AESOP-Young Academics
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CITIES THAT TALK

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AESOP-Young Academics

Open Access Journal

FIRST VOLUME, SPECIAL EDITION

Along the concentrated efforts of the Association of European Schools of Planning (AESOP) to Open Access scholarly planning debates, the young academics network of AESOP launches its international open access e-journal, *plaNext*. *plaNext* provides prospective authors an opportunity to engage their ideas in international planning debates as well as make their research available to the wider planning audience. *plaNext* invites authors to submit original work that includes: empirical research; theoretical discussions; innovative methodologies; case studies; and, book reviews on selected books, textbooks, or specific topics dealing within planning.

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CITIES THAT TALK

The launch edition of *plaNext* is composed of selected contributions from the AESOP-YA 8th international conference, titled Cities that Talk, which took place at the University of Gothenburg, Sweden, 10-13 March 2014. While *plaNext* generally provides young scholars with an intellectual platform, this special edition is intended to advance the discussions about the conference theme "Urban Resistance" which, as contemporary phenomena, have significantly challenged traditional practices of urban planning worldwide. Activities of urban resistance may range from everyday life insurgencies, through protests and riots, to urban social movements. Such a broad perspective is intended to enhance thought on urban resistance and critically discuss the question "what happens in cities?" today. The idea is to go beyond the traditional ways of illustrating the problem. Instead, *plaNext* invites contributions that open up the discussions and explore how urban resistances form in cities, how their presentations of cities differ from formal narratives, to whose benefits urban resistances grow, and whether they can or should be "institutionalized". Such discussions may help us to make theoretical sense, political use, and practical approaches to deal with the perpetual urban resistances that take place in different parts of the world. Contributions to this special edition relate to the following four topics, which have been drawn out of the four tracks presented at the conference *"Cities that Talk"*:

- Insurgencies, the "right to the city". planning cultures
- Cities as spaces of commons and "the political"
- Identity and heritage politics in urban planning
- Urban segregation, gentrification, social mixing and the suburbs

Peer Review Statement

PlaNext is an international, peer-reviewed journal publishing high-quality and original research. All submitted manuscripts are subject to initial appraisal by the Editor, before being reviewed by two or three semi-open expert referees. All manuscripts are open access published. This means that published manuscripts are freely and permanently available to the general public. There is no subscription fee, article pay-to-view fee or any other form of access fee; and no publication embargo is applied.

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Welcome

CORAL REEFS, FRESH STREAMS AND DEEP OCEANS IN THE FUTURE OF PLANNING RESEARCH: INTRODUCING *PLANEXT* IN THE FRAMEWORK OF AESOP POLICIES AND STRATEGIES

Francesco Lo Piccolo, AESOP President

I am happy to introduce the first volume of *plaNext* as one of the most challenging initiatives of our association. What is *plaNext? plaNext* is an open access online journal intellectually produced and managed by AESOP Young Academics. *plaNext* is published as part of the AESOP online publishing platform, *InPlanning*. It is an international peer-reviewed journal. It arises from the collective work of our community. And so, *plaNext* is many things at the same time.

plaNext is not an isolated project. Rather, it is one of the numerous initiatives taken by AESOP in order to promote excellence in planning research and education. It fits within AESOP's policy of supporting its Young Academics network as a strategic part of its mission. The Young Academics network is an important component of the wider and rapidly growing institutional network of AESOP. Without indulging in rhetoric, it really is the future of AESOP. AESOP needs cooperation and solidarity among generations, not just because most innovation comes from the future. Consequently, AESOP Young Academics have the specific mission of building a network of ideas, projects, research, and academic work among the new generation of planning researchers. This network will provide an intellectual resource for the planning academic field in the future in Europe and, thus, contribute to improving the academic capacity of the overall planning field. To reach these goals, new opportunities and spaces must be developed, adding to the already existing well established ones.

plaNext is one of these new spaces. It will combine, at the same time, an appropriate organisation, structure and resource with a cooperative and open access approach. One key principle is that the journal is the product of the work and is the intellectual responsibility of AESOP Young Academics. In our vision, *plaNext* is not just a training ground for the members of its editorial board and its contributors, but also a precondition to ensuring a relevant and appropriate environment for mutual learning and exchange in the future. In the light of our past experience and our current policy, which began in the early days of

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AESOP and which has been built up over time through a number of initiatives, the Young Academics network is an important resource for creating, in the mid- to long-term future, the next generation of planning academics. Part of this strategy is to promote, through a plurality of interests, experiences, perspectives and reflections, not just future partnerships in planning research, but also fresh streams of ideas, in a world that is changing rapidly and unpredictably.

The unpredictable nature of our future living environment forces us to develop simultaneously research using different perspectives. For example, a coral reef has to be considered at the same time as a protected environment for preserving biodiversity as well as one of the most endangered ecosystems due to climate change. To reason by analogy, the elaboration, production and dissemination of planning knowledge and research is facing different, albeit unpredictable, challenges in the global churn of the digital environment. This creates advantages, opportunities and threats all at the same time.

For all these reasons, today more than ever, innovation in research also means critical thinking, despite broader trends to uniformity in managerial performance and standards. Achieving resilience in these conditions leads us to believe that innovative planning research must be based more on diversity and plurality rather than on uniformity. As in the case of the renamed AESOP Heads of Schools Meeting, *plaNext* is also a metaphorical plaza. Its open access nature means that it is a public space which hosts free discussion and debate, benefitting from the plurality of cultures, traditions and institutional frameworks within our schools. This idea is, indeed, at the heart of many of our well established activities as well as our new projects, such as the *InPlanning* digital platform.

InPlanning is AESOP's digital platform for sharing information on spatial planning, nationally, throughout Europe and beyond. Among many other services and purposes, the platform supports the digital publishing of open access journals, with the aim of positioning AESOP at the front of the digital revolution globally. In the words of AESOP's Past President, Gert de Roo, currently Editor in Chief of *InPlanning*, for the first time a scientific community is taking the lead in developing an open network of information sharing, relating to numerous aspects of planning research and education. This has to be seen in the light of the fast changes which academic environments are being forced to make, not least with regard to publishing in an open access environment.

In terms of AESOP's mission to promote excellence in research, we believe that an open and cooperative approach between generations has been and still is a winning strategy in the midst of the deep, and turbulent, oceans of our future academic digital environment. Yet, if we look back at AESOP's first years, we can find continuity in this policy.

CORAL REEFS, FRESH STREAMS AND DEEP OCEANS IN THE FUTURE OF PLANNING RESEARCH: INTRODUCING *PLANEXT* IN THE FRAMEWORK OF AESOP POLICIES AND STRATEGIES

Twenty years ago, Patsy Healey noted, in a different context but equally related to the role of young academics and PhD researchers, that: "Existing academic staff involved in AESOP have been trying hard to learn new skills, but some of us thought that progress could be more rapid if the next generation of academics could learn these skills in European academic exchange more quickly". In the new digital era, the specific skills may have changed, but the overall AESOP strategy is still the same. Thus, *plaNext* is a part of that continuing AESOP strategy:

- In order to make Young Academics' research products more visible to a wider community, enlarging the arena of the public debate about planning issues and planning research;
- In order to bring together new young academics from all over Europe (and beyond) to exchange new ideas and innovative research perspectives in the planning field, across the (institutional or market) boundaries of other academic places and spaces;
- In order to provide an open access environment for our present and future community (authors and readers) to share their experience and knowledge, improve their own capacities and develop new perspectives and research issues, while guaranteeing, at the same time, the high quality standard of published articles.

Due to the nature of the open access system and in a long term perspective, *plaNext* also aims to stimulate further debate among an even wider community, through a number of potential future interactions and connections, giving the opportunity for young academics to interact and learn from each other's experience, but also to interact with senior academics in the field of planning as well as in other inter-disciplinary fields, in Europe and beyond. In short, the substantial aim of *plaNext* is to be one of the new opportunities for nurturing the planning research debate within a complex, even controversial, but always fascinating process of global collective learning.

At present, *plaNext* has funding from AESOP and there is, therefore, currently no fee levied on authors to publish with *plaNext*. At the same time, there are also no subscription fees, article-pay-to-view fees or any other form of access fee. I am not mentioning this aspect only to publicise this new journal and to highlight the economical advantages for authors and readers. I want to emphasize the potential of the journal for becoming a new space where critical and democratically innovative approaches to planning research can be created. Nevertheless, we are aware of all the challenges, the uncertainties, questions and even ethical dilemmas of dynamic virtual academic environments. This short introduction is not the place to discuss this at length, but the next volume of *plaNext* will. This shows another potential of *plaNext* for our debates and reflections.

plaNext is an intellectual, more than an economic, investment. Like every type of investment, there are risks and uncertainties, but also great potential. It is up to us, senior

and younger, to meet this challenge and to develop that potential. It is an opportunity, but also a collective responsibility. About this sense of responsibility towards our community, I pose a naughty question, playing here the role of the devil's advocate. Is *plaNext* just a training space, a gym for young academics? An easier access option for intellectual and academic visibility? A nursery pool in the safest waters of the coral reef, where young fishes and turtles swim and flourish before (and in order to) moving further into the deep waters of the ocean? Well, it can be this. But *plaNext* wants to be something more and something else. It can become a free and open access space for debate, to nurture alternative ideas and perspectives; an acknowledgement of the young academics' rights to plural researches and modes of publication; a different and potentially innovative approach to contemporary and future planning research issues.

For all these reasons, we invite all the members of the AESOP community to support this initiative and to take an active part in it, according to their roles, intellectual approaches and time-work limits. Consequently:

- Heads of schools and senior researchers are welcome to promote *plaNext*, informing Young Academics in their departments.
- Senior academics are and will be invited as guest editors for special volumes of *plaNext*, as in this first issue in which Jeffrey Hou agreed to co-edit the special edition 'Cities that Talk'.
- 'Young in spirit' academics are and will be invited as referees to peer review the articles.

While, as planning academics, we have our own research interests, we all share a concern with different ways of discussing and disseminating our research results, knowledge, and ideas. All these efforts and activities require a deep sense of responsibility, individually as well as collectively, if we consider that our ethical sensitivity and research commitment are parts of a wider social practice. We must create the conditions in which the young researchers of today can become a resource for greater global networking in the future: a flow of fresh streams connecting, with unpredictable trajectories, the safe but endangered waters of the coral reef to the turbulent deep ocean. To reach this ambitious – and even utopian – goal, we have a long way to go, or – better – to swim.

In this vision, the role of *plaNext*, and Young Academics more generally, is to stimulate and promote the development of opportunities for common work and its dissemination in many waters: those of coral reefs as well as those of oceans. The realization of such a project needs time, resources, good will and, especially, collective responsibility. It is a new adventure, with lots of potentials and, inevitably, a certain degree of uncertainty. But first and foremost, meeting this challenge contributes to the wider AESOP mission of promoting a common, plural, open and democratic cultural policy in the field of planning research.

Foreword

ON THE ENTANGLED PATHS OF URBAN RESISTANCE, URBAN PLANNING AND HERITAGE CONSERVATION

Jeffrey Hou, University of Washington
Feras Hammami, University of Gothenburg

Resistance, planning and conservation may seem like parallel or combating universes – while resistance almost always entails actions against the state institutions, planning and conservation practices function typically with and within them. These seemingly disengaged modalities of social and political processes came together as the focus of the 8th Annual AESOP Young Academics Conference, titled "Cities that Talks" that took place in Gothenburg, Sweden in 2014. The conference theme and an impressive array of case studies reflect the recent surge of urban resistance movements in Europe and elsewhere in the world. They also reflect a substantial level of interest among young academic scholars who, as a generation of young people, are themselves faced with social and political upheavals–including, but not limited to, the current impacts of neoliberal restructuring and austerity policies that percolate through the society today.

Despite the varying degrees of success, the widespread resistance movements in the world in recent years are unmistakably remarkable. From Arab Spring and the Occupy Wall Street Movement to the indignados demonstrations in Greece, Portugal, and Spain, urban resistance movements have mobilised public discussion and debates concerning economic inequality, authoritarianism and austerity policies. However, while these resistance movements may involve new tactics and technologies, urban movements are hardly new to cities and regions. Five centuries ago, the Castilian cities revolted against the royal authority of Carlos V in an act of urban resistance that challenged the feudal order in search of a modern state (Castells, 1983). The Paris Commune of 1871 inspired other labour uprisings in Moscow, Budapest, and St. Petersburg (ibid.). In the mid-nineteenth century, the modernisation of cities throughout Europe gave rise to the heritage conservation movements (Hammami, 2015), although in this case, it was the cultural elites (e.g., artists, archaeologists, architects) in several cities that mobilised the public and politicians to protect the material cultures, especially the medieval architecture and art that represented the experiences of the ruling and upper-middle classes.

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As discussed in the Cities that Talk Conference, urban resistance are often seen as challenges to city planning and heritage conservation. As challenges to the predominant modes of practice, resistance movements have also played an important role historically in shaping the discourses and practice of city planning and heritage conservation. In the United States, the revolts against Urban Renewal in the 1950s and 1960s resulted in the introduction and requirement of participatory process into planning, specifically the Model Cities Program, as well as catalysing the historic preservation movement. Generations of planners and designers have since worked to democratise the planning process, and a body of knowledge has emerged since then that addresses the social complexity of planning practices, including that of advocacy planning and community development. Similarly, American environmental movements in the 1960s have led to the legislations of Clean Air Act and Clean Water Act, among others, that serve as legal basis for environmental planning.

In Europe, similar revolts resulted in new urban policy discourses with a specific focus on social inclusion. For example, the development plans to modernise the Swedish working class district of Haga and the Danish former military barracks district of Christiania have been inspired by, but also given rise to, various forms of resistances against urban rationalism and neoliberal development not only in these countries but also throughout Northern Europe. The urban riots in the suburb of Lyon resulted in an 'anti-ghetto' urban policy in France. A series of urban riots against marginalisation and cultural assimilation was instrumental in facilitating the change (Mucchielli, 2009). In the former "Eastern Bloc," the diverse post-Soviet protests against bureaucracy and centralised governments promoted new planning ideals based on civil society representations and public-private partnerships. The recent protests in Istanbul against the re-construction of the Ottoman military barracks in Gezi Park came with calls for new urban governance in Turkey with civil society organisations as a new partner.

Similar processes can also be found in Asia. In Hong Kong, public housing was arguably introduced in response to social unrest and fear of communist organising in the 1950s (Smart, 2006). In Japan, public protests against air and water pollutions have resulted in the introduction of public participation in the 1960s (Nishimura, 1999). In Taiwan, mobilisation by heritage activists against demolition of historic landmarks have led to legal protection of heritage sites and the emergence of local identities as part of a nation-building movement beginning in the 1990s. In Palestine, the restoration and renovation of several historic buildings across the West Bank by local activists have prompted the Palestinian Authorities to not only prioritise heritage in their "national" policies for development and endorse a new conservation law in 1996 (postponed by the Israeli government since then) but also to use heritage as a tool to fight Israeli occupation (Hammami, 2012).

These examples not only show that urban resistance have promoted changes in planning and urban policies but also demonstrate how resistance, planning and conservation have had an entangled history that goes back to the founding of these disciplines in modern history. The emergence of modern urban planning as a profession (at least in the West), in short, came as a resistance against the political institution in the 19th century that fail to address issues of overcrowding, sanitation, and epidemics. A similar observation can also be made with regard to the emergence of heritage conservation as a profession itself. The latter in the European context came in response to the large-scale destruction of, among others, medieval cities and the governments' ambitions then to build modern cities with "advanced" forms of urban morphologies and infrastructures.

As professions developed and as discourses and practices became institutionalised over time, the narrative of resistance and entanglement seemed to have gotten lost, at least until the emergence of a recent body of literature that began to explore new relationships in these entanglements. Within planning, the discourse of insurgency and insurgent planning has been important in foregrounding the role and practices of subaltern groups in resisting the predominant urban governance. With insurgent citizenship, and insurgent urbanism as its spatial mode, Holston (1998) calls for a rethinking of the social in planning, as rooted in the heterogeneity of lived experience, contrary to the formalised, reductionist state institution. Other planning scholars have since used insurgency to conceptualise spatial and social practices of marginalised groups against, or outside of, the official planning regime. In particular, Miraftab (2009, p. 33) describes insurgent planning as a set of counter-hegemonic practices by marginalised groups. In other words, the subaltern groups are engaged in a sort of planning practice albeit not formally recognised by the state.

However, in characterising insurgent planning as counter-hegemonic, the discourse of insurgent planning seems to have sustained the dichotomy between formal and informal, legal and illegal, planning and resistance. It is in this context that Perera's (2009) analysis is helpful. He argues that insurgent acts are often entangled with formalised systems, rendering the absolute distinction in spatial terms often futile or impossible (Perera, 2009). In the edited volume *Cities for Citizens,* Douglass and Friedmann (1998) also examined the intersection of civil society actions and planning that include cases of "counter-planning" as engaged by subaltern groups such as those engaged in environmental politics in Los Angeles (Keil, 1998). They argue that these civil society actions represent claims and struggles "not to overturn the state, nor to replace it, but to transform the state in ways that will serve all of its citizens, and especially the less powerful" (Douglass & Friedmann, 1998, p. 2).

The entanglement of institutionalized planning and everyday resistance is on vivid display particularly in the cityscapes of Asia. In a case study of markets in the port city of Kaohsiung, Taiwan, anthropologist Ching-Wen Hsu (2013) examines the informal organisation of activities by illegal vendors that co-exist with the operation of the formal market. In *Insurgent Public Space* (Hou, ed., 2010), a number of authors examine similar forms of placemaking by communities and social groups that occur often at the border of the regulatory domain. In his earlier work on local environmental movements in Taiwan, Hou (2001) looks at how local activists simultaneously engaged in acts of protests and organised resistance as well as alternative planning processes and engagement in the institutional process. The combination of actions constitutes a hybrid form of resistance and planning that was far more effective than either type of actions alone.

The emerging field of critical heritage studies (CHS) has also focused on such entanglement and have promoted new debates questioning the traditional approaches that seek to conserve the past for the future as well as other recent ones that seek to use the past in, and for, the present (Smith, 2012; Harrison, 2012). These debates recognise the growing role of popular activism against the assimilation of the public and the States' imaginary common of the past that formed a basis for nation building in many countries. Harvey (2001) uncovers a historic process of 'heritageisation' that has begun in the West and was exported to the former colonies of several Western States (Lowenthal, 1985). For him, the process is "not only driven by certain narratives about nationalism and Romantic ideals, but also a specific theme about the legitimacy and dominant place in national cultures of the European social and political elite" (Smith, 2006, p. 22). Smith (2006) sees this process as an 'authorised heritage discourse' that has gained a partial global reach through UNESCO's Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (1972) and its designation of 'outstanding universal values' (Hammami, 2012).

Protests against the authoritative power of this heritage discourse have erupted across the globe, supported by the international calls for social inclusion of minorities. Specifically, the 1972 World Heritage Convention has been heavily criticised for being "Eurocentric, restrictive and excluding" (Bennett, 2004). Among others the Japanese government rejected the convention due to its focus on "specific monuments, landscapes, and sites that represent universal values, rather than linking them with the domestic cultural manifestations that inform people's identities" (Londres Fonseca, 2002, p. 9). Such critiques encouraged more contextually situated initiatives, including the Burra Charter (1981) and UNESCO's report 'Our Creative Diversity' (1995). Together with other initiatives, they have resulted in the recognition of the culture of non-monumental societies (e.g. Bedouins, tribal communities, Roma people), and introduced to the "global heritage discourse" new terminologies, including 'rights', 'diversity', 'communities' and 'pluralism'. This has

eventually resulted in the adoption of the Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage (2003) (Smith, 2006).

Certainly, professional heritage practices, at least in the Western societies, have increasingly opened up to new views, interest, interpretations and representations. However, the ambitions of modern states to sustain homogenised forms of cultural representation are likely to hinder their other parallel attempts to acknowledge peoples' rights to plural pasts. Graham et al (2007) call for pluralising the past and its representation in the public. This can be read along Žižek's (1997, p. 42) description of today's plurality as "a reverse process to the 'nationalisation of the ethnic' and a beginning of the 'ethnicisation of the national'". Other scholars within CHS also call for new ways of dealing with the past and its representation beyond the conventional divides between culture and nature, public and private, universal and local, official and unofficial, collective and personal (Harrison, 2012) so that "potential" heritages that fall outside the desired narrative of value do not in the process become cleansed, destroyed, or neglected.

On the entanglement between resistance and heritage conservation, protests against the implementation of large-scale development projects in the historic city area of Haga, located in Gothenburg, Sweden, generated in the 70s new political interest in the past as a resource for development. After 40 years of postponing a development plan in Gårda, a working class neighbourhood in Gothenburg, the protesters succeeded in 2014 to promote new political interest in the past, and led to the renovation of southern Gårda instead of destruction. In his article "conservation under occupation", Hammami (2012) analyses the informal local initiatives to renovate the Historic City of Nablus during the intensive Israeli military incursions in the city in 2002 and how these initiatives were supported by the local governments as an effective strategy of resistance to the occupation. The Palestinian National Authorities began in that period to see the political instrumentality of heritage as resistance. In 2012, they succeeded to include the 'Birthplace of Jesus: Church of the Nativity and the Pilgrimage Route' to the World Heritage Sites List, and in 2014 they also succeeded to include the Cultural Landscape of Southern Jerusalem, Battir, to the World Heritage in Danger List.

These historic and continued entanglements between urban resistance, city planning and heritage conservation can serve as a point of departure for further examining the implications of recent urban resistance movements for transforming the social and institutional practices of city making and a wider politics of the city. Rather than treating resistance simply as a form of disruption, what can we learn from the recent acts of urban resistance in terms of their tactics and strategies and implications for planning and conservation? What discourses and values are at the heart of these movements that can inform and inspire planning actions? What can the recent movements tell us about the roles of diverse

actors in the process of social and political change? How can planning and conservation practices enable and/or engage in a meaningful contestation of social values and political discourses? How can professional practices of planning and conservation go beyond institutional frameworks and regulatory practices to incorporate social and political actions?

This inaugural volume of *plaNext* features articles selected from the 8th annual AESOP Young Academics Conference that explored urban resistance in a wide range of contexts, ranging from everyday insurgencies to urban social movements (Caruso, et al., 2014). The first pair of articles addresses the intersection of urban resistance and planning knowledge and practice. In "The Shape of Knowledge Redistribution with Planning Cultures," Christian Peer discusses a major urban redevelopment project in Vienna and how citizens look for alternative ways to challenge the development plan in the face of limited participation. These included designing homepages, social media and networking, and forming a civic organisation. In "An Anatomy of Hope," Fredrik Torisson engages in a philosophical and theoretical discussion of the notion and politics of hope as a concept that is simultaneously critical and propositional. It further discusses the limitations and potentials of the principles of hope in contemporary spatial practices.

The second set of articles address the focus of public space and public life that has emerged as a central theme in many of the recent movements. Specifically, the critique and ideological challenge against a diminishing public realm has served as a basis for the resistance movements. In "Safety and Antagonistic Notions of Public Life," Lina Snodgrass developed a conceptual framework to examine the institutionalised notion of safety and practices governing the public life in the context of urban planning in Sweden. In "Re-designing Commons in Italy," Michele Vianello examines commons as an alternative institution for resource management and democratic decision-making. Specifically, the article examines the development of the concept of commons in the Italian context in both academic research and the social use of the term, and points to directions for further exploration in terms of how the concept of commons can be operationalised in the legal and institutional domain.

