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NEXT GENERATION PLANNING

Planning Theories from the Global South

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VOLUME ELEVEN, SPECIAL EDITION

Planning Theories from the Global South

Each year, *plaNext* aims to publish two volumes; one of which presents a collection of original works following an open call, and the other presents a selection of articles from the AESOP Young Academics (YA) conference of the previous year. Representing the former, the call for papers was published in 2019 and attracted more than forty original papers. We selected twelve manuscripts and invited the other excellent contributions to rewrite their papers as either viewpoints that can be included in the special issue or as manuscripts to be included in other issues published by plaNext. The call for papers invited contributions based on cases from planning practices within the 'conceptual' and not only 'geographical' global South, that could also explore South-South learning.

Out of the twelve accepted abstracts on certain of these topics eight were developed into peer-reviewed manuscripts in addition to one viewpoint for the special issue. The spread of the coronavirus and its ongoing disease (COVID-19) and the dramatic changes it brought to our life, including restriction on cross-border movement and some international scholars moving back to their countries of origin, made the completion of manuscripts impossible for several contributors.

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Foreword

The IV World Planning Schools Congress (WPSC) held in Rio back in 2016 was a turning point for many of us academics doing planning research and teaching planning theory in Europe and beyond. With its theme ‘Global Crisis, Planning and the Challenges to Spatial Justice in the North and in the South,’ the IV WPSC gathered over a thousand delegates representing 11 associations of planning schools from around the globe. Setting the tone for the conference, the stimulating opening keynote talk ‘Insurgency, Planning and the Prospect of a Humane Urbanism,’ by Faranak Miraftab, permeated deeply through roundtables, plenaries and special sessions showcasing the decolonisation of the planning canon. As a wealth of thought-provoking ideas, concepts and cases mobilised by *inter alia* Vanessa Watson, Ananya Roy, Oren Yiftachel and Raquel Rolnik triggered fervent debates in overfilled auditoriums, not only did we gain exposure to new epistemologies of learning and first-hand lines of argumentation upsetting ‘official’ planning theory and history, but we bore witness to an exceptional and highly memorable episode of the Southern turn in planning. In all likelihood, never, to date, has the wider project of building planning theory from the South been as brilliantly legitimised.

It is in this spirit that I have the honour of introducing the *plaNext* special issue ‘Planning Theories from the Global South,’ edited by Chandrima Mukhopadhyay and Feras Hammami with Vanessa Watson. Apart from making a meaningful contribution to the expanding body of conceptual thinking rooted in markedly heterogeneous Southern contexts, this *plaNext* special issue, most importantly, gives voice to a young generation of scholars which is vastly conscious of the need to theorise planning whilst universalising the global South. Altogether, this timely effort signifies a bold attempt to forge new theory pathways capable of inspiring the advancement of novel planning practices that match the aspirations of emerging and future generations of planners.

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Introduction: Planning theories from ‘southern turn’ to ‘deeply rooted/situated in the South/context’: A project in the making

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Introduction

Over the years a growing number of planning and urban theorists located in, or writing on, planning and urban theories in the global South have argued that theories emerged on the basis of assumptions within a northern context that do not ‘fit’ or are not applicable in global South contexts (Rao 2006; Ferguson 2006; Watson 2009; Roy 2009; Myers 2011; Parnell and Robinson 2012). Hence, they maintain, there is a need to rethink the northern bias in planning and urban theory and to develop new concepts, ideas, vocabularies and practices from southern perspectives. McFarlane (2008) uses the term ‘southern turn’ in urban studies, while arguing that productive comparisons across contexts constitute an epistemological transformation in urban theory. He uses the term ‘urban shadow’ to explain how southern cities are considered marginal and on the ‘edges’ of a predominantly Euro-American oriented urban theory canon (McFarlane 2004; 2008). Rao dwells on Amin & Thirft’s (2002) *Cities: Reimagining the Urban* to develop her ‘slum as theory’ wherein she critically reflects on the dominant discourses that inform and guide planning and urban theory. In 2009, Watson (2009), a scholar based in the South, introduced the idea of ‘seeing from the south’ to explain the need for context-rooted theory development. Yiftachel (2006) introduced a South-Eastern approach instead to break the binary of North-South and East-West. Roy (2009) calls for new geographies of 'imagination and epistemologies', as dominant theorizations are based on Euro-American experience, and are unable to capture the grounded reality of the global South.

