this not as or only about revising or replacing theory in itself, but as altering practices of theorising more broadly. Linked to this, I interpret the development of Southeastern theory/theorising as a political-intellectual project of (re)positioning or reorientation that combines refusal and recovery on the one hand (as retrospective practice) with anticipation and inclusion (as futuring practice) on the other. As a start, then, there is the work of refusing, and hence

actively countering, both older histories and more contemporary forms of invisibility, silencing, and exclusion of the Southern/Southeastern Other (also *within* the North/Northwest); and of partial or distorted representations of Southern/Southeastern spaces, lives, ideas, and knowledge. It refers to challenging systems and structures of both older colonialism and contemporary coloniality, of older and newer forms of patriarchy, racialisation, classism, and so on. In this vein, the project – as I see it – entails the recovery, and validation, of a multiplicity of rich and complex past and present realities, experiences, imaginings and epistemologies centred within themselves yet historically ignored or denigrated from an assumed Northern/Northwestern authoritative ‘centre’.

The theorising work of an expanded Southern/Southeastern perspective would further disrupt this kind of hierarchy, altering the geometry of recognition of ‘what and who counts’ when understanding, critiquing, theorising, or envisioning ‘the urban.’ This necessarily requires more inclusive, intersectional, and interdisciplinary approaches, grounded in empirical research from a wide spectrum of urban geographies. This broader incorporation of empirical and epistemological perspectives, beyond the limitations of the established-familiar, would allow one to anticipate a much wider range of meaningful urban futures beyond those of Northern/Northwestern (and neoliberal) ‘ideals’, including forms of justice-based urban governance and inclusive, active citizenship. At the same

¹ Oren Yiftachel (2022) – one of the workshop’s key organisers – acknowledged the “strategic essentialism” associated with such a manoeuvre, nonetheless noting its potential as a “temporary critical device” to be used for the necessary work of dismantling dominant paradigms from the perspective of alternative epistemological and empirical realities.

time, this kind of approach would need to avoid constructing reverse hierarchies and blind spots through idealisations of the South/Southeast.

While clearly, from the above, I am already convinced by such an expanded Southeastern project, I still think it is worthwhile and healthy to retain some of the intellectual caution that the TheoriSE questions first evoked, which I revisit here without seeking concrete answers. What, I wondered at the time, are the implications of this kind of geospatial imaginary that combines the 'South' and 'Southeast' (and where then does the 'East' belong)? How can one work with specificity, diversity, and differentiation within and across regions that nonetheless allows sufficient connectedness to generate critical perspectives in common? What new kinds of othering or forms of distinction are brought into being – or slip out of sight – through this spatio-theoretical move, with what effects? What is being analytically constituted in this moment of merging? Is there a danger of establishing forms of Southeasternism that might fix certain boundaries or positions in analytically (and politically) limiting ways? How does one retain the radical vitality implicit in speaking or theorising from the South/Southeast/East, without this kind of positioning becoming essentialist or dogmatic in itself?

These kinds of concerns are present in ongoing debates within African Studies, not least in tensions between Pan-Africanism and Afropolitanism (see for example Balakrishnan 2017).

Where Pan-Africanism or Afrocentrism legitimately speaks to the continent's overall historical exclusions – its being seen 'not to belong to the world' – such approaches are also partly marked by forms of nativist ethnocentrism and a politics of exclusion that some have critiqued. Mbembe, for example, in conversation with Balakrishnan, acknowledges yet rejects these kinds of essentialisms in favour of an Afropolitan sensibility that is about multiplicity, translocality, and connectedness, albeit from a recognised and necessary re-centring of Africa in the world (Mbembe and Balakrishnan 2016). Robust and reflective attention to different strands of thinking within the South/Southeast – that is, attention to the generative frictions of difference-in-dialogue – is valuable for the deepening of critical Southeastern theorising in practice.

REFLECTIONS ON COMPARATIVE URBANISM

I now turn briefly to the second set of questions regarding the insights that might be gained from cross-regional comparative urbanism. Alongside the critical Southern/Southeastern theorising practices already noted, this seems one of the most promising directions for both its political and theoretical insights and possibilities. Among other things, it generates a move beyond provincialism, exceptionalism, or essentialism by simultaneously delving into the particularities of place, people, politics, and perspectives, and exposing what is or might be shared in terms of urban forms, relations, and practices. In bringing selected

particularities and commonalities into open yet thoughtfully crafted conversation, this expands the range of positions from which the urban is and can be viewed, interpreted, envisioned, and theorised. It also deepens mutual sensibilities among differently located actors, facilitating a greater awareness of connections and the potential for solidarity against forms of domination and exclusion, be these conceptual or empirical. It provides an important disruption of the taken-for-granted, and helps with the asking of new questions in familiar settings, or old questions in new ways, through cross-fertilising with the unfamiliar.

To take a personal example, as a Zimbabwean compelled for a long time by what I called 'Zimbabwe questions', I first learned the value and necessity of asking a different set of questions – emanating from others' conditions and experiences – when my intellectual-political horizons extended to the African continent more broadly through African Studies. At a slower yet persistent pace, the same began to happen in terms of thinking also beyond Africa. Over the past decades, the initially more implicit then increasingly explicit comparativism has extended to include a range of different kinds of research questions and projects. These have included, for example, projects on displacement economies, with multiple cases across Africa (Hammar 2014), on urban difference, state-making and citizenship within 'juxtacities', drawing on a range of cases

from both Africa and Asia (Hammar and Millstein 2020), and most recently on regimes and practices of national identification, in this case incorporating a close yet open-ended comparativism between just two African countries.² There is no doubt that in each of these projects, comparative work across different regions – admittedly all within Southern/Southeastern geographies, but these could have included others – has productively disturbed any easy theorising or analysis. In so doing, this has not simply deepened empirical insights, but extended both conceptual and methodological horizons and practices. These kinds of dynamic encounters not only across but through and with difference ensure what, at the TheoriSE Workshop, Vanessa Watson called "ways of doing theory differently", and Jennifer Robinson suggested might be ways of undertaking "theoretical practice which produces revisable, mobile conceptualisations" of the urban. These echo but also add to my call for (Southern/Southeastern) theorising that entails a combination of refusal, recovery, anticipation, and inclusion.

ENCOURAGEMENTS

Hegemonic, gatekeeping spaces flourish through sustained, uncritical recognition. Historical and sustained structural inequalities and a persistent cultural politics of over-valued Northern/Northwestern theory/theorising, are what underpins such hegemony. Consciously and conscientiously confronting such hegemony is at the core

2 See the CERTIZENS project at <https://teol.ku.dk/english/dept/certizens-certifications-of-citizenship-in-africa/>

of the intertwined projects of Southern and Southeastern theorising, with their richly layered critical work and insights growing from multiple locations and perspectives.

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In conclusion, I offer below some encouragements in support of an ongoing, dynamic, 'Southeastern' approach, in terms of what it might further entail or continue to pay attention to moving forward:

- Take positionalities and particularities seriously while building spaces, language, concepts, and visions of urban futures that are underpinned by and committed to conscious inclusiveness and commonality.
- Acknowledge the productive tensions of difference across and within the 'South'/'Southeast' (and also within the 'North'/'Northwest') as a foundation for building collective solidarities and more expansive, multi-layered critical urban theory.
- Develop dialogue practices that, through dynamic encounters and exchanges of mutual radical openness, are able to identify and debate key epistemological and structural challenges of common concern, and that can build bodies of grounded critical theory that speak to anywhere.
- Recognise, reinforce and/or create multiple centres of epistemological significance engaged with urban questions – spaces of critical research, teaching dialogue, publishing – which validate and circulate alternative Southern/Southeastern perspectives.

SOME NOTES AND SEVEN PROPOSITIONS ON THE COLONIALITY AND DECOLONIALITY OF URBAN THOUGHT AND URBAN PLANNING

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WHERE WE ARE SPEAKING FROM

“This book first arose out of a passage in [Jorge Luis] Borges, out of the laughter that shattered, as I read the passage, all the familiar landmarks of my thought – our thought that bears the stamp of our age and our geography – breaking up all the ordered surfaces and all the planes with which we are accustomed to tame the wild profusion of existing things, and continuing long afterwards to disturb and threaten with collapse our age-old distinction between the Same and the Other. This passage quotes a ‘certain Chinese encyclopaedia’ in which it is written that ‘animals are divided into: (a) belonging to the Emperor, (b) embalmed, (c) tame, (d) suckling pigs, (e) sirens, (f) fabulous, (g) stray dogs, (h) included in the present classification, (i) frenzied, (j) innumerable, (k) drawn with a very fine camelhair brush, (l) et cetera, (m) having just broken the water pitcher, (n) that from a long way off look like flies.’ In the wonderment of this taxonomy, the thing we apprehend in one great leap, the thing that, by means of the fable, is demonstrated as the exotic charm of another system of thought, is the limitation of our own, the stark impossibility of thinking that.”

Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things*. New York: Pantheon, 1970, p. xv

In the above quote, Foucault points out that the Chinese taxonomy invoked by Borges highlights the way we are able to think the Same and the Other, and he adds that this taxonomy is about “another system of thought”, i.e. another episteme. The Chinese dictionary proposes a system of animal classification, and any classification system necessarily establishes a vision and di-vision of the world (Bourdieu 1980). As a result, the disputes over classifications inevitably involve the power to name things, beings, social groups, and social spaces, thus the need to position oneself and others in these spaces – namely, in the (social) world.

One could bear in mind, for example, the various ways of naming the native populations of ‘conquered’ countries since the 16th century: Natives, Indians, Indigenous, Aborigines, First Peoples,

Redskins, Native Peoples, and the like. Or even the various nominations for the descendants of various peoples and nations captured in Africa, who were enslaved and transported to the Americas: Black, Negro, Non-white, Coloured, Afro-Brazilians, Afro-Colombians, Afro-descendants, and Diasporic populations, among others.

The pressing questions, then, are: how to divide and organise our world? What place do we occupy in this world? Throughout modern history, several dominant classification categories have been devised with the aim of establishing the (or a) division of the world. Us and the Others, civilised versus savages/barbarians, Christians against pagans, metropolises in opposition to colonies. The nominations that were born out of the post-war decolonisation processes, which were based on a speech given by

US President Harry Truman when he launched the Point Four Program (Sachs 1990), divided the world into advanced, modern, and developed countries, on the one hand; and traditional, backward, and underdeveloped countries, on the other hand. In theory, development aid would allow everyone to reach, at some point, the desired stage of developed countries (Rostow 1960). In the 1960s, multilateral agencies and central universities adopted a more encouraging epithet: ‘developing countries’.

At the same time, critical perspectives emerging in Latin America¹ would challenge the belief in the inexorable march toward capitalist development. A group of economists from the Economic Council for Latin America (CEPAL), led by the Argentinian Raúl Prebisch and the Brazilian Celso Furtado, then challenged the dominant evolutionary theories. Furtado was concise in claiming that underdevelopment is not a stage of development; it is, in fact, the result of capitalism itself, and of the international relations it induces (Furtado 1961).

We might as well recall other classificatory categories: semi-colonial countries (III Communist International and IV International), neo-colonial

countries (Nkrumah 1965), Third World countries, and, according to the theories of dependence, peripheral countries or peripheries (Santos 1967, Frank 1967, Marini 1973). Most recently, nominations follow and compete: There is the South, the Global South, and the Emerging Countries, for example.

The North-South duality gained notoriety and esteem by reason of the Independent Commission for International Developmental Issues report. Instituted in 1977 by the initiative of Robert McNamara, who was then the World Bank’s president, the commission gathered personalities such as the British conservative Edward Heath, the Swedish social democrat Olof Palme, and the Chilean Christian democrat Eduardo Frei Montalva, and it was presided over by Willy Brandt, the former German Chancellor. The final report established a line distinguishing the world’s North from South according to each country’s GDP (The ‘Brandt Line’).^{2,3}

COLONIALITY OF POWER AND KNOWLEDGE

At this point I draw from the contribution of the Latin American school of decolonial thought, led

1 Gunnar Myrdal’s theory of circular causation (1957) had already criticised the evolutionist dominant prognostics about the glorious future of the underdeveloped countries. Paul Baran (1956), too, had emphasised that the origins of underdevelopment were tied to the relations between developed and underdeveloped countries, and not to a supposed historical backwardness.

2 “The commission broadly categorise developing countries as those which occupy the southern hemisphere and developed countries as those which occupy the northern hemisphere, while acknowledging exceptions to this generalisation and emphasising the common global economy that all countries function within. A distinction is drawn between the comparatively large human population that lives in relative poverty in the South, compared to the smaller and more affluent population of the North” (Brandt 1980).

3 Later, “The United Nations Development Program Initiative of 2003, Forging a Global South, has played an important part in drawing attention to the concept” (Dirlik 2007, p. 1)

by Anibal Quijano, Enrique Dussel, Walter Mignolo, Edgar Lander, Ramón Grossfoguel, Luis Tapia, Rita Segato, Agustín Lao-Monte, and others along with them.

Coloniality is a hierarchical relationship of domination that is born with colonialism, in the dawn of modernity; however, it is maintained, produced, and reproduced on a larger scale well after the end of colonialism. This Latin American school pays attention to the fact that coloniality is a fundamental element of modernity and of the capitalist system, which, in its turn, is born global, having the centre-periphery relations as its structuring element.

Capitalism, racism, and patriarchy are constitutive and inseparable, structured by and structuring of modernity; they exist in a relational and combined manner and cannot be historically overcome, except in a combined and integrated way.

Coloniality also means the conquest and colonisation of the imaginary (Gruzinski 1988), which operates through a twofold movement; that is, through the destruction of knowledges, concepts, conceptions, values, and worldviews of the colonised (epistemicide); and through the inculcation of knowledges, concepts, conceptions, values, and visions of the conqueror, of the coloniser (coloniality of knowledge). Coloniality is therefore a gnoseological, epistemic domination.

4 The quotation is: “The weapon of criticism cannot, of course, replace criticism of the weapon, material force must be overthrown by material force; but theory also becomes a material force as soon as it has gripped the masses” (Marx 1844).

To challenge the dominant urban thought and planning theories and practices, we need to broadly, profoundly, and radically question their concepts. We also need to question common sense based on what is taken for granted. Concepts such as ‘household’, ‘civil society’, ‘public’ and ‘private’ spaces, ‘housing’, ‘street’, and the like, should be critically revisited, since they are rooted in Eurocentric perceptions, and nurture planning models and practices worldwide.

CAN (PROGRESSIVE AND CRITICAL) PLANNERS CHALLENGE AND OVERCOME THE COLONIALITY OF URBAN THOUGHT, URBANISM, AND PLANNING?