The final article provides a critical examination of the politics of resistance. In "Brazilian Uprising," Rafael Gonçalves de Almeida and Matheus da Silveira Grandi take a macro perspective on the politics of identity and space in the recent mass movements in Brazil, specifically how the processes of spatial diffusion and dispersion reflects a new politics of identity which can also result in the reproduction of dominant power relations.

These selected articles are by no means representative of a broad spectrum of papers and cases presented at the conferences or enacted around the world. Nevertheless, they offer a snapshot into the issues and questions that have aroused the interest of a new generation of

scholars whose work may well shape the discourses and practices of planning and conservation in the decades to come. Their contributions to this volume, Cities that Talk, invite us to critically rethink the voices, dialogues, and debates in cities today and seek to make new theoretical and political sense of the contemporary phenomena of urban resistance. It is in the way that we may find resistance, planning, and conservation not only entangled but hopefully also enriched.

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THE SHAPE OF KNOWLEDGE REDISTRIBUTION WITHIN PLANNING CULTURES

The question of resistance in the case of a large-scale urban development project in Vienna

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Abstract

With the beginning of the 21st century a series of large-scale urban development projects (LUDPs) were planned alongside the transformation or modernization of federal railway stations in Vienna. Herein, in October 2012 the City of Vienna together with the landowner set the course for a telling modified urban development project: the new general concept for the former railway station *Wien Nordbahnhof*. Just a stone's throw away from the city's center a new generation of citizens will find its home close or within the typological setting of an experimental superstructure, that is one of today's biggest inner-city transformation zones, originally called the future city ("Stadt der Zukunft"). According to the city planners' intentions the *Nordbahnhof* will be finished until the year of 2025 after a development process of more than three decades and a multifaceted process of public participation. The long period of development led to illuminating different imaginations of the future city and to a particular materialization of the shift of planning ideology into urban form, which accentuates a dialectical process of transformation. This paper focuses on crucial acts of resistance playing a role for the interplay of democracy and innovation within the transformation process in question.

Keywords: planning culture; participation; knowledgesociety; science and technology studies

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Introduction

In this paper the aspect of resistance within planning processes is discussed as a promising point of departure for the further exploration of the interplay between democracy and innovation. The investigation starts with a definition of resistance and its location in a contemporary understanding of planning cultures. From this perspective the empirical case of a large urban development project (LUDP) in the City of Vienna will be presented to draw attention to the shape of knowledge redistribution within planning cultures. The methodology applied to the case study is based on participatory research: The author has actively contributed to the participation process of the LUDP *Nordbahnhof Wien* as a resident on-site and is still actively involved in the planning process as a member of the initiative group "Lebenswerter *Nordbahnhof*" (Lebenswerter *Nordbahnhof* 2015). From summer 2013 to autumn 2014 a series of qualitative interrogations were undertaken with key players within the planning process such as involved citizens, urban planners from the local planning authority as well as "independent" planning experts, representatives of the (single) land owner and urban district managers (Peer 2015). The paper's view goes beyond the relatively short period of the official participation process through a relational understanding of urbanity, which originates from its past, present and anticipated future. The limits of this approach are particularly defined by the large quantity of arenas and players within an ongoing planning process stretching already over decades, where additionally transparency is only assumed as a principle for certain episodes and arenas, which are officially provided for the participation of citizens.

In planning theory urban resistance (the focus of the Gothenburg conference „Cities that talk") is prominently linked to the late 1960's rising insurgencies for progressive politics and social justice. Notably these insurgencies were not against change in the long run, but represented forms of resistance against the effects of planning systems being locked in modern rationality and their mechanical imperative of taking the least line of resistance. Therefore, postmodern resistance was accompanied by the aim of enabling processes for a different change or by the aim of remaining capable of acting. What we can see is that resistance and participation are twins or in other words different sides of the process of change.

Considering the diversity of planning cultures (or planning systems) – each of them with an even distinctive understanding of planning i.e. between European countries (CEC 1997; Nadin 2012) – the idea of resistance should include a complex understanding of the planning context: First, the frequently used term "modernization" can address different kinds of change (i.e. cultural, social, demographical, technological, economical, political, ideological change); "resistance" can be both an action for or against change; furthermore, the modern dichotomy of "theory and practice" is undermined by the flow of knowledge and the interplay of all kinds of participants within planning processes; therefore,

resistance is not a form of action that is reserved under the name of civil society but an action that plays as well a crucial role within organizations and institutions of both the state and the private sector.

A normative assumption made in this paper is, that resistance as (a facilitator of) a critical distance to all kinds of governance and power as well as a basic form of opposition against undemocratic elements, has the potential to enable processes of social as well as technological innovation in planning. In terms of institutional change, the cultural and societal frame in pacified democratic societies is bound to ensure that resistance has its legitimation and can be successful in nonviolent ways (notably with respect to the declaration of the human rights). While resistance can be understood as a form of rebellion leading to violence and war, the role of resistance as it is perceived within this paper is that of operating prophylactic, in the way of avoiding upcoming violence. Ideally this nonviolent prerequisite applies to all forms of social interaction, communication included. Taking these presumptions into account there is still a huge variety of nonviolent resistance as to all (visible and disguised) kinds of possible forms, arenas and contents of resistance, i.e. ranging from large scale resistance processes within the interplay of political institutions to forms of resistance in everyday life.

In regard to resistance and the interplay of democracy and innovation, today's perception of insurgencies in planning theory is linked to the idea of a dialectical interaction of actors and social institutions. Therein, different approaches are taken into account i.e. the social construction of planning systems (Aibar/Bijker 1997; Farias/Bender 2010; Servillo/Van den Broeck 2012), the transformation of specific governance structures (Bentz 2004; Healey 2006; Albrechts 2010) or planning cultures (Friedmann 2005; Knieling/Othengrafen 2009; Reimer/Blotevogel 2012). As to the diversity of change in today's society, a focus on the production and the exchange of knowledge seems to bring new light into the dynamics of contemporary urban planning. Obviously the distribution of knowledge is of crucial importance for planning processes and certainly the distribution of knowledge itself has changed since the foundation of planning theory as well as the role of civil society has. The today's rediscovery of knowledge as a central dimension of urban planning is taking place in times when knowledge itself got a new meaning for social change through its raising (narrative) importance as a factor of economic production (Madanipour 2011).

Particularly knowledge is linked to institutional change, which is seen as a basic element of processes of innovation. It is expected that these processes are generating variety, selecting across that variety, and producing novelty as the result of interaction among heterogeneous actors (Woolthuis et al. 2005: 610). In political terms the rational (or the logic) of selection is a prominent element in debates between advocates and adversaries of participatory concepts of democracy, especially in regard of the aim of remaining capable of acting.

Historically the political impetus of knowledge found its way into planning theory in the 1970th with Horst W.J. Rittels (1977) identification of different forms of knowledge in the process of decision making by distinguishing factual (what is?), deontic (what should be?), instrumental (as may be modified?), explanatory (how can impact be explained?) and conceptual knowledge (what are concepts meaning?). Arguing that the solution for planning problems is not to be found through the rational but through the social, Rittel took up the cudgels for the argumentative process of planning. In the course of the following communicative and/or argumentative turn in planning, deliberative planning approaches emphasized the attention for knowledge outside of the formal planning institutions (and their education systems) and the importance of public discourse (Fischer/ Forester 1993; Healey 1997). More and more, knowledge became theorized as a central capital of exchange in the process of planning (Alexander 2005; Streich 2005; Mathiessen 2007). As it is known from debates about participatory democracies (Schmid 1997: 170 ff), deliberative concepts were increasingly coined by scepticism vis-a-vis unlimited opening-up processes and a plea for the attention on closing-down processes in planning (Rydin 2007, Zimmermann 2010). In short, the coincident discursive structuration of a knowledge turn in planning and in economy led to a (re)growing attention for political aspects within planning knowledge. The following part will introduce a case where the interplay of resistance, selection and innovation will be examined in terms of its political dimensions.

Framing the LUDP *Nordbahnhof Wien*

The Vienna region has become increasingly popular as a place for living in contemporary Central Europe. While its suburbs were already expanding for decades, the core city itself started growing since the 1990ies, especially due to the geo-political change in Europe and the global trend of re-urbanization. In reaction the City of Vienna augmented its social housing scheme (Statistik Austria 2004; 2015), being simultaneously captured by a persisting traditional lack of cooperation with the hinterland. Within this dynamic development several centrally located brownfields held by the Austrian federal railway company (ÖBB) were considered by planners and politicians as ideal areas for developing the future inner-city zones i.e. *Nordbahnhof, Nordwest-Bahnhof, Hauptbahnhof.* The City of Vienna indeed realized some concepts for these areas like the first masterplan for the *Nordbahnhof,* which remained largely unfulfilled during the 1990ies, because parts of these areas were still used by the ÖBB at this time and negotiations for already available parts failed repeatedly. At that time the City of Vienna cleared the way for another opportunity of development as the Vienna Business Agency, and with a minority interest the WBSF[1] (today: wohnfonds_wien, a fund to provide land for state-subsidised housing

[1] Wiener Bodenbereitstellungs- und Stadterneuerungsfonds

construction and to supervise the restoration of old houses) and the federal real-estate company (*Bundesimmobiliengesellschaft*) purchased the large area of a former airfield (240 ha) at the outer limits of the city, the site of one of today's largest Viennese urban development projects, the Seestadt Aspern. There, the city is challenged to develop urban qualities through expensive heavy infrastructure investments (support is coming from the state and from private capital), while the inner city reserves remained rather untouched during the 1990ies. Thus, framed by stubborn rivalry between the centre and the periphery, the period of growth in Vienna started with a strategy that was in favor for an urban extension at the outer limits of the city, while the inner city planning activities kept its focus on small tailed urban renewal projects.

Only in the 21st century, when the trend of urban growth was repeatedly confirmed by predictive knowledge (population census), the City of Vienna strengthened its expansion strategy as well by the densification of populated structures inside the core city and the challenging task of a socially just, ecologically sustainable and certainly economic profitable transformation of brown fields, while paradoxically the production rate of subsidized housing fell back behind the count of the 1990ies. Naturally, these different strategies of urban growth would overlap with each other depending on the context. An allover asset for planners and developers was given by areas located close to the city center, as it is the case for the above mentioned (former) railway stations. In October 2012 the City of Vienna and the landowner (ÖBB – Immobilienmanagement GmbH) set the course for a telling modified urban development project: the town planning ideas competition for the second part of the former railway station *Wien Nordbahnhof* in Leopoldstadt (2nd district) ended in favour of an urban form, that violates sharply the Viennese tradition of the so called *Blockrandbebauung* (*Blockrand*-pattern). The winning project not only abandoned radically a traditional urban form but lifted the very idea of an enclosed open space within one single building block to a higher geographical scale. By forging all buildings to the margins of the development area, the general concept conserves an enormous green treasure of public space for the population, the so called *Freie Mitte*, as well as it banishes motor vehicles form large parts of the core area. The development zone is part of an inner-city transformation process where the *Nordbahnhof* (with a total area of 85 ha) together with the *Nordwestbahnhof* (with a total area of 44 ha) in Brigittenau (20th district), both former railway stations originally built in the Austro-Hungarian monarchy and separated in the urban fabric only by a traffic junction, give way to extensive urban densification. According to the city administration's plan the total area will locate 32.000 inhabitants and 25.000 places of work until the year 2025. Just a stone's throw away from the City (1st district) a new generation of citizens will find its home close or within the typological setting of an experimental superstructure, that is one of today's biggest inner-city transformation zones in Vienna.

Especially at the *Nordbahnhof* the changing urban form becomes visible at once. The formal rupture will be physically inscribed into the morphology of the Nordbahnhof because half of the area was already built up in rather typical block structures by following the former master plan's intentions. The first general concept for the urban transformation of the *Nordbahnhof* dates back to the years of 1993/94 (Stadt Wien 2014a) (see Figure 1, left side) and divided the originally called future city ("Stadt der Zukunft") into small sections following the traditional *Blockrand*-pattern. Since then the southern and eastern parts of the *Nordbahnhof* were developed step by step respectively bloc by bloc, without significant effort towards planning participation (as the city administration reaffirmed its will to strengthen the participation of the civil society primary in urban renewal projects and realized new LUDPs by informing the public in mass events rather than by giving way to more elaborated forms of cooperation). A glance at the new masterplan (Stadt Wien 2014b) (see Figure. 1, middle and right side) reveals a sharp break with the former small tailed structure of the 1990s masterplan as well as it suggests a more comprehensive civic participation process.

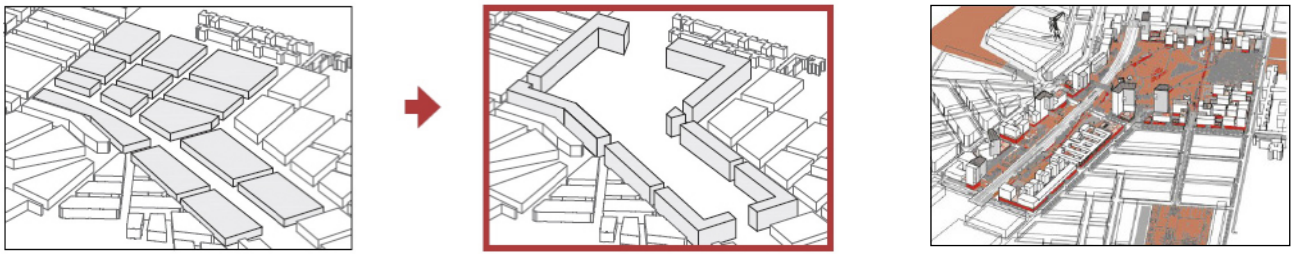

Figure 1. The development concept of the architects Kuzmich and Kleindienst according to the first masterplan for the Nordbahnhof by the architects Tesar and Podrecca in 1993/1994 (left side) and the concept of StudioVlay in 2013 (middle and right side) (source: Stadt Wien 2014a; StudioVlay et al. 2012).

The interplay of resistance, innovation and selection at the LUDP *Nordbahnhof Wien*

This section represents selected examples of resistance playing an important role for the interplay of democracy and (intended) innovation apparent at the LUDP *Nordbahnhof* Wien.

1. Resistance and architectural innovation within the process of selection

The decision for the new masterplan of the *Nordbahnhof Wien* in the year 2012 wasn't without controversy. A glance at the inside of the planning system's "black box" (Healey 2006: 303) shows, that a disguised form of resistance was already part of the double-stage masterplan competition process. The mastermind of the new concept, architect Bernd Vlay[2] (2014), explained that it was in his very intention to put the rule of the *Nordbahnhof* Wien competition to the test. Vlay's critical perception of the process was, that the city's planning authority was on its way to develop the *Nordbahnhof* Wien structurally quite similar to Cerda's extension plan for Barcelona (Aibar/Bijker 1997), which means developing a rectangular monotony with an even significant higher density as it was the case for the Spanish equivalent. According to the architects judgement, this process had to be approached by persiflage: Within a hopelessly short period of time, the office StudioVlay prepared a concept for the first stage of the competition in only one week, by radically conserving the wild nature of the large area and according to Vlay in the very style of Rem Koolhaas' contribution to the competition for the site of Melun Senart, a 5000 hectare predominately rural area to be developed as last new town in the south of Paris, in the year of 1987 (OMA 2014). The idea of a large green zone in the middle of LUDPs was already known from recent general concepts for other Viennese conversation zones, like the transformation of the central railway station and the *Nordwestbahnhof*. Still the radical break up with the traditional *Blockrand*-pattern and the quasi elimination of motor vehicles from large parts of the area were unconventional. The project's success during the first stage of the selection process highlighted the contributor's chance to make their half-ironic meant vision real, which lead to more competitive preparations for the second stage, considering the competitive relevant aspects of the development project more in detail. According to the architect his masterplan finally made it, not only due to a sophisticated concept, but also because of the incident that an influential person within the jury committee, which was known as being sceptical towards radical new concepts, became ill and was therefore not present during the final competition day. This incident pictures perfectly that "rules shape, and are shaped by, the interaction between actors that take place within these rules" (Woolthuis 2005: 610). Notably the winning team of the masterplan competition became "part of the dynamics that sustain the planning system and its operation and therefore become its >relevant social group<, which strategically behaves as (even unconscious) >temporary supportive coalition<. Through this process these actors – showing different degrees of intentionality and most probably different interests – become to share the same

[2] On the basis of his long-term experience with architectural competitions Vlay was and is engaged with the improvement of these influential planning instruments, with regard to their critical consumption of human ressources, questionable guidelines etc., notably during his membership in the steering committee of Europan Europe (www.europan-europe.eu).

cognitive, cultural, political, structural frame […]" (Servillo/Van den Broeck 2012: 47). In other words, the architect's expertise becomes embedded in a field of autonomy (Bourdieu 1993), unspoken the actor's additional or remaining tactics of resistance, demands for reforms and counter-hegemonic strategies. Furthermore, even if the new urban form found its majority in the respective competition process rather by chance, evidence suggests that an (innovation) process towards a campus-like accumulation of space was at least already lying in the air.

Within the framing conditions for the masterplan competition, the area was defined by an optimal structure for buildings and open space with a special regard to the aspects of the social infrastructure, ecology, mobility and gender mainstreaming (Stadt Wien 2012). The competition guidelines did not suggest going for a huge green field, which now underlines hypothetically the presence of a knowledge-based dimension as it symbolizes a campus-like atmosphere at the future *Nordbahnhof*. The sublime connotation of being an enclosed structure is physically strengthened by considerable barriers to the neighborhoods through the area's borders defined by railway lines and main streets. Interestingly, the *Nordbahnhof*-quarter hosts a set of different campus models. The area was one of the first sites where the City of Vienna implemented a new type of educational institution called *Bildungscampus*. The social infrastructure cluster for children up to 10 years is seen as an architectonic answer for new pedagogical concepts as well as a new way of urban densification and cost externalisation by public private partnerships. A second even larger educational campus is planned to be realised in the following years. This construction of a social infrastructure was decided by the city at the beginning of the 21st century and constitutes a new strategy. Campus models for other functions (i.e. headquarters for banks, education and promotion zones of companies) are evolving as well at the *Nordbahnhof* area expressing the today's densification of power structures. Certainly the campus model can be interpreted not only as a new superstructure but even as a new cognitive element, where different knowledge areas are interacting with each other at a scale that has overcome the small section of a single bloc. Hence, architects and urban planners are developing these structures with a larger number of different fields of expertise and in addition for (and partially with) a larger amount of affected citizens.

Among the wide diversity of competing concepts in urbanism historical examples the universal acclaim for such new structures providing green space can be found in the social reform of the Modern Movement during the 1920s and 1930s (leading to the Garden City) as well as in the shift towards urban sustainability during the 1980s, with a strong emphasis on environmental protection, energy efficiency, and urban consolidation. On the other hand, the term campus derives from a Latin word for field and was traditionally used to describe the land on which a college or university and related institutional buildings are situated. Today the term defines a collection of buildings that belongs to a given insti-

tution, either academic or non-academic. The coincidence of an incline towards business led urban development, the raise of the campus model for the social infrastructure and the shift of urban form are held in line with the provision of urban structures for the imagined smart citizen of the 21st century. Following the new masterplan's intentions the landscape of the *Nordbahnhof* will i.e. operate as an integral climate control unit (Stadt Wien 2014b: 16). Therefore, the built environment is conceptualized as a generating plant, which actively optimizes the energy balance of the city with its integrated gardens, green spaces, drainage systems and its wind and solar energy production facilities. Without surprise the new masterplan for the *Nordbahnhof* provides a chapter on *smart urban development* as the concept of the *smart city* is prominently travelling around the globe with its very distinct consequences at specific times and places. Nearly every feature of urban development finds its place within this chapter: high quality of buildings and public spaces embedded in urban density, social mix through diversity of housing models, flexible spaces at the ground floor level, ecological buildings, web of green spaces, optimal provision with public traffic infrastructure, collective garages and a good practice model for participation (Stadt Wien 2014b: 16).

One might think that this chapter of the masterplan apparently shows the confusion of the planning authority about the vague term *smart city*. Increasingly these concepts are being critizised for only promoting technological innovation without consideration of the social dimension of urbanity (vgl. Allwinkle/Cruickshank 2011; Greenfield 2013). New technologies are representing a headache to advocates of democracy, when the automatisation of the human being is at stake. Thus, superstructures like the *Nordbahnhof* LUDP are comprising the dialectic moment of an ongoing process of individualization through the production of always bigger and more machine like living entities, while at the same time technological transformations i.e. driven by web technologies like the social media and the internet of things are leading towards a heteronomy of so far unrecognized dimensions. In the course of these transformations additional players like energy companies, IT providers etc. are becoming increasingly important stakeholders within LUDPs. There are few examples where the implantation of a superstructure into the core city web did not lead to inflexible, introverted and monofunctional structures (Swyngedouw et al. 2002). In contrast, the small tailed urban form proved to provide the city with spaces for communication, for small production and consumption, for leisure and recreation and last but not least for an open civil society as a relevant factor vis-a-vis to the disempowerment through commodification and social injustice of global capitalism (Blau 2003: 40). Possibly, resistance as it was presented in the case of the masterplanner's persiflage was already collectively or institutionally absorbed by the process of competitive selection to a large extent and transformed into the power holders' "smart" intention of innovation.

2. Resistance and social innovation within the process of selection

The second focus on the process of selection as an important aspect of institutional change points to the question of social innovation and the role of resistance. As outlined above the development of the *Nordbahnhof*-quarter took already place since decades, while only for a short period of time the city administration pushed forward a process of participation, which took place during the realization of the recent international masterplan competition from 2011 to 2012 and especially through a participative revision of the awarded concept, lasting approximately one year from summer 2013 to spring 2014. One of the administrative and political main goals of this process was to produce a final version of the masterplan, which in the end was confirmed (in a legally unbound modality) by the responsible branch of the city council. The new confirmed masterplan provides repetitive and vague arguments, while strong criteria of planning (besides the promise of the *Freie Mitte* and the abandonment of motorways) are almost absent. The masterplan process was as well accompanied by extensive rhetorics of participative planning, which is calling for accountability with regard to the final 20 pages short PowerPoint-styled collection of catchwords and imprecise intentions (Stadt Wien 2014a) and is questioning the responsiveness with regard to the process of biased selection. The succeeding additional production of a more extensive but only informal handbook about the masterplan includes some more, however substantially filtered, details (Stadt Wien 2014b).

The participation process (as well as the masterplan competition) was brought forward under the authority of the vice-mayor and executive city councillor for urban planning, traffic and transport, climate protection, energy and public participation (as a representative of the green party, governing the City of Vienna together with the traditional dominant social democrats since the year 2010 and for the first time in Viennese history). The realization took place by the planning authority and a subcontracted private agency specialized on communication. Additionally, the district quarter management, an outsourced branch contracted by the executive city councillor for housing, housing construction and urban renewal (a representative of the social democrats), was partly involved in the process and with the shift from planning to construction is playing a more and more crucial role for deliberative processes at the *Nordbahnhof*-quarter. During the participation process a randomly defined set of locals was discursively included along a set of workshops, while the whole process was framed by several public accessible dialogue events (for a detailed description see Peer 2015). Herein, conflicts with inhabitants were selectively solved or accepted, but as well sometimes excluded in the course of a setting that favored or avoided specific stakeholder constellations, leading to a wide acceptance of the second masterplan by the participants without admitting a significant role in the decision making process to them. One of the telling incidents was that of the formal integration of a representative of the social movement "*Wagenburg*" into the participation process.[3]

[3] The group „*Wagenburg*" is part of a social movement within the network of „Wagenplatz" (http://wagenplatz.at).