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[1] This introduction was edited by Chandrima Mukhopadhyay and Feras Hammami alongwith Vanessa Watson based on several discussion sessions, as the call for paper was developed based on Watson’s work

Along these lines of thoughts, Myers (2011) suggest us to re-vision the ways in which cities in Africa are discussed and written about in urban studies in order to engage with the vibrancy and complexity of African cities with fresh eyes. Similarly, Parnell and Robinson (2012) argue for provincialisation of neoliberalism, a concept that emerged in the North, to make intellectual space for alternative ideas from the South, reflecting a more relevant reality for them. Beyond challenging the assumptions of theories that emerged in the North, they indicate how provincialising northern theories based on the grounded reality in the South are useful and of interest to those who are based in the South, and how building theories based on grounded realities in the South requires additional intellectual space due to its complexities. Agbenyo and Becker with Albrechts (2021) discuss provincialisation of 'strategic spatial planning' in the South in a Special Issue of the booklet series.[2]

One of the central issues that most of these scholars advocate is 'learning' from the south, or more generally across contexts. An understanding of a particular case (context) can be developed through 'theoretical propositions' which can then be tested out in other contexts. It is a process through which concepts / theories from the South will have to be gradually (inductively) built, and will have certain link to the context in question. This develops meso-level theorization, yet situated within a broader context and maybe relevant for some other regions of the world. The literature on southern planning theory is growing steadily, and more exponentially during the last two decades. From the 'southern turn' in urban and planning theories the literature has evolved to theories 'deeply rooted in the South'/ 'situated in context', and very recent studies push the boundary to develop theories without a 'North'. Beyond the post colonialisation theories, decolonisation of planning theories and planning pedagogy and education is also growing steadily. This is not to say, of course, that a North–South comparative impetus has been lost in urban and planning theory. There is still a resilient tendency in some studies of Southern cities to engage with cities through the trope of copy/unique (McFarlane 2008, p. 344). We therefore see in this introduction to the special issue (SI) an urgency to advance new planning epistemologies whilst theorising from the South, to capture the realities on the ground, and build theories situated in specific contexts. We not only advocate learning from the south through meso-level theorisation, but also promote the anti-universalising approach and nature of the southern theory.

We organized this introduction so that we, first, conceptualises the global South, and, second, discusse why southern planning theorists have developed a critique of northern based planning theory. Finally, we consider some of the key areas of debate or disagreement amongst southern planning theorists. To explain the contributions of the articles and viewpoint as well as the introduction, we used the following three thematic sub-sections to present the third section: Planning philosophy and pedagogy: South to North knowledge transfer; Governance: Complexity in decision-making with a multitude of actors; and Theorising about Housing: Gentrification, Repairing and Distinctiveness.

Conceptualising the global South

The term global South has emerged relatively recently in the fields of planning, urban studies and development studies. Its origins can be traced back to the initial uses of the terms

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[2] When published, the booklet will be available here: http://www.aesop-planning.eu/en_GB/booklet-series.

'developed' and 'developing' countries that first emerged within the context of international development after the end of the Second World War. These terms were based on the belief that those parts of the world outside of the West (advanced capitalist economies) should follow a path of economic development taken in Europe and America in order to 'catch up' with Western notions of development. The 1960s was declared the First Development Decade by the United Nations and those countries considered 'underdeveloped' were urged to promote a strategy for economic growth. This terminology was subject to a growing critique and in 1999 the UN defended their use of the terms, as follows:

> The designations 'developed' and 'developing' are intended for statistical convenience and do not necessarily express a judgment about the stage reached by a particular country or area in the development process (United Nations 1999: Preface)

In 2015, the World Bank announced that their categorisation of the world into 'developed' or 'developing' countries' has become less relevant, and instead presented data integration for regions and income groups: Low, Lower-middle, Upper-middle and High income. Indeed, this new grouping of countries promoted minor adjustment in the global economic and political structure. Yet, the stark divide between north and south is likely to continue, protected by the capitalist world systems. And the questions such as to what extent are the new categories responsive to the socio-economic changes of countries previously viewed as developing, and to what extent can they be viewed as a direct consequence of processes of capitalist expansion, are still somewhat left unresolved.