Critical urban planners may offer a relevant contribution to unveil the nature of planning as a dispositif of domination and biopower. Although relevant, this kind of critical exercise is insufficient. Parodying Marx, we might say that the practice of criticism cannot replace the criticism of practice.⁴ In other words, the achievement of the decoloniality of planning involves, requires, depends on the presence of agents outside the academic-intellectual world.

The Chicago School of Urban Sociology defined “city” as a large agglomeration, as dense, and heterogeneous (Wirth 1938). Gentrification, segregation, and the elimination of dense and diverse spaces are killing the city. Financialised capital is promoting urbicide. Only the

popular classes can rescue and reinvent the city and urbanity. Thus, we find ourselves aligned with Lefebvre (1970), for whom the urban was a revolutionary project.

Those who resist forced evictions, those who build and defend public and common spaces, those who fight for an integrated and democratic city, they are and will be the protagonists of what Lefebvre thought of as an urban revolution, without which the right to the city is a mere rhetoric, or a fragile and poor reformist promise.

With their struggles and resistance practices, the subordinates are speaking. Because they use Othered languages, Othered codes, Othered meanings, oftentimes their voices are not heard, their gestures are not recognised, or are misunderstood. This implies that the decoloniality of urban thinking and planning imposes a twofold movement: the criticism of dominant thought, and listening to the subaltern voices. After all, “the story of capital logic is the story of the West”, as Spivak puts it, and “imperialism establishes the universality of the mode of narrative production” so that “to ignore the subaltern today is, willy-nilly, to continue the imperialist Project” (Spivak 2010, p. 271).

The exercise of theoretical criticism developed by progressive planners/urbanists does not authorise them to speak on behalf of the subaltern, nor does it authorise them to ignore a speech most often all but inaudible, or almost incomprehensible and untranslatable into the codes and languages that critical intellectuals dominate. The intellectual

committed to the decoloniality of urban thought must listen and, wherever possible, dialogue with the subaltern, creating spaces in which and from which the subaltern not only speaks, but is also heard and deemed as an interlocutor and protagonist (Almeida 2010).

FIRST PROPOSITION

Classification systems produce and reproduce a representation of the world and of the positions occupied by different individuals, social groups, collective actors, but also of territories. The South-North, Global South-Global North classification pays a very high price to the geographic regionalisation tradition (Ortiz 2019), which is based on homogeneities. Instead, the centre-periphery approach emphasises relationships. Peripheral countries can be, and are, very different, despite the fact that they are all submitted to structured relations of domination. We are not, in other words, a geographic place, but one of the poles of a relation; a relation of domination-subordination, be it economic, political, social, cultural, or epistemic.

SECOND PROPOSITION

What is at stake is the possibility to challenge and overcome Eurocentrism and the way in which it establishes the ego and the Other – the enslaved, the colonised, the one who is discriminated against, the dominated, the explored. The historical horizon of this clash is the world-system that produces and reproduces capitalist exploitation, racism, patriarchy, coloniality, and centre-periphery relations.

THIRD PROPOSITION

The theoretical and political challenge is to produce a critical view and theory at the periphery, from the periphery, and not only about the periphery but, first of all, about the entire capitalist world-system (Wallerstein 2004) and, necessarily, about the centre-periphery relations. The peripheral position and condition do not offer any type of aura of theoretical or political immunity. They are only a particular condition and position that, exploited consistently and unbendingly, may prove fertile and add major contributions to the decolonisation of urban thought.

FOURTH PROPOSITION

Urban planning as a theoretical and technical corpus, as well as a language and a practice, is a technology of power over the urban territory. It is a biopower dispositif-territory control, which means control over the circulation and settlement of bodies in the territory.

FIFTH PROPOSITION

The coloniality of urban thought and urban planning can only be challenged and overcome with a critique of their basic concepts and assumptions. Decolonial urban planning can only be born if founded on a twofold movement, that of the criticism of the dominant concepts and models, and the re-reading and re-inventing of the social morphology (Durkheim 1894) of our spaces and territories.

SIXTH PROPOSITION

Any project of radical decoloniality of urbanism and of urban thinking is only viable if anchored in the convergence of the practice of criticism and the criticism of practice, of critical thinking and urban struggles, and of progressive intellectuals and social movements that, on the battlefield that contemporary cities currently are, face the monster of urban capital, patriarchy, racism, and coloniality.

SEVENTH PROPOSITION

The encounter, dialogue, and feedback of theoretical criticism and the concrete experiences of those who are fighting depend on the dialogue between intellectuals and the subalterns who are putting themselves out there as collective agents through collective action. It may not be easy, it may even not be likely, but it is possible. If we want to move forward in developing a decolonial theoretical/methodological approach, the first theoretical and methodological act is to engage with, listen to, and dialogue with those who are in the urban barricades, facing the capitalist-neoliberal financialised city.

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Part 3

Knowing

CONTEMPLATING PLANNING KNOWLEDGES AND ETHICS

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In response to the question asked at the TheoriSE gathering: “Do Southeastern approaches explicitly need to transform the status of academic knowledge; and how can TheoriSE help to decolonise North-South power relations in academia?”, it could be argued that Southeastern perspectives necessitate an acute awareness of the philosophical spaces from where we think and interpret the world, because our epistemic location tends to shape how we know (epistemology), our ways of being in the world (ontology), and the ethical values we adopt to justify our planning actions (axiology).

Thus, for example, ways of knowing, being, and acting in different geographical regions across Africa are often understood as recursively interlinked conditions that are cumulative in nature, and that cannot be analysed as separate philosophical conditions, as tends to be the case in Northwestern perspectives (Nyamnjoh 2012, Wiredu 1998).¹ Furthermore, in African systems of thought, relational knowledges and ethical praxes are shaped by holistic understandings of nature, society and spirituality that view all actants – including non-human actants – as equals, thereby challenging the idea of vertical ontologies that typify Northwestern analytical methods (Serequeberhan 2000, Wamba-dia-Wamba 1994). From this position alone, there undoubtedly exists a need to transform the current status of academic knowledge if we hope to decolonise dominant power relations.

However, and arguably, the philosophical lenses and research methods used by most scholars located in the global Southeast tend to remain rooted – whether overtly or not – in Northwestern systems of thought. This is not to imply that there is anything wrong with the use of ever-evolving Western² philosophies and research methods to explain and analyse situated contexts. Rather, my aim here is merely to draw our attention to the fact that while Southeastern scholars may refrain from masking their social locations, many of us (myself included) continue to interpret our located thinking through long-established and taken-for-granted ‘rules of scientific practice’. Said differently, Western thinking is extremely effective in seeding a unidimensional understanding of scientific rigour to which most scholars of the contemporary academy are tethered (Hall 1992, Outlaw 1996). And

¹ Yet, as Lucius Outlaw (1996: 72) argues, “Western canonical philosophy is one of the most privileged of disciplines, especially in its self-appointed role as guardian of the world’s history, culture and knowledge”.

² Raewyn Connell (2007) prefers the term “imperial” knowledge to “Western” knowledge. I make use of the term “Western” because this is the term most often used by African philosophers.



University of Cape Town architecture, planning, urban design and landscape architecture students' resistance to coloniality.
PHOTO: Tanja Winkler, 3 October 2016

what counts as ‘respectable’ knowledge necessitates academically acceptable processes of framing, synthesising and representing data, while dismissing anything that does not make sense in accordance with these established norms. As a result, we unavoidably inhabit Eurocentrism (Fanon 1967, Oyewumi 1997), while our privileged education – whether obtained in the global Northwest or Southeast – effectively socialises us as Western thinkers (Legesse 1973, Ngũgĩ wa Thiong’o 1986). It then becomes important, as argued by Ramón Grosfoguel (2009), to distinguish between social and epistemic location, since a Southeastern social location does not automatically mean that we are thinking and interpreting with distinct onto-epistemological and axiological perspectives in mind (Winkler 2018). After all, “the success of the political world order is the making of [Southeastern] subjects that think, epistemically, like the ones in dominant positions” (Grosfoguel 2009, p. 14).

To begin to address this philosophical conundrum, we might aim to ground our thinking in *decoloniality*, which presents us with an altogether different onto-epistemological and axiological starting point: A starting point that is purposefully de-linked from Western systems of thought (Mignolo 2007, 2011). For Walter Mignolo, Ramón Grosfoguel and other decolonial scholars, the task of crafting epistemic narratives that are not limited to Western scientific reason necessitates drawing from pre-Enlightenment and pre-colonial knowledges. However, Francis Nyamnjoh (2012, p. 136) convincingly argues that African

knowledges are neither “static [and limited to] a pre-colonial past”; nor are they “in need of coloniality’s rationalism to come alive”. Nyamnjoh (2012) therefore prefers the term “endogenous” knowledges as opposed to “indigenous” knowledges, since endogenous captures the dynamism of knowledge production – and the fact that different bodies of knowledge continually influence each other – while foregrounding authentic specificities. How then might a Southeastern perspective navigate the complex terrain of recognising external influences on knowledge production while foregrounding authentic specificities?

One approach might include engaging with Doris Sommer’s (1994) concept of *resistant texts* most often found in endogenous knowledges. While not purposefully conceptualised as a counter-cultural way of being in the world, the fact that endogenous knowledges are often unfamiliar to Western thinkers creates opportunities to resist Western hegemony. Such texts may then resemble an epistemic disobedience that disrupts forgone conclusions about ‘the urban’, ‘the rural’, ‘land ownership’, ‘tenure’, etc. by resisting dominant narratives in ways that are unfamiliar to Western nomenclatures (see Winkler 2018 for details and examples). Furthermore, resistant texts serve not only as “tools to understand relationships of power and systems of oppression, but [also as tools] to transform [power and systems of oppression] by resisting them” (Kessi and Boonzaier 2016, p. 122, my emphasis). And, resistant texts may enable us to establish new vocabularies from Southeastern practices, as argued

by Gautam Bhan (2019). However, in order to arrive at these vocabularies, we might also need to redirect our initial inquiries from *what ought to happen* or *how should we plan* to exploring the *meaning* and *nature* of African (and other Southeastern) onto-epistemological and axiological values, by asking meta-ethical questions, such as, for example, what is the meaning and nature of *property in land* in African socio-political orders? Or, what is the meaning and nature of *socio-spatial justice* in a Southeastern context?

Recognising the value of asking meta-ethical questions before attempting to identify planning interventions then presents us with another philosophical conundrum. For most Southeastern scholars, the problem with planning theory stems from the geopolitical dominance of knowledge production within the global Northwest. Accordingly, dominant onto-epistemological positions are identified as necessitating change, while the normativity of planning values remains, for the most part, ignored. Yet, alternative ways of theorising planning might rest not only with how we know and act in ‘the world’, but also with how we theorise ethics (Winkler and Duminy 2016). Ultimately, our onto-epistemological standpoints shape – and are shaped by – our ethical values. Yet, while we might accept that knowledge and actions are embodied, historically grounded, and embedded in context-specific power relations, our accompanying ethical principles tend to concern normative (or first-order) ethical values alone. This normative ethical focus precludes further explorations of the nature and

meaning of adopted ethical values such as, for example, ‘socio-spatial justice’. This is not to suggest that the idea of planning needs be conceptualised as something other than a normative project. Rather, James Duminy and I (2016) are questioning the normativity of planning ethics by asking Southeastern scholars to consider: Why is the meaning of ‘socio-spatial justice’ (or any other planning value) assumed to be a known thing, regardless of ever-evolving onto-epistemological understandings of situated contexts? Similarly, how might we know if our interpretations of ‘justice’ are better than the interpretations made by others? Answers to these questions require a deeper exploration of (second-order) meta-ethics. Whereas the field of normative ethics is preoccupied with the question of what should be done or how we ought to plan, meta-ethics seeks to understand the nature of ethical evaluations, as well as the presuppositions and commitments of those who engage in moral discourse and practice. Normative ethics presupposes that some ethical judgements are better than others, while meta-ethics asks questions about moral judgements and values. And if Southeastern scholars are asked to seek “new moral philosophical sources to inform [their] thinking” (Watson 2006, p. 46), perhaps a starting point for such a search is from a meta-ethical position before arriving at normative judgements. But rather than engage with meta-ethical questions, some scholars are quick to assume that such engagements might lead us down a relativist path that “derails a search for a common good” (Campbell and Marshall 1999, p. 474). Similar assumptions are made about resistant texts and

endogenous systems of thought. A key feature of Western thinking is its totalising impact that snares endogenous systems of thought in a double bind: Either African philosophies are so similar to Western philosophies that they make no distinctive contributions, or they are so different that their philosophical value remains in doubt by Western philosophers (Fanon 1967).

If one of the aims of TheoriSE is to explicitly transform the status of academic knowledge, then we might need to engage in intellectual projects that reject coloniality's totalising impact, without inadvertently reproducing hegemonic knowledge *from* and *about* the Southeast; and without attempting to replace Western systems of thought with Southeastern

systems. Rather, an embrace of *pluri*-versal (as opposed to *uni*-versal) knowledge systems and an ethics of care might prove to be more fruitful. The prerogative to debunk, discard, falsify, or decide between competing theories through a *war of words* is a distinctly Northwestern approach to academic work that Southeastern scholars might want to distance themselves from. We might also need to refrain from establishing unhelpful binaries (such as urban/rural or formal/informal) and compartmentalised philosophical concepts (such as relativism and universalism, which are Western constructs). Further explorations of resistant texts and meta-ethics might assist us in these endeavours.

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ABOVE: A cleansing ceremony performed by University of Cape Town students that, potentially, captures the dynamic nature of endogenous knowledges. **PHOTO:** Tanja Winkler, 28 June 2018

THEORISE? SOUTHEASTERN APPROACHES TO STUDYING THE URBAN

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This short reflection engages two questions: To what extent is it a distinctive feature of Southeastern knowledge to build insights from practice, and should there be a new vocabulary (in language and action) for Southeastern urbanism. Here, I reflect on two practices I find key, and inspiration to address these questions.

My first point of departure is straightforward: Much 'Southeastern' research is embedded in a myriad of forms of collaboration, that engage the critical debates – oftentimes crises – that shape cities, and in varied ways always exceed the university and a narrow scholarly notion of research and theorising. Rather than worrying about whether this is 'distinct' from research practice elsewhere, I would suggest it is a key feature to celebrate and interrogate in our work. In the complex forms of collaboration that shape our work, we have creative opportunities to bring these varied forms of praxis to view; the relationships, and varied forms of expertise, which shape the analytical 'objects' or contentions central to thinking the urban. In doing so, I think we can stretch and extend the genres and sensibility with which we write creatively and critically about this complex terrain. In these practices are vocabulary, expressions, and languages central to theorising through a 'Southeastern' lens. Below, I expand on both these points.