As the movement is representing an alternative form of living it is therefore interpretable as a sign of resistance against the monotony of contemporary urban housing. While the contribution of a single movement member to the officially designed participation process was accepted, the temporarily installed infrastructures of all the *Wagenburg*-members were simultaneously displaced from the brown field area of the Nordbahnhof. Also the city planners failed to include further players, like citizens with an international immigration background as well as representatives of the local economy. It is a common ground of critics that participation processes fail to specify institutional arrangements for handling multiple knowledges in a way that recognizes the specificity of knowledge claims. Rydin (2007: 52) argues for the limited variety of forms that such knowledge claims can take and the need to create spaces within planning processes for testing and recognizing these different knowledge claims. Formally the participation process in question would have been a good testing ground for different knowledge claims if there was a representative variety of inhabitants and institutions as well. Besides the planning authority's tolerance of these significant lacks of variety in the process of selection, the communication process across different fields of responsibility within the city administration was barely made transparent. This is not about the idea of a total symmetry of information, still more transparency would have been both helpful to counterbalance the lack of coordination within the system and necessary to open-up discussions about the mismatch of regulations, which historically evolved in different fields (i.e. building regulations). Finally the participation process was primarily designed to produce recommendations for the completion of the masterplan, overruling the logic of a process of variety creation, which is actually the result of constant interaction among heterogenous actors in a population. The participation process therefore fulfilled a selective integrative and stabilizing, but rarely a social innovative function. Important political decisions were taken before or aside from the participation process or were not taken yet.

The perception of the already realized parts of the *Nordbahnhof* is ambivalent, because the provision of infrastructure lacks significantly behind the planned state and is partly repaired retroactively. Albeit the large absence of precise measures on the future qualities of the area in the masterplans for the *Nordbahnhof*, the view statements on the planned mixed use and the overall construction volume are revealing that the original intentions are inclined towards a large-scale and profit oriented production of urbanity at the expense of the local quality of life. In contrast to the concept of the first masterplan, companies, developers and housing cooperatives were able to modify the zoning shape and the intended mixed use with the result of even bigger and more mono-functional blocks (including disfunctional technological solutions like overheated low energy buildings, etc.). This applies especially to the quality of public space and the provision of space for small businesses and social infrastructure in the ground floors of the buildings. The same incline towards business led development becomes visible through the increase of the maximum

allowed gross floor space within the finalized new masterplan (Stadt Wien 2014b) in comparison to the criteria of the planning ideas competition (Stadt Wien 2012).

The above-mentioned hegemonic configurations are still presenting simplifying images widely concealing the more interwoven patterns of urban planning's contradictions behind the discursive structuration of best possible planning participation. But the incidences are already delivering sufficient insight into the dialectical process of change: business led development and traditional power-holders remain the main pillars of urban development in Vienna. At the same time the rhetoric of participation is increasing as well as experiments with planning participation, but only leading to modest results, so that a significant change within the Viennese planning culture is barely traceable. Therefore, city planners dispose over strong instruments to execute closing down processes, which in fact might be seen as an asset of planning if the results are increasing life qualities in an inclusive manner. Unfortunately the institutionalized mode of competition regulates the redistribution of knowledge without making a significant difference between the very different goals of social and technological innovation.

Thus, a finer grained concern with opportunities of participation seems to be important. These opportunities at question are spread at different levels. Firstly, in the case of the *Nordbahnhof*, the general conceptual level itself consists of three development phases during the whole period of transformation stretching across decades (first masterplan 1994-2014, intersection zone 2014-2020, second masterplan 2015-2025) and is followed by the process of zoning of the respective building plots, with its late and unsatisfying participation opportunities. Secondly, basic infrastructure like public transport and parks have to be provided. Many decisions are still open, like the share of responsibility for the development and the service of the *Freie Mitte* as well as the plans for the public traffic facilities. Third, the process of change takes place at the level of the buildings on site during the phases of planning, construction, settlement and operation (i.e. collaborative housing). This level includes housing as well as educational and cultural facilities and herein also decisions about different forms of energy supply respectively alternative energy production facilities, as well as decisions made about the share of facilities between neighboring buildings etc. At another level the processes are driven by small and medium sized incentives stimulated by public and private actors, increasingly designed as competitions for best ideas (i.e. small financial compensation, infrastructural or knowhow support for private urban gardening initiatives, health care initiatives). All these processes are influenced by the current flow of today's social network society, undermining the logic of physical space by the seamless web of virtual interconnections in everyday life. Within the planning cultural frame the need of specific forms of knowledge may then be regarded as dependent on the defined problem (i.e. effectiveness, efficiency, equity), the process level/path (i.e. masterplan, detailed planning), the field or the object (i.e. housing, traffic planning), the claim (i.e. expert, layperson) and the role of the planner (i.e. moderation, bureaucracy).

Conclusion

The ongoing urban transformation process of the LUDP *Nordbahnhof* Wien is characterized by its rising but still limited range of participation, comprising a rather intransparent interplay of hegemonic configurations, counter-hegemonic elements and temporal coalitions set by various arrangements between different private and public players. Apparently different forms of resistance are endorsed within this governance process as something "good" as they are transformed into adjusted modes of action or otherwise are doomed of being excluded. Yet, the case emphasizes the importance of a grand variety of non-violent forms of resistance for democracy and innovation, where all players are belonging to innovation friendly – open as well as effective – institutions, a reasonable amount of information and forms of cooperative involvement. With regard to the evolution of a satisfying participation process, cities are echoed to their specific ability of keeping their collective understanding and cultivation of democracy on time.

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AN ANATOMY OF HOPE

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Abstract

'So, it is the crisis of the idea of revolution. But behind the idea of revolution is the crisis of the idea of another world, of the possibility of, really, another organization of society, and so on. Not the crisis of the pure possibility, but the crisis of the historical possibility of something like that is caught in the facts themselves. And it is a crisis of negation because it is a crisis of a conception of negation which was a creative one.' (Alain Badiou)

The paper seeks to elaborate on the concept of hope and the possibility of a '*politics of hope*' that goes beyond negation in relation to contemporary architectural practice. The focus will be on the affective modality of hope, the intra-personal, as opposed to the common understanding of hope as a personal feeling. Following Ernst Bloch's notion of hope as *'anticipatory consciousness'*, the paper discusses the limitations and potentials of the principle of hope in contemporary spatial practices using Brecht's dictum *'something's missing'* as a starting point for thinking about hope as a cognitive instrument. In a post-modern society, the notion of an 'outside' is hardly conceivable. The alternative orders of society imagined are almost invariably mirrors of what already is; these could be called utopias of compensation. At the same time, there has over the last couple of years been a rapid increase in instances of political upheaval, and the words change and hope are heard increasingly often in political discussion, signalling a dynamism as well as an openness in political discussion that goes well beyond the ideologies of the 20th century. Hope is in other words here understood as transformative; the concept is interlinked with the prospect of change. Hope is as an operative concept capable of a double move, simultaneously being critical and propositional. The critical aspect is implicit in the connection to change; it denotes a desire for a different world than what is. The propositional aspect implies a direction and the exploration of an alternative. Hope in relation to spatial practices is thus concerned with the experimentation along the edge of the current doxai – challenging them and seeking to extend them.

Keywords: Politics of Hope; Bloch; Architecture; Theory; Practice

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Introduction

The notion of a 'politics of hope' has recently returned after a post-modern hiatus, and we no longer imagine ourselves to be at the end of history. The question is however what hope is, and what it does, in a context that is no doubt still post-modern where the idea of 'progress' remains problematic. The most popular version of a 'politics of hope' no doubt stems from the 2008 election campaign for the then-Presidential candidate Barack Obama, manifested in Shepherd Fairey's poster simply entitled 'Hope'. Interestingly enough, the poster originally bore the word 'Progress', which the Obama campaign managers changed to 'Hope' (Fisher III et al., 2012). The poster itself is arguably one of the most iconic posters of the 21st century; however, the message of the poster was never specified. The purpose appears to have been to create an association between hope and the personality of Barack Obama as a representation of change, rather than with any specific set of policies. The shallowness of the poster reduces the concept of hope to a floating signifier, one that absorbs meaning rather than emits it. Hope then becomes a device playing on emotions without content, but one that manages to produce forms of collective hope of different societal groups without having any counterpart in politics.

Talking of hope in a post-modern context is somewhat paradoxical, at least if one refers to hope for a better world. If post-modernism is characterised by the abandonment of the metanarratives of progress and Enlightenment (Lyotard, 1984), the concept of hope in the form of a 'politics of hope' becomes problematic. Without the metanarrative, hope is privatised and ultimately individual rather than collective, a process Thompson and Žižek have referred to as the *'privatization of hope'* (Thompson & Žižek, 2013). Hope in post-modern society is thus connected with personal desires rather than any collective political will. As Jayan Nayar puts it: *'The collective we of a hopeful Humanity lies succumbed to the sovereign I of individualistic desires'* (Nayar, 2013, p. 64). In post-modern society, the most hopeful institution must be the stock exchange, an institution built on and feeding off a very specific form of individual hope. Joseph Vogl posits that *'the market is neither interested in the past nor in the present but only in future profit prospects, this capital's dream is oblivion; it is about the power of future and is fulfilled in the idea of the end of history'* (Vogl, 2010, p. 4).

However, in order to discuss a 'politics of hope' it is necessary to define another form of hope. What is required is a form of hope focused on defining a collective project rather than on the individual's desires. In order to rehabilitate hope as a collective endeavour, it becomes necessary to adapt the concept to a post-modern condition in order to define a 'politics of hope' that has the potential of becoming something more than plain optimism. In the past five years, there have been spectacular political manifestations and activism around the world, from the *Indignados* in Spain to the *Occupy Movement*, to the *Arab Spring* in the Middle East. All of these have been incredibly effective in their campaign

against the power structures that are, and they have all expressed a hope for a better world. At the same time, from the outside, the reasons for these movements beyond the negation of the existing system have been unclear. This is one of the reasons why a discussion on hope is essential: not necessarily to create some form of consensus, but to elicit a future-orientation in the political discussion, which may well be a precondition for a politics of hope.

To further complicate matters, just as there a certain divergence of opinions as to the definition of hope, there are widely diverse definitions of what constitutes a 'politics of hope'. This has also changed radically over the past 50 years. Writing in the early 1960s, Arthur Schlesinger contrasted 'politics of hope' with 'politics of memory' and nostalgia (Schlesinger, 1963). This is a highly modern juxtaposition where hope is nearly synonymous with progress. In a contemporary context, again using the Barack Obama as an example, 'politics of hope' has been contrasted with a 'politics of cynicism'.[1] Possibly a more interesting juxtaposition is one between a 'politics of hope' on one hand and a 'politics of fear' on the other. It has been argued, by Lieven de Cauter for example, that we live in an age characterised to a great extent by fear (Cauter, 2004). The resurrection of a 'politics of hope' would then be an anti-thesis (again back in the dialectical) of a society dominated by a 'politics of fear'. This would however also be too simplistic as the concept of hope is elaborated to be something more than the anti-thesis of fear. Any such definition risks detaching the notion of a politics of hope from the actual and enforce its existence solely in the virtual domain of the unrealisable[LK1] as Susan McManus has pointed out (McManus, 2011).

This article will dissect the notion of hope and the conditions of hope as related to spatial production, in particular in relation to architecture as a contingent discipline and small-scale urban design of alternative public realms. The article will partly build on the theoretical framework of Susan McManus' article 'Hope, Fear, and the Politics of Affective Agency' (2011) but will elaborate on this framework in order to connect it to architecture. The selected forms of practice are not exactly from the 'outside' of the profession of architecture, but rather seeking to engage with the frames that define the limits of the domain of the profession of architects and urban designers, and to challenge these frames in an emancipatory way.

The essay will argue for an extended definition of the concept of hope as a cognitive instrument to work towards increasing potential for societal transformation. The ultimate

[1] Barack Obama in a speech at Democratic National Convention on Tuesday, July 27, 2004, http://www.librarian.net/dnc/speeches/obama.txt

aim for this extended concept of hope is to challenge and extend what Brian Massumi has referred to as *'society's boundary conditions'*, the political, economic and scientific doxai that presently curb our understanding of the world and its possible alternatives (Massumi, 2002). The concept of hope is subsequently connected to the architectural practice through a short comparison of Umberto Eco's "*The Poetics of the Open Work*" (Eco, 1989), which is used to analyse the potential for a politics of hope in architectural practice.

A Theoretical Framework of Hope

'So, it is the crisis of the idea of revolution. But behind the idea of revolution is the crisis of the idea of another world, of the possibility of, really, another organization of society, and so on. Not the crisis of the pure possibility, but the crisis of the historical possibility of something like that is caught in the facts themselves. And it is a crisis of negation because it is a crisis of a conception of negation which was a creative one. The idea of negation is by itself a negation of newness, and that if we have the means to really negate the established order — in the moment of that sort of negation — there is the birth of the new order.' (Alain Badiou in Houdt, 2011, p. 234)

The crisis of the metanarrative of modernity is also the crisis of negation as a critical method of transformation as it arguably requires a belief in negation to bring society forward, ultimately, a belief in progress. The question then becomes: where is then the possibility of resistance to the dominant power structures if this resistance needs to transcend negation? Critical theories, according to Geuss, serve as guides for human action; they seek to produce enlightenment in their agents, they are inherently emancipatory, they have a cognitive content, and they are reflective rather than objectifying. *'A critical theory (…) is a reflective theory which gives agents a kind of knowledge inherently productive of enlightenment and emancipation'*. (Geuss, 1981, p. 2). The question is if this still applies in a post-modern context. It is now often argued that negation is no longer enough (Martin, 2006; Wallenstein, 2010; Wallerstein, 1998). This is part of the motive for seeking to rehabilitate a politics of hope: to provide a position of positive transformation. An extended understanding of the politics of hope is intended to constitute a "positive critique" in the sense that it offers an alternative to what is which is not solely based on negating the existing, but also provides a direction rather than a destination.[2] This is a shift and not necessarily an innocent one.[3] The directional is one of the tools of governance in a neo-liberal world that returns in planning in urban visions that envision a society that differs very little from what society is today. However, the implications of this shift in

[2] Arguably, all critique promotes a positive alternative implicitly if not explicitly, c.f. (Latour & Weibel, 2005)

[3] As was pointed out to me by one of the peer-reviewers.

relation to hope have not been explored in any detail in regards to disciplines of spatial production.

The notion of a positive alternative is not necessarily simple. Most alternative societies that are proposed could still be situated as negations rather than constituting positive alternatives; for example: there are too many cars, let's build a society without cars. Alternatives are primarily aimed at alleviating the injustices of our present system instead of actually doing something else entirely, and could be categorised as alternatives of compensation. Fredric Jameson suggests that the very notion of it being radically different makes it impossible for us to imagine since this is the definition of the radically different in the first place: that we cannot imagine it (Jameson, 1995). And, in the text entitled *'The Politics of Utopia'*, he argues that even if we could imagine something radically different from what is, the principal problem is that we are then unable to see a way in which this could become reality. Jameson uses as an example universal employment, which according to him is highly provocative ideal that would be the ultimate revolt against a capitalism that requires *'frontiers and perpetual expansion to sustain inner dynamic'* (Jameson, 2004, p. 38). Universal employment thus would challenge capitalism at its core. However, this is also the downfall of this idea, since it would be inconceivable in capitalism, the system would already have had to be changed for it to become possible. David Harvey makes a similar distinction in *'Spaces of Hope'* (2000), where he differentiates between utopias of spatial play (that is images of a utopian society) and utopias of social progress (political ideologies). Harvey discusses a form of 'dialectical utopianism' that would combine the two, whereas Jameson is less optimistic and suggests that this is the conundrum of politics and the concept of utopia, utopia can hence only be used to critique the dominant ideology (Jameson, 2007).

Ernst Bloch remains the foremost theorist on hope as a concept. His work *'The Principle of Hope'* (1995) is fundamentally based on hope as a form of positive critique that opens up the potentiality of the futures possible rather than prescribes one specific future. Bloch's work is a redefinition of Marx's notion of criticality into something that transcends negation. To Bloch, hope was not solely the opposite of fear, but hope is anticipatory and active; it is *'a directing act of a cognitive kind'* (p. 12). In Bloch's view, the feeling that *'Etwas fehlt'* ['Something's missing'] (Bloch, 1988, p. 14), a sentence he borrowed from Brecht is the starting point for using hope as a cognitive instrument. Hope is in other words a process of development where abstract becomes concrete. There are different forms or stages of hope, the simplest and most common of which are daydreams of compensation and personal success, often in the form of nostalgia. There is subsequently a distinction between compensation, what Bloch refers to as *abstract utopia*, and anticipation, referred to as *concrete utopia* and in Bloch's view connected to Marxism. The distinction is based on *function* rather than *content*, where concrete utopia is anticipatory and transformative, and

the task in developing hope is *'removal of the abstract elements which clutter up the concrete core'* (Levitas, 2011, p. 104). That is, to make hope real, the unrealistic and unconsidered aspects need to be separated from the hope itself. *'Docta spes, comprehended hope [begriffene Hoffnung], thus illuminates the concept of a principle in the world, a concept which will no longer leave it.'* (Bloch, 1995, p. 7). The notion of comprehended hope locates hope, although it is a future-oriented concept, firmly in the present. *'That is why real venturing beyond never goes into the mere vacuum of an In-Front-of-Us, merely fanatically, merely visualizing abstractions. Instead, it grasps the New as something that is mediated in what exists and is in motion, although to be revealed the New demands the most extreme effort of will'* (p. 4).

The dialectical is important to Bloch, but he insists that the future is an open system. While Bloch builds his principle of hope heavily on both Marx and Hegel, his view of the future is thus open and dialectical as opposed to Hegel's Geist guiding society towards Aufhebung and Marx's determinism where Communism is the inevitable outcome (Thompson & Žižek, 2013). This open future is made up from the potential futures, the open possibilities that come from impulses in the everyday. Bloch employs a concept he calls the *Not-Yet* (Noch-Nicht) as the principal concept that connects the present and the future, and it is central to his entire work on hope. The Not-Yet is a distinctly future-oriented concept that still remains firmly grounded in the present. Bloch's Not-Yet is divided principally into the Not-Yet-Conscious and the Not-Yet-Become (Bloch, 1995). The Not-Yet-Conscious is the possibility of the new as developed in the unconscious of the mind. Bloch insists that the unconscious is where connections are made through associations and where the new is produced (Levitas, 2011). In Bloch's definition, ideas are formed in the unconscious, and these ideas make their way into the actual real as impulses that can be traced in the everyday objects as well as in cultural production. There is consequently any number of possible futures being expressed at any given time, leaving the future open to follow any which one of these. These impulses are always there, their principal determinant is that they are produced by the unconscious mind and thus arise out of their present cultural context.

This anticipatory consciousness is in other words not construed around a fantasy, but is developed into a concrete possibility, and it is this possibility that is hinted at in the Not-Yet and which is later evolved. Bloch's focus on utopia makes things complicated, but it is essential to remember that Bloch's definition of utopia was instrumental rather than constituting an objective in itself. To Bloch, (concrete) utopia is primarily the expression of hope. Hope is developed in the unconscious, expressed in the everyday and in particular in the arts, and it is eventually developed into a concrete and conscious anticipation, one which strips away all the unrealistic and irrelevant abstractions into something which is highly concrete and possible. Yet hope must go through this process. Jameson follows a

similar line of thought in his example above of universal employment, that the utopian becomes real possibility and no longer utopian as the result of a process; the image in itself is abstract, and in order to make it concrete the process in which it becomes anticipation must be experienced, hope must evolve from abstract to concrete (Jameson, 2004). The open question is how this evolution of hope is possible if there is only a very abstract image what is a collective and collective hope, and it is here that architecture as cognitive devices find their role.

A politics of hope in architectural practice will thus not engage with filling in a pre-specified model of a better society but will seek to imagine this better society through an architecture that enables thinking along these lines. Architecture then becomes a kind of cognitive device, enabling and encouraging contemplation beyond the confines of the doxai that we inhabit.

Affect is a concept closely related to the concept of hope. The definition of affect used here stems from the work of Spinoza as interpreted by Brian Massumi, Eric Shouse and Nigel Thrift, among others (Massumi, 2002; Shouse, 2005; Thrift, 2007). To locate affect, Shouse makes a distinction between 'affect', which is intrapersonal and 'feeling', which is the personal perception of affect, which is conditioned by cultural background and memories (Shouse, 2005). This relationship would not be complete without 'emotion', which is the culturally conditioned expression communicated in gestures and language of the feeling directed back at the rest of the world. Human bodies are, according to Spinoza, always affecting and being affected, by other humans or by situations or material objects (Massumi, 2002; McManus, 2011). To Spinoza, affect is a transition, and this transition is *'accompanied by a feeling of the change in capacity'* (Massumi, 2002), and it is this notion of capacities that defines what a body is, what it can do. Feeling then is the reaction to this affect as it is passed through the 'filter' of our unconscious and our memories, which means that the feeling produced by affect varies from subject to subject.

To Massumi, affect is closely interlinked with the concept of hope, in fact, he uses them synonymous, and goes on to define affect as *'the virtual co-presence of potentials'* (Massumi, 2002). This co-presence is virtually present; it cannot be reached and actualised in that sense, at least not directly and literally. Ernst Bloch put it, you will not be able to point out that which was missing and exclaim: *'it's about the sausage'* (Bloch, 1988, p. 14). The *'vague sense of potential'* is in other words perpetually out of reach, through experimentation more potential can be accessed, and this constitutes a degree of our freedom in a sense. Massumi, like Bloch, understands hope thus as a directional affect, which does not prescribe a future but rather open the possibility of something that will begin to approach what is missing (Massumi, 2002).

Affect and affect theory is predominantly used in marketing, what Massumi refers to as 'relational marketing' (Massumi, 2002), through fundamentally affecting the subject on an affective level, bypassing the conscious mind so to speak. Maurizio Lazzarato has referred to this as noo-power and noo-politics (Lazzarato, 2006). Noo-politics, summed up by Deborah Hauptmann, operate as *'a power exerted over the life of the mind, including perception, attention and memory'* (Hauptmann, 2010, p. 11) — as opposed to Foucault's concept of bio-politics, which is instead exerted over the life of the body. However, the concept of noo-politics does not replace the concept of bio-politics; according to Lazzarato, it is superimposed on top of it, and ultimately commands it (Lazzarato, 2006). Building on Deleuze's essay 'Control Societies' (Deleuze, 1995), Lazzarato suggests that noo-politics reorganises and commands other power relations as it is more deterritorialised and more virtual than bio-politics (Lazzarato, 2006). Sven-Olov Wallenstein suggests that our minds are 'sculpted' through architecture and visual media in general in order to produce certain actions and reaction (Wallenstein, 2010). The objective of such exercises is to fundamentally shape the mind of the subject through shaping its identity, to in-form us as Massumi puts it (Massumi, 2002). This is according to Massumi how power functions now: it is not power over subjects, but power to form subjects. According to McManus, *'the affective can be theorized as an extensive series, or field of forces and intensities that the "I", the subject, finds itself manifest within and negotiates'* (McManus, 2011). The territory of affect is consequently a battleground in this sense, where hope-affect constitutes one form of resistance to the sculpting of the mind by the control society, and hope is intended as a means to break out of the confines of the dominant doxai.