Another trope of the north-south political rhetoric is the term 'Third-World', which emerged in the aftermath of World War II, in service of (post)colonial strategies. It is claimed to have first appeared in Alfred Sauvy's writing in 1952, referring to countries that are not primitive, underdeveloped, or poor. Generally, Third World came to describe the countries that were unaligned with either the Communist Soviet bloc (allies of the Soviet Union) or the Capitalist NATO bloc (allies of the United States) after the WWII, or more specifically during the Cold War. It specifically speaks to the 'Third Estate' invention of the French Revolution, characterising the opposition to the French priests and nobles and enforcing social and political representations (Sauvy, 1952). However, Worsley suggested that Claude Bourdet had used the term 'Three Worlds' (without using 'third world') at least as early as April 1949 (Marcus 1958 cited in Wolf-Phillips, 1987, p.1311). How and for what purpose the Third World terminology was invented or appeared in the global representation of countries are relevant to the present debates on global South.

In recent years, the term global South has been used more frequently, to refer to Latin America, Africa and Asia, as a less pejorative term than either underdeveloped countries or the Third World. Clearly all these territories do not lie south of the equator, and countries such as Australia have historically been grouped with advanced capitalist economies, and it is the same with Singapore in Asia. Clearly, as well, parts of Latin America, Africa and Asia could also be categorised this way (China in particular) leading to the acceptance that the global south is not homogenous: the globe is made up of economic cores and peripheries, and there are cores and peripheries within these. To critically reflect on the diverging contexts of the non-North and as an alternative to the global South, Oren Yiftachel proposed the term 'south-east', making the following point:

> '…there are no clear-cut distinctions between North and South, West and East, discourse and materiality or homeland and diaspora. These categories should be seen as 'zones' in a conceptual grid which attempts to draw attention to the main loci of power and identity within an obviously messy, overlapping and dynamic world' (Yiftachel 2006: 212)

We also accept that the term global South refers to more than economic difference. As Dados and Connell (2012: 13) suggest, it

> '…references an entire history of colonialism, neo-imperialism, and differential economic and social change through which large inequalities in living standards, life expectancy and access to resources are maintained; and opens new possibilities in politics and social science'.

It is with this perspective in mind that we have scrutinized the term global South in this special issue. We critically reflect on global South as a concept and a historical process of domination, alienation and superiority. Although 'global South' is being used as a generic term, we acknowledge and appreciate the deep socio-political differences between and within the various geographical global South contexts, especially the urbanisation dynamics and patterns in cities located in, such as, Latin America, South Africa, South Asia, Western Asia, and East Asia. Hence, there are scholars who would be uncomfortable in generalising theories built up based on one context to another even within global South. The processes of modernisation, industrialisation, colonialism, settler colonialism, nationalism and even the ethnicisation of the nation have certainly been driven by diverging forces and resulted in unique socio-spatial and political realities.

In continuation, many theorists view the global South within the critical urban studies literature as an analytical tool, and not a geographical South. Considering global south as an analytical tool helps overcome the methodological barrier to conducting comparative urban research across North/South divides, as pointed out by Robinson (2011), discussed below. However, there is a debate on whether global South is an analytical tool. Simone and Pieterse (2017: x) employ a 'majoritarian' argument to define global South cities as those where '…the majority hold spatial, economic, political and ecological vulnerability' and this is supported by Bhan (2019). However, using global South as an analytical tool facilitates comparative research between North-South. The next section outlines the main critiques of what is referred to as 'northern' planning theory, which have formed the basis of the southern planning theory project.