In the past and present, many urbanists have written about collaboration (or coproduction, engaged research, and so on) as a mode of research.¹ Research practice is forged in these varied forms of expertise and practice, and in their politics and commitments.² This terrain and these relationships shape our work, its collective and institutional provocations, rooted in particular scholarly or individual interests and theoretical debates. In short, the provocations/conflicts/mobilisations demand that as researchers we “think ourselves not apart from the world, but rather deeply and irrevocably caught up in all its contradictory entanglements” (Pieterse 2014).

In immersing and entangling ourselves in these fraught spaces, in so-called 'wicked problems', are deeply productive spaces, and the project of research becomes collaborative and collective. In doing so we can, as feminist geographer Richa Nagar argues (Nagar 2002, 2013; Sangtins and Nagar 2006), engage with

how processes of knowledge make a shift when we collaborate, when we “turn our theoretical goals from a 'northern' (university) academic project to the struggles of those with whom we collaborate.” This is work that Geraldine Pratt (2012) usefully conceptualises as “always productively compromised”. Theory in collaborative practice, she suggests, is “open to other geographies and histories. It puts the world together differently, erasing some lines on our taken-for-granted maps and bringing other borders into view” (Pratt 2012, p. xxxiv). The foundation for an epistemological and political critique, it insists that we reimagine and rework the relationships at the heart of our research practice; and, in doing so, we reconsider the ways in which and for whom we build theory.

In this mix are interesting and rich possibilities for engaging and articulating practices of critique, built-in notions of rigour and relevance that exceed a narrow notion of the scholarly. In always-varied ways and rhythms, in its productively compromised nature, collaborative work offers ways to refigure the university project. It is an approach to theory and research practice that, as Edgar Pieterse suggests, “demands contamination; it demands immersion into profoundly fraught and contested spaces of power and control” (2014, p. 23). Through it, we can “disorient” and “reorient” ourselves “by starting with the everyday struggles of urban dwellers” (Peake 2016, p. 225).

Too often, however, the 'work' – the flesh and nuance of our collaborative practice, which is so central to our research – is

written out of our scholarly publishing on urban questions; dynamics and practices, at best, partitioned in a method section or a series of footnotes. I think we have an opportunity – a rich vein of inspiration – to put our practice/praxis centre stage, not as method or context and its contingencies, but as core, central to our theorising; its substance.

We can more fully share, make visible and analytical the mix of publics and politics, the individuals and the collectives, the inspirations and the conflicts, that make our research happen, and through which we learn and come to know the city in thicker and fuller form.

There is much to be said about these practices, the 'how' and 'with whom' of partnerships and collaborative work. But here I would like to focus on 'writing' as a practice.

Naeem Inayatullah (2013) compellingly suggests that conventional academic modes of writing aim to “mak[e] the argument more forceful, cleverer, more anticipatory of reader defences, or more packed with evidence”. In other words, a normal mode of Anglophone (at least) academic writing can be thought of as “paranoia”, a commitment to make an argument seamless, sealed up, authoritative in voice and position. Inayatullah invites us to approach scholarly writing differently.³ He proposes that we “change the form” of our writing to break with “the

1 See, for instance, Oldfield, Parnell and Mabin, 2004; Oldfield 2015; Charlton, et al. 2019.

2 In South Africa, for instance, the university's mission, its purpose as a public research institution, is under scrutiny, accused of upholding and reinforcing the status quo, of perpetuating harsh inequalities and forms of injustice that painfully fracture our society. Highlighted powerfully by post-2015 student mobilisation for decolonisation, such demands challenge the university – us – to rethink it/our epistemological foundations, and its/our practice, to reimagine and build public ways of learning and researching. Although this mobilisation is in part contextual, embedded in the particularities of our grossly unequal society, it also resonates across the globe, shaping scholarly and public debates across sites, fields, and disciplines.

homogeneity of form in social science arguments” (2013).

Building on his provocation, can we change our form to share the complex praxis through which we build our urban research, the ‘how’ and ‘with whom,’ the always productive compromises, at the heart of our partnerships and collaborative work? In sharing this complex terrain creatively, we might make visible the complex contexts, debates, and commitments, and in it locate and deepen our arguments and theorising.

In my own work I’ve experimented with narrative – forms of storytelling – to change my form; in my case, to share and engage as fully as possible a long-term research partnership in which my work has been inspired and embedded. This partnership has shaped a method and pedagogy of research, as well as a mix of genres and publications, which engage the partnership’s multiple publics. Elisabeth Dauphinee persuasively explains that: “[N]arrative approaches allow us to think about the worlds we encounter differently. They allow us to encounter worlds that we normally do not see. They give us different languages and different angles of vision... Human communication is enframed by these elements that rarely make their way into the texts of our professional lives. And yet, it is this very social world within which our texts seek to produce meaning” (2013, p. 348).

Narratives – or storytelling – is a vehicle through which we can share and embrace, as Richa Nagar’s work shows us, radical vulnerability; the complex, always fragile and in-process way in which we build relationships and navigate knowledges, through which we engage and know. Through narratives we share our praxis, our work, ourselves, what is at stake – in the plural, as researchers, as colleagues, and comrades, the varied and diverse relationships that sustain and inspire our research. This ‘change in form’ is a fuller accounting and brings to theorising the complexity of publics, of context, of thinking, of doing.

In these narratives are critical everyday that emerge in the stories through which, in my case, I narrate the partnership: dignity, found in homes; the searing search for work; family and its power to sustain; pride, deep-seated in the civic, in the neighbourhood and its history; and violence, an everyday pain rooted in struggles for belonging and justice, forged in long hard struggle in and against the city.⁴ In Brenda Cooper’s (2013, 2015) articulation, these words are “linked to local experience and endow[ed] with conceptual and methodological power.” They reveal the high stakes of the collaborative venture, and its risks, the productive compromises and discomfiting complicities that are central to its practice. They reflect our hopes, the logics and purposes, which bring us together, the generosity through which we build our research and theorise.

Experimenting with narratives in my own writing works in three particular ways: First, the narratives reflect on the partnership and its research. Second, they bring into view in dialogical form (Scott 2014), struggles and objects, experiences in the neighbourhood, university, and the city. And third, they are portals to know and theorise the city. They show and share the ways in which, through the partnership, we are implicated in this work together. In this narrative approach, theorising is located in partnership: we share the responsibility toward closure; it is not my privilege or authority alone. We share the purpose of narratives, which open up in multiple directions, and the transparency of the message. This mix reveals the ‘purposes’ of our travel, our work together, and the multiple agendas at play; lenses through which we can, I think, recast the work and boundaries, the texture and substance of urban scholarship.

Built in collaboration, as Jane Gallop (2002) might suggest, this is theorising “in the flesh of practice”. Anecdotal, ordinary, grounded and located, ordinary words are portals to theorise the city in this project. They “become thickened and theoretical in productive and political ways” (Cooper 2015, p. 249); a form, she suggests, of “African Modes of Self-Writing”, a form of “Southern theorising”. Inspired by Achille Mbembe, Cooper understands this theoretical mode as “boundary pushing within all of the modes and methods of creating knowledge, within our complex continent, which has to find its own styles and theories of expression” (2015, p. 249). It is these words that

deepen and extend the rigour of how we know the city. Everyday words, and the stories in which they emerge, show the genealogies of our partnership practice and its process. Ordinary words offer a theoretical vocabulary immersed in practice. As Gautam Bhan (2019, p. 2) suggests: “Vocabularies, in one sense, are maps of different life-worlds of knowledge, including their hierarchies”. What he suggests as “a mode of theory-building... Known and new, ordinary and conceptual – [vocabulary] can be wielded and presented to amplify particular issues, places, and forms of knowledge at a particular time” (ibid, 2).

[Embracing vocabularies in praxis locates our theorising and writing in multiple publics and debates, in contested and shifting power dynamics, in the specificities of cities – across the ‘southeast’. In short, in writing this mix thickly and creatively, we can, as Nagar \(2015\) suggests, move in and across genres, destabilising paradigms, conventions, and ways of knowing.](#)

In writing the collaborative practice that sustains our research, we might deepen and extend the rigour and relevance of how we know the city, immersing ourselves and theorising in the political and physical realities of everyday city life.

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³ To explore this point, he drew particularly on political scientist Elizabeth Dauphinee’s work and writing in *The Politics of Exile*, a book she wrote because, she explains, “I could not find an academic language to say the things I wanted to say” (Dauphinee 2010, p. 813). See Inayatullah 2013 and Dauphinee 2013 for a fuller discussion.

⁴ See Oldfield (forthcoming) *High Hopes, High Stakes: Urban Theory in Partnership*.

CARDINAL INSUBORDINATION

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The notion of the 'Southeast' (SE) has the potential of bridging a set of urban sensibilities and intertwined urbanisation circuits. It builds on initiatives in search of locating and giving visibility to other ways of knowing emerging from the Southeast. However, we can fall into the trap of essentialising both the urban knowledges coming from there and the role of theory in fostering social change. Would the 'Southeast' become a new trope to designate what now is framed as the global South?

Imperial projects have used cartography to frame an understanding of the world that gives no room to think of geographic difference outside the cardinal points. In the same light, Western thought has used dichotomies as foundations to classify the world and its relations (i.e. West-East, North-South, science-myth, nature-culture, and so on). Are we dichotomising our perspective by framing SE and the rest? A renewed project of progressive academia and transformative theory building needs to unearth the white privilege of authoritative knowledge about city-making practices and go beyond the cardinal determinants.

I propose to think on a 'cardinal insubordination' as a provocation. This provocation calls for thinking anew not only the palimpsest of urban relations across contexts but also the constellation of actors that remain at the margins of who is considered a theory maker, and the myriad trans-local solidarity networks we need to learn from. I argue that thinking about 'cardinal insubordination' enables us to reimagine theory-making as a linchpin strategy to foster epistemic and restorative justice, to heal the "colonial wound" (Mignolo 2005) departing from urban practices.

The idea of cardinal insubordination consists of questioning the very terms of the geographical emulation and the kind of theory we aspire to generate using the notion of Southeast. Insubordination here relates to the responses to the epistemic violence (Spivak 1988) exerted in the deployment of Northern urban theory, and the *need to generate restorative justice in knowledge production of the urban*.

Cardinal insubordination also relates to the epistemic disobedience that rejects the hubris of the zero-point epistemology of the West (Castro-Gómez 2007) and aims to cultivate epistemic justice when thinking how cities are produced and can be imagined otherwise. If the cardinal points became the key way-finding strategy to orientate in space, how can we think theory-making while acknowledging them and not getting lost there? Nowadays, the urban cannot be thought of without the planetary circulation of capital, information, and people, and the expanded patterns of resemblance of city-making processes. We need to overcome geographical determinisms considering SE as vantage point and a locus of thought, rather than a fixed geography. But what does SE allow us to see, and what is foreclosed? Is

the SE where the intellectual compass for emancipation and self-determination lies? In times of generalised social uprising, from Iran to Chile or Hong Kong to Haiti, we urge to align theory-making to change the terms of the engagement with knowledge production and its social purpose.

Based on the idea of the cardinal insubordination, I propose three strategies and key questions to advance the idea of TheoriSE:

REMAPPING THEORY FROM 'RELATIONAL ONTOLOGIES'

Imperial domination used cartography and cardinal points to portray a Western-centric understanding of the world. In fact, the cardinal points and the Cartesian coordinate system are embodied in how we navigate space. Following a Cartesian tradition also, a separation of the body and the outside world has permeated our understanding of knowledge generation based on a logocentric perspective and a dualistic ontology (Varela 1999). Ontologies are enacted through practices, and the narratives of worldviews – theory-making then – can capture other worldviews if thinking from the SE, but remain a challenge to locate multiple ontologies in dialogue. Latin American decolonial scholars have discussed the notion of “relational ontologies” (Escobar 2014) to engage with the links to the human, non-human and spiritual worlds to address the de-sacralisation of territorial relations of meaning-making. This approach is grounded in interculturality and defines that any

single entity cannot pre-exist to the relations that constituted it in a type of “grammar of the surroundings” that goes beyond the cognitive understanding of spatial relations (Restrepo 1996). How can we remap theory-making to depart from ‘relational ontologies’? While place-bounded conceptualisations are pivotal for situated theories, SE has the risk of becoming a residual geographical category: “All that is not Western and Northern”. If we accept that one key feature of ‘Southernness’ is that the urban majority is exposed to multiple vulnerabilities (Simone and Pieterse 2017, Bhan 2019) and that ‘Southeastness’ is also marked by armed conflict, contested homelands, and bordering practices based on ethnic sectarian lines (Yiftachel 2006), then we need to think the historic trajectories of human and spatial agency and the networked practices of innovation embedded in multiple places. We have advanced in thinking cities through elsewhere (Robinson 2016), posing questions from the South in the North (Roy 2003), and the multifarious circuits of urban learning and policy mobility (McFarlane 2011, Theodore and Peck 2015). While avoiding a local trap (Purcell 2006), how these conceptualisations contribute to think: *Where is the Southeast?*

SHIFTING THE 'MASTER NARRATIVE' THROUGH DECOLONIAL VOCABULARIES

It is necessary to point at the Western privilege shaping what constitutes authoritative knowledge and the institutors that sustain it. But that

is no longer sufficient. We need to deconstruct the ‘master narrative’ (Montesinos 1995) of urban Western thought, and the infrastructures that reproduce it. Inasmuch as urban Western theory became the story the West tells itself about itself (Roy 2015), what if we see theory-generation as a counter-storytelling project? And discuss how this project can bring about a new configuration of the myriad territorial inscriptions of urban stories? To walk this path, we could use some of the vocabularies that Latin American decolonial thinkers offer to enact other narratives of the urban. Since narratives frame subjectivities, thinking through new vocabularies can contribute to de-linking from the Western thought and find avenues to involve new idioms against universal grammars. Particularly, narratives that weave forces to free us from the modern/colonial project of development, such as border thinking (Anzaldúa 1999), pluriverse (Escobar 2012), and Sentipensante (Fals-Borda 2009).

- The notion of border thinking implies an embodied consciousness of Chicano/experiences of inhabiting in the threshold (‘la frontera’) of hegemonic and alternative systems of knowledge production and voicing the domestic subjectivities of (undocumented) immigrants, migrants, refugees, and so on. What would urban theory look like if written by them?
- The notion of pluriverse, a reaction to universality, derives from the ethno-territorial and ontological struggles

in the context of violent extractivist logics advocating for the multiplicity of worldviews and counter-capitalist projects coming from black and indigenous communities in the Colombian Pacific Coast and the Zapatista project seeking a world where many worlds fit. What are the other worldviews forgotten in the explanations and proposals to tackle the extractivist materialities of the urban?

- The notion of Sentipensante can be understood as a way to think and feel with the territory using ancestral knowledges, collective affection, and people’s economies. This term comes from Afro descendants living in/ from the rivers and marshes of the Colombian Caribbean coast. How can feeling collectively urban territories (including ‘nature’) inform theories and create opportunities for healing and reconciliation?