Expressions of hope

'Utopia is no longer the invention and defence of a specific floorplan, but rather the story of all the arguments about how Utopia should be constructed in the first place. It is no longer the exhibit of a an achieved Utopian construct, but rather the story of its production and of the very process of construction as such' – Fredric Jameson (2007, p. 217)

The vast majority of architectural production serves to manifest the dominant ideology in society, to physically manifest laws and power structures in the material reality, and an architectural practice of hope will invariably constitute exceptional practice that poses a challenge in one form or other to the standard practice. However, this does not necessarily render it meaningless, as such practices provide examples of ways of doing things differently, and open for discussion on how the world could be different.

What is referred to here as architectural 'politics of hope' is in essence similar to David Harvey's notion of dialectical utopianism, combining 'utopias of spatial play' with 'utopias of social process'; this also would constitute a practice that is both processual and directional, rather than providing a finite future, of making the unreachable reachable (Harvey,

2000). However, there is an added element to this: the notion of affect and affective architecture, which is central to how architecture could work as 'politics of hope' in a processual way. One principal reason for this addition is the central role that affect plays in hope and the evolution of hope, but also how affect is used to various ends in architecture. Perhaps the most illustrative example is the use of fear-affect, where security measures are added in order to create a sense of security, but effectively contribute to an affect of insecurity, mistrust and fear. These phenomena have been analysed in the works of Wendy Brown and Anna Minton, among others (McManus,2011; Brown, 2010; Minton, 2012). Although it is not desirable to juxtapose hope-affect and fear-affect, as Susan McManus maintains, it nonetheless shows how the potential of using affect in the built environment is consciously or unconsciously employed in the cities today (McManus, 2011). Normally, however, these affects tend to appeal to negative affects, such as fear, techno-positivism or nostalgia. All of these have a clear role in the economy as it is produced and reproduced in the built environment today.

In this brief study of a possible 'politics of hope' in architectural production, I will outline two somewhat different approaches to the architectural project – limited in scope and commission to the framework of production of the architect – working with or without a commission from the established modes of production. Both of these are concerned with challenging the doxai of common knowledge and the equations that govern the production of architecture. This challenge can be made in various ways, as will be shown, but the central part is that the architectural project serves as a cognitive instrument working towards learning how things actually could be different.

Architectural production is, with few exceptions, based on a market-driven equation that determines whether a project will probably be feasible (profitable) or unfeasible. What architectural politics of hope primarily do is to challenge how architecture is habitually quantified, and to what end. It is in other words a form of critical practice that proposes societal transformation by challenging the frameworks that control the production of architecture where architecture is the physical manifestation of law and power structures. There is however also an affective dimension in this, and it is the hope-affect that proposes a transformational potential and that permits the challenge to frameworks in the form of architecture to be taken up and developed in a process towards a realistic utopia, a concrete anticipation of another world. It is a form of practice that requires a *partial alignment* with the power structures of society, while challenging these at the same time.[4] Challenging the frameworks defining feasibility and economic legitimacy

[4] I believe that the term stems from Keller Easterling, but I have been unable to locate a reference.

that control the production of architecture is in itself not a revolution, but it is a beginning to enable thinking beyond the forces that seek to maintain the status quo and who seek to assert that no other world is possible.

The type of practices of hope outlined here is characterised by its indeterminate rather than determinate nature; it is a type of 'crowd-sourced utopianism'. Politics of hope refers to evolutionary practice that starts with an opportunity – an 'in-between' – and exploits it in a manner that is different from the workings of society at large. The structure and telos of this practice is not set at the beginning, but has evolved through participatory discussions and trial-and-error. The format, system and telos are perpetually renegotiated and thus also perpetually deferred. Consequently, the evolution, as contrasted with intelligent design or similar, moves in a general direction rather than towards one specific type of society. These are interesting from an architect's perspective, as they appear to form a site of resistance, operating socially responsibly in a way that transcends or transgresses the frame within which architectural production habitually takes place. In other words, by operating through such participatory utopian projects, an architect can become less dependent on client and capital. The idea is that such projects will produce and test propositions for a better world beyond the confines of capitalist production. Again, it is necessary to consider these endeavours as a kind of representation if they are intended to have an effect beyond themselves.

The virtual co-presence of potentials in architecture

'Perhaps we can see whether any of the new forms we have imagined might secretly correspond to new modes of life emerging even partially. Perhaps indeed we might start to do this at the existential level, at the level of daily life, asking ourselves whether we can think of spaces that demand new kinds or types of living that demand new kinds of space' (Jameson, 1995)

This text will focus on a narrow segment of small-scale architectural practices using two contemporary practices as the objects of analysis. These objects are selected because they operate on the edge of what is considered the conventional framework of architectural production, partly as a result of their scale. The short analysis here is primarily using architects' statements and published photographical material, which is useful to establish a hypothesis although the next step would be a more rigorous analysis of how the projects have been received.

As their focus is on small-scale interventions and projects, there is a certain agency available in the sense that there is an opportunity to act otherwise, and this window of opportunity has a tendency to diminish when more money is involved in the production of the architecture. If hope is communicated through affect and through what could

be referred to as cognitive devices, the next issue is to relate to how this is mediated within architectural practice and form. One theoretical starting point that dovetails with the notion of hope is the concept of the 'open work'. This was originally introduced by Umberto Eco in the essay *The Poetics of the Open Work*, and translated into English in the late 1980s. The open work is juxtaposed with the closed work, and the two are related to how the work (of art) is experienced and interpreted. It is in other words the relationship between the object of art and the observer (reader, and in our case, user), which is in focus rather than the intention of the artist. This does not mean that the artist is inconsequential; on the contrary, the artist introduces the openness of interpretation that is a significant part of the poetic qualities of the open work.

The essential quality of the open work is that it offers an open number of interpretations – there is no definitive interpretation or even definitive set of interpretations, but instead a plethora of interpretations that encourage or demand contemplation on the behalf of the observer. As an example, Eco uses the literature of Kafka, where there is no legend or key to understanding the metaphors, but rather the metaphors' openness is what keeps our attention and begs the question what it possibly could mean (Eco, 1989, p. 9). The work's open qualities render it a field of possibilities rather than a linear sequence. Eco furthermore offers a subcategory to the open work which is the *'work in movement'*, which consists of '*unplanned or physically incomplete structural units*' (p. 12). Both the open work as a defined field of undefined possibilities and the open work as a field that is developed during the performance of the work (Eco uses Scambi by Henri Pousseur as an example of this kind of work; in Scambi, the performer is presented with a number of sequences of music, but the order of these is decided on by the performer rather than the composer). The distinction is, in other words, between a work that is static or one which is to some extent dynamic.

Architecture in relation to hope can be read through Eco's open work. One could readily argue that our conceptions or pre-interpretations of architecture are socially produced, meaning that our possible interpretations are severely limited by the interpretational frameworks defined by the dominant ideology. An architecture of hope in this case is an architecture that seeks to break out of architecture as closed work; the objective is maximum opening, so to speak. In this context, the open work in architecture is an attempt to break out of the confines of the contemporary doxai, to go beyond the social conditions that are assumed to be 'natural'. Both the examples here explored can be related to the open work, but in different ways.

The first example is ECObox. The project was initiated in Paris, La Chapelle in 2001 by the group aaa (atelier d'architecture autogerée) consisting of architects, artists, and other professionals. It is intended to be a self-managed space, or rather, a network of self-ma-

naged spaces. The form is a garden, intended to serve as a catalyst for community building and participation. On the one hand, it is critical, in that it questions the standard procedure of community participation in architectural projects that otherwise tend to be democratic Potemkin villages where projects gain democratic legitimacy but reap little input from the community. It is at the same time propositional, as it is a means to propose an alternative, or, more precisely, to continuously generate alternatives: *'functioning as social and cultural space, both utopian and real, nomadic and multiple, through a continual process of fabrication and self-redefinition according to its users' desires'* (Petrescu, 2005, p. 43). Theoretically, the project builds heavily on Deleuze and Guattari and the concept of micropolitics, as opposed to macropolitics. It is a highly processual project, the central aspect of which is the community-building process rather than the garden itself. The architectural approach is curatorial, which in this case means that the architect (in both a literal and figurative meaning) engages in bringing things together, enabling and then surrendering control of the process. The result is described as *'a bricolage project from an assemblage of desires'* which prioritises the act of deterritorialization (presumably of capitalist segmentarity) over the construction of new institutions of power (46). The project is thus a device for the evolution and expression of participants' desires – a heuristic tool for imagining alternatives rather than providing an alternative in itself. In the terms of Michel de Certeau, it is a project that works with *tactics* rather than *strategies* (Certeau, 2002). It is a tool for working towards a different form of subjectivation, in line with Guattari's transversal thinking. In other words, it is a space that continuously redefines itself according to its users and actively strives to avoid crystallising in any fixed form, but to instead remain dynamic in a kind of intellectual nomadic form. To an extent, it calls to mind Bourriaud's relational art, but in the city, but there are, as will be discussed, certain differences (Bourriaud, Pleasance, Woods, & Copeland, 2002).

The space produced in ECObox can be considered curated rather than architect-designed. When taken in its most basic function, *curation* is an activity of selecting, organising and sorting. In this case, the curatorial aspect aims to spark a process that will subsequently become self-governing in that nobody will be in control (Petrescu, 2007). One aim is to provide a space for re-thinking the ideas of individuals and the collective and to define an identity which has not (yet) been colonised by capitalist interests – in extension, a space to pause and think freely. In the art world, the participatory turn is perhaps best summarised by Nicolas Bourriaud in 'Relational Aesthetics' (2002), where he takes a very similar approach. Bourriaud writes of '*microtopias*' that emerge from relational art where the social situation is the artwork rather than the artefact. Simply put, the artist/curator sets a scene which is then host to an event. However, as soon as the artwork becomes a purportedly neutral and situated proposition, its power as representation becomes complex and often questionable. ECObox manages, partly, to avoid this conundrum as its script and location

changes over time. ECObox's structure is more flexible, and as long as the question of representation remains unresolved, the problem of what the proposition's function can be avoided.

The telos is thus always-already Not-Yet – there cannot be any explicit telos. It could instead be described as a structure constructed on hope (for the possibility of imagining a more emancipatory society). In theory, the redefinitions of the telos are produced collectively by the participants: '*Collective thinking should construct itself along with the events*' (Petrescu, 2005, p. 55). The question that remains is what directions the imagination can possibly take, and to what extent it is defined by the outside.

ECObox is in terms of Eco's open work an open work in more than one sense. Eco defines a subcategory of the open work which is the 'work in movement', a work which is being reshaped by its performance within the framework provided by the artist.[5] The open work and the work in movement are distinguished through that the work in movement is reconfigured through its performance rather than solely through the interpretation of the audience/observer. In terms ECObox, the 'open work' and its subcategory the 'work in movement' become pertinent. ECObox consists of a curatorial structure which is filled with content by its performers (who are also its users/audience). How the content evolves is loosely controlled by the curatorial structure, but cannot be predicted through this. Consequently, the interpretation of this work by its users transforms the content of the work (if not the curatorial structure, which would appear to remain static). There is in other words a feedback loop where the content is evolving in a very simple sense through the construction of collectives and how the participants are affected through both this constructed collective and its activity or form generated, in this case the development of the garden that is the physical manifestation of the work. The central notion is not so much the object produced but the collective subjectivity, the social affect produced through the group engaging with the project.

ECObox is thus a work continuously changed through its reinterpretation and cultivating new collectives in addition to plants. The project's perpetually incomplete character breeds a form of perpetual motion to continue improving, challenging and tinkering. The produced affective result is the notion of possibility, the sense that the borders and limitations that normally apply are not applicable in this particular case.

[5] It is a matter of interpretation as to whether the work in movement is actually transforming (which a direct reading of Eco would suggest), or whether it is instead a matter of re-interpreting the static work from different angles, as Claire Bishop has suggested (although she does not distinguish between the open work and the work in movement as Eco appears to do.)((Bishop, 2004)).

The second example of what could be considered a politics of hope in architecture is a small and on the surface insignificant project that forms part of the French architectural practice Lacaton Vassal's work. The project here described is a small (14 units) new-build social housing project in Mulhouse from 2005, but similar principles apply in most of their other projects, including the much-published *Tour Bois-le-Prêtre* in Paris, which is a refurbishment of a social housing tower from the post-war period. The founding principle of Lacaton Vassal is that the primary job of the architect is to provide as much space as possible while adhering to the constraints of each individual architectural project. This approach is summed up in the principle 'PLUS', or more, where the ambition with each project is to provide twice the amount of space specified by design frameworks, budget and design brief. In terms of social housing, the relationship between design frameworks, budget and brief is often integral, aiming to provide a minimum existence, whereby the objective is to provide a low standard at a low cost. The design frameworks often dictate minimal spatial requirements that are subsequently interpreted into the budget. Together, these form the framework to which the the architect has to relate. The architects here instead seek to double the amount of space provided while remaining within the original budget, simply put: twice the space for the same price (Druot, Lacaton, & Vassal, 2007, p. 17). There is an implicit critique in this approach of the system that focuses on making barely adequate housing for those who cannot afford private housing, but there is also another, propositional dimension that links the project to a politics of hope.

The commission in Mulhouse was to construct 14 minimal social housing units. Doubling the space of these means saving money on materials and work, leading to ready-made solutions and construction systems. It also leads to a different type of residence, where the extra spaces are deliberately made as something 'other' than what is habitually associated with the contemporary dwelling, in the case of Mulhouse, much of the extra space is made up of winter gardens on the upper floor. Winter gardens here have several virtues, not only are green houses a highly industrialised – and therefore cheap solution – for the additional space, it is also typologically apart from the spatial programme of the home. The extra space is in other words comprised of spaces that are to a degree less programmed than most spaces in the contemporary home.

To summarise, there is one framework of the production of spaces imposed by the minimum existence prescribed in design frameworks, but in addition to this, there our imaginary framework: the habitual definition and conception of what a home is. To a degree, this is formed by media and companies like IKEA. As an example, the IKEA catalogue has sections that programmatically define a home into functions like 'kitchen', 'bedroom' and so on, which serve to define our image of what a home is. According to the architectural historian Adrian Forty, this prescriptive shift has been an on-going process since the early days of industrialisation and the birth of industrial design (Forty, 1986).

The room for interpretation is drastically limited by the preconceptions of what the home is, but what the rather humble extra space does is to offer a space that does not yet have a specific programme. In other words the spaces are open to interpretation, to be appropriated and inhabited in ways that are not socially prescribed. They are spaces without a specific script attached to them; in that sense, it is a critique which is not only a negation of the existing, but which aims to open doors to other imaginaries, for the users to imagine and re-imagine what their dwelling is.

It is useful to make a distinction between Umberto Eco's definition of a closed work and an open work. Transfigured to the spaces of the dwelling, it would imply that the winter gardens and other non-prescribed spaces constitute open architecture (Eco, 1989), where one can see, as Reinhold Martin once put it, how 'it might work otherwise' – a form of realistic utopia (Martin, 2006). This is in some sense a departure from Eco's focus on multiple meanings and moves from poetics to politics. One could argue that the extra spaces supplementing what is assumed to be a home constitute 'a field of possibilities', a space that is open to interpretation simply because it is outside of or in addition to all of the spaces that the frameworks of spatial production associate with the dwelling. In this case, it is not a mere case, but of spaces which are '*brought to their conclusion by the performer* [in this case the inhabitant –FT] *at the same time as he experiences them on an aesthetic plane*' (Eco, 1989, p. 3), thus producing the possibility of and encouraging *'acts of conscious freedom*' (p. 4), which become *'stimulus to quicken his* [the inhabitant in the case of Lacaton Vassal's architecture] *imagination*' (p. 7) – or, in terms of hope, a cognitive device to think beyond the confines of contemporary order. It is here a question of an unwritten openness that permits interpretation and reinterpretation. The inhabitant is not only a consumer, but in an active relation with the material (space), demanding some form of action.

One could also in this case suggest that the Lacaton Vassal housing makes use of a form of affective openness in the architecture, where the decidedly unfinished and 'raw' quality of the material structure invites reinterpretation and re-thinking of how the spaces are used and furnished. However, this is a somewhat risky argument that makes a foray into aesthetics where the various interpretations of what housing is and where 'completeness' is a decidedly factor depending on cultural context. On the other hand, one can find some support for the explicitly unfinished being connected to a conscious project of continued exploration, where continued appropriation and redefinition is part of the tactics (Andreas Ruby in Druot et al., 2007, p. 21). Even if this is the intention of the architect, it remains an open question.

This is a theoretical starting point for thinking hope in architectural practice. This means that what has been analysed here is a framework for conceiving hope, how effective this framework has been; what it has actually produced in terms of hope is not the subject of this article. ECObox has many common denominators with the notion of relational art, which has come under criticism from among others Claire Bishop for its conviviality in the sense that the relational art projects tend to attract a socially homogenous audience that would have no difficulty forming a collective under normal circumstances (Bishop, 2004). However, this is beyond the scope of this essay, which focuses on the possible practices of hope in architecture.

Hope is in both cases expressed through an explicit incompleteness, an invitation not to complete but to push forward. Both projects described here aim to open doors to other imaginaries, to break out of the confines imposed by the dominant ideologies. The means to do so differ somewhat. ECObox is first and foremost about process and collectives, to produce the affect of possibility, which is then collectively developed into something 'other' than how habitants habitually relate to each other in an urban area. In this way, ECObox has very much the character of the work in movement, with an added twist that the way the work progresses transforms the work itself. The only static part in this network is the curatorial structure behind the project itself, by never crystallising into a fixed form, the project hopes to avoid producing power-relations. This structure is a very conscious engagement with Deleuze's ideas stating that desire precedes power (Deleuze, 2007), and ECObox is grappling with establishing and developing desire rather than power structures (as the title of Doina Petrescu's text 'Losing Control, Keeping Desire' suggests (Petrescu, 2005)). The extent to which it is successful would be the subject of another study.

The practice of Lacaton Vassal on the other hand is concerned with providing space for the users' further interpretation. In that sense, it is also an open work that provides what is associated with the dwelling, formally and commercially, and provides something more than this, which quite literally opens a space beyond the conventional. The user defines and completes this space in a different sense than in ECObox; the focus is less on the processual creation and definition of a collective and more about employing the extra space as a cognitive device. Both projects are characterised by an emphasis on the notion that the world is not complete, and both seek to engage with this incompleteness in a several ways. This is both a very prosaic literal incompleteness as well as a more refined invitation to contemplate and re-contemplate Brecht's old dictum: Etwas fehlt, something's missing. Here perhaps is the beginning of an architectural politics of hope.

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SAFETY AND AGONISTIC CONCEPTIONS OF PUBLIC LIFE

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Abstract

This paper seeks to enable for conceptual resistance towards a desirable urban order of 'safe public realms', to which the 'planning for safety' directly contributes. One way of engaging in that kind of resistance is by contributing to politicising the system of beliefs informing planning for safety. Planning for safety is primarily legitimised morally as the ethically right thing to do given the identified violation of a human right in the public realm, the right to freely move about in the public environment. By drawing from Mouffean agonistic political theory (2005), there is no given interpretation nor implementation of ethical principles such as human rights, but rather different interpretations given what point of reference one is departing from, and should hence be subjected to political struggle. To conceptually set the arena for choice contributes to politicising phenomena which previously have been legitimised as the right or the (only) natural thing to do. 'Planning for safety' should therefore be interpreted resting on specific ideological assumptions of public life which frames both how 'the human right' is conceptualised as well as what planning solutions are considered possible.

This article seeks to establish alternative conceptualisations of public life, with an aim to make visible how there is *not* one notion of public life and thereby re-politicise the ideological premises underpinning 'safety planning' and thereby allow for conceptual resistance. This is carried out by establishing a discursive field of public life, a kind of conceptual arena for choice making. The discursive field is represented by four different discourses of public life centred around different ideals such as rational, dramaturgical, conflictual and consensual public life. In this conceptual context, lines of conflict have been discerned based on a thematic of purpose, character, criteria for participation and conception of identities, which have taken the form of agonistic dimensions, from which planning discursively can position itself. This paper argues that we first must agonistically agree on what notion of public life should govern the development of our cities, and thereafter discuss what the consequences would be for planning.

Keywords: safety; public life; agonistic pluralism for

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Introduction

It is important to feel secure, both in the immediate surroundings around the home as well as the city centre and when carrying out activities. Security has to do with feelings– which are very difficult to affect and alter, but are often linked to places. By altering these places, it might be possible to affect some of the feelings that are strongly associated with insecurity (Places to feel secure in – Inspiration for urban development, The National Board of Housing, Building and Planning 2011: p foreword).

Being able to move around freely and securely is a democratic right for both men and women. Working from a gender-equality perspective allows us to make cities and urban areas more secure places for everyone. (Places to feel secure in – Inspiration for urban development, The National Board of Housing, Building and Planning 2011:p 9).

These are quotes from a publication by the Swedish National Board of Housing, Building and Planning (2011), aiming to guide planners in organising the physical environment for achieving a greater sense of safety[1]. These quotes set out the importance of feeling safe and secure when moving about in the urban and residential environment since 'having the freedom to safely move in the public realm' constitutes a democratic right. The quotes furthermore argue for the importance of configuring the urban environment for improving perceptions of insecurity, with an aim of making the public realm safe for everyone. Planning for safety is morally legitimised, as everyone has the *right* to feel safe when moving about in the public realm. The above quotes also emphasise the spatial dimension to the perception of safety, and the possibility of configuring it in such a way that it will become universally safe. The quotes do not only emphasise space, they explicitly depart from a spatial determinist point of view; by altering the physical environment feelings are conceived to change. People's feelings are conceived to be determined by space and not vice versa, and refer to perceived safe structures, perceived safe spatial forms. Furthermore, the exclusionary consequences inherent to such planning are disguised by claims of universality. 'Safe public realms' appear moreover to be a desired public order, and can in many ways be understood as ratifying a socio-spatial urban order rather than challenging or resisting it.

[1] The Swedish board for housing, building and planning translate the Swedish word "trygghet" as security. In this article I choose to translate "trygghet" as "safety", since the security discourse (säkerhet in Swedish) forms another established field of study relating back to security in terms of risk in traffic planning or questions of national security which is different from the subject that is in focus in this paper. The Swedish word "trygghet" (safety) is more general in its character and is relating back to questions of ontological security as well as a general perception of being in danger.

This study draws from Mouffean agonistic theory which sets out society as contingent and inherently political in character (2005: p 17). There is as such no given order of society nor spatial developments which benefit 'everyone' without exclusionary consequences, as choices are always made based on principles of inclusion and exclusion (Mouffe, 2005: p 18). This theoretical point of departure refutes as such the notion of universalism apparent in these quotes as it contributes to de-politicisation of phenomena. This agonistic political theory furthermore defines the political as an activity of choice making (Mouffe, 2005: p 10).