Critiques of northern based planning theory

Rationalities: Towards a 'southern turn'

Since the 1960s cultural turn to development and associated processes of ethnicising the nation many scholars felt the urge to devote efforts to the project of (deepening) democratic revolutions. At the center of this project is the work of radical intellectuals, scholarly activists, and applied researchers whose task over time has pointed towards the development of new vocabularies that enable us to better comprehend people's diverse experiences so that their struggle against oppression and subordination may become more effective. Among the other revealing shifts in planning theory is the engagement in planning as a focus of conflict rather than a rational process of choices and decision-making. For example, Flyvbjerg's (1996) 'real-life' rationality suggests that we critically engage in context by asking 'what is actually done' instead of 'what should be done'. Initiating and grounding planning in local values suggests an engagement in situated power relations. In this sense, the dynamics between rationality and power is critical in understanding what policy is about (Flyvbjerg 1998, pp. 164-65). Building on these ideas, Flyvbjerg and Richardson (2002) promote a Foucauldian approach to planning that reflects a more realistic picture of context, taking power into consideration. They also refer to Friedmann, who criticized planning theories for lack of treatment of power, even within the global North (Friedmann, 1997).

The approach to power and conflict in planning, and the impact of ignoring them on society has been developed by many other planning scholars. For example, Huxley (2000) criticizes communicative planning theory on the grounds of obscuring planning's problematic relation with the state, and hence, acknowledgement of the relations between power and inequality. The engagement of power and conflict in the development of planning theory brought notions of situational settings, and a range of other comparative context analysis models to the front of planning debates. However, while the lack of treatment of power and conflict in the planning theory and practices were applicable in the sotuhern context as well, scholars working on the global South had discomfort in using theories that emerged in a very different context with assumptions based in the global North. Their focus on situational settings and comparative analysis across contexts reveald the the irrelvance of universalized theory as well as multi-levels of power play that underlay the unchallenged one-way transfer of planning knowledge and models from the North to the South. Some of these scholars were also concerned about the legacies of the colonial power and thereby sought to develop southern planning theory that can support the efforts of decolonising planning theory (Gunder *et al* 2017). The following section unpacks those assumptions by looking at the evolution of southern planning theory over last two decades, starting with a 'southern turn' in Euro-American theories, leading towards developing theories contextually rooted in the South, and developing theories without 'North'.

Key areas of debate in southern planning theory

We unpacked these assumptions here following four main sub-themes, i.e., theorising from the South, decolonising planning theory, governance and planning pedagogy and education, which are to some extent interrelated. These sub-themes are not only key areas of debate in souther planning theory but they also form a common ground for the contributions of this special issue.

Theorising from the South: Situated in context

Lawhon and Truelove (2019 p.1) outline three distinct iterations of southern urban critique: 'the south is empirically different; Euro-American hegemony works to displace a diversity of intellectual traditions; and the postcolonial encounter requires the critical interrogation of research practices'. Roy (2009) calls for new geographies of 'imagination and epistemologies', as dominant theorizations are based on Euro-American experience, and unable to capture the grounded reality of the global South, in terms of 'worlding of cities, production of space and dynamics of exurbanity'. Watson (2016, p.32) argues that 'a more recent southern turn' across a range of social science disciplines, and in planning theory, suggests the possibility of a foundational shift toward theories which acknowledge their situatedness in time and place, and which recognize that extensive global difference in cities and regions renders universalized theorising and narrow conceptual models (especially in planning theory, given its relevance for practice) as invalid. Inspired by his exploration of a South-Eastern perspective, Yiftachel (2009) introduces the concept of 'gray space' to explain the multiple struggles for urban space, rights, and resources which develops between, what he terms, 'whiteness' of legality/approval/safety and 'darkness' of 'eviction/destruction/death'. In relation to discussing eviction/displacement, he uses the term 'from displacement to displaceability' explaining the vulnerable populations' potential of being displaced (Yiftachel, 2020). He also considers the growing inequalities and new relations of colonialism in urban politics, and thereby suggests the need for a 'planning citizenship as a possible corrective horizon for analytical, normative