With these notions in mind: *Who is entitled to speak from and about the SE?*

LEARNING OTHERWISE WITH 'CRITICAL URBAN PEDAGOGIES'

A feature of Western urban theory is the disregard of other ways of knowing-being-doing. In the same light, academic institutions have entrenched protocols for upholding the cannon and performing the role of gatekeepers of what counts as knowledge and constitutes theory itself. In this context, how do the ways in which we construct, teach, and disseminate knowledge about ‘Southeast cities’ undermine or promote alliances to foster critical urban theories/



Stencil art representing South America as a heart that sees.
PHOTO: Catalina Ortiz

practices? To start grappling with this question is necessary to think about pedagogy and bring the legacy of critical pedagogy as a precondition to cultivate self-determination, the restoration of utopia, and an educated hope (Freire 1970).

Critical pedagogy insisted that the relationship between cognitive/affective learning and theory/practice was 'undichotomisable'. This legacy provides insights that push for instituting a critical pedagogy that goes beyond the educational system and engages with the constellation of urban actors, sensibilities, and practices that shape cities into becoming learning sites. Perhaps new strategies to re-shape urban learning processes require a greater focus on "resistant texts" (Winkler 2017) as the locus of endogenous systems of knowledge production and the epistemic values of localities to anchor their transformative potential.

For thinking how to learn otherwise, I pose the notion of *urban critical pedagogy* (Ortiz & Millan, 2022) that connects an understanding of the 'urban' – as the plural sphere of collective socio-material struggles – to the potentials of the 'critical' – as it refers to the force that shapes the disjuncture between the actual and the possible in rejection to the status quo that furthers systems of oppression – and to 'pedagogy' – that describes the strategies for learning rooted on existing practices of city-making in search of alternative spatial imaginations for the present and future. Urban critical pedagogy faces the struggles of revealing the political

economy of urbanisation and, at the same time, the contingent possibilities of decolonising Northern universities and Southern universities alike. However, if not committing to reshape our pedagogies, instituting possibilities for epistemological and reparative justice will remain elusive, and the efforts to build trans-local solidarity networks could be jeopardised.

This allows us to ask: *How do we learn the Southeast, and what for?*

In summary, framing TheoriSE as cardinal subordination advocates the advancing of a corpus of thought that derives from and illuminates the multiple ways in which cities are shaping anti-colonial, anti-capitalist, anti-patriarchal, and anti-racist endeavours, foregrounding the role of spatial processes.

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BELOW: Wiphala flag symbol of the interconnectedness of indigenous resistance. **PHOTO:** Catalina Ortiz



Part 4

Resisting and Rebuilding:
Urban Professions

THINKING, PRACTICING, SOUTHERN URBANISM

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In this brief note, I want to do two things: The first is to outline what kind of knowledge project I think Southern inquiry is. The second is to mark why I think this project needs a firm footing in an equivalent notion of Southern practice. Both of these together are, for me, the ethical foundations of what we are trying to do here.

I have found myself in the past few years moving between a set of terms: Southern urbanism, Southern urban theory, the South, Southern inquiry, theory from the South, and Southernness. I think the fact that I feel settled and unsettled in all of them in different ways is an indication of the ongoing work we are all doing to figure out. To paraphrase Japanese writer Haruki Murakami: what we talk about when we talk about the South. I think of theory from the South, more than anything, as an ethos of inquiry; as speaking from an “ex-centric location,” as Harvard University’s Jean and John Comaroff called it, that allows “a different angle of vision in telling the history of the ongoing global present”.

I think such theoretical work builds on the maxim that place matters in the production of thought. Such locating – if we can use that as a verb – matters in many ways, but let me focus here on just two: The first is that it changes the questions we ask. It can only be in looking at an economy where most work “informally” that we can insist that informality be investigated – and be investigated on its own terms. Different places not only offer but prioritise particular questions for theorists to ask, so that we may find concepts and theoretical frames that help us understand the ground beneath

our feet. When our questions shift, the knowledge they are able to produce shift. The second is that it makes it possible to abstract from a much wider set of lifeworlds, habitats and contexts that can then possibly be understood on their own terms rather than through the prism of implicit and explicit comparisons to standard-bearing ‘great cities’.

The more lifeworlds we have, the richer, the deeper, are the ideas that can then travel across geographies to enrich our understanding of all cities. Equally, the better our understanding of these empirical lifeworlds, the better our ability to root engagement, practice, and intervention in them that comes from them rather than from circulating models of “best practice” elsewhere.

To me, this is the core of the ethic of this project: to take place seriously in the production of thought and praxis, and to see what happens when we do.

To do so, however, is not simple, as researchers in this field know more than anyone else. I lay out two challenges, the first of which is conceptual: How do we

think of new ideas without conceptual vocabularies, tools and methods that are embedded precisely in the canons we now seek to make particular? If we cannot simply and ahistorically use the concept of the “modern,” or a gravity model in transportation studies that assumes stable land uses, or an economic simulation that assumes that households have measurable incomes, then what concepts, techniques and methods do we use? The ship must be built, in a sense, while we sail in it.

The second challenge is institutional. Making place matter means accounting for why certain places have not mattered so far. It is to make transparent the geographies of authoritative knowledge so that they may be transformed. Such transformation requires not just well-meaning desire, but a real redistribution of various forms of power, resources, and capital currently deeply embedded in institutions that we ourselves, often enough, inhabit, maintain, and reproduce.

How do we then begin to change these structures of knowledge-production at different scales?

The second ethical location that I hold onto as part of Southern inquiry is a commitment to producing knowledge that shapes not only our understanding,

but enables us to imagine ways of moving and acting in the lifeworlds we seek to bring to scholarly attention. I have written of this recently as the need to build vocabularies of Southern urban practice. Let me say quickly what I mean by this: I agree with most when they say that the “South” is not a place. It is indeed a relational geography. Yet in this historical conjuncture, I find myself repeatedly thinking about the (dynamic, perhaps even temporary, but still real) empirical specificity of such a relational geography. When AbdouMaliq Simone and Edgar Pieterse speak of Southern as those contexts where “the majority hold spatial, economic, political and ecological vulnerability,” it is a description of the South that I find very compelling and deeply familiar. I must admit that I connect with it more than with the more universal definition used by Anant Maringanti, Helga Leitner and Eric Sheppard, who speak of the “South” as “those, everywhere, whose livelihoods have been made precarious by geohistorical processes of colonialism and globalising capitalism.” I am being honest in this open conversation that I struggle with the “everywhere” of this articulation, though I cannot conceptually disagree with it. What then lies behind this discomfort, this need to hold onto the placeness of a “South”?

I think this desire comes because of the very real empirical realities of the Indian cities that form my lifeworld and where I wish to intervene and to practice. For me, the desire to think from place and be part of Southern inquiry is not just about critiquing the supposedly universal urban theory that I found difficult to

apply to understanding my own cities. It was about how to respond to a challenge of Southernness: How is the knowledge we are producing enabling us to find new ways of understanding, moving, and intervening into “our” cities in different ways? What difference does it make that we use theory from “here” and not “there”? The cities of the South that I know don’t just suggest different inquiries. They also insist on an ethical and moral imperative to act – at scale and with urgency. If our conceptual definition of Southernness is places where “the majority hold vulnerability” then surely the project of producing new conceptual landscapes must address this majority?

My concluding note then is a call for more work in a project of Southern inquiry that grapples with forms and theories of Southern urban practice. If peripheral urbanisation, for example, is a model pervasive to many cities of the South, then we must ask: How should master plans respond to the auto-constructed neighbourhood built in ‘transversal engagement’ with law and plans? How must planning imagine itself in a non-linear, incremental temporality? Are its tools prepared to retrofit rather than prepare? If informality is not a moment of transition as part of modernisation, but a long-term end state, then how do we structure urban economic development or livelihood promotion policies in cities “here”? If deep differences – as described by Vanessa Watson in 2006 – mark the social geographies of certain cities, then how must we restructure ‘participation’? If Professor James Ferguson is right that new forms of post-

welfare economic life create not just the desire for empowerment but the need to make “declarations of dependence”, then how must we construct welfare regimes? If the South is indeed marked by local and provincial governments that are “belated constructions”, as Susan Parnell and Edgar Pieterse argue, then what actors are capable of delivering this welfare?

I think the paradigm shift that we are attempting in this project must take on both the call for new theory and give us new knowledge frameworks for praxis. If we can do so, we will be able to hold on to both forms of Southernness that I have tried to describe: a project of speaking from moving and relational peripheries to challenge dominant forms of knowledge and practice, and a commitment to remaining rooted in the specific geographies of these peripheries at different historical conjunctures.

RETHINKING THE SOUTHERN TURN FOR PLANNING THEORY (AND PRACTICE): THE PERFORMATIVE DIMENSION AS ENTRY POINT¹

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A southern turn in planning needs to invent the vocabulary and actualise the tools that can position planning and its practice in relation to contemporary political-economic and ecological realities of aggravated conflict, violence, crises and disasters.

Much of the profession's assumptions have rested on the main pillars of urban modernity and on the promised benefits of capitalism and growth that failed to stand the test of time or geography. Instead, the contemporary realities of the majority of people living in cities and towns are characterised by acute levels of inequality, regular waves of forced displacement, and worsened indicators of impoverishment and precarity. Faced with such intractable realities, well epitomised by Lebanon's ongoing overlapping crises, planners struggle to find and maintain relevance and/or to deploy effectively the profession's repertoire of action.

Surely, such deeply entrenched realities contradict much of the assumptions behind the planning profession? How can deeply corrupt states managed through narrow interest-based calculations (identity-based or otherwise) be posited as custodians of a common good? How can dysfunctional public agencies, hollowed out of competence and staffed with individuals motivated by rent capture, be entrusted with the implementation of planning projects? How can societies splintered and polarised along class, gender, ethnic, national, racial or sectarian lines operate

democratically and according to models of participatory deliberations? How can impoverished citizenries straining to secure basic needs engage actively in urban policies and envision other, more inclusive, liveable and viable, realities? How can the scientific rational method be deployed in societies where data is either unavailable or skewed by political calculations? How can a future-oriented planning profession accommodate volatile contexts with heightened uncertainties and indeterminacies?²

Yet, planning prides itself on work through action – not mere analysis or gesturing. As such, while the body of work associated with a Southern turn in planning has contributed essential critiques for the reconsideration of the profession (e.g. its dark side), it remains limited to debunking idealised claims and to speaking truth to power. In this short essay we contend that the challenge for a Southern theorisation of planning needs to go beyond the critique, in order to reinvent planning *otherwise* (Bates 2018), as to demonstrate a possible effectiveness of the profession in cities devastated by intractable political, economic, financial, health, and social crises – such as ours.

¹ This essay builds on an earlier essay by Mona Fawaz, 'Planning and/in Crisis' (forthcoming, as part of the Space and Society Planning Futures forum, edited by Hiba Bou Akar). The focus on performative planning as a strategy for activating a Southern practice of planning is proper to this paper.

² These questions echo some of the challenges originally posited to planning by the late Vanessa Watson (2016).

We begin by noting the position from which we write: Both authors have lived and worked in Beirut for the past two decades, and have been involved closely in the study of the city, but also in intervening on its ongoing urban transformations. As a city planner and a political scientist, our research interests often diverge, but we have both looked to cultivate an involvement in the context in which we live, along the triangle of practice/activism, pedagogy, and research. This essay builds on the involvement of the Beirut Urban Lab (BUL)³ in Beirut (Lebanon), particularly in the past two years following the 4 August 2020 Beirut Port blast.⁴ Along with colleagues we have been closely involved in multiple initiatives on which we reflect in this paper, specifically in relation to the performative dimension of planning as a key entry point for rethinking the *Southern turn* in planning theory – and practice.

THREE PERFORMATIVE DIMENSIONS OF PLANNING

In the aftermath of the Beirut Port blast, we found ourselves recurrently solicited as *planners*. Many residents in the devastated neighbourhoods – journalists, students, friends, and others – approached us as *professionals*, asking: “What can be done? How will we rebuild the city?” Distrustful of state agencies, weary of a dysfunctional

municipality, terrified by the prospects of a reconstruction model that would replicate the experience of rebuilding Beirut’s historic core and displace neighbourhood residents permanently, city dwellers still hoped that “planning” would help recover their neighbourhoods.⁵ This aspirational dimension of planning – the promise it makes to allow individuals to overcome divisions, participate in discussions about neighbourhood recovery, and project themselves as a collective in the future – is perhaps what is so seductive about the profession. It is the promise that planning can help collectivities come together and organise the modalities in which they will *live* together, imagine, shape, and occupy in the future the shared spaces in which they will conduct their everyday lives.⁶

The aspirations of Beirut’s city dwellers are hardly unique. Scholars working in other contexts have noted similar imaginations (Watson 2016, Parnell et al. 2009, Miraftab and Wills 2005). These aspirations also echo those of many planning theorists who have challenged the profession to live up to its progressive potential (Sletto 2021, Jacobs 2019). Yet these aspirations stand in striking contradiction to the practice of planning, as pointed out by the body of work that has documented the negative uses and repercussions of planning (Bou Akar 2018, Yiftachel 2000, Brand

1996). This essay proposes to respond to these aspirations by pointing to what we call three performative dimensions of planning – an ability: (i) to produce blueprints for desirable futures, (ii) to stage (albeit fleeting) performances of collectivities, and (iii) to invent a legitimacy for shared action. We emphasise the experimental nature of this reflection, building on ongoing tactical engagements with the practice of planning.

Blueprints for desirable futures

The first performative dimension of planning relates to the projections or blueprints of desirable futures that are articulated through designs, mappings, animations, figures, or statistics. These projections become idealised visions of being together, within which city dwellers can project themselves (Jarvi 2021).⁷ Plans, animations, or statistics can offer ways of widening horizons in contexts ravaged by forces such as neoliberal planning (Gaffikin and Sterrett 2006) or colonialism (Hilal et al. 2010), proposing spatial imaginaries beyond the confines of propertied landscapes, or visions of a society organised without national classifications.

These exercises are productive in

advancing other *imaginaries of the public realm*: imaginaries and representations of vibrant, diverse, and inclusive built and natural environments, necessary to rehearse other social lives, other political ecologies, even other economies, and an alternate urban life, grounded in solidarities and in the commons (Fawaz 2019). They allow the envisioning of what Wright called “real utopias” (2010) and are thus prefigurative of what we termed a counter-dominant global urbanism (Harb 2021) – an urbanism grounded in the political horizon of social and environmental justice, which many urban activists advocate as their ultimate cause.