Problems with moral legitimacy

How can one approach so called 'safety planning' which almost every municipality in Sweden (and probably in the Western world) readily participates in through different practices, of which the above examples are an illustration? How can one challenge a desired order (the aspired state of "safe" public realms) which appear to be legitimised morally rather than politically? 'Planning for safety' is considered good as everyone has the right to feel safe in the public realm. It would be morally reprehensible to challenge the principles behind such order, but it is different identifying that someone's rights have been violated against, than to suggest what course of action would follow. In other words, it is different answering the question what planning can do about it (Alexander, 2002: p 237), as "… there is a difference between 'having a right' and 'doing right'" (Dworkin, cited in Campbell and Marshall, 2002: p 179). This means that it is difficult having deontological principles such as "human rights" as a norm for guiding planning practice as it doesn't advise spatial planning on what to do, or what the good thing is to do, but rather that spatial planning ethically ought to do something. Using the rights based principles for legitimating planning practice readily disguises the ideological premises that the suggested course of action rests on (Alexander, 2002: p 233). In the spatial planning safety discourse, particular alteration or configurations of the urban fabric are made as everyone has the right to feel safe. The ideological foundation, the system of belief, for making such interpretation of the rights based principles are here obscured, as there is no such thing as a given answer or solution to the identified problem nor in how to interpret the notion of human rights. The ethical principles advising spatial planning to act and do something can be consensually agreed upon, but the planning actions which would follow them can, or rather should be subject to political struggle and contestation. These ethical principles of human rights informing the political society can be referred to as being of ethico-political character (Mouffe, 2005:p 121). This means that the political society may consensually agree to have ethical principles informing the political society, including spatial planning practice, but where their interpretation and implementation are subject to political conflict, as there is not one correct or true interpretation of any given phenomenon (Mouffe in Hirsch & Miessen (eds), 2012: p 11). The interpretation and implementation should instead be subject to agonistic political struggle, where alternatives are vividly present in challenging the established order.

Resistance of "safety" as a given desired urban order through re-politicisation

One way of resisting safety as a desired urban order and thereby challenging the planning for safety, is in the interpretation and implementation of these principles. In approaching the phenomenon 'planning for safety', one must understand it rests on one (ideological) construction of public life, which includes norms and values for its execution. This construction of public life embodies choices made concerning its envisaged purpose and character. Is safety the answer or solution to a purpose of freely moving from A to B, or is it an answer to individuals in becoming self-governing? Is safety the answer to a public life characterised by a silence and visual passiveness, or is it an answer to a public life characterised by oral activeness? This construction of public life embodies furthermore choices made concerning envisaged criterion for partaking in public life, and choices in conceptualising individual identities. Is safety for example a solution in a public life relying on certainty for participating or is it an answer when considering uncertainty as an existential precondition for public life? Is safety moreover a solution in a public life where individuals are conceived as men, women or other social group identities, or in a public life where individuals are politically and performatively construed?

Depending on how one chooses to conceptualise public life, consequently frames the problem of how the problem of fear is understood, and what spatial planning actions or interventions are conceivable. It frames in other words what conceptual outcomes are considered possible. Illuminating how safety planning rests on specific assumptions of public life opens up alternative conceptualisations for political deliberation. Not being able to make choices, or believe that there are no alternatives to prevalent ideals can be considered both apolitical and unethical.

This article seeks to establish alternative conceptualisations of public life, with an aim to make visible how there is not one notion of public life and thereby re-politicise the ideological premises underpinning 'safety planning' and allow for resistance.

Firstly, four different discourses on public life will be established. This is referred to as the *discursive field* (Laclau and Mouffe, 1987: p 86, cited in Torfing, 1999: p 92), which is defined as 'the conceptual possibilities for constructing phenomenon'. In the discursive field of public life it is possible to discern different conceptions of its conceived (1) purpose, (2) character, (3) criteria for partaking and (4) identities. These four thematics can be described forming lines of political conflict, taking the form of *agonistic dimensions*, which emphasise 'positions in', rather than polarised 'either or'. Secondly, after having established the discursive field of public life, the conflictual dimensions will be outlined, which make up the base for re-establishing conceptual choice in spatial planning practice safety discourse, and thereby allow for resistance.

Establishing the discursive field of public life

This section includes an establishment of the theoretical horizon, the discursive field, of public life as a basis for unfolding agonistic dimensions of conceptualising public life. The discursive field should not be interpreted to be an exhaustive overview; the literature is instead specifically chosen to represent different conceptual stances on public life. The concepts which different discourses on public life are organised around are; rationality, dramaturgy, conflict, and consensus.

The characteristics of contemporary public life are argued here to be organised around rationality, here embodied in the Simmelian construction of the urban experience at the turn of the twentieth century. The urban modern man is conceived as a rational and private individual who rather explores his emotional self in public than emotionally engage in the Other. In contrast to the (1) rational public life stands alternative constructions of public life organised around (2) dramaturgy here embodied in the writing of Richard Sennett, (3) conflict here embodied in the writing of Hannah Arendt, and (4) consensus here embodied in the writing of Jürgen Habermas. These different constructions all share an idea of the public situated in the exterior- life with others without rendering experiences through the self, as opposed to the interior refuge and focus on the self-, but have however different normative articulations of what public life should be. The conflictual discourse of public life conceives 'exterior' public life to consist of interpersonal encounters and self-exposure, where the urbanite is someone who accepts agony and other mindsets as opposed to being self-affirmed by others. In contrast to the conflictual conception stands the consensual notion of public life, which includes a universalist desire for consensus making through reasoned discourse. The dramaturgical discourse construes public life to be dependent on a "theatrical" ability to act and engage in the Other. The following section will outline these different discursive conceptualisations of urban public life and connect them to the four thematics which form subjects to political conflict.

The discourse of a rational public life

The sociologist Georg Simmel was one of the first to describe modern urban life around the turn of the 20th century. In his famous essay "The metropolis and mental life"(1964 [originally published in 1903]), Simmel constructs the modern urbanite as being forced into becoming a rational and calculating individual due to the repressive forces of over-stimulation in modern city life. Simmel suggests how modern man develops a strategy for sustaining *change* and threatening occurrences by reacting with his intellect as opposed to his emotions as this is the most insensitive organ (1964: p 410-411). The Simmelian urban individual is as such insensitive and reacts with indifference to individuals in the public realm. The rational behaviour is constructed as contributing to a notion of *certainty* in a complex modern urban life. The irrational counterpart forms the opposition and

threat to the order and coherency of modern urban life, and is embodied in the idea of the Simmelian "stranger" as outlined in the essay with the same name (1964 [1908]). The stranger is not construed as an individual but rather as a character of a specific type determined by differentiation from "…what is generally in common" (Frisby, 1986:p 407). And as what is generally in common evolves, everyone can potentially become the stranger. According to the logic of rational public life, the fearful insight of potentiality becoming the stranger contributes to an anxious striving to conform to societal (and community) norms. *Identities* are here constructed based on characters in relation to social group formations. An individual in the public realm is not more than its social group identity, which is defined based on inclusion and exclusion of 'what it is or is not'.

Reacting intellectually with indifference to the surrounding contributes to preserving the inner subjective life (Simmel, 1964: p 411). Modern man hence retreats to his inner self for managing the changing nature of city life. The escape to the inner self should be discursively rendered against the at the time wider bourgeois emphasis on separating the individual from the world (Frisby, 1986:p 82). The emotional inner self, now separated from the damaging aspects of 'the real world', should subjectively be stimulated, for example through the arts. The *purpose* of public life could be interpreted being to stimulate the emotional self, in a public life *characterised* by having to protect the self by becoming quiet and consequently passive. Frisby argues for example how the perspective of the interior forms a dominant feature in the German jugend art movement (1986:p 82). Man is believed becoming "whole" and fulfilled by turning to the aesthetics and the "beauty" in life. The English arts and craft movement is another example which argued for "beauty", decorative arts and "aesthetics" as a way for a better society.

The Simmelian defence mechanism, the rational and inwards oriented way of being, should discursively be set against the overall societal changes of modernity, and can in this context be interpreted as an escape and a response to *fear* of overwhelming societal change. The escape to the "interior" and the increased subjectivity should be understood in parallel to the rise of modernity. Simmel's constructions of the modern urban life that surrounded him in the beginning of the 20th century can be associated with a negativity, the idea that the current order of rational public life is bad for the modern man, that it is self-repressive (Sennett, 2000:p 381). *Urban rationality* can also be conceived as a positive, as a facilitator of communication, although limited to its community, by providing acceptance in the public realm and to anticipate response and action by the other. In other words, urban rationality contributes to a notion of certainty in the urban public. This is a position the Chicago school of urban sociology takes (Bridge, 2005: p 67). Bridge defines this understanding of urban rationality as an "...operationalisation of community norms" (2005:p 67). Urban rationalism hence contributes to the formation of communities of us and them and the defining of the stranger. A *criterion* for partaking in rational public life is as such a notion of certainty, by being able to foresee and expect events and actions.

The criticism towards the Chicago school of positive urban rationalism is embodied in the general appreciation of the "community" and "community norms" as a mere positive, not acknowledging its part in wider structural societal exclusion. Urban rationality could be rendered against structural exclusion AND self-repression, which could be interpreted as negative both for the society and the individual. Negative because the individual is at large unreflectively governed by societal community conventions and norms, unable to emotionally develop himself, his own wills and actions. Taylor, by referring to Hegel, suggests that an idea of liberation based on "being able to do what you want" or "only following the desire" is a negative freedom, where the positive freedom is embodied in an idea of real self-determination (1995:p 184). Developing self-governance would form an alternative *purpose* to public life, an alternative to emotionally stimulate the self through for example the arts or immediate fulfilment of desires.

The discourse of dramaturgical public life

Richard Sennett's reading of the Simmelian construction of modern urban life can be summarised in what he refers to as the "…mask of rationality", addressing the prevalent rational and visual order of modern urban public life (2000:p 382). Emphasising how the urbanite turns inwards to rationally signifying to others he is harmless, as a way to settling the fearfulness associated with encountering strangers. The Sennettian conception of the Simmelian encounters is about self- representation, where the modern man reveals as much about himself for the other to identify himself with him, for the other to know that he is not going to do anything that will surprise him, not going to approach him, nor speak to him, giving consent to certainty as the given order and *criterion* for partaking. The prevalent urban life is according to Sennett a visual culture as opposed to an oral one (2000:p 382); the modern man gives clues based on his appearance for the other to know that he is like him. Being silent in the public is the norm. The mask of rationality functions as a means to decrease the amount of communication needed whilst out in the public (2000:p 382). *Identities* are constructed visually, based on what someone is or is not. This also frames the silent and visual *character* of public life.

Sennett (2002[originally published in 1977]) outlines an explanatory model for this change to a visual urban public culture, based on the rise of modernity and the general revelation of the self. He sets out how secularisation has contributed to making man and things subject to mystification, as opposed to being comprehendible as part of a pre-determined all mighty order of nature (2002:p 21). When man is mystified by having a personality, he also fears revealing himself to strangers and as such turns inwards and becomes self-focused. The rise of personality in the public realm contributed to a change of looking upon the Other and the stranger, who now is defined based on its deviant character (Sennett, 2002: p 191). The personality forms the focus and purpose for participating in public life, as all experiences depart from the self and others are conceived through the self. The

'self-focused' public is carried out through strategic avoidance. By visually decoding and by placing one another in categories in relation to the self, man does not have to involuntary reveal oneself to anyone. The Sennettian reading of modern urban public life suggests an underlying, specifically modern, fear of being seen through or of being seen into, and being involuntary revealed. A criterion for partaking in public life is as such a notion of certainty, by visually being in control to not be exposed or revealed, characterised by a fear of exposure.

The idea of the dramaturgical public life is based on a life among strangers on the terms of being strangers. The main principle of how the notion of the public can be evoked is through dramatisation, claiming that strangers can meet and engage each other by entering the public on different terms than the self-focused, in a sense putting on a different 'coat' which can be perceived as 'artificial' in comparison to the private self (Sennett, 2000:p 384-385). The *purpose* of public life is here to get in engaged in the Other, also with an objective to develop the self, in an aspiration of becoming self-governing. The dramaturgical conception is *characterised* by an active oral and bodily public life. This discourse suggests that one enters the public realm with specific "public skills" which contributes to transcending social inequalities, enabling encounters on the terms of social difference (Sennett, 2000; 2002). *Identities* are constructed beyond visually determined social categories, by having moved away from "decoding what you see" to being sensitive to "what you hear". This conception relies on daring to expose the self, and being ready for the unexpected, which becomes the criterion for partaking. This "dramaturgical" approach for understanding public life is thematically aligned with Erving Goffman works, particularly in "The presentation of self in everyday life" (1959) where Goffman makes the connection between the enactments in public life and theatrical performances.

Sennett does not however rule out this notion of public existing in contemporary cities, and refers to the border zones as the areas where this conception of public life is taking place, where people have to get engaged with each other to master the fact of 'being there', where rational visual decoding is not enough because people do not know where and how to place each other (Sennett, 2000: p 386). These border zones can be characterised as incomplete, imperfect and uncertain where different groups of society bodily, visually and orally enact their relative differences. Institutional society and spatial planning practice can however pose a threat to this existing public life by entering and 'tidying' these spaces with their governing ideals, values and norms as expressed for example in the safety discourse, rather than opposed to accepting them as edges of 'conflicts' and uncertainties.

These conflicts and uncertainties provide the point of departure for an alternative construction of public life which is going to be explored next.

The discourse of conflictual public life

The conflictual public life as here represented in the writing of Hannah Arendt conceptualises public life as political life. Arendt departs from conceiving human beings to be pluralist in nature, and believes all human beings are capable of taking on new perspectives and actions, and "...they will not fit a tidy and ordered society unless their political capacities are crushed" (Canovan, in Arendt, 1998:p xii). The self-repressive aspects of modern public life is considered hindering people to realise their potential as political human beings. Political is understood as "…an ability to act", an ability to initiate new beginnings (Arendt, 1998:p 9). Society imposes rules and systems for "…normalising" and conforming man, making him unable to spontaneously act, controlling him insofar that he is unable to hear and see the Other. He is "…imprisoned" in the subjective self (Arendt 1998: p 40-41, p 58). Benhabib stresses how Arendt advocates the rise of the social and modern public space has generated "…a pseudo space of interaction in which individuals no longer "act" but "merely behave" as economic consumers, producers and urban city dwellers" (Benhabib, 1992: p 75). Arendt is arguing that man is unable to lead a free, and real self-determined life with others. This is the Hegelian notion of positive freedom (Taylor, 1995: p 185).

Arendt divorces the public from that of the social and the intimate, and speaks of 'public' as the space where man doesn't have to speak through his societal position or a predetermined identity, but rather through a political identity which is free and equal(Arendt 1998:p 32). Political *identities* are not according to Arendt a priori defined based on for example what social group you belong to. They are performed and intersubjectively negotiated through the appearance of a unique *who* (Bickford, 1995: p 316). The who is connected to Arendt's notion of plurality. Bickford conditions Arendt's concept of plurality in two ways; first it is who you are which is unique, *not what* you are; second all human beings share this uniqueness (Bickford, 1995: p 316). Plurality is interpreted existentially not essentially, meaning that plurality is a human condition, but should not be taken for granted as it can disappear with for example tyranny or mass society (Bickford, 1995: p 316). Arendt's construction of public life can be interpreted to be about principles of phenomena, rather than partial perspectives. Partial perspectives of phenomena upheld through static identities, such as ethnicity, gender or race, contributes to the formation or sedimentation of unequal power relations; it is discussion based on principles that can evoke real action and change, understanding identity as active and interactive. *Identities* are constructed politically rather than socially. By for example speaking about safety particularly from the perspective of women, contributes to sedimenting the notion of women as a particularly vulnerable group in society, rather than politically empowering them as equal human beings. The conditions for the conflictual public life are blocked by reducing the unique "who" to a stereotypical "…representation of others who look and sound like [yourself]" (Brickford, 1995:p 318).

Arendt points out how the meaning of public life lies in the presence of multi-perspectives, different mind sets and views, comprising conflicting positions and agony, including the impossibility of a common denominator (Arendt, 1998: p 57). Conflictual public life is as such *characterised* by active oral activities, rather than visual passiveness and includes first a notion of seeing each other as equals of the human race (Arendt, 1998:p 32). Second, it includes an ability to exist in uncertainty, to accept alienation and the differentiation of experiences and views (Arendt 1998: p 57, 181). These form the *criteria* for partaking in conflictual public life. The public is conceived as the space where it is possible to move beyond self-interest and not being biased with affective private relationships and views, and to accept the plurality of things and ideas where *identities* are interactive and constantly negotiable. To live a life only in the private and social sphere of certainty is not considered a "full life", as it is through uncertainty and alienation man is open to the world around him (Arendt, 1998: p 57). It is only by equally encountering and spatially facing the other that one is able to rationally think and speak, and most importantly act. This forms the *purpose* of public life, being able to independently act. Arendt departs from an existentialist point of view, with the belief that man can only be fully realised in the public, as in the private realm man is tied and governed by partialities. The practice of organising and separating and upholding avoidance of the Other and the unwanted constitutes in many ways a threat to the public Arendt is speaking of, as it contributes to the interior refuge and settlement of a fear of exposure.

The conflictual public space does furthermore not lend itself to rationally and spatially to 'be planned for', as public space can be anywhere and everywhere and at any time, and it does not require any specific spatial characteristics or attributes. Instead, the criteria for the public space sits with man himself and his interactions with others.

An alternative and opposite notion to the conflictual public life is the consensual public life as the governing means of a political public life, here expressed by Habermas and his idea of rational communication as a means for achieving consensus in a pluralist public.

The discourse of consensual public life

Another way of thinking about the negativity associated with the Simmelian rational urban public life is thinking of public life as an activity which privileges rational speech and common action, outlined in the writings of Jürgen Habermas (The structural transformation of the public sphere, 2006 [originally published in1962]). Similar to the conflictual model, the consensual approach shares the idea of the public based on the ability to rationally speak beyond the self in the forming of public consensus, in other words based on an active, exteriorly orally *characterised* public life. Such public life characterises rational conversation as being about principals of phenomena. In a

conversation about safety should one's own safety not be in focus where one relates back to the self, but rather on what principles 'safety' is founded upon- in other words, what is safety. It draws from an ability to detach oneself from the self and engage in critical discussion. The Habermasian consensual public life does not like the conflictual model rule out the private or the social sphere as possible spheres for the public, believing in man's capacity of detaching himself from his self and engaging in rational conversation. Public life is as such understood democratically that everyone affected by "…societal norms and collective political decisions" should be able to engage in reasoned discourse striving towards consensual agreements (Benhabib, 1992: p 87). Rational conversation forms hence a *criterion* for partaking in this conception of public life. The *purpose* of public life is here to be able to partake in reasoned discourse outside the self, as a means to contribute to consensual driven action. Being engaged in common action is considered to generate individual political identity and agency (Taylor, 1995: p 214).

The consensual discourse argues how the prevalent modern public life has been reduced to the realm of the intimate, where 'the self' has become the focus and the realisation of 'the self' an ideal for experiencing freedom (Dahlkvist, in Habermas, 1988:p xxi). Habermas explanatory model for this change relates to the rise of mass society, where 'the system' started to intervene in the 'private sphere' through for example social politics and financial regulations, a kind of "…colonisation of the life world" (Dahlkvist, in Habermas, 1988: p xix). In parallel to this, the system started to intervene in the life world, where so called private matters became questions of state politics (Dahlkvist, in Habermas, 1988: p xix). Habermas claims that the private and public interests hence have merged into one big pot, where the new public consists of "one consuming public" as opposed to "a reasoning and critical public". Public opinion is *produced* as opposed to *formed* (Dahlkvist, in Habermas, 1988:p xxii). Produced as in unreflected, unmediated by discussion and critique, and passively internalised throughout generations (Taylor, 1995: p 187). The formed public opinion as present in the consensual public life, is on the other hand a product of reflection, arising from rational conversations and results from an actively produced consensus (Taylor, 1995: p 187).

Agonistic conceptions of public life

Based on these different constructions of public life, it is possible to discern different approaches to the introduced themes, regarding purpose and character of public life, as well as criteria for participation and conception of identities in public life. The thematics are constructed differently in all discourses, but it is possible to recognise shared principles in conceptualising phenomena. These shared principles will be outlined as dimensions to which constructions of phenomenon will depart to different extents. It is not a matter of dichotomously either or, but rather discursive positions in the dimension between two points. These dimensions then serve as lines of political conflict in spatial planning, and

more specifically in the 'planning for safety'. Depending on how one politically chooses to construct, for example, the purpose of public life, forms the basis for how to frame the problem of perceptions of fear, and furthermore what solutions may be considered possible.

Purpose: Emotional self- Self governing

The first line of conflict includes the dimension of the conceived purpose of public life, which can on the one hand be conceptualised as stimulating the emotional self in an introverted way. The rational public life sets out how the subjective and emotional self should be protected against "the dangers" in the world but yet be stimulated through emotional arousals, through for example art or emotional excitement. On the other hand sits the purpose of public life as a means for becoming a self-governing individual through interpersonal communication as present in both the conflictual and consensual public life, or as a means to get by in the dramaturgical conception. This interpersonal encounter represents meeting the Other on the terms of the public, rather than the terms set by an idea of the self. These interpersonal encounters and the self-governing individual do on the other hand have different ends depending on what discourse of public life one is drawing from. The consensual logic is that through interpersonal communication a universal consensus can and should be achieved, which ultimately leads to active communal action. The conflictual logic is that there is no desired or predicted "end" to the interpersonal communication of which consensus is an example. The aim is instead the action forward itself, which is considered inherent to interpersonal political discourse between conflicting parts. By relating the dimension back to the 'planning for safety'; safety can be considered a solution in a public life whose purpose and point of departure is the emotional self, where the self has to be protected and safeguarded.

Character: Passive- Active

The second line of conflict includes the dimension of the conceived character of public life. The conflictual and consensual discourse critique the passive character of rational public life, where individuals are unable to form decision on their own and passively consume values and ideas. This stands in conflict to the conflictual conception characterised by the active subject and the desired action. The rational public life is also critiqued for being passive in terms of how people act in public. The dramaturgical conception sets for example out how people "appear" as opposed to actively "be" in the public; passively appearing as one among many people in a congregation of people, but yet hidden in the subjective self. This difference in character can also be explicated by on the one side representing a visual order and on the other side an oral order. The dramaturgical public life outlines for example how visual judgement of the other, quietness and the silent agreement of the right not to be spoken to is governing the self-focused passive public life. The active public life is on the other hand primarily an oral order, where judgment and decisions are

based on interaction and discourse with one another. Can the focus on safety be considered a consequence of a public life characterised by silence and passiveness?

Criteria: Certainty- Uncertainty

The third line of conflict departs from conceived criteria for being able to participate in public life. The rational public life sets out a fundamental criterion for taking part in public life based on expectations of certainty, by being able to interpret how people at large are going to react and behave, by being able to visually decode and categorise people based on appearance. This desired criterion of certainty relates ultimately to protecting and safeguarding the self. This should be set against the conflictual and dramaturgical conception, where uncertainty, understood as a human condition, is comprehended as a pre-requisite for partaking in public life, where exposing the self could be considered a criterion for enabling interpersonal interaction. Can 'planning for safety' be considered desirable in a public life where certainty forms a criterion for participating?

Identities: Social- Political

The fourth line of conflict includes conceptions of identities. The conflictual public life advocates for example how fixed social categories, such as gender and ethnicity are not a valid political identity. Political identities are considered on the other hand to be actively produced or performed. Constructions of identities relate to how we perceive communities and ultimately the stranger. Communities based on stable or fixed identities and where the stranger is constructed based on deviating from community norms and visual appearance could be considered a consequence of passive public life. The stranger who is on the other hand constructed based on possibilities of what we can be and do is considered a consequence of active public life. The stranger is constructed beyond social differences, and ultimately epitomises political public life. Can 'planning for safety' be considered to depart from stereotypical constructions of the stranger, or even contribute to emphasising them?

Resistance and re-politicisation

These established agonistic dimensions raise lines of political conflict and serve as a conceptual arena of choice making. Choice making in terms of choices made within specific planning discourses such as safety planning; what stance on public life is embodied and produced when proclaiming safety, and what notions are rejected? But also, choice making in terms of opening up for the ability in *choosing* what conception of public life ("we" believe) should ideologically govern the development of ("our") cities? As this choice is not given it should according to the Mouffean logic be subject to political deliberation and struggle in striving to reach agonistic consensus, where alternatives continue to remain present and vividly challenging the established order. This is crucial since depending on how public life is conceptualised brings about different consequences for spatial planning.

If stimulating the emotional self forms the purpose for partaking in public life, then planning solutions will be steered to reach such aims by enabling for example aesthetic experiences and the ability to follow the desire. Consequently and by taking it to the other extreme, if the purpose would be to become self independent, other planning solutions would be considered necessary. What assumptions and discursive positions of public life spatial planning rests on require of course further analysis, but every choice generates consequences and has socio-spatial implications. We therefore must first agonistically agree on what notion of public life should govern the development of our cities, and thereafter discuss what the consequences would be for planning.

This analysis of conceptual stances of public life has shown that it is possible to think beyond the currently prevalent conceptualisation of public life. Public life is not a given entity but an agreed upon order, which undoubtedly is slow to change and persistent in character, but inherently political in nature. There is as such space for resistance and *the political*.

Conclusion

This paper sets out how planning for safety is legitimised morally, by explicitly departing from everyone's right to be safe in the public realm. By drawing from Mouffean political theory(2005), the interpretation of human rights, or specifically 'the right to be safe in the public realm' is not a given but rather subject to different interpretations depending on the point of reference and assumption of public life, and is consequently inherently political. The notion of 'safe public realms' which planning indirectly aspires to through planning for safety includes also a specific urban order which is exclusionary per definition, as every order is based on some form of inclusion and exclusion (Mouffe, 2005:p 18). This article has sought to enable conceptual resistance towards the prevailing order by having made visible alternative constructions of public life which could form the point of departure for political struggle. The article has thereby established a discursive field that can be described as representing a conceptual context of public life, from which institutions such as spatial planning can make active choices concerning values and ideals that should characterise public life, where safety may or may not be included as an element. The discursive field was represented by four different discourses centered around rational, dramaturgical, conflictual and consensual public life. In the discursive field it was possible to discern lines of political conflict based on a thematic of purpose, character, criteria for participation and conception of identities. These lines of conflict were established as dimensions of constructing phenomena from which active political choices can be made. By re-enabling choice, it will be possible to deliberate conceptual alternatives and agonistically agree on what conception of public life should govern the development of cities.

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RE-DESIGNING COMMONS IN ITALY

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Abstract

The paper gives a critical account of the recent Italian debate on Commons concentrating on some theoretical problems, with reference to two different components: the economic research on the Commons, the juridical research on the property nature of Commons. It then puts them in parallel with the social demands arisen, articulated around the buzzword "Commons". The mutual relationship among these components is analysed, stressing the generative aspects of the encounter between scholarship on one hand and the social, discursive use of the Commons concept on the other hand. Finally a research agenda based on the results of such analysis is proposed in order to re-compose the mentioned duality and partially overcome the difficulties that today harness the Italian debate on the Commons and its possible applications in urban planning.

Keywords: Commons, institutionalisation, insurgence

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Re-designing Commons in Italy

Interest in the Commons – as devices that can possibly solve the problem of responsible appropriation of resources while setting up mechanisms for autonomous management and democratic decision-making – has been increasing constantly over the last decade. The Commons, referring both to common pool resources, and to the institutions that manage their appropriation by directly involving the appropriators, have been at the centre of numerous debates aimed at exploring their scope and limitations and defining their characterisation in a contemporary, increasingly urbanised world. The Italian research and debate on the Commons – despite having gained momentum rather recently, under the influence of political, ecological and economical concerns over the future of the nation and of the world economy and its sustainability – have been animated for a very long time, spanning several decades. Moreover the theoretical problems and issues that were tackled in the process of their development are of an extraordinarily complex nature, having to deal with a very rich and diverse historical background within the country and with some very peculiar problems of legal legitimacy. Such problems, in particular, arise due to the nature of Commons institutions, which are based on customs and the connection with the locale. This is especially so when they are located in the legal system of Civil Law – mostly characterised by positive, universal rights – such as the Italian one: a system inherently averse to recognising customs as a primary source of legal rights.

This paper expounds the most important lines of research that have recently been gathering around ideas of the Commons in Italy and compare them to the social use of the Commons discourse in social movements and bottom-up political mobilisations. The objective is to show how the encounter between these two elements – the academic research and the social discourse – has had and can still have fertile points of intersection: the first one being able to give directions and legitimise the second, which is to inspire and orient the first, as well as to gather consensus around it. Other countries, especially non-European ones, have advanced concepts connected to the idea of Commons in their legislation, as a result of political agendas aiming to foster a democratisation of resource management. For instance, Bolivia (Asamblea Legislativa Plurinacional, 2010) and Ecuador (Asamblea Nacional, 2008) have adopted them to some degree, as a result of constitutional reforms which declared nature and the land as a fundamental support for the progress of the nation, to be managed for the advancement of the common good, said to even possess rights of its own. Brazil, for example, through its Statute of the City put forward provisional norms to enforce the constitutional definition of urban land property as a social value (Presidência da República, 2001). Italy is therefore not alone, but it is under many points of view an exception. The attempt and debate aimed at introducing concepts related to the idea of Commons in the country are not based on new constitutional agreements and reforms, but rather on the renewed interpretation of property based on the existing charter, accompanied by bottom up social demands. This approach therefore appears

relevant as a model and an example for incepting into European constitutional interpretations of property, concepts that are reconnecting property definitions to the full expression of rights of citizenship, flanking and counterbalancing reasons of market efficiency, often found in civil codes and private law.

Economic and legal scholarship on the Commons

There are dissimilarities between the role that each sphere of research played in influencing the shape that the idea of the Commons gradually has been taking in Italy, and nuances are rather remarkable and worthy of closer examination. A distinction must be made between the role that the economic research and the juridical one have had in this process, which will be discussed in turn.

First, the neo-institutional perspective, based on the motivations and functioning of collective action as a rational economic behaviour as proposed by Mancur Olsson (1971), was inherent to the research of the Commons made internationally famous by the work of Elinor Ostrom (1990). This approach was regarded as a standard and widely accepted in its conclusions and methods - especially in its analytical procedure based on the comparison of case studies from different contexts worldwide. Its contribution has been very relevant in Italy as well, in terms of popularising the idea that there is an alternative to the paradigms of the State and the Market in the efficient and eco-responsible management of common pool resources. And also for establishing that, in working Commons institutions, there are elements that are recognisable and recurring patterns which can be considered as requirements for institutions of this kind. The latter especially was a major theoretical innovation which exposed not only institutional aspects but also physical characteristics that can help identify Commons institutions, features commonly referred to, after Ostrom, as *design principles* of working Commons. These principles, which were first identified and formulated in the book *Governing the Commons*, were later adjusted and expanded in several other works by different authors, according to the case studies and the contexts (e.g. Agrawal, 2001).

Elements that proved to be important for the planning discipline were highlighted by this type of research, especially the necessity of having nested institutions with some degree of decision making liberty, and the characterisation of some physical aspects, such as the definition of clear boundaries which are fundamental for carrying out vital activities in the maintenance of a Commons institution.

Due to the specific nature of the economic perspective of this first type of research, it was deemed necessary to take into consideration long spans of time in the analysis. This was done through relation to historical records (often through secondary sources), in order to show how Commons could regenerate resources while allowing their appropriation over

time. This necessary choice led to a collateral effect: most of the institutions studied are located either in countries where a Civil Law system is in place, but have origins dating back to pre-modern times, hence before the complete establishment of statutory rights of appropriation and property in modern terms, or where legal structures connected to a Common Law system are, at least partially, recognised.

As Ostrom (2008) has highlighted, in the legal systems structured according to Civil Law principles, bundles of rights connected to the use of Commons have only survived in specific – mostly rural and remote – locations, due to the intrinsic contradiction between the foundations of this type of institution and the sources of the juridical system in which they must find their legitimisation. There is in fact a fundamental contradiction between Commons institutions, based on customary rights of a medieval origin, and the Civil Law systems, based on statutory rights.

In light of the specific character of the Italian situation, which has parallels in other countries where Civil Law also informs the legal system, contextual aspects of a juridical and historical nature have shaped the research on the Commons. In particular, the focus has been on two main areas: the origin of the Commons in historical customary rights and their contradiction with the Civil Code. The first was analysed through a juridical and historiographical investigation of the formation and permanence of customary rights of appropriation in medieval times and especially in early modern times. The second area was investigated theoretically, exposing the legal and juridical problems arising from the contradiction between the collective property and rights of appropriation, and the Civil Code specifications of private property and public property.

Underpinning the Italian debate on the Commons – and the most reliable and valuable sources of knowledge production on the concept – are the works of jurists such as Rodotà (2007), Mattei (2011), Grossi (1974), Ferrajoli (2012), Maddalena (2014); as well as the comprehensive editorial project embodied by the journal *Quaderni Fiorentini per il Pensiero Giuridico Moderno [Florentine Journal of Modern Juridical Thought]*, critically addressing the juridical notion of property (e.g. Grossi, 1976, Mannoni, 1990) over a period of over four decades to date. These works were also responding to a wider juridical philosophical problem of a progressive nature: that of re-introducing into those positively-stated abstract rights that remain peculiar of civil law systems, new vital elements tied to facts and changes happening in society from the 1970s onwards; a programme stated from the very outset of the first issue of the *Quaderni* (Grossi, 1972).

The concentration on the theme of Commons by Italian legal scholarship and its success in influencing the debate is probably something quite unique internationally. From this, two separate sets of problems emerged: on the one hand, the attempt to address customs as the

original source of rights of appropriation of resources in numerous local situations; and on the other hand, the possibility to interpret the Civil Code property definitions according to the principles stated in the Constitution. The second point is as crucially important as it is problematic, for the Constitution is not only the highest degree of legal source of rights in the Italian juridical system, but also one of the most recent as a comprehensive body of laws, resulting from a very concrete social fact – the anti-fascist struggle and World War II.

Revising the property legal definitions

Between the two afore-mentioned intertwined threads of research on the Commons, relating either to the economic or the legal discipline, the legal one, referring to a renewed interpretation of the property definitions of the Civil Code, is certainly the most intentional and strongly structured in Italy. In a sense, it was implicitly preparing the ground for a reform aiming at devising forms of management drawing on some principles embodied in Commons institutions, and giving them new legal foundations.

It followed that, in 2007, the Ministry of Justice appointed jurist S. Rodotà as the head of a Ministerial Commission that was to design an initial proposal (Ministero di Grazia e Giustizia, 2007), to be discussed in the Parliament Chambers, to entirely reform the Civil Code introducing the category of Commons ('beni comuni') along with the traditional categories of private property and public property ('beni privati' and 'beni pubblici'). This reform attempt was in a sense the culmination of this enduring knowledge production on the Commons and a very plausible way to translate some of its findings into practice. Its aims were to introduce advanced legal principles for the recognition of natural resources as Commons, so as to influence their management in a more responsive way in the face of global threats posed to resources by climate change and over-exploitation (Mattei, et al. 2007). This reform was also attempting a different, alternative approach to the privatisation of public assets over the last few decades – a process also occurring in other European nations, which nevertheless did not give rise to similar juridical comprehensive investigations and reform drafts, nor to a comparable involvement of the general public in terms of mobilisation. The long discussed Infrastructure Bill in the United Kingdom for instance (Bennet & Hirst, 2014), entailing the sale of public land, did not engender a similar reaction, and the opposition to it was organised by limited sectors of society.

The initiative of public agency in Italy had initially an important role, but as its attempts failed the involvement of other sectors of society grew more important in promoting a debate on the Commons. The broad involvement of both academia and civil society in fact is what has made the Italian case a unique, if not an outstanding, case for its attempt to critically address the very concept of property as a strategy to counteract too aggressive privatisations. The vast involvement of various sectors of society, as it will be further explained, is one of the specific marks of the debate on the Commons in Italy, along with

its aspiration towards comprehensive changes in the character and scope of the property regime.

As lucidly explained by Maddalena (2014), the point of the introduction of a new category of property in the Civil Code would not be that of mimicking Common Law dispositions dealing with the Commons in other systems, into the Italian body of law, but rather that of updating the property categories so as to match the contemporary exigencies relating to ecological protection and responsible use of resources of public interest. In fact the list of common pool resources to be considered as Commons listed by the reform draft was, in the bulk of cases, an ensemble encompassing assets that were already part of public properties or were under some sort of public protection. The draft, though, was not explicitly revealing in how they would change their management and organisation so as to encompass elements of Commons institutions.

As Marotta (2013) clarifies, this approach to the problem of Commons within the Italian rule of law was happening under the influence of the hastened privatisations of the 1990's, in which national public assets were sold out to private capitals. Declaring that some assets were to be considered as Commons was meant to ensure that their alienation was not carried out, or that some limits had to be respected in their appropriation, and that the general interest had to be kept at the core of any restructuring of their management.

These aspects were in fact not expressed in the draft of the reform, being instead delegated to a lower order of legal provisional norms, to be devised in accordance with constitutional rights. In fact, the draft defined Commons as those material assets considered fundamental for the exertion of citizens' essential rights, thus to be preserved from the logic of profit and from the rules of the market (Ministero di Grazia e Giustizia, 2007) – that is, a definition that implicitly refers to the definition of property and its social function stated in the Constitution. As a means to achieve the expression of fundamental rights, the property of Commons should not be intended as something only nominally belonging to each citizen, or the 'public', in the sense that its management and design is delegated to State bodies, but that actually, should belong to each citizen whose right of appropriation and control on that asset is a singular actual expression of the collective general interest of all the citizenship.

Thus, vital actions for the management of Commons– such as monitoring, appropriation, mutual control, design and maintenance (Ostrom, 1990) – could, within this framing and at least in principle, be exerted by any citizen or group of citizens doing actions in line with the general interests of all the citizenry (Maddalena, 2014). It is then within the idea of the exertion of the fundamental rights stated in the Constitution that singular actions can be encompassed in a Civil Code legal interpretation of Commons institutions – translating

and substituting for, although quite abstractly, what customs used to be in traditional Commons.

The approach sketched out above – referring to an interpretation of eminent domain and public property in a completely novel and renewed constitutional sense, stressing the cogent value of citizenship rights expressed by each citizen – was indeed a rather abstract backbone for which practical institutional mechanisms still had to be devised. Its value is nevertheless clear in terms of innovation and disruptive potential.

However, when the proposed reform failed to be brought for further discussion into the Parliament, and the introduction of Commons through new legal arrangements was deemed to be irremediably harnessed, many jurists turned to different research agendas: the role of other types of actors and strategies for the advancement of the Commons, both theoretically and practically, became more central (Bailey & Mattei, 2012). This process explains how civil society and its mobilisation came to play an important role into the debate.

It is in a specific perspective that one must understand the tendency of the Italian debate to include insurgent practices into a formalised juridical reflection. The objective is not to formalise or co-opt social movements into existing State structures and procedure; rather to recognise within the existing rule of law the elements of insurgent social facts from which it originated in the past, in order to revive and give new momentum to those acting in the present.

At the same time, the existence of a consistent body of studies on the viability and rationality of collective action for asset management, inspired by the work of Ostrom, which I previously called the economic scholarly production on the Commons, offered many supporting arguments for the direct involvement of groups, as a reasonable choice. Thus the two threads of research came again together complementing each other, contributing to strengthen the idea that direct management of assets by the segments of the citizenry is legitimate and sensible.

Actions sustaining the Commons, from customs to practices

Despite the fact that customs, per se, had already been the object of academic research, their role had been mostly prevalent in historical accounts of collective forms of appropriation, notably in Grossi's work (1977), and had been philosophically investigated in virtue of their closer adherence, as source of rights, to actual social facts (Bobbio, 2010). But in practical terms their actual role as sources of rights, outside of agreements of a mostly private kind is of little or no interest in modern law.

In spite of this, when the reform was aborted, it is nonetheless apparent that the coordination and involvement of people, activism, real life situations (intended both as case studies and experiments), and even hybridisation with non-structured discourses, became more and more central to expanding the discourse and the research on the Commons and finding new paths.

Jurists such as U. Mattei and S. Rodotà, with different registers, turned their attention towards situations in which attempts were undertaken to establish practices of protest, occupation and social mobilisation for the democratisation of issues of planning and management of public (or shared) assets in real life situations. While the reform was a rather generic draft, its failure shifted the focus onto very precise, context-specific cases. It would be inaccurate to say that these context-specific local situations are actually trying to introduce customary rights, separating the property from right of use. Nevertheless, it is not far from true that they were characterised by actions aiming, through the intervention of a specific group of activists or protestors, to propose new ways of use of an asset of general interest, in order to protect it from privatisation or from the logic of profit and reclaiming a social function. Some of the most famous examples were the occupation of the publicly owned Theatre Valle in Rome, now ended, or the social movement No Grandi Navi – Laguna Bene Comune [No Big Ships – Lagoon as a Commons] in Venice, calling for a direct citizen control over the management of the harbour. The specificity of these real life situations indeed called for a reconsideration of the circumstances under which actions could be sufficient elements for establishing a different right over an asset. With this in mind, it is proposed here that this approach constituted a call for an update of the idea of action sustaining a Commons: from the custom, as a collective private right of appropriation, to one connected to more absolute rights; an action representative of the general interests of citizenship. It is proposed here that as customs were the backbone structuring traditional Commons, a new type of action, that it is possible to call provisionally "practices", might underlay contemporary, new types of Commons, in a system characterised by universality of rights of a modern rule of law based on Civil Law.

This approach seems to also echo Hardt and Negri's interest for finding a renewed legitimation for singularity as a constitutive power with universal scope emerging in collective mobilisation and action - although it probably takes here a simplified and less radical form than that proposed by the authors. The idea of "multitude" they put forward appears to be a conceptualisation of a collection of singularities coming together, each endowed with its own specificities and rights, as opposed to the faceless abstraction of the 'people' as interpreted in many Constitutions (Hardt & Negri 2000).

The social use of the Commons discourse: mutual recognition and explorations

It is of vital importance to clarify the aspects of universality that emerge from this reading of the debate on the Commons in Italy. In fact, as David Harvey has also noted, Commons are, at the end of the line, specific forms of enclosures (Harvey, 2012). The reason why the reflection about Commons became such a powerful tool for imagining a different future and put forward new forms of emancipation in Italy is based, on the other hand, exactly on the attempt to counteract privatisations.

It is proposed here that it is precisely in the social use of the 'Commons' concept and in the mixed and hybrid discourses emerging from social mobilisations that one can find hints structuring the idea of practices able to sustain Commons, especially because they are often based on experimental praxes of protest and alternative management (such as occupation). If public and shared assets need to be reconsidered in light of practices which give a more valid meaning to the idea of general interest than delegated forms of administration through State organs, it is here deemed appropriate to look at those experimental practices trying to at least partially prefigure such an idea.

Parallel to the academic research, the social use of the word Commons – for political mobilisation, motivation for insurgence and recognition among activists – became very important aspects of how the issue of Commons was shaped and perceived in the Italian public discourse.

While, for the analytical purpose of this exposition, the multifaceted elements that compose the debate on the Commons are separately arrayed, their actual deployment happened often contemporaneously and in a disorderly manner. And there are some contextual reasons for that: its use in the public sphere and the attention devoted to it have seen a dramatic increase since the referendum held in 2011 against the privatisation of water supplies and services (Bersani, 2011). While questions energising the referendum were on whether to maintain public sector agency as the operator in charge of water supply, thus excluding more complex arrangements involving appropriators directly, the word Commons was used extensively. One of the most recurring slogans of the campaign was in fact 'Acqua Bene Comune', [Water as a commons] (Bersani, 2011). This was done with big and yet blurred objectives: Commons during the campaigning for the referendum emerged as a catchphrase used as means of gathering consensus around the problem of water, and in order to establish mutual recognition among local groups of activists and people for the cause against privatisation. The word Commons acquired an enormous discursive potential influencing and structuring public discourse and opinion over the management of a resource, despite the fact that its actual role was chiefly that of coordinating the organisation of dissent rather than promoting a defined new institutional vision.

A sense of what is meant here by this "social" use of the concept of Commons, connected to the referendum campaigning, is efficaciously shown in a qualitative case study by Mazzoni and Cicognani (2013). These authors give an account of how the concept of Commons was used in the campaigning for the "water referendums" as a means of mutual recognition and motivation-building among activists, to some extent in contradiction with the exact aims of the organising committee, which was making a clear statement about keeping the water in *public* hands, not mentioning the Commons at all.

When we are faced with this contradiction we have nevertheless to admit that the discursive strategy of the Commons in this case, although maybe not completely intentional, yielded undeniable results and deployed a great power of mobilisation, a very valuable condition for the implementation of new institutional assets deriving from bottom-up demands of social change. The elastic and negotiable use of the word Commons – not exactly referring to a precise definition of what a Commons would be, but still featuring a great aggregative power – matches with new categories of analysis used by Italian sociology to understand contemporary models of struggle and organisation of dissent and protest (e.g. Daher, 2011). This suggests that while comprehensive and common recognition in a collective identity among individuals taking part in Italian protests and social movements seems to have faded, new types of more temporary, malleable forms of alliance have emerged around specific objectives often, as predicted by Soja (2010), relating to matters of spatial injustice. The word Commons has partially played this role in the Italian context, and in the aftermath of the success that characterised the referendum, won with more than 90% of preferences to abrogate the privatisation law, its use in this sense rose exponentially.

Even at a local level, as in the case of the protests in Venice against the docking of big cruise liners in the old city, social movements adopted the word Commons in their slogans, "[Venice] Lagoon is a Commons", putting forward a complex set of mixed strategies in order to try and gain control of the infrastructural projects and management of the harbour of the city and of its ecological system.

The theoretical misunderstandings to which the Commons are now exposed make it clear that there is a necessity of expounding and re-stating the first assumptions of the Italian research on Commons. Due to the disciplinary relevance of the Commons for planning, the perspective adopted here takes into consideration "space" as a central issue. However, it also stresses institutional change as an objective due to the new challenges the idea of Commons will be facing in Italy if experimented with as possible alternatives to privatisations of physical assets in opposition to further austerity measures. Legal aspects play a central role in them, and they are deemed to be central for the specific context of Italian research.

Discourse and research: finding points of intersection in order to define the Commons

Despite the fact that some jurists actively participated in and cooperated with social movements in order to more strongly substantiate their demands and understand whether and how their actions constituted a more legitimate right over assets than the public power of State organs (e.g. Bailey and Mattei), there was much controversy over the relationship between discourse and research.

Many discursive aspects aimed at widening the participation of a vaster number of people into the debate were often considered as a withdrawal from scientific analysis. When in 2013 the book *Contro I Beni Comuni, una Critica Illuminista [Against the Commons – an Enlightenment Critique]* (Vitale, 2013) came out, it was saluted by many as a refreshing j'accuse. The author was blaming Italian leftist public discourse of using the term Commons in too general ways, labelling as Commons all sort of categories and entities: job places as Commons, justice as Commons, culture as Commons, water as Commons, etc. His critiques were radical but also good intentional: Vitale maintains in that book that either Italian research on the Commons goes back to methodological accurateness or it is condemned to become irrelevant. He therefore puts forward a research agenda proposing that the investigation of Commons should tackle and challenge economic mainstream propositions while maintaining a firm attitude on the terrain of methodology (Vitale, 2013).