At the Beirut Urban Lab, we have experimented with this approach for years, designing proposals, for example, for a shared public coast, or inclusive housing as modalities for engaging city dwellers with collective aspirations with which they can identify.⁸ In the aftermath of the Beirut Port blast, we focused on the public spaces of the city that were left out of the recovery work. Indeed, the retreat of state agencies left all reconstruction tasks to local and international humanitarian and non-governmental organisations that rushed to repair individual apartments and

7 A valuable body of research has investigated the performative dimensions of social sciences, arguing convincingly that social sciences and its methods are productive: they help make realities. (See, for example, John Law and James Urry, 2004). This research has lower relevance to us, however, since science and data rarely guide public policy in our context.

8 In 2018, the Beirut Urban Lab submitted a proposal to the Municipality of Beirut for re-organising the city’s coastal areas, improving access to all residents, revitalising economic activities, and encouraging the development of small- and medium-size businesses such as restaurants, hotels, and recreational services. The vision was developed through a year-long participatory planning process that engaged numerous activists, planners, and designers. See: <https://www.aub.edu.lb/ifi/Pages/sjc-beirut-zone-10.aspx>. This proposal has been the subject of numerous public debates/ demands, and is widely endorsed as a “desirable future”. Similarly, for the right to housing, see Fawaz, Salamé & Serhan (2018), You Can Stay in Beirut. Issam Fares Institute for Policy https://www.aub.edu.lb/ifi/Documents/publications/policy_briefs/2017-2018/20180318_you_can_stay_in_beirut.pdf

3 The Beirut Urban Lab is a research centre based at the American University of Beirut. For more, see www.beiruturbanlab.com

4 On 4 August 2020, a massive explosion in Beirut’s port rocked the city, killing hundreds, wounding thousands, and damaging at least one third of the city’s housing stock.

5 See also Bou Akar (2018) about the aspiration for planning in Lebanon.

6 This was also the subject of the 2020 Venice Biennale, How will we live together?

businesses. In contrast, we sought to engage dwellers on the dimensions of public and open shared spaces, in order to integrate a collective dimension to the individualised repair of homes and of small and medium enterprises. The BUL initiatives materialised in the designs of public spaces, including a network of green areas in an impoverished neighbourhood (Karantina) and a large green artery (al-Masar al-Akhdar), a project that shifts a planned highway into a public park open to the city. The designed blueprints have served as the basis of projecting a different reality and, as we write below, allowed the staging of collaborative possibilities.

Staged performances

A second dimension of performativity comes from the deliberative practice of participatory planning which invites city dwellers to come together, to act *like* collectives, to *enact* the collective – albeit in fleeting moments (Butler 2010). By doing so, planning allows for spatial performances of public deliberation, where the collective enacts the desired condition of being. These short-term interventions also generate new modalities of (social) engagement that shape new forms of mutual obligations around particular paths: people work together, commit to a position and a path (Fawaz 2019). These engagements induce, in turn, new perspectives, and generate a sense of belonging that can only occur when individuals partake in the action and the effort (Simone 2015, Latour 2004). As such, “a practice is more than a particular way of doing something, more than simply technique, for it entails obligations to others who

have also practiced” (Simone 2015, p. 18). Through these practices, actors, whether they operate within an official or “insurgent” context (Miraftab 2009, 2016), materialise imagined realities through collaborations that generate – at least partially – the social infrastructure needed to enact the planning they aspire to see. In Beirut, where society is severely splintered and belief in a shared common good dismissed as an aberration, the performative act of debating in the public begins to generate shared commitments among social actors.

At the Beirut Urban Lab, in the aftermath of the Port blast, we have experimented with two modalities of this dimension of planning as performance: First, we staged communal deliberative meetings, where residents in low-income neighbourhoods are brought together to debate the future of areas threatened with gentrification and displacement. Ironically, the post-blast created a sense of urgency that encouraged residents to participate – despite their differences. In doing so, we departed from the (international) NGO agenda of equating the repair of homes to social recovery, and instead we forced interventions in open spaces where communities had to discuss the future uses and publics who would use shared spaces. The main task is less to introduce some form of “participatory planning” than to capitalise on opportunities to assemble, establish networks across disparate worlds, and make a collectivity in a context rife with inequalities, injustices and indeterminacies, and among actors who may not agree on an ultimate vision

but who can share a temporary goal.

The second effort involves gathering planners and other professionals of the built environment with whom we hope to share a new ethos of what is a desirable spatial future that speaks of continuous landscapes and shared commons. In a city ravaged by ineffective and weak planning practices, where decisions about urban regulations are hijacked by real-estate speculators, we engaged a community of professional planners and public actors around the challenging question of what constitutes a “meaningful” urban intervention. One of the Lab’s initiatives has been to convene meetings with public actors and professional planners and invite them to evaluate national land policies. Another set of meetings engages NGOs involved in post-disaster recovery in participating on the urban design of the green artery which is transforming the highway into a public park (mentioned earlier).

Through these initiatives, representations and visions of the shared commons transform the ways in which many imagine what the city should be. Here, planning *performs* a collective, without planning actually happening. The performance occurs, paradoxically, with a high level of uncertainty where it remains unclear what the end goal will be.⁹ Yet, the

group of individuals staging together the possibility of a collective not only provide the planning process with imagined “beneficiaries”, but also permits working together toward the production of custodians of the process, while progressively establishing a source of legitimacy. This is the last dimension of performative planning, which we now turn to.

Constructing a source of legitimacy for shared action: Imagining a custodian

One of the strongest contributions by the Southern turn in planning has perhaps been demonstrating the biases embedded in the assumption that states can be assumed as benevolent custodians of a “shared good”. Scholars have shown that state planning often reproduces grave social inequalities (Yiftachel 2000). While important, these assumptions continue to limit custody over the planning process to an imagined “state agency”.¹⁰ In practice, many cities live through the dwindling presence of state agencies that have sharply limited their interventions on the city (McFarlane 2022). Conversely, studies have shown that public agents intervene *among other* (more or less powerful) actors in planning. Consequently, practices of shaping territories toward a desirable collective future have been shown to extend to insurgent communities (Miraftab and Wills 2005), political-religious groups

9 European planning theory has debated for at least a decade the necessity of seeing the practice of planning as a strategic set of incremental and open-ended steps rather than the grand master plans of earlier decades. Applying elements of post-structural theory, scholars like Jean Hillier have asked to take the “strategic” aspects of spatial approaches seriously, to understand the planner’s role as one of navigator rather than visionary working toward a clear pre-set goal.

10 Yiftachel (2000), for example, defines planning as “the public production and regulation of space”.

(Harb 2010, Fawaz 2009, Bou Akar 2018), powerful market agents (Makdisi 1997), non-governmental organisations, and other actors who formulate visions for urban spaces, articulate them into plans, and sometimes implement these projects within and outside state institutions.

In sum, a Southern turn for planning theory needs to recognise that, in some contexts, state agencies do not monopolise the practice of shaping territories in the name of specific collectivities.

Consequently, we posit that given the impossibility of state agencies taking up the assumed role of planning custody, a third dimension of performativity is positing other possible custodians for the planning process. We thus propose that, in cities where societies are splintered and distrust in the state agencies is the norm, performative practice is required in order to build custody over the planning process. There are, in this exercise, numerous challenges to traditional approaches to planning. For instance, rather than considering a single representative and an equitable custodian of the common good as a pre-requisite to planning, the legitimacy of planning becomes a work in construction. Similarly, debates about the objective nature of the “common good” (Moroni 2018, Campbell and Marshall 2002) are traded with ethical

considerations for specific values (e.g. inclusion, ecological viability). In this sense, the progressive practice of planning is less about advocating for policy change in the traditional notion of advocacy planning, than about working for radical system change (Sager 2016), by destabilising the balance of power and shifting it to other sources of legitimacy. These sources, it should be noted, may not converge toward a single custodian if societies are deeply fractured (Watson 2009).

At the Beirut Urban Lab, one of our ongoing initiatives aims to build legitimacy for the planning process through forming a planning unit within the premises of the Municipality of Beirut, but outside its hierarchies. Set up as a temporary, ad hoc unit that seeks to support the organisation of planning debates and the coordination of multiple NGOs, designers, and communities working in the post-disaster recovery of the city, the planning unit is imagined as a space of dialogue where a common ethos or doctrine for the way in which planning is conducted can be shaped.¹¹ It also aims to build alliances among actors (e.g. NGOs and individuals in the public sector) who converge on the same vision. Still in the making, this project is simultaneously disruptive of existing ways of doing – since it imposes the process of dialogue – but also constructive in empowering actual collaborations. Unimaginable when the Municipality of Beirut controlled – prior to the 2008 global financial crisis – huge monetary flows, it has become



TOP: Visualisation of community friendly spaces. BOTTOM LEFT: Beirut Urban Lab, Winter 2022. BOTTOM RIGHT: Community discussions, August. 2019.

¹¹ For more on planning doctrine, see Faludi (2000).

possible today because international organisations and non-profit bodies can support, through their actions, the activities of city authorities.

Another strategy we have adopted at the Beirut Urban Lab to further give legitimacy to planning is the building of platforms of knowledge. Such platforms generate the basis upon which a common understanding of the city can begin to form.¹² This shared knowledge, in turn, helps in forging the legitimacy of planning by allowing claims based on objective facts and science, knowing well that such claims will not be heard by the deaf ears of public decision-makers. Rather, the process of positing rationality as a possible course of action generates unusual partnerships and coalitions among city dwellers otherwise wary of each other and planning agencies. It furthermore allows us to build a shared vocabulary – and eventually an imagined legitimacy for the desired planning project.

CLOSING REMARKS

This essay has argued that planning's performative dimensions provide interesting entry points to approaching the practice of planning when taking seriously the challenges posed by a Southern approach to the profession. If it falls short of an actualisation of planning, we firmly believe that performativity can secure some of the critical prerequisites

to the practice of the profession. Hence, imagining planning as a vehicle towards a better city unravels the ability of this practice to create a platform in which individuals can identify as a collective, gather, and enact the possibility of change. Through these practices, our experiences demonstrate the key role played by the university in fostering such radical approaches to planning. In a context where public agents are not custodians of the common good, and where processes of spatial production are controlled by powerful political and religious actors, international organisations, and NGOs, the university may act as an important site from which contestation emerges and spills over, beyond academic walls (Harb 2021). It's only a first step, but perhaps a hopeful one.

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¹² Aside from the Beirut Building Environment Database cited above, the Beirut Urban Lab's online platforms City of Tenants and Precarious Lives also offer information about housing conditions, while the Beirut Urban Observatory has sought to share knowledge about the Beirut Port blast recovery.

URBAN CRISES? VOCABULARIES, POWER RELATIONS, AND PRACTICALITIES OF SOUTHEASTERN DISASTER URBANISM

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The notions of crisis, disaster, and fragility are becoming prevalent in defining and addressing today's urban challenges, particularly in relation to the global Southeast (Chakrabarti 2001, Weaver 2017). These concepts frame Southeastern cities as urban environments which are either threatened by, dealing with, or recovering from crisis.

They are grounded in the rapidly expanding Southeastern cities and in the various forms of physical, social, and political vulnerabilities they face, such as environmental disasters, violent conflicts, and flows of forced migrants. They are also grounded in the global humanitarian and developmental approaches to these challenges, which are often defined and developed by experts based in the Northwestern part of the globe.

As an architect and an academic working on spatial-political urban challenges, I was invited by two global organisations in 2019, just before the COVID-19 pandemic, to contribute to policy and operational initiatives related to urban fragility and crises. In this short piece, I critically reflect on these initiatives and the challenges they aim to address, discussing and questioning the meaning of their vocabulary, the NW-SE power relations embedded in them, their perception of the roles of professionals in relation to Southeastern 'urban criSEs', and the approaches that could potentially evolve around the challenges they frame.

The first initiative was a worldwide consultation on the World Bank Group's *Strategy for Fragility, Conflict and Violence 2020-2025*, as part of which

I was asked to respond to a questioner based on the strategy's Concept Note. The second was an invitation to participate in a Built Environment Workspace of academics and professionals initiated by the Global Alliance for Urban Crises, which included a series of online meetings with the aim of advancing policy and operational-level engagement to address crises in urban contexts.

The *first initiative*, the World Bank Group (WBG) consultation on future strategy for Fragility, Conflict and Violence (FCV), launched in April 2019 and included more than 1,700 stakeholders in 88 countries and territories through face-to-face meetings, an online questionnaire, and other methods. This is a continuation of the WBG approach to FCV developed in their 'Fragility Forum' and other initiatives. FCV is seen by the World Bank as the "new development frontier" (WBG 2019), a core global challenge which affects many aspects of people's lives, including climatic emergencies, forced displacement, and extreme poverty rates, which are now rising only in fragile countries (Cuaresma et al. 2018, p. 29).

The FCV strategy acknowledges that conflict and violence challenges could appear in otherwise stable societies; that

they can cut across local, subnational, national, regional, and global spatial dimensions; and can cross territorial borders while having a destabilising effect on multinational contexts. The strategy is centred on the prevention of fragility, conflict, and violence, remaining involved in situations of conflict, strengthening institutions, and fostering social inclusion, civic engagement, and community-driven development.

It is important to note the almost obvious fact that this strategy, although not formally declared, is primarily related to the global Southeast, including a table showing that by 2030 at least half of the global poor will live in conflict-affected situations mostly located in Southeastern countries. FCV and crisis risk management, the strategy highlights, are now considered as central development challenges in low- and middle-income countries, primarily in the global Southeast, with climate change seen as a 'threat multiplier': by 2050, as many as 143 million people could become climate migrants in just three regions – all in the global Southeast (Sub-Saharan Africa, South Asia, and Latin America; WBG 2019).

The second initiative was of the Global Alliance for Urban Crises (GAUC), a global organisation which includes member organisations from different sectors and parts of the world (mainly from the Northwest but also from the Southeast): humanitarian organisations such as the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the Norwegian Refugee Council; development organisations such as UN-

Habitat and the World Bank; universities such as University College London and Harvard; professional and business organisations such as the Royal Institute of British Architects and Ramboll; municipal bodies such as the Kampala Capital City Authority; and other non-governmental organisations such as the Women's Refugee Commission.

The invitation was to join a workspace of experts composed of the Alliance's Built Environment Professionals Constituency, to contribute to advancing operational and policy engagement for effective and context-specific approaches to addressing vulnerability and risk reduction as well as preparedness and crisis response in urban environments. The creation of the Alliance was grounded in the understanding that humanitarians are increasingly responding to crises in urban settings yet are not well equipped to understand and respond to cities' complex dynamics. The acknowledgment that diverse actors play crucial roles in different phases of urban crises yet lack opportunities for mobilisation and collaboration among them prompted the Alliance to initiate this group to work on a strategy to address this challenge.

The Built Environment Workspace members, which includes academics and professionals from various parts of the globe (but primarily from Europe and the US) working in various fields related to the urban built environment (architects, planners, urban designers, civil engineers), were asked to work together to produce an action plan to "surge urban expertise during crises while implementing longer-term

capacity-development strategies to fill the gaps between rapidly urbanising contexts and available local expertise” and develop understandings on how the knowledge of different local experts can be applied to crisis contexts (GAUC 2019).