Indeed Mattei's book *Beni Comuni – un Manifesto (Commons – a Manifesto)*, (2010) – one of Vitale's main targets – shows many flaws and sheer simplifications in building a teleological narration in which the evil late capitalism will be at last overthrown by the rise of the righteous age of the Commons, a society horizontally organised, as if by magic, with peace and justice for all. Mattei himself has reportedly admitted that the tone of his communication strategy is meant to provoke emotional reactions, rather than thought (Vitale, 2013). So, while Vitale's critique of the indulgence of the narrative and social use of the word Commons shown by Mattei seem to be rather well directed and solidly argued, one cannot help but doubt whether such black and white distinctions between good research on the Commons, and bad, can profitably be drawn in a such a brisk manner.

However, the account given by Ballesteros and Gual (2012) on the emergence of a new Commons, seems to partially blur these lines. In their study they acknowledge the presence of a different, multi-layered set of conditions for the emergence of a new Commons (in their case study on the Ecuadorian coast), among which the political self-awareness of the commoners is explored. So while, on the one hand, Vitale considers Mattei's writings to be simplistic, ideological and biased, the narration Mattei contributes toward might eventually play a role in the emergence of real life Commons in Italy – an aim of both of their theore-

tical efforts. On the other hand, while Vitale's criticisms should definitely be taken into consideration there is space to embrace Mattei's writings so as to set a new research agenda for the Commons in Italy in light of the aggregative and transformative power that a non-structured discourse on the Commons seems able to deploy.

Conclusions: a new urban research agenda

If bottom-up agency and analytical rigour are to be matched in a possibly successful further exploration of the Commons in Italy, new objectives and research methods should be sought. The path opened by the involvement of jurists in contextual situations with social movements demanding new rights of use over resources, broadly intended, could be adopted by planning in order to produce qualitative analyses on legal frameworks, agency, externalities, etc., and produce evidence to support the emergence of new viable Commons institutions in the Italian cultural, social and economic context.
However in order to build relevant knowledge this approach should take advantage of specific research strategies, and seek patterns and comparability. Case study research, in its exploratory, quasi-experimental and descriptive versions (Yin 1985), can surely be beneficial for this endeavour and, as convincingly purported by Flyvbjerg can eventually produce true theoretical advancement (Flyvbjerg, 2006). The research on the Commons, despite the vast production, is still in the making and meta-analysis of comparable case studies has been highly beneficial in research (see the role of the American CPR database inaugurated by the National Research Council Report in 1986: Ostrom, 2008, 2007). Categories are still in the making and important parts of the theory, such as the famous design principles devised by Ostrom (1990), call for constant revision and theoretical refinement (Ostrom, 2008).

As a humble proposal, it is suggested here that some patterns can be devised in order to identify situations that can be usefully targeted for in-depth case studies in the Italian context. These patterns are to be intended as possible initial sets of conditions to be eventually expanded or discussed. Nevertheless direct observation shows that their recurrence might make them good candidates. These are:

1 **The possibility of framing each case study context within an existing or possible legal arrangement**
The contradiction inherent to the existence of Commons institutions within a statutory rights system makes the matter of studying the legitimacy of new Commons institutions extremely delicate. For these reasons, researches will benefit from including the possibility of framing these situations within possible legal arrangements as one of their assumptions. This does not mean that experimentalism should be excluded: legal arrangements might be aimed at giving legitimacy to situations that have blurred legal definitions, and especially to institute appropriation regimes fully expressing the

exertion of fundamental constitutional right, putting these at the centre to contextualise the reasons behind grey zone practices, such as occupations for instance, or advocacy groups' claims.

In this sense it is useful to recall the distinction Ostrom makes about regulations of the Commons relating to constitutional, collective choice and operational problems (Ostrom, 1990). For instance the first type of regulation problem can be a useful investigation perspective for studying cases such as the example of the Teatro Valle in Rome where the occupation of a theatre by its employees attempted to constitute a foundation of citizens to directly manage a publicly owned theatre. Collective choice problems can be given within contexts in which existing regulatory systems (such as the river community agreements [contratti di fiume], but also standard harbour plans in Italy) would pick up elements from Commons institutions, such as mutual monitoring, and incorporate those processes in their processes, thus anticipating at an administrative level the constitutional interpretation of rights of citizens affected by transformation or appropriation of resources. Operational problems, which are less relevant, can arise in cases in which existing forms of management can be paralleled to those of Commons institutions and expanded and enhanced, in order to eventually encompass new types of rights of appropriation, as in the case of the public lands subject to [usi civici] recognised customary rights that are today facing the rise of new type of uses connected to tourism and recreational uses of the landscape. Naturally the three types of problems can, and would in many cases, be present at the same time.

2 The presence of a social demand for a Commons

The existence of an agency that is proposing itself as a candidate for the management of a resource, or demanding halting current arrangements and the establishment of new ones is a central part of the process of materialising new institutional arrangement. The social demands should not necessarily have a precise idea of how the Commons institution should manage the resource they advance their demands on, but surely have the ability of conceptualising them in terms of removal of ecological externalities, inefficiency (in terms of the achievement of the general interest) and injustice of current management. Their presence can ignite the reconsideration of standard procedures of management, and despite the fact that only a judge can eventually make the last call over the (constitutional) legitimacy of their demands, their practices can anticipate administrative dispositions to include part of Commons management into administrative processes.

3 Problematising the implementation of new type of Commons in relation to the idea of "practices" and the "urban".

The Commons discourse has emerged in Italy in clear connection with the downturns of the hastened privatisations that characterised public policies from the 1990's, and has gained strength in the face of austerity measures being put in place since 2008. These contextual factors have led the research on Commons to concentrate on preventing assets of public property and general interest from being privatised. This approach is so inherent to the Italian debate on the Commons that it should be taken into consideration as one of the main objectives of the research, and still be problematised. While discursive use of the word Commons in the public debate seems to take the positive value inherent to a Commons institution arrangement for granted, its degree of efficiency, justice and openness has to be proven in each case. It must especially be continuously scrutinized how practices, contrarily to customs, can remain set of actions, the participation in which, under determined conditions of enhancement of the general interest, is not precluded to anyone.

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BRAZILIAN UPRISING

The spatial diffusion of protests during the June Journeys and the politics of identity

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Abstract

Brazil experienced, in June of 2013, the largest popular demonstrations in its recent history —an event that has been called the *June Journeys*. In this paper, we briefly address briefly the processes of spatial diffusion and dispersion observed during these journeys. We then reflect on how these processes relate to a politics of identity, and the strategies used by protesters to differentiate themselves from other groups, and by the State to classify the protesters in order to guide the use of police repression. Identity can, therefore, group individuals around a common struggle using as reference the location of the demonstration as 'spaces of identity reference', but can also play an important role in the reproduction of dominant power relations by creating mechanisms with which to legitimate punitive action. The 'vandal' is, then, understood as the identity constructed to allow the transition from an indirect regulation to a mode of violent intervention. We conclude the paper by emphasising how both of these processes highlight the role of the politics of identity on this recent series of demonstrations in Brazil.

Keywords: Brazil; June Journeys; Social movements; politics of identity

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Brief outlines and the Brazilian context until June 2013

Brazil has gained a prominent position in the global political and economic scenarios during the last decade. This position has consolidated its role as a Latin American regional power, and also strengthened its sub-imperialist economic practices (Bernardo, 2011a, 2011b). According to the Uruguayan journalist and intellectual Raúl Zibechi:

> the expansion and strengthening of the ruling elites, the adoption of a strategy to make the country a global power, the strong partnership between the internationalized Brazilian bourgeoisie and the state apparatus (including the armed forces and state managers), and the maturity of capital accumulation in Brazil make its ruling elites able to take advantage of the relative decline of the United States in order to occupy spaces that deepen their hegemony in the country and the region. (Zibechi, 2012, p. 18)

During these past twelve years, the country has been governed by the Worker's Party (PT - *Partido dos Trabalhadores*). The election of Luis Inácio Lula da Silva —honorary president of the party— in 2002, produced a 'widespread sentiment among large sectors of the left that finally a political constellation committed to substantial changes (including land and urban reform) would come to State power'. Indeed, some of the widely advertised social goals were achieved. Among them we can highlight the reduction of social inequalities, the increasing of purchasing power (although based on a wide indebtedness), the expansion of the still precarious public health and educational systems, and even an initial review of the dictatorial past of the country. In fact, these new conditions increased social mobility, substantially changing the life quality of many Brazilians that were previously in extreme poverty.

All these achievements were accompanied by the co-optation of some of the most expressive social movements and labour unions by the State´s participation and negotiation apparatus. An important part of this process was the wide set of social policies that brought significant daily changes in terms of basic life conditions. These combined factors helped to mitigate social conflicts at the same time as they increased bonds of dependence of the movements towards the State, a process that is also seen in other countries of the continent with popular governments during this last decade, such as Argentina, Uruguay, Bolivia, and Venezuela (Zibechi, 2011).

However, although large and institutionalised national movements have received more attention from the government, other political organizations continued their struggle without state support. 2013 began with the continuation of a series of struggles rooted in the previous years. Besides the pressing housing issue in the largest cities of Brazil —mainly exemplified by occupations of the *sem-teto* movement (squatting) and the resistance against evictions— various agendas were coming to the fore. Two of them

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deserve our attention because they played a crucial role in the demonstrations that led millions of people to the streets of Brazilian cities, a series of protests that are publicly known as the 'June Journeys.' The first one refers to the mega-events: the FIFA World Cup 2014 and the Olympic Games in 2016. The other focuses on the urban mobility agenda, especially motivated by the wide rejection of the increase of the public transport fares. None of these two could be clearly characterized *a priori* as 'leftist' or 'right -wing' claims. Indeed, its importance lies precisely in the fact that they were aggregating agendas, capable of bringing together groups with very different political positions —sometimes even antagonistic ones.

Since the International Federation of Association Football (FIFA) declared in 2007 that Brazil would host the World Cup, the preparations have been criticized by different political sectors of the society. Some the criticism include the lack of efficiency and transparency in the management of public resources, the neoliberal models of space production, and the adverse impacts of these events on local populations. Since the beginning of the preparation, several reports have disclosed the violations of human and labour rights, illegal evictions and forced removals of thousands of families,[1] lack of information and participation in the decision making process; the denial and restriction of access to basic public services (such as electricity, basic sanitation, health centres, etc.) as a tactic to force eviction, as well as the restriction of guaranteed rights, such as free legal support; the criminalization of social movements; environmental impacts and crimes, among others. The criticisms are based mainly on the delay and overpricing of the public works concerning the renovation of the infrastructure (highways, airports etc.) and the construction of Stadiums, as well as on the lack of transparency of the bidding procedures. These issues motivated different kinds of campaigns[2], including those organised by social movements and leftist parties under the 'World Cup Popular Committees'. Present in all the twelve host cities, these Committees stood out especially because of their systematic denunciation of the illegalities perpetrated in the name of these preparations against the interest of local residents.

Mobilizations against the raise of public transport fares were also on the agenda since the beginning of 2013. The main organisation addressing this issue is the Free Pass Movement (MPL – *Movimento Passe Livre*). Its origins date back to the popular uprisings occurred in Salvador ('Revolta do Buzú' / 2003) and Florianópolis ('*Revoltas da Catraca*' / 2004 and 2005) (Vinicius, 2004, 2005; MPL/SP, 2013). MPL became a national organisation in

[1] See ANCOP (2012) and; Comitê Popular da Copa e das Olimpíadas do Rio de Janeiro (2014)

[2] For instance, the campaign driven by Amnesty International against forced evictions in 2013. See Amnesty International (2013).

2005 during the World Social Forum in Porto Alegre, establishing itself as working under a federalist principle since 2006. After that, its activities spread to several cities through specific local political processes. During these more than ten years, the MPL has been focused on debates in schools and unions, on the organisation of public seminars and on demonstrations, widening the scope of the debate in both quantitative and qualitative terms. The fact is that the problems of urban mobility in Brazil are real and experienced daily by the vast majority of the population, especially in the larger cities. The MPL activities were oriented to the politicization of this experience, and the year of 2013 began with several protests related to this agenda (Judensnaider et al, 2013).

In this paper, we briefly address the processes of spatial diffusion and dispersion observed during the peak period of the 'June Journeys.' We also aim to reflect upon how these spatial dynamics can relate to the strategies used during the protests —both by the leftist social movements involved in the demonstrations and by the State attempting to govern the protests. We organised and analysed a preliminary chronological systematization of the events during this series of protests, considering mainly its location, magnitude, and agendas (when identifiable). The data was gathered from handouts (distributed during the demonstrations), published materials in news papers, websites linked to social movements and printed and digital information broadcasted by the so called 'alternative media' (such as Midia Ninja, Jornal A Nova Democracia, Passa Palavra etc.), as well as recent publications about these events (See Judensnaider *et al* (2013), Maricato *et al* (2013)). Our reflections are mainly based on participant observation research methods, supported by our attendance to the almost-daily demonstrations that took place in Rio de Janeiro, June and July, and endorsed by our participation in several social movements in the city during the last nine years approximately (especially in the *sem-teto* movement of Rio de Janeiro). We also took advantage of a network of activists spread across the country to have access to reports about demonstrations occurred in other cities – São Paulo, Recife, and Florianópolis for instance. The gathered information was systematically organised through research notes about the waves of protests, providing the data used in this paper.

The next pages will be organised as follows. In the first section, we describe the emergence of the demonstrations, focusing on its locational aspects. We intend to highlight the initial spatial concentration of protests in the main cities, which was followed by two processes of spatial diffusion: one that showed a spread of protests from the main state capitals towards other secondary capitals; and the other, expressed by the eruption of protests in several small and mid-size cities. In the second section we focus on the intra-urban scale (the inner city) to reflect on the process of spatial dispersion of protests featured by some activist groups and social movements. We argue that this intra-urban process can be better understood as a tactical return to their 'spaces of identity reference' (Haesbaert, 1996; Souza, 2008), that mainly occurred after the reduction of public transportation

fares achieved by popular mobilisation and the multiplication of agendas that predominated on the larger street marches after that. The third section addresses the construction of a political subject that became crucial since then: the 'vandal' (understood as an 'alter version' of the movement's identity). The idea here is to describe and analyse how the construction of the 'vandal' by the mainstream media and the State allowed the de-subjectivation of a parcel of the protesters through the typification of their socio-spatial practices and its consequent classification as non-citizens. We consider this process as part of the subtle tactics of the State to govern the massive street protests, both ensuring the social legitimation and the legal basis that enabled the use of violent police repression against popular demonstrations without breaching the rule of law. Finally, we conclude the paper by emphasising how both processes – the 'vandalisation' of the protests by the State and the search for 'spaces of identity reference' by some social movements – highlight the role of the politics of identity on this recent Brazilian series of demonstrations.

The emergence of the protests and its capillary spatial diffusion

June began with demonstrations in the cities of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. A few hundred people gathered on the 3rd of June. However, the demonstrations gained in magnitude on day six. Protests in other state capitals, such as Goiânia and Natal, also erupted against the increase of the public transportation fares. In São Paulo's city centre, for instance, more than five thousand people attended a demonstration summoned by MPL, calling for the reduction of the transport fares. This demand was shared by the diverse protesting groups, and the organisation of the protests was highly decentralized —even the marching routes were often decided during the demonstrations. Despite the fairness and clarity of the demands, municipal, state and federal authorities were intransigent and refused to establish dialogue with the protesters. Instead, the State's response came only through the use of police force, causing depredations, arrests and panic. Until the 12th of June, every demonstration that took place in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo was responded to with police repression and several arrests.

The week between the 12th and the 19th of June was decisive for the massification of the protests. On the night of the 12th, the political commentator Arnaldo Jabor used his time in '*Jornal da Globo*' – a popular evening TV news broadcasted by the largest media conglomerate of South America, Globo Organisations— to raise questions about the reasons that justified the actions of the protesters that he defined as a 'violent act of hate against the city'. After stating that it could not be because of the twenty cents raise in transport fares, he concluded: 'The cause must certainly be the absence of causes. Nobody knows what to fight for. Honestly, these middle-class rioters are not worth 20 cents' (Jornal da Globo, 2013). This statement echoed both in social media networks and on the streets. Jarbor's question expressed the incomprehension of the Brazilian elites and the political parties of the sudden increase of the demonstrations. In response, a wide range of reasons

began to be emphasized by demonstrators, affirming that the protests were 'not only for twenty cents', causing demonstrators to come up with new and diverse reasons to protest. It was the spark needed for the proliferation of agendas.

On the next day, June 13th, it was already possible to observe the presence of posters responding the statements of the commentator affirming numerous other reasons to protest (such as the housing deficit, corruption, police violence, poor education and health services etc.). At the same time, two of the most influential mainstream media newspapers demanded more rigor and intensity in the police action against protesters. On the same day, a demonstration with over twenty thousand people in São Paulo's city centre was targeted by one of the most violent police actions against protests in Brazilian recent history. In addition to more than 230 arrests, at least six journalists from the traditional mainstream and other media vehicles suffered direct violence from the police (Carta Capital, 2013). Two of them were hit by rubber bullets in their eyes and became partially blind. Like dozens of other people, one of the journalists from *'Carta Capital'* (a leftist pro-government magazine) was arrested for possessing vinegar, a liquid used to alleviate the effects of the tear gas. The police argued that the liquid could be used as a potential explosive material. Because of it, the events of that day in São Paulo became known as *'Revolta do Vinagre'* (The Vinegar Revolt).

On the following days, police repression was strongly criticized in the social media networks. People shared abundant audio-visual materials and news, information that traditional media refused to broadcast. But the fact that professional journalists and many middle-class people of São Paulo had been directly affected by police violence drove even the more traditional mainstream media vehicles to report and criticize the excessive use of force by the police. On the 14th of June, the Mayor of São Paulo recognized that the police behaviour on the previous day 'was not good for the police' (G1, 2013a). By that time three more state capitals in the southeast of Brazil (Porto Alegre, Curitiba and Belo Horizonte) had also adhered to the demonstrations taking thousands of people to the streets in support for the protests in São Paulo and to demand a reduction of their own local public transport fares. In total, there were protests in 6 of the 27 state capitals of Brazil. Under pressure and with the strong possibility of new protests, the governor of São Paulo stated that the use of rubber bullets by military police force would be prohibited. Nonetheless, by then, police violence had already played its mobilizing role.

The 17th of June was marked by demonstrations in 12 of the 27 state capitals and over thirty cities across the country (Figures 1 and 2). According to conservative estimates, almost three hundred thousand people went to the streets to protest that day (G1, 2013b). Only in São Paulo, over sixty thousand people circulated through different streets of the centre and the south zone, occupying city symbols such as the *'Ponte Estaiada'* (Estaiada

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Bridge). In many cities, protesters carried posters expressing the multiplicity of agendas that became one of the main characteristics of the June Journeys. In Rio de Janeiro, more than a hundred thousand people went to the city centre to join a demonstration that ended with strong clashes with police outside the Legislative State Assembly (ALERJ). Cars were torched, barricades were built, and police officers were cornered by protesters. That night became known as the *'Batalha da ALERJ'* (Battle of ALERJ) (Figure 3). The demonstration on the 17th was at that time the largest in Brazilian recent history.

On that day, apart from the cities that were already mobilized, the demonstrations spread to other state capitals such as Belém (Pará)[3], Fortaleza (Ceará), Maceió (Alagoas), Recife (Pernambuco), Salvador (Bahia), Vitória (Espírito Santo) and Brazil's national capital Brasília (Distrito Federal). However, this diffusion and expansion of the protests did not remain restrained to state capitals and began to spread to other mid-size cities such as Ribeirão das Neves, Viçosa, Poços de Caldas and Juiz de Fora (all in the state of Minas Gerais); Foz do Iguaçu, Londrina, Maringá and Ponta Grossa (Paraná); Campo dos Goytacazes and Três Rios (Rio de Janeiro); Guarujá, Santos, Pindamonhangaba, Itapetininga, Bauru and Votuporanga (São Paulo); and Novo Hamburgo (Rio Grande do Sul). The demonstrations had spread beyond the state capitals and numerous conflicts between protesters and the police were registered in different parts of the country.

Figure 1. Demonstrators occupy the National Congress in Brasília on the 17th of June. (© 2013, Valter Campanato | Agência Brasil – Licensed under Creative Commons Attribution 3.0 Brazil. Used with permission.)

[3] The words in brackets refer to the names of the states of the Brazilian federation.

Figure 2. Demonstration at Cinelândia Square, Rio de Janeiro's city centre, on the 17th of June. This day ended with violent clashes in the Legislative State Assebly (ALERJ) between the police and protesters. (© 2013, Tomaz Silva | Agência Brasil – Licensed under Creative Commons Attribution 3.0 Brazil. Used with permission.) permission.)

Figures 3. Protesters' attempt to occupy and set the Legislative State Assembly (ALERJ) on fire, at Rio de Janeiro's city centre, on the 17th of June. This day became known among the demonstrators as 'Batalha da ALERJ' (Battle of ALERJ). (© 2013, Tomaz Silva | Agência Brasil – Licensed under Creative Commons Attribution 3.0 Brazil. Used with permission.)

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On the 18th of June, more than thirty Brazilian cities registered large protests in 15 states. São Paulo had more than fifty thousand people on the streets, which surrounded and attacked the city council and some mainstream media cars. The State responded, on the same day, by declaring the reduction of the public transport fares in four state capitals – Cuiabá, Porto Alegre, Recife, and João Pessoa. On the next day, more demonstrations took place in more than thirty cities and 13 states. Afraid of this scenario, the state governors and mayors of São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro decided, on the 19th of June, to revoke the increase of the transport fares.

After that, new protests were called for the next day through the social media networks. On the 20th of June millions of people went to the streets of more than one hundred and thirty cities and 26 of the 27 Brazilian states to celebrate the recent popular victory. This was the peak of the demonstrations during the 'June Journeys.' In São Paulo, more than one hundred thousand people went to the main avenue of the city, the Paulista Avenue (Figure 4). Nonetheless, despite the police estimate that registered three hundred thousand people in Rio de Janeiro's demonstration, the protest became known as '*Marcha do Milhão*' (The Million's March). If we take as reference the capitals of the Brazilian states, until the 13th, only the city of Manaus had reduced the rate of transport fares. Between the 13th and the 20th of June, nevertheless, at least ten other state capitals decreased its transport ticket

Figure 4. Demonstration on Paulista Avenue, São Paulo's city centre, on the 20th of June, one day after the announcement of revocation of public transportation fares increase by the local and state government. (© 2013, Marcelo Camargo | Agência Brasil – Licensed under Creative Commons Attribution 3.0 Brazil. Used with permission.)

prices: Goiânia on the 13th; Cuiabá, João Pessoa, Porto Alegre, and Recife on the 18th; Aracaju, Rio de Janeiro, and São Paulo on the 19th; Curitiba and Campina Grande on the 20th. These reductions were a direct result of the pressure made by the population, and expressed the magnitude and vigour of the demonstrations that took place in these cities. We see this as a first process of spatial diffusion of the demonstrations that spread quickly to other state capitals.

During the first week of June the demonstrations were concentrated in large urban centres and the protests focused predominantly on the issue of public transport. Even though the protests had also taken place in cities like Natal (3rd of June) and Goiânia (6th of June), they were concentrated in the two main cities of the country: São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro. After the delegitimizing statements that questioned the demonstrations held on the 12th of June, arguing in favour of a supposed lack of clear reasons for the protests and after full disclosure of police brutality of the demonstrations held on the 13th in São Paulo, the agenda of the protests began to diversify. By then it was clear that what had began as a series of demonstrations organized by the Free Pass Movement (MPL) was far beyond their control as several new demands were expressed during the protests.