A CRITICAL APPROACH TO URBAN CRISES

Both the WBG and GAUC initiatives address primarily Southeastern urban contexts, yet this is not explicitly stated in their documents and the complex challenges they aim to tackle, and the questions around them appear as global. However, the fact that they are primarily concerned with stretched Southeastern regions, use a particular vocabulary, embed unequal NW-SE power relations, and frame the role of ‘the experts’ in a specific manner, all provide an opportunity to critically reflect through them on approaches to urban crises and rethink urban attitudes and practices.

The *vocabulary of crises* and FCV: To what extent are the terms ‘crisis’ and ‘fragility’ useful in developing policy and professional approaches for the challenges of SE urbanism, and what are the difficulties around these terms? Who defines the ‘crisis’ and FCV situations, and how could their political/economic interests be considered? These terms use an emergency terminology for problems which in many cases are ongoing issues related to social and urban structures, and to continuous environmental realities and transformations. Could a vocabulary of crisis and its related actions blur structural predicaments while enabling easier emergency

interventions in what are assessed as ‘shocked’ urban contexts? How could the political aspects of interventions in FCV realities be addressed, including the issue of ‘taking sides’ in situations of violent conflicts, while considering the long-term advantage of their residents?

Reflecting on the possible meanings and implications of a vocabulary that frames urban interventions within the area of crises and FCV should highlight the political and ethical difficulties of abrupt interventions in such vulnerable contexts which might be under extreme social and political transformations. It has been established that such situations of vulnerability might be exploited to push through controversial policies and “concrete changes in the face of crisis” (Harney and Moten 2013, p. 82), while crisis might be intentionally created to advance unpopular reforms, allowing democratic regimes to enforce certain policies in an undemocratic manner when struggling and/or shocked populations cannot resist effectively (Klein 2007). How could such vocabularies of emergency situations be critically assessed to prevent overarching changes in a crisis-imposed reality?

The *reoccurring NW-SE power relations*: In both of these crises and FCV initiatives, the NW-SE relations are apparent, but not critically discussed. While the WBG has consulted with multiple stakeholders in the global Southeast on its strategy, the organisation is based in Washington, DC while addressing countries in the global SE. The Global Alliance for Urban Crises is also based in the US and Europe, while most of the contexts it relates to are SE cities.

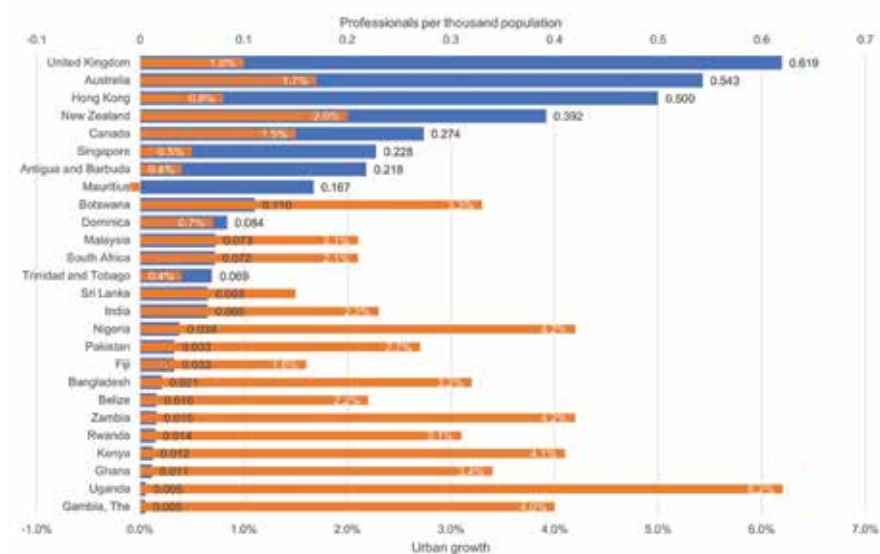
There should be a genuine aim to decolonise these NW-SE power relations, while including more experts from the SE to frame and lead future initiatives. Yet there is also a place to ask: Could new institutional approaches, vocabularies and toolkits decolonise the practices built into these organisations and their expert-based approaches?

Stretched SE regions: Both the World Bank and the Global Alliance for Urban Crises see themselves as global organisations that aim to tackle global challenges while primarily dealing with Southeastern regions. By doing so, they attempt to develop approaches that consider together very different contexts, societies, cultures, and other conditions and factors. What are the advantages and difficulties in stretching SE regions, particularly when not only theories but also practical approaches are being considered? When FCV SE situations

are considered, could it be seen as an opportunity to establish situated attitudes that go beyond overarching neoliberal approaches around external interventions, and rather protect shared public assets in cities, such as various forms of urban commons, to promise their post-crisis existence?

The role of experts (academics, professionals): The WBG and the GAUC are both relying on experts –from the SE and the NW – to develop and implement crises and FCV approaches and toolkits. This approach to experts is embedded in Northwestern attitudes which might be problematic in their underlined colonial relations, which are not only linked to the definition and role of “the expert” in addressing urban environments facing crisis, but also in the differences in the sheer number of experts per population/urbanisation in NW and SE contexts (see table 1 and CAA 2019).

TABLE 1: Number of Architects vs Rates of Urbanisation. SOURCE: The Commonwealth Association of Architects (CAA).



How could we address these differences in the definition of the role of experts and their numbers in processes of urbanisation in relation to the way SE urbanism is evolving, and in relation to criSEs in particular? Should we aim to increase the number of experts in rapidly urbanising contexts or, rather, should we develop a different approach which rethinks the definition of 'experts' and their roles in SE contexts?

An opportunity to rethink criSEs through new urban practices: Those responding to the WBG consultancy and participating in the GAUC Workspace aim to provide a positive contribution through their expertise to difficult realities in other parts of the world. Could these initiatives be used to develop new urban practices and theories to address the challenges of Southeastern urbanism?

The main aim set for the GAUC Built Environment Workspace is to generate an action plan in which local knowledge and expertise could be used in a case of crisis in order to make relevant actors (including the Alliance's collaborative partners) understand why and how they could include expertise from groups of local experts. Other aims are to generate a better understanding on how to address the underlying causes of crises in fragile urban contexts, how to operationalise this kind of knowledge

and capacity in specific contexts facing crisis, and how to create frameworks to learn from crisis-contexts and to create educational frameworks for experts worldwide to address these challenges. There is also currently a challenge to mobilise qualified built environment experts for rapid deployment in crisis contexts, as they have not been successful in systematically contributing their expertise to urban crisis response, and to engage in long-term urban crises dialogue.

As a core principle of the Alliance is to build on local knowledge, mobilise local capacities and resources, and promote local leadership, capacity-building has become a key concept which requires novel interpretation related to the key challenges of humanitarian crises in cities. While a short-term form of capacity-building evolves around training local urban built environment experts to respond to specific situations of crisis in their cities from a universalist interventional approach, a more sustainable long-term capacity-building could be created through localised research-based educational frameworks. These should be informed by a deep understanding of the local context developed by local researchers, including sociopolitical urban relations and local knowledge and skills which could be further established as expertise and utilised to a place-specific approach, rather than a universalist attitude to coping with challenging urban situations and emergencies.

How should we begin thinking as academics and experts on new

professional, educational, and ethical approaches to current challenges of Southeastern urbanism? How should we respond to these rising crises, FCV vocabularies, and related policy and professional approaches? Could we think on alternative definitions, frameworks, and tools for such interventions? And if so, what alternative frameworks to support Southeastern urbanism could be imagined addressing both their emergency and ongoing challenges? These open questions should be a subject of an ongoing discussion between academics, professionals, and policymakers but, most importantly, they should include people who form part of Southeastern local communities, who have the best knowledge of their own ongoing everyday difficulties, vulnerabilities, and complex realities – which should not be exposed to reductive and interventionist concepts and practices of criSEs.

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Part 5

Resisting and Rebuilding:
Social Movements

SOUTHERN THEORIES CENTRE ON PRACTICES AND EXPERIENCES OF SUBORDINATE GROUPS WHEREVER THEY ARE

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Two core questions guide the reflection: First, what is the relation among knowledge, praxis, and ethics in planning, and how could Southern theories help to de-colonise Northern, or Eurocentric, power relations in academia? Second, how does a Southern turn in planning offer and require new vocabulary (in language and in action) as well as new epistemic and scalar approaches to our analyses of urbanism and planning?

KNOWLEDGE, PRACTICE, AND ETHICS

South is a socio-political, not geographic, reference

A key and overarching clarification must be made at the front and centre of this discussion in respect to the terms *global South* or *global Southeast*: neither is a geographic reference, but rather a socio-political reference to all communities adversely affected by colonialism. Thus, they refer to all subordinate groups affected negatively by the colonial and imperial interests that have shaped patriarchal racial capitalism – e.g. indigenous groups in white settler societies, African Americans in the US, subordinate communities in Latin America, Asia, or Africa, and more. The collaborators and those constituting the elite in the colonies or ex-colonies might have more in common with the global North and white settlers from the US or Europe than with subordinate groups in their own countries. Mahmood Mamdani's (2018) distinction between citizens and subjects in colonies and their relationship vis-à-vis the bifurcated colonial state is helpful here.

Hence, a fundamental clarification needed is to not conflate widely divergent interests of 'locals' based on the broader colonial experience of their national communities. The use of term 'setting' in this conversation therefore is a socio-historic rather than a geographic signifier.

Knowledge production is not the prerogative of academia; planning practice is not the prerogative of professionals

Discussion of practice and its relationship with knowledge and ethics requires clarification of whose practice. Practices of professionals (paid staff, of planning agencies, or NGOs) or practices of people helping themselves, their communities, and their cities to build a better environment (grassroots)? I engage in this conversation based on this clarification and recognition of distinct planning practices of professional and grassroots. The key to Southern knowledge is that it builds from practices of people on the ground, from below. And it therefore exposes and challenges what I call the schizophrenia of dominant narratives about the

planning profession as serving the interest of 'the public', while in practice it serves the private interest of dominant groups. Southern theories expose the disjunctions that constitute Eurocentric schizophrenic planning and necessitate thinking of alternative planning practices that truly serve the public interest. That, I argue, guides us to grassroots practices, practices of subordinate communities, South-centred understanding of urban development, and citizens' planning practices, what I formulate as insurgent planning (Miraftab 2009, 2018). Planning education for professional planning with a Southern commitment must aim for a co-production of knowledge – one that is by grassroots and professionals, both involved in production of the urban.

A distinct feature of Southern communities (I stress not a geographic setting) is that subordinate groups do not trust or respect the authorities. They have a healthy, historically constituted mistrust of authorities: the state, its technocrats, and its politicians serve as instruments of subordinate groups' oppression, and Southern communities know it well—much better than communities who are beneficiaries of the status quo. This de-centring of state and authorities in the practices of inhabitants in the subordinate communities is key to the range of practices that emerge from below, including self-help coping mechanisms and confrontational practices challenging and destabilising the status quo.

Planning as a profession, as we know it, is rooted in the colonial project of domination, whereby the profession's

technical and discursive tools justify dispossession and displacement. Anticolonial planning that emerges from the Southern communities (experiences and practices of subordinate groups) is the antidote of such elitist planning practices. It recognises practices of subordinate people as planning (i.e. planning is not the prerogative of professionals), as they use performative, imaginative, and practical means to de-stabilize and undo the colonial elitist planning. As discussed elsewhere (2009, 2018), I see these practices of subordinate groups that are anti-hegemonic, imaginative, and transgressive, as *insurgent planning*.

Insurgent planning practices are those that emerge from the realities of Southern communities. Even as professional planning has been centred on experiences of dominant groups, critical radical planning exists within and beyond professional planning by aligning itself with the experiences of subordinate groups (be it within national territories of the ex-colonies, or of the colonisers). Such a perspective, whether within the professional practitioners or the grassroots, recognises the range of action in invited and invented spaces of participation, and seeks to co-produce knowledge about planning practice spanning the formal and informal, professional as well as everyday acts of subordinate communities. Academia in general has increasingly, though reluctantly, now accepted that knowledge production is not the prerogative of professionals (academics), and hence requires co-production. In the field of planning we must also see, reluctantly perhaps but

surely, that planning practice is not the prerogative of professionals. Neither knowledge nor planning practice are privileges of their claimants.

METHODOLOGIES AND VOCABULARIES IN SOUTHERN APPROACHES TO STUDYING THE URBAN

Southern urban theories decentre the European and Euro-American experiences of urbanisation and processes of urban development. Southern theorisation of the urban requires epistemologies and methodologies centred on the experiences of the subordinate groups. For that, I wish to highlight the insights gained from anticolonial feminist thinkers and movements, to centre social reproduction in theorisation of urban experiences and processes. I stress a reframing that requires relational methodologies capable of seeing the interstitial movements in the everyday invisible spaces of care and social reproduction, and engaging with new vocabularies of radical care and humane urbanism.

Theorisation of Southern urbanism centres on life-making and social reproduction

The concept of social reproduction was originally introduced by Marx and Engels in a limited sense as biological reproduction of the labouring class for the capitalist system. Social reproduction is what it takes for labourers to be reproduced and to show up at work: hence the role of family. The relation between social reproduction and

production was extended from biological to ideological reproduction of the labourer class through the educational system and more. Feminist scholars, and anti-racist feminist geographers, enriched social reproduction theory by showing how processes of gendering and racialisation work together to sustain a racial-capitalist economy, and how this works through spatial restructuring of social reproduction. Feminist scholars, including bell hooks (2000), Patricia Collins (2000 [1990]), Katherine McKittrick (2015), Isabel Bakker (2003), and many others, have drawn attention to the devalorisation of care work by women in subordinate communities in reproducing the necessary conditions for life, which leads to theorising care work as unpaid labour for life-making. *Life-making*, as a term and a demand to place it at the centre of politics, was popularised by organisers of Women's Strike in 2017 and the authors of *Feminism for the 99%* (Arruzza, Bhattacharya and Fraser 2019), who articulate complexities of social reproduction and the range of practices, institutions, and values that make life (hence life-making) for the majority (subordinate people) possible under patriarchal racial capitalism. Feminist urban scholarship (e.g. Mullings 2009, Miraftab 2006, Miraftab 2005) has stressed the role of collective urban resources, such as basic infrastructure and urban services, as an indispensable dimension of life-making. Provision or lack of water, sanitation, housing, and public space is part of the collective dimension of social reproduction that must be at the centre of urban theorisation. Practices and processes of social reproduction are key to urban

processes in subordinate communities, but are made invisible by being gendered and normalised as extensions of the domestic responsibilities of women (e.g. ‘municipal housekeeping’). Southern theorisation makes visible the social reproduction work performed for individual and collective communal care in spaces of social reproduction (e.g. residential neighbourhoods, schools, public parks). In theorisation of Southern urbanisation and the key role of social reproduction work, I highlight the work performed in interstitial spaces of everyday life by subordinate groups, whether in, for example, South African townships, Mexican informal settlements, or the racialised communities of the Flints and Detroits. The centring of social reproduction in theorisation of Southern urban realities, as I advocate here, should not, however, be understood as a geographic reference: its indispensable work in urbanism needs to be understood across multiple scales from family, to neighbourhood, to city, to national, and transnational.

Southern methodology rests on a relational approach: local, global, and meso

Centring of care in Southern theorisation of urban realities will require us to see:

- Interstitial movements – the micropolitics of everyday life (what is happening under the radar);
- How these interstitial movements/practices are co-constitutive of the macro; of the larger, more visible processes.

Oppressed groups seldom have the luxury of making change through the more visible formal channels and spaces, which are often designed based on their oppression. Therefore they need to challenge and make change by other means, often under the radar and through what seems to be minute and everyday (invisible) changes. All oppressed groups have had to become good negotiators to get things done, and being invisible is one strategy for survival. Women, like other subordinate groups, are experts in under-the-radar work. To centre social reproduction in its theorisation, a Southern theorisation of the urban must therefore be able to see these under-the-radar practices of everyday life, the micropolitics of social reproduction and care work.

A relational approach has methodological potential to serve this theorisation of urban processes from the perspective of subordinate groups. Its methodological emphasis on weaving strands of micro and macro across multiple sites, and of various forms of knowing and doing, as I have done in *Global Heartland* (2016), has the potential to make visible the practices that conventional methodologies leave invisible. A relational approach allows us to work within and reveal the interstitial spaces of “major theory” (à la Katz i.e. dominant Eurocentric theories). The heat required for this process, as Katz (1996) argues, is generated by constant movement and doing the hard work of finding and multiplying the potentialities of the in-between spaces.

The relational approach, by constantly

moving between and across multiple actors, sites, and scales, seeks to overcome the limitations of any single stationary scalar position assumed by conventional methodologies. By “conventional”, I mean methodologies that assume a stable point of view from which we discover and question the world. To see the world contrapuntally (using Edward Said), to see the constant renegotiation, shifting powers, and struggles, we cannot stick to any one scalar viewpoint, not micro (trapped in everyday of local), macro (lured by universal claims of global), or meso (a hypothetical position from which we see both the macro and micro). All three, by virtue of their stationary positions, assume stability and are thus unable to capture complex and unpredictable movements within and across them.

Theorising Southern urbanism requires new vocabularies and concepts: radical care and humane urbanism

Gendered care work produces and reproduces the city. Yet, from the colonial era, care work has been devalorised, made invisible, while institutional care has been premised on exclusionary conditions of ‘good’ or ‘deserving’ poor. Capitalism needs social reproduction work, but also needs to make it invisible and devalorised, so that capital enterprise can enjoy it for as low a cost as possible. To accomplish that, spatial and temporal restructuring of care work has been critical, a process in which the profession of planning has been implicated.

Building on the works of feminist scholars, I have elsewhere reflected on the multiple temporal and spatial

strategies that are deployed to co-opt and marginalise care labour for capital accumulation (Miraftab 2021; Miraftab and Huq under review). The value generated in capitalist cities, in this sense, is already always gendered.

From a Southern perspective, I ask what ‘caring’ might mean in the domain of urban development. What forms of urbanism emerge when caring and ‘life-making’—as opposed to growth and ‘profit-making’—underwrite the agenda of spatial development? In this neoliberal conjuncture, the language we use to articulate our relationships to the world and ourselves straitjackets us into uncaring relations, and hinders us from imagining other ways of relating. Here I would share some thoughts on what we are learning to call ‘humane urbanism’, constructed through practices of ‘radical care’.

My formulation of *radical care* is inspired by practices of alternative movements, committed to practices of care and solidarity but insisting on dis-enrolling/decoupling care work from the accumulationist agenda of patriarchal-racial-capitalism (Miraftab 2019; Miraftab and Huq, under review; Miraftab, forthcoming 2022). I see radical care practices as those that sustain life, but not merely to patch the wounds that capitalism leaves behind. They seek to sustain life and build alternatives to capitalism through everyday practices of life-making and solidarity, to construct a humane urbanism. Urban commons, communal land trusts, social and solidarity economies, de-growth movements, new municipalist experiments, autonomous indigenous

and food-sovereignty movements – all are organising to promote a logic of care that is based on need and use, not on the exploitative logic of market value and exchange. They do so by what I conceptualise as a double movement (Miraftab, forthcoming 2022): (1) practices of care that contribute to life-making, and (2) practices of dissent that are counter-hegemonic and destabilise the normalised alliance of capitalism and patriarchy through invisibilised care work. I refer to this double movement as *insurgent practices of planning by the masses*.

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Often these spaces of experimentation with radical care take place in Southern spaces abandoned by state and capital, or spaces from which capital and state extract resources while neglecting the needs of people that maintain the places. Care becomes ‘radical care’ by insisting on making life, not merely to ameliorate crises of capitalism but also by exposing, destabilising, and challenging systematically woven relations of patriarchy, racism, and capitalism.

It thus decouples social reproduction from capitalist urban development helping us make a shift from the winner-take-all *bully urbanism* of dispossession and displacement toward a *humane urbanism*.

SYNDEMIC URBANISM – SOUTHEASTERN PERSPECTIVES ON URBAN HEALTH

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“Water is not fit for drinking at all, from a health point of view. The problem in Gaza is that people are digging wells for sewage and, as their depth is nine meters, the sewage goes directly into the groundwater. However, for washing water... no alternative – we have to use it... We need a sewage net in Gaza, as the sea is full of sewage, and I cannot swim in the sea. And we need a better life – like other people all over the world”

(Interview 21 September 2019)

With the above words, Mansour, a 45-year-old inhabitant of Gaza City, opened an interview conducted with him as part of a research project aiming to explore how violence and health are entangled in conflict zones. The project critically analysed the effects of infrastructure demolition on health in Gaza, especially in relation to accesses to health services, nutrition, and water. It also examined emerging alternative forms of resilience in relation to health among Gaza inhabitants (Pace and Yacobi 2021). As already elaborated (Yacobi et al. 2020), the health system in Gaza, even before the outbreak of COVID-19, was not able to cope with the needs of the almost two million people living in the Gaza Strip. In less than six years Gaza has experienced three devastating wars. These inflicted human losses (3,808) and left thousands injured and displaced. They also targeted key infrastructures, including Gaza’s sole power plant, sewage facilities, hospitals, schools, factories, agricultural farms, and local industries.

Though the case of Gaza is an extreme example of urban territory subject to ongoing violence, destruction, and neglect (Pace and Yacobi 2021) it also, I would suggest, characterises the situation in many other cities (though to different

degrees) where violence, neglect, and systematic and unjust distribution of social, economic, and environmental conditions severely affect the health of communities. Indeed, the growing literature on urban health highlights the significant role of built environments in shaping health and wellbeing (Corburn 2015). This approach is highly relevant to the discussion of Southeastern urban territories, where most city dwellers live in informal settlements and slums that lack access to basic services and public amenities. These settlements are characterised by a lack of resources and institutional structures that replicate practices that support health justice in cities.

My argument has been re-confirmed while observing the effects of the past two years of the COVID pandemic, which has preyed on the pre-existing conditions that cause health disparities in all parts of the world. Hence, what is termed the ‘COVID-19 global crisis’ must be understood within the biogeopolitics of cities (Talocci, Brown, and Yacobi 2022), their economy and urban regimes that produce inequalities in cities, between regions, and on a global scale. This includes the lack of infrastructure such as water and sanitation (Global WASH Fast Facts), the deficiency of housing,

and the privatisation of health services, which has created “medical apartheid” (Reuters 17 May 2021). Indeed, the crisis is an opportunity to critically revisit urban policies and practices and to question planning, especially from a Southeastern perspective.

Let me illustrate the above argument in relation to Addis Ababa, Ethiopia (Karadimitriou et al., forthcoming). Here, residents of informal neighbourhoods are not only more exposed to health risks, including COVID-19, but are also more vulnerable to the disease itself, as they have limited means to tackle the illness if they get sick. The lack of public spaces and green infrastructure in informal areas of the city also means that the impact of lockdowns on mental health may be comparatively

higher. The COVID-19 urban reality has exposed such social gaps; it did not create them. It uncovered the weakness of this form of urbanisation and that it disproportionately harms vulnerable individuals and communities, including black communities, the poor (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention 2022), and indigenous communities (Evans and Over 16 March 2020).

With the above discussion in mind, let us question the dominant discussion referring to the notion of ‘Healthy Cities’ that emerged three decades ago with the birth of the Healthy Cities movement, mainly in the global North. The World Health Organization has been central to the development of this concept, and to its promotion across the world (WHO

BELOW: Addis Ababa, Ethiopia
PHOTO: Haim Yacobi



knowledge production, involves urban planning and design in defining land use, housing, and open spaces design, and outlining transport and mobility impacts on the health of urban populations. This important shift in how we look at the health of urban dwellers beyond the biomedical gaze is also noted by the World Health Organization's definition of the Social Determinants of Health. These are perceived as being central to positive and negative impacts on public health, and include housing, transportation, open spaces, education, employment, access to food, income level, social inclusion, and health services. All these elements are shaped by public policy and planning; they address a variety of causes and contexts that shape everyday life in the city, including broader aspects of justice and equality in health.

However, while cities in the global North have the resources, institutions, and knowledge to implement and integrate health into city planning and policy, Southeastern cities still struggle to develop basic infrastructure. Informal urbanism has become the dominant force of urbanisation, and often is the only alternative way to access the city. In most cases it emerges because of the inability of cities to absorb growth within a formal and planned urban framework, due to the absence of affordable dwelling options, inadequate building and planning regulations, and a lack of suitable housing finance that excludes low-income populations from formal urbanisation. These informal urban processes are expressed, for instance, in the lack of infrastructure that causes drinking-water contamination and is

estimated to cause more than 500,000 diarrhoeal deaths each year. Health costs associated with waterborne diseases such as malaria, diarrhoea, and worm infections represent more than one third of the income of poor households in sub-Saharan Africa (for a detailed discussion see Prüss-Ustün et al. 2019).

It is important to note that from a health perspective, for most global North urban areas Non-Communicable Diseases ('lifestyle' diseases) including heart diseases, cancer, and diabetes are the main causes of mortality; while for Southeastern cities, communicable diseases such as hepatitis, HIV/AIDS, malaria, influenza and tuberculosis, as well as specific epidemics such as Ebola, Zika and dengue, continue to exert a huge toll. However, in the past few decades we have also witnessed an increasing number of Non-Communicable Diseases in Southeastern cities, stemming from poor access to healthy diets, pollution, and the like.

In reference to the above, understanding Southeastern urban health should be put at the centre of Corburn's question: if urban environments are fundamental for health, why is there a focus on treating people for specific diseases and then sending them back to the same place where the conditions caused their illness in the first place (Corburn, 2015)? A good illustration of this line of argument could be found in the COVID-19 pandemic. What we take for granted: 'lockdown', 'physical distancing', 'hand washing' or 'working from home', are not options in Southeastern cities, where often a majority of inhabitants live in informal settlements.

To put it differently, I propose that the WHO's line of argument should be radicalised. It should highlight political environments that produce violence, poverty, informality, and so on, which in turn dictate the health conditions of urban dwellers. My argument is inspired by a recent commentary around COVID-19 by Richard Horton, suggesting that COVID-19 is not a pandemic but rather a *syndemic*, produced by an assembly of conditions interacting not solely with the biological but also on social and psychological levels, and how these are shaped by social and political factors. Inspired by Horton, I would further suggest understanding current urban conditions as "syndemic urbanism", and hence adopting a different orientation to public health by developing an integrated approach, one that is both political and proactive, for treating health disparities as public concerns, rather than only treating individual patients.

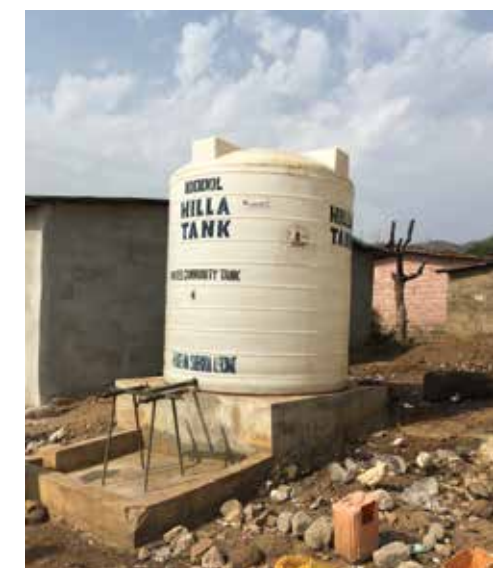
This is the time to think about urban health justice as a proactive field, a political sphere seeking to contribute to the wellbeing of urban dwellers, a sphere of a different production of knowledge based on the understanding that informality is here to stay. Hence, approaching urban health should consider care, social justice and solidarity that affect our ability to cope with the health risks. If social solidarity and collective responsibility form the basis for a new civil contract which prioritises social justice rather than social fragmentation, the planning of public spaces and infrastructure as public goods rather than commodities, and healing our welfare services, then it

is clear to me that we can overcome the current crisis.

As suggested (Yacobi 2021), syndemic urbanism focuses on how urban-spatial-political elements influence the development of several health conditions, and how these are experienced in an urban context. There is wide agreement that delivering better health outcomes in cities depends on reshaping the physical fabric and infrastructure of urban areas through urban planning and management (Jackson et al. 2013). Yet, physical/spatial changes are not sufficient without accompanying political and institutional changes. Overlooking politics and policy will ultimately fail to improve the health of disadvantaged urban populations, mainly in Southeastern cities (Corburn 2015, Yacobi and Milner 2021).

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BELOW: Freetown, Sierra Leone
PHOTO: Haim Yacobi





LEFT: Cali, Colombia.
PHOTO: Haim Yacobi

THOUGHTS ON 'THEORISE? SOUTHEASTERN APPROACHES TO STUDYING THE URBAN'

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Could/should there be a 'Southern' or 'Eastern' epistemology? What might/should such an epistemology contribute to transforming wider analyses? What might be the potential and status of 'universals', or revisable concepts?

LETTING GO OF UNIVERSAL NOTIONS OF 'SPATIAL JUSTICE'?

I offer these reflections based on a project that investigated the relationships between complex land markets and spatial justice. At issue is that notions of spatial justice developed from the global North offer very little insight into land market dynamics in cities like Kampala, Arua (Uganda) and Hargeysa, Berbera (Somaliland) (Marx et al. 2022). For all their richness, spatial justice (in an Anglophone geography context) seems impoverished in relation to these contexts.