Handwritten posters became the main vehicle to express the protesters' diverse agendas. The agendas included demands for better education and health services, housing for the poor and the demilitarization of the police; they also expressed opposition to specific laws and to practices of corruption; and some demanded the renunciation of mayors, state governors and even the president. Other posters exalted the protests themselves and their massification, summoning more people to the streets and appealing to ideas such as 'the people's power', 'the power of the streets', or even to nationalistic symbols and quotes of parts of the national anthem. There were also posters that demanded the end of police violence in the slums. The messages were also directed to different interlocutors — such as municipal, state and federal authorities, or even the citizens in general.

Concomitant to the diversification of demands after June 13th, and the intensification of the process of spatial diffusion, demonstrations started to take place also in small and mid-size cities, some located even outside the metropolitan regions. For instance, among the demonstrations of the 17th of June, 12 of the 29 cities that joined the protests were state capitals —so approximately 41%. Three days later, only 25 of 136 cities were state capitals —about 18% of the total. This shows that the protests not only reached almost all the 26 state capitals, but they were spreading fast to mid-size and small cities across the country, thus, no longer restricted to the larger cities. That is what we understand as the second process of spatial diffusion of these protests concerning the Brazilian urban network: the capillarization of the protests in the national territory. The diversification of agendas helped to fuel demonstrations in smaller cities that were not hosting mega-events and did not

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share with larger cities the same problems related to public transport. At the same time, in metropolitan areas of different magnitudes (such as Florianópolis and São Paulo) this situation raised a dispute over agendas.

Some leftist parties, such as the *'Partido Socialista dos Trabalhadores Unificado'* (United Socialist Workers' Party – PSTU), who opposed the PT government, understood the demonstrations as something symptomatic of the deterioration of PT's leadership in the country. Other electoral parties included in the governing coalition, highlighted the danger of a 'turn to the right' and even a possible Coup against the established government. Meanwhile, the powerful media conglomerate Globo changed its discourse. The same commentator who had first questioned the motivations of protesters apologized on national television and manifested his support for the demonstrations claiming that there were, indeed, many reasons to protest, listing some of them. The claims expressed by the commentator were, however, clearly linked to the demands of the right-wing neoliberal parties, and corroborated with the criticism against the PT's government.

The fact is that until then, the demonstrations had not yet been directed to the federal government, as they focused on transport fares, a responsibility of state and municipal authorities. With the change in media discourse, the claims presented were all related to the federal government, such as the vague demand for less corruption, a problem that is structurally embedded in Brazilian political history – and intrinsic to the binomial capitalism-representative democracy – but has been portrayed by the mainstream media (insistently) as a specific feature of the Worker's Party. On the 18th of June, the newspapers *'O Globo' and 'Folha de São Paulo'* – the two most read newspapers in the country – showed the reduction of the transport fares as just one more of the many claims that were present in the demonstrations.

While the mass demonstrations initially began with a shared demand (to cut down the cost of transport fares), the protests continued to integrate new actors and agendas, giving rise to new demands and needs. In this sense, the shared interest that gathered the protesters and underlain their collective identity began to dismantle. The mainstream media and right-wing groups saw an opportunity to contest the set of characteristics by which the demonstrations were recognisable, i.e. their identity. Instead of assuming an investigative approach by discussing the nature and the characteristics of the protests in all its complexity, the mainstream media began to disseminate numerous newspaper and television news reports that intended to 'inform' the public about the motives behind the protests, in favour of an agenda linked to right-wing neoliberal parties. Thus, by redefining the characteristics associated to the protests, they sought to redefine the identity of the protests from the outside. This raises important issues about the relations between collective identities and the action of protesting.

The question often asked by researchers is whether or not collective identity is formed in and through protest rather than preceding it (Polletta and Jasper, 2001). In their review of the literature on collective identity and social movements, Polletta and Jasper (2001) understand collective identity as a basis for collective action (See also Holland et al (2008), including choices among strategies, tactics, targets, organizational forms and deliberative styles (even though they emphasize aspects of belonging and connection). Mellucci (1996), for instance, argues that collective identity is the 'process of constructing an action system' (1996, p. 70). According to him, identity allows social actors to operate as unified subjects and to be in control of their own actions. The protests, however, are recognized as one of multiple sites where collective identity can be formed (Holland et al., 2008). Therefore, protests are often seen either as a means of constructing identity or as an action that results from a pre-constituted collective identity. In a way or another, the collective identity of a group is always expressed more or less directly by the characteristics that define the demonstrations. In this sense, the collective identity of the group that organise the protest corresponds to the identity of the protest itself (i.e. the set of characteristics by which the demonstrations are recognisable).

Nevertheless, the June Journeys in Brazil is a good example on how the identity of the protest is not simply an extension of the collective identity of the activists that first organised the demonstration but can also be an object of contestation. The main demands of the protests began to be disputed by different groups as soon as the demonstrations became massified. There was a momentum that did not depend or was controlled by any group, and people continued to go to the streets to demonstrate even though the public transport fares had been revoked. In a context where the corporate media tried insistently to dictate the focus of the protests, new strategies had to be created in order to divert attention away from the media imposed agenda and back to specific demands of social movements —and, therefore, reclaim the capacity of these movements to define the identity of the protests.

The intra-urban diffusion and the search for spaces of identity reference

Within the more densely populated cities of the country, there was a change in the spatial practices and strategies of the protesters. The diversification of demands led to modifications in the content, spatial practices, and location of the demonstrations. Instead of a concentration of various demands in a single massive protest, there was a scattering of the demonstrations within the cities in order to emphasize their specific demands. The attitude of MPL can exemplify this process. On the 21st of June, after criticising the attacks led by rightwing protesters (some of them associated to fascist groups) against members of leftist political parties and of social movements (that had happened on the day before), the MPL stated that it would no longer summon new demonstrations since it had achieved its main goal: the suspension of the fare increase. However, that did not mean that the group would

stay away from the streets. In their opinion, it was time to re-evaluate what had passed and to focus on new agendas. Two days later, the MPL organised a protest in the periphery of São Paulo in conjunction with two other social movements: '*Periferia Ativa*' (Active Periphery) and the '*Movimento dos Trabalhadores Sem-Teto*' (*Sem-teto* Workers Movement – MTST).

The MPL converged with the view of other leftist groups that understood that it was time to 'go back to the basis', as a reference to the 'social basis' with which each organisation develops its activities. Nevertheless, on the night of the 21st, more than twenty protests were registered in the metropolitan area of São Paulo, even though not necessarily linked to any formal political organisation. In the south zone of the city, a wave of dozens of spontaneous new urban land occupations (housing squatters) began in July and continued all through September. In Rio's metropolitan area, there were protests in several cities, such as Niterói, Duque de Caxias, São Gonçalo, Itaguaí, São João de Meriti, Nova Iguaçu, and others. In the city of Rio de Janeiro itself, demonstrations happened at the same time in the city centre, in districts of the west zone – Barra da Tijuca and Campo Grande –, and in the south zone – Leblon. The demonstrations in the city centre were, however, significantly reduced in size, although remaining larger than they were before the beginning of June. From the 21st of June onwards, the enormous demonstrations that took place in the city centre began to disperse in an 'explosion' of smaller protests in different places of the city. This trend of decentralised protests continued along the following weeks. Rather than ceasing or being reorganised around a new agenda, the protests spread to the city expressing multiple claims that were directly related to the locations where the demonstrations were held.

In Rio de Janeiro demonstrations occurred in the periphery of the city, in slums located at the city centre, and even in the richest areas of Rio. The protests against Governor Sérgio Cabral (organized partly by leftist oppositional political parties, such as PSOL [Socialism and Liberty Party]) moved from the city centre to the doorsteps of his residence, located in the most valued neighbourhood of the city (Leblon) (Figure 5). Movements that traditionally called for the end of police violence in the slums went to the slums to protest. Movements such as the World Popular Committees and other several thousand people organised demonstrations in front of the stadiums during the games of the Confederations Cup in order to protest against the World Cup. On the 25th of August, the slums of Rocinha and Vidigal held a demonstration to demand the use of 1.6 billion reais (approximately 525.000 euros) in sanitation and health, instead of 'wasting it' with the mayor's plan of building a cable car in the community. On that same day, after a protest in Avenida Brasil (one of the main avenues of Rio), the dreaded '*Batalhão de Operações Especiais*' (Special Operations Battalion of the Military Police – BOPE) conducted a search for criminals in the slum of Maré that resulted in the death of one police officer and twelve

residents. A week later, the slum dwellers and other various organisations and social movements closed the same avenue demanding the end of police violence in the slums (Figure 6).

Figure 5. Demonstration held on the 17th of July against Rio de Janeiro's Governor Sérgio Cabral on the doorsteps of his residence, located in the rich neighbourhood of Leblon, in the south zone of the city. It ended with violent clashes between protesters and police officers. (© 2013, Fernando Frazão| Agência Brasil – Licensed under Creative Commons Attribution 3.0 Brazil. Used with permission.)

Figure 6. Demonstration at one of the entrances of the slum of Maré, Rio de Janeiro's north zone, held on the 2nd of July by support groups and dwellers. The protest had as its moto 'Estado que mata, nunca mais!' ('State that kills, no more!'), denouncing the police violence in the favelas. The main banner affirms that 'The police that repress on the avenue is the same that kills in the favela'. (© 2013, Tomaz Silva | Agência Brasil – Licensed under Creative Commons Attribution 3.0 Brazil. Used with permission.)

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This intra-urban spatial diffusion of the demonstrations exposes the effervescence of the symbolic dimension of space, emphasising once again the deep links between space, symbolism and politics. The city centre may be taken as a metonymy of the city: as a space 'of all people'. Protests in the city centre make use of a space that represents the entire city and, in that sense, the centre 'speaks' for the city as a whole. The 'where' of the practice is not an entirely arbitrary decision. There is a complex spatial selectivity that emerges from an assemblage of different locational attributes as a result of the practical imperatives of the inescapable socio-spatial differentiation (Corrêa, 2006, 2007).

The multiplication of meanings and claims seen during the second half of June disturbed this metonymic sense as the traditional agendas of social movements diluted in a multiplicity of demands, rendering many of them invisible. The Centre, as both a territory and a symbolic space, was disputed by a multitude of groups that were often antagonistic. Without a common agenda, the symbolism of the centre became an obstacle to reaffirm the particularity of each set of demands. By changing the location of the demonstration, these groups established a difference between themselves and the heterogeneous masses that protested in the city centre. In that sense, the places selected for the protests were 'spaces of identity reference', i.e. the identity and collective subjectivity produced by an explicit spatial reference that establishes and constitutes the activism itself or, at least, gives it consistency and coherence (Souza, 2008). Therefore, the dispersion of the protests towards spaces that helped to identify the demands with specific agendas seems to have emerged as a spatial practice that attributed meaning to the demonstrations, and expressed and emphasized their specific collective identities.

The threat comes from within: classification, political action and the emergence of the 'vandal'

Besides the diversification of the strategies and agendas of the protesting groups, the events of the 17th of June also marked a change in discourse regarding the role of the police and the differences within the protesters. Holland et al. (2008), researching global justice activism during the G8 Summit in Scotland, argue that law enforcement agents address activists in such a way as to construct 'alter versions' of movement identity. They highlight the fact that official and popular discourse constructs a divide between 'legitimate' and 'illegitimate' protests by appealing to the public to help identify people involved in the demonstrations. According to them, the call for participation in police efforts would mobilize 'alter versions' of movement identity organized around this distinction, portraying global justice activists as 'dangerous outsiders'. The same strategy of division of protesters was employed in Brazil around the so called 'vandal'.

Until the 17th of June, clashes between police and protesters were reported as consequences of the demonstration itself, which was treated as a unified body. On the 14th

of June, the protest of the day before was reported by the special news website of Globo Organisation called 'G1' as follows: 'Demonstration leaves trail of destruction in Rio. Buildings were painted and bus stops vandalized' (G1, 2013c). However, the call of the June 17th protest was significantly different: 'Protest in Rio gathers 100 000, begins peaceful, but a *minority* causes disturbance: Some protesters invaded and threw bombs in the ALERJ building [Legislative State Assembly].' (G1, 2013d) (emphasis added) The same news report states that: 'The protest, which brought together a hundred thousand people, began peaceful, but a *small group* featured acts of vandalism, turning the city centre into a real war scenario.' (emphasis added).

In general, several media vehicles emphasized police violence as one of the main causes for the intensification of the protests. At first, they reinforced the legitimacy of demonstrations in general, but delegitimized the destruction of buses, banks and other symbols of discontent by the protesters. The protester as a social subject was, however, defined as all the participants of the demonstration. There was no differentiation among the protesters. In that sense, the repressive police action was considered legitimate only to the extent that the demonstration, considered as a whole, transgressed what was understood as 'normal', i.e. a peaceful protest. The police action, however, used a series of illegal tactics, such as arbitrary arrests without any proof or with fabricated evidence; the widespread and disproportionate use of violence, striking reporters and bystanders who did not participate in the protests; the use of lethal weapons against demonstrators etc.

With the change in the media discourse, a new delimitation of the field of police action was drawn and a new identity created. Now, the demonstrators would be divided between legitimate protesters and the so called 'vandals'. Consequently, a scission within the demonstration was accomplished, revealing a strategic action that seeks to reaffirm the protests as part of the social 'normalcy,' but at the same time denies the right to demonstration to certain individuals, defining a limit beyond which the use of repressive force can be legitimately applied. The Mayor of Rio de Janeiro, Eduardo Paes, who on the 16th had said that the police acted very well to suppress the protesters, changed his opinion completely on the 19th by stating that

> the reduction of the transport fares is a way of showing respect to the people who went to the streets to protest. It is a right of the people to speak up and show their points of view. I emphasize that we have given a lot of attention to those who take part in the protests raising their demands in the way that they should be raised. We will never listen to anyone who makes use of legitimate claims to practice vandalism and acts of violence. These people do not know how to live in a democratic and respectful environment. (G1, 2013e)

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This differentiation has a strong political impact. The leftist political parties, very excited with the possibility of positive electoral outcomes, started to question the methods and legitimacy of more radical nonpartisan organisations. They claimed that 'vandalism' not only destroyed public property – an argument frequently used by the mainstream media – but also kept away people who became afraid to take part in the demonstrations because of the risks of violent outbreaks. Thus, the establishment of an opposition between the 'good', legitimate protesters and the 'bad', undemocratic and criminal 'vandals', helped to split the demonstrations internally by creating two identities through which people could define themselves and others. Meanwhile, the discourse of the corporate media and the public authorities maintained the focus on the same separation between protesters and 'vandals', pushing it to become increasingly aggressive and more specific in its characterization of the 'vandal'. This division created and enhanced tensions among the participants of the protests, reaching such a dimension that during a demonstration organized by the labour unions on the 11th of July, unionists and masked protesters clashed against each other.

The 'vandals' are not only considered a threat to the Law and order, but also to the same causes they claim to fight for. In addition, they are seen as a threat to the protesters themselves, as they would allegedly put in danger their safety and jeopardise the right to free expression. Now, the responsibility for the violent outbreaks, previously attributed to the police forces, were ascribed to the protesters themselves. In this sense, an exception is created through a rhetorical-discursive structure that allows the transition from an indirect regulation to a mode of violent intervention. In fact, the exception permits the State to use illiberal means to re-establish the 'liberal order' (Opitz, 2011). Without ever suspending the right to protest and the rule of law, an exception is created to enable the police to confront the 'vandal' with 'non-liberal' measures. Consequently, the law can be violated in the name of public order and security, and through this act, order and security can be re-established (Opitz, 2011). From this perspective, the individual that will be the main target of punitive intervention is constructed: the 'vandal' emerges as the 'dangerous individual' (Foucault, 2006). The status of citizen (and the political freedom that accompanies it) would, from now on, be ensured only to the individuals capable of acting 'reasonably', i.e. to the rational and disciplined individuals. Those who cannot be normalized and, therefore, represent a threat to democracy, to the State and to the protesters themselves should have their freedom revoked.

According to Opitz (2011), in classical political theory terms, the dangerous individual only has *phoné* (voice), not *logos* (language), since he/she has his/her status of discursive intelligibility denied. The rationality of the discourse and the actions of those who are classified as 'vandals' – which include the premises, objectives, and the selection of targets, such as banks, luxury shops, the city council and the Legislative Assembly buildings – are ignored and suppressed since he/she occupies a discursive 'non-position'. In other words,

they suffer a process of *de-subjectivation* (Opitz, 2011). This position makes the individual a purely destructive, irrational, 'barbaric,' and unintelligible agent and, as such, he/she cannot be governed by granting freedom (Opitz, 2011).

The target of the police would, then, no longer be the legitimate protester but the 'vandal'. However, anyone could be framed as a 'vandal', since it is the police who are responsible to define who should or should not be included in this category. As Benjamin (1995) states:

> The assertion that the ends of police violence are always identical or even connected to those of general law is entirely untrue. Rather, the "law" of the police really marks the point at which the state, whether from impotence or because of the immanent connections within any legal system, can no longer guarantee through the legal system the empirical ends that it desires at any price to attain. Therefore the police intervene "for security reasons" in countless cases where no clear legal situation exists, when they are not merely, without the slightest relation to legal ends (...) Unlike law, which acknowledges in the "decision" determined by place and time a metaphysical category that gives it a claim to critical evaluation, a consideration of the police institution encounters nothing essential at all. Its power is formless, like its nowhere tangible, all-pervasive, ghostly presence in the life of civilized states (Benjamin, 1995, p. 287).

Nevertheless, the emergence of this identity does not remain restricted to the discourse of the media and the politicians. In order to consolidate the exception it is necessary to legally institute it. From the 'June Journeys' until today, these 'small groups' that make up the exception have been undergoing a process of institutionalization and legal classification. The difficulty lies in finding or constructing legal prerogatives that not only allows the police to arrest the protesters identified as 'vandals,' but that also permits to keep them in jail until the end of their criminal trial. After a demonstration that ended in clashes between the military police and the protesters in the elite neighbourhood of Leblon, on the 17th of July, Rio de Janeiro's Civil Chief of Police, Marta Rocha, expressed a concern regarding a situation also encountered by the police forces in other states. According to her,

> (…) the civil police did not stop working, but I have to follow what the law requires. Some vandals were arrested for conspiracy, but the crime is bailable. We identified sixteen people accused of inciting violence since the protests began, but no one can stay detained because of it. In addition, the crime of damage to property depends on representation, which means that the victims need to manifest themselves. The police is working, but there is a limit controlled by the law. I cannot work miracles. (O Globo, 2013)

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Since June of 2013, the police forces tried many different legal instruments in order to optimise its repressive role. Some of them were already established by the current national Penal Code or by Law nº 7.170 of 1983 —known as the 'National Security Act', enacted during the Brazilian military dictatorship. However, there were other new legislative pieces that relied on the new prerogatives brought by the mega-events to be hosted in the country (FIFA 2014 World Cup and the Olympic Games in 2016). This is the case of at least two examples: the Law nº 12.850 enacted on the 2nd of August of 2013, also known as the 'Law of Criminal Organization;' and the federal bill nº 499, known as the 'Anti-Terrorism Act.' The first one provides a legal instrument that threatens any 'vandal' with three to eight years in prison, while the second opens a clear possibility of framing social movements under sentences that may vary from fifteen to thirty years of imprisonment.

In sum, identity plays an important role both in the reproduction of dominant power relations, as in the relations of insurgent power. Identity can therefore group individuals around a common struggle, but it can also strengthen privileged positions in the social structure by creating mechanisms with which to legitimate punitive action. Such mechanisms introduce a moment of aporia, of self-contradiction, in which the non-liberal intervention is understood as a lesser evil in the face of a danger that threatens the life and liberty of the population. As Opitz (2011, p. 99) puts it,

> (...) government intervention is necessary because the processes in which it must not intervene are permanently threatened. At the same time, intervention only intends to make non-intervention possible and feasible. According to governmental reason, intervention always already refers back to non-intervention and vice-versa.

Last words: politics of identity, updates and some additional questions

This paper addressed the spatial diffusion of the series of protests that took place in Brazil on June of 2013 and its relationship with the diversification of the protesters' agendas. We began by delineating some locational aspects of the first protests in order to describe the double process of spatial diffusion of the demonstrations within the Brazilian urban network. At first, under the predominance of the agendas related to the quality and costs of public transport, the demonstrations spread to other state capitals and subsequently (with the diversification of agendas) to other medium and small cities. The growth of the demonstrations and the increasing plurality of the new agendas resulted in a dispute over the political relevance and identity of the protests.

In that sense, a politics of identity played a major role in the further development of the events throughout the month of June: first, as we have seen, in the disputes that arose over the meaning of the demonstration and the collective desires of the protesters; and second, in the classification of the protesters for the selection of the measures to be taken

accordingly. In the first case, the very multiplicity of agendas became an obstacle which diluted existing demands and facilitated their manipulation by government agencies and the media. Thus, in addition to the spatial diffusion observed in Brazilian urban network, there was a round of dispersion in the inner city areas, associated with an attempt from certain groups to differentiate themselves from others and to give prominence to their specific demands. After achieving the revocation of the increase of public transport fares – and in a context of diversification of agendas and dispute over priorities – many groups of activists and leftist social movements started to concentrate their activities away from the city centre and managed to avoid the dilution of their agendas through a new 'locational policy' (Corrêa, 2007). The return to their 'spaces of identity reference' (Haesbaert, 1996; Souza, 2008) – taking protests against the governor to the footsteps of his house, protests against police violence to the slums and protests against the World Cup to the stadiums – constituted, then, that aimed to emphasize demands and assemble individuals and groups around a common struggle.

Nevertheless, identity also played an important role in the reproduction of heteronomous power relations and strengthened privileged positions in the social structure by creating mechanisms with which to legitimise punitive action, as in the emergence of the 'vandal' as a specific type of protester. An 'alter version' of the movement identity erupted as a mechanism of security that not only diverted the attention from police brutality towards the violence that emanated from the protesters themselves, but also, in so doing, allowed the transition from an indirect regulation to a mode of violent intervention without suspending the rule of law and the right to protest.

While the dispute over the city centre metonymic sense seems to have retreated one year after the 'June Journeys,' the conflicts over the normalisation of demonstrations —involving the identification and classification of non institutionalised political groups by the police— are still current in the Brazilian political context. Far from being restricted to the linguistic or symbolic realm, these identities rely on new legislative instruments, specialised institutions, integrated surveillance technologies and innovative repressive tactics in order to fulfil its political purpose. Since then, several organisations of social movements in Rio de Janeiro were investigated, persecuted and accused of conspiracy: a process that ended with more than thirty arrest warrants against activists one day before the World Cup final of 2014.

In spite of all this, since the 'June Journeys', there has been an increase on the number of street demonstrations (both spontaneous and organised by social movements), two significantly successful strikes (of the garbage collectors and the bus drivers), and the emergence of new activist groups. The squatter movement, for example, organised several demonstrations with thousands of people during the first half of 2014 that forced

the federal government to negotiate the construction of new social housing units. The experience of massive and victorious mobilisations with significant achievements that had a direct impact on people's daily lives can resignify the street protests and relocate them in the horizon of possibilities of collective action. Although such 'rediscovery of the streets' (as it has been called) should not be seen as eminently progressive or conservative in its nature, the political relevance of this kind of collective shared experiences cannot be underestimated.

> [c]lass eventuates as men and women *live* their productive relations, and as they *experience* their determinate situations, within 'the *ensemble* of the social relations', with their inherited culture and expectations, and as they handle these experiences in cultural ways. (emphasis on the original) (Thompson, 1978, p. 150).

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