This is deeply troubling for me, as concepts such as 'spatial justice' appear necessary as universals (despite my wariness of universals such as property, law, markets). There is something about 'spatial justice' that makes it feel like it should be universal – and letting go of this applicability wherever and whenever feels problematic. Because 'spatial justice' feels like such a foundational concept, letting go of it as a universal feels deeply destabilising. The structure of my thoughts here are preliminary, and my main motivation in documenting them is to respond to the event's provocation.

When I look at cities like the four studied in this project, I see (though a disciplinary trained planning eye, and

with a hopefully progressive outlook) cities that are: fragmented, with vastly unequal land holdings, unequal access to land uses, different levels of tenure security, haphazard distributions of land uses, and inefficient land uses. This is to name but a few 'problems' that are considered to negatively affect poor and marginalised women and men. Based on these 'problems' I can conclude that these cities are characterised by high levels of spatial injustice. Since land markets are the dominant way in which cities are being developed (in the absence of a strong state) they must play an important role in creating these outcomes.

It takes some effort to remember that this is only one way of seeing these cities and to locate these judgements as part of a particular way of seeing the city (Philippopoulos-Mihalopoulos 2015); a 'way of seeing' the city (largely in sectoral terms, even if not explicitly intended) and in a way that has been a big part of the contribution to the unsustainable form of cities. In It takes some effort to think that some of these features of cities could be both functional and/or problematic for different people, and in ways that I cannot imagine. That the spatial injustice I observe may not be so – or may be, in a different way.

In anticipation of my (provisional) conclusion, it seems that in order to

get a better sense of spatial injustice in such cities, it is necessary to have an approach that can cope with the ambiguity of household- and city-level gains and losses, and which shows how spatial justice emerges through the lens of ‘actually functioning’ land markets.

There appear to be two formidable concepts to get out of the way before there is space to think differently about spatial justice (if we want to? Hopefully, you are getting a sense of my unease here). The first is that of land markets and, second, spatial justice emerging out of Anglophone Los Angeles/British urban geography.

LAND MARKETS

Neoclassical economic models of land markets play an incredibly powerful performative role in shaping practice and policy. Driven by equilibrium models of price-mediating demand and supply, efficient land markets offer effective ways to use land productively, contributing to an overall gain for society. The performativity of neoclassical land market models extends to the ways in which ‘social’ (and we might add, spatial) problems are conceived and addressed.

This is in contrast to ‘actually functioning’ land markets that are configured around a notional idea of a market that brings together (without needing to reconcile) different motivations for transactions and depends on socially accepted ways of making buyers, sellers, and other actors recognisable to each other within social networks, and has systems for defining

property rights to land, with systems for making values commensurable (Marx 2020). In this process of configuration, some actors can operate in different parts of the city and in different kinds of transactions, while others cannot.

That is, there are many different types of transactions within the overall sense of a ‘land market’. These can initially be distinguished by the motivation of the buyer (within a legal system) so that: within a customary system land can be a simple commodity; within financial systems a financial asset or complex commodity; and within an ‘informal’ system a source of survival, right, or commodity. And, in the particular cities, clan (in Somaliland) and citizenship/ethnicity (in Uganda) filter through access to ‘the market’.

SPATIAL IN/JUSTICE

Scholarship on spatial justice is, of course, enormous, and it could be that I am just working with approaches that are unsuited to the context. However, the work of Soja (2010) and Marcuse (2009) are usually identified as significant in any global North discussions of spatial justice (Fincher and Iveson 2012). From Soja, we get the recognition of “uneven geographies of power and privilege” that have to be identified in order to prioritise the most significant forms of spatial justice, and to have a feasible objective to achieve. From Marcuse, that there are essentially two types of spatial injustice: involuntary confinement (e.g. segregation), and the unequal allocation of resources over space (jobs, infrastructure, exposure to hazards).

TABLE: The disaggregation of the concept of spatial justice

DISAGGREGATION OF THE CONCEPT OF SPATIAL JUSTICE			
Distributive justice: share benefits and burdens of land markets across all society		Corrective justice: acknowledge a wrong, identify who is responsible and associated action	
Example focus of ‘process’ elements: Creation of appropriate finance options, broaden understanding of tenure security, removal of impediments to access land/property markets (addressing ethnic and gendered access)	Example focus of ‘outcome’ elements: Equal access to land markets, housing finance, equal application of land-use standards (the standards themselves may not be equal)?	Example focus of ‘process’ elements: Procedures to correctively identify those bearing a disproportionate burden and those culpable, agreed processes for restitution.	Example focus of ‘outcome’ elements: Redistributed land, redistributed rights to engage in transactions

Thinking through forms of justice that are considered to be either redistributive or corrective, notions of spatial justice can relate to process and outcome elements. The table is illustrative of some of the ways that this can be thought of in relation to land markets.

The two points that I want to draw out are that 1) such approaches (for all their merits) appear to pre-define what spatial justice is, and by implication the role of the planner; and 2) that there is little scope for ambiguity.

However, the ‘actually functioning’ land markets appear to create two types of ambiguity: The first is that the same phenomenon can simultaneously be both positive and negative for the city and the household (note here that we are holding up a particular market outcome in terms of the existing framework of spatial justice, which is household-, neighbourhood-, and district-based – despite evidence that people do not live

their lives like this and against a sense of in/justice being imputed to a particular process). As one example, consider the implications of the size of a plot: Poor people buying a small parcel of land in an informal settlement is just for them, because it allows them to transact and get a place in the city, but unjust in that the small size limits space for pursuing other activities on the site, and the poor quality of services might limit opportunities to pursue other activities. For the city as a whole, the transaction on the small site is optimal use of land and providing services, but disadvantageous because it is notoriously difficult, disruptive and costly to eventually upgrade the services and housing in such dense and complex environments. Another variable could be ‘location’, and the example of a middle-class household buying land on the periphery of the city. For the household, this is just because they gain the space they aspired to, but also unjust for them because they probably have to supply their own services.

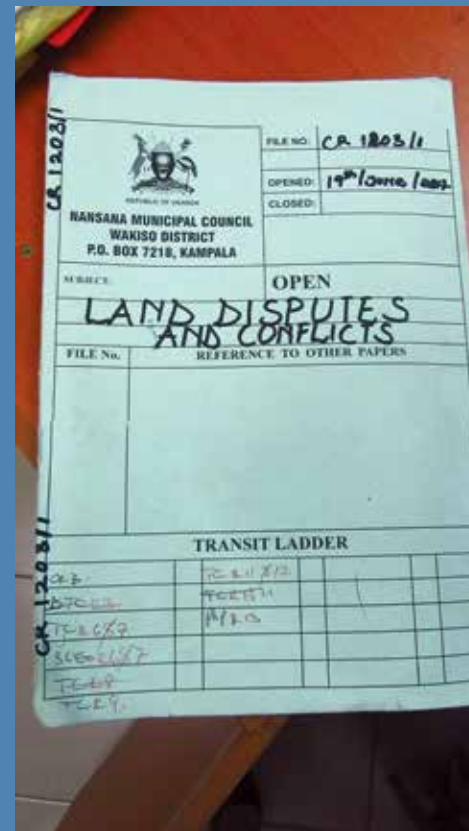
For the city, this is just because it represents a consolidation of urban land in a periphery that is ostensibly 'urban' but not yet recognised as such, but it is also unjust in that it could distort already restricted budgets in providing/extending (expensive) infrastructural services to a vocal middle class when there are other parts of the city that need this investment more.

difficult. Somehow, these (Western) senses of spatial justice just don't fit. They can't accommodate the ambiguity that seems so essential to the way actually functioning land markets are working. And yet, the cities of Kampala, Arua, Berbera and Hargeysa seem so spatially unjust.

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The second form of ambiguity is that some actors can occupy multiple positions. That is, they can be present in different types of transactions and thereby leverage information asymmetries and power dynamics to their and their associates' benefit. An example would be an informal land broker who can help the poorest people transact, but also help very wealthy investors. That is, they will know when a piece of land is being offered at a substantial discount because the poor seller does not know its 'real' value, and the land broker can offer this to an investor. In such cases, a single transaction can be serving two very different purposes: The poor seller is gaining cash to meet a medical emergency, while the investor is gaining an asset. Both might be argued to be 'just', but for different reasons.

Trying to map what would be a form of distributive justice or corrective justice onto this ambiguity seems exceedingly



TOP: Street scene in Kampala.
LEFT: Land disputes and conflicts.
PHOTOS: Els Keunen

SOUTHEAST OF ABOLITION

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At the outset, I am going to take this Southeast stuff as literally as I can. I have been venturing far to the Southeast in what is sometimes known as the Black Zone of Indonesia. This includes the provinces of Nusa Tenggara, Maluku, West Papua, hundreds of islands, hundreds of different ethnicities, religions, and hundreds of words, discourses, and popular vernaculars about race, about who is who to whom, particularly now as everything appears intensely unsettled.

While the predominance of the sea has always precipitated circulations and mixtures in this part of the world, many of the hundreds of youth I have been traveling with on ferries across the archipelago in search of work and opportunity talk about how alarmed their forebears are in relation to their rootlessness. In many instances, this is not just about lives of incessant mobility, but also a fundamental detachment in place. Many of these youth on ferries talk about how they prefer not really knowing where they are going, or what awaits them in the destination ahead. They talk about the ways in which their siblings are stuck in place, having few prospects for much of anything.

At some point, many of these youth pass through Kupang in Nusa Tenggara, the largest city of Indonesia's east. The rapid growth of Kupang has been largely based on the undermining of positions – land that is no longer cultivable because of changing climates, or subject to massive grabs for purposes of extraction; social cohesion that dissipates in face of intense conflict over limited resources or exposures to a larger world of influences that diminishes the value of certain kinds of work and ways of life.

With its substantial influx of migrants from various destinations – Flores, Lembata, Alor, Timor, Papua, Ambon – volatile mixtures of backgrounds and aspirations attempt to instantiate themselves in an urban economy largely based on servicing the very dynamics of these inward flows. For, beyond the city's position as an administrative centre and transportation hub, there is little industry, little formal employment opportunities.

So many inward migrants are propelled outwards, and Kupang becomes a centre of waiting, 'sorting', and information exchange – managing migratory flows in many directions. This is reflected in the haphazard development of the urban region – the way the emerging built environment is stretched along various corridors, how it materialises across land of nebulous status, and consolidates intense densities around multiple ports. As it draws in various trajectories of exterior flows and propels bodies and materials outwards in a swirl of urbanising forces, an unsettled population is constituted, particularly among youth.

Ensnared in circuits of movement that

traverse mines in Papua, natural gas fields in Alu, pearl beds in Alor, palm oil plantations in Kalimantan and Malaysia, cheap service jobs in Makassar and Surabaya, salt mines in Lembada, as well as well-established routes of smuggling of all kinds, Kupang both holds and disperses a growing population, with few assets and limited venues to invest any accumulated savings. The intermixtures of 'migrants' on boats, different ports of calls, and across the temporary residencies that characterise the bulk of housing in the city is full of racialised anxieties about who belongs where, which are in turn compensated by the amplification of identity and many different means of circumventing it. While race might be at the centre of their calculations about who gets to live a life worth living, the common experience of movement provides a platform for engagements not easily territorialised in their invocations of belonging. The promiscuity of makeshift gatherings and discussions about what is happening where, about the composition of critical events, spur on their participation in 'strange alliances', where they draw on each other's disparate backgrounds, networks, and sensibilities to configure what they call 'strategic invasions' of prospective workplaces, ways of making money, and places to situate themselves, for a while.

When they say "back to black", this is cited not as a return to some sense of roots or invented genealogy, but rather to a reliance on cunning, on being able to dissemble and discover in the same moment, to operate under the radar of declarative aspirations, and to take care

of whoever one is with at the moment and make that togetherness count for something unexpected. Everyone knows just how precarious their situation is, yet they also know not to settle too easily for what is on offer, if anything. What is consolidated is not so much then identity or place, but an ethos for navigating the tricky waters of this region, where so many investors have an eye, and so many apparatuses are ready to parade out the old game of favouring this particular group, ethnicity, or religion.

So if there is a manifesto from the Southeast, far as it is from the debates of America, Europe and Africa, it is that if the conditions of the existent urban world have largely been shaped by and through anti-blackness, than that world becomes uninhabitable, not just for those kept out of the possibilities of inhabitation, but for everyone. Regardless of how settled urban residents might be through the propriety of property, through the turning of land into asset, or through the securitisation of lifetimes as continuous income streams, the sheer presence of blackness as that which enabled the city to be the locus of self-reflexion infuses urban space with an incessant restlessness and unease. It is not a matter of more justly integrating blackness into urbanisation processes that have depended so much on its exclusion, but rather to 'abolish' the very basis of that dependency.

Conversely, so much investment has been placed in avoiding blackness, to run from it, to escape from it; multiple connotations as that which is both not-human and beyond-human, that it is

difficult to even imagine the terms or space of its incorporation, of a more just valorisation. As the epitome of that which could be operationalised, as that which signals the demise of use, and of the possibilities of human fruition being converted into the calculations of exchange, the planetary conversion of so much space into a useless arena for the maximisation of profit makes it difficult to identify any existent terrain that blackness might inhabit.

A form of engagement is thus required that views these urban conditions as not for 'us', as indifferent to our aspirations or the consolidation of self-reflexivity or human life. It requires 'Black thought', not as an instrument of salvation, but as a means to reconstitute the potentials abrupted in the extermination of pluriversal worlds – through the colonial and imperial. But this is possible only if the world we know comes to an end. In other words, the devices of framing, conceptualisation, and governance that impose upon the heterogeneous forces and histories of urban life the conceit of interoperability – that they all have something to do with each other through specific forms of calculation, proportionality, and meaning – must come to end, must be rendered inoperable. Additionally, the vernaculars and tools through which we have attempted to impose a sense to things are themselves fundamentally detached from any specific meaning or objective, yet we have relied upon them to chart relations among things, to locate ourselves and measure our supposedly 'forward' movement.

Not dissimilarly, making the urban landscape ever more spectacular and self-operating conceals all the mundane technical instruments, forced labour and denied aspirations necessary to keep the machine running.

Abolition does not mean that life and work come to an end. It does not mean that something else lies there in waiting at the end of the rainbow ready and willing to take its place.

Instead, abolition is the removal of the impediments that have kept 'this' world from experiencing the intellectual and affective contributions of a large section of its urban inhabitants. What will they have to say once they are not forced to devote the bulk of their 'saying' to either denying the meanings and statuses attributed to them, or to proving their worth in terms that they had little say in establishing as the markers of value and worthiness?

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PART 4 | RESISTING AND REBUILDING: URBAN PROFESSIONS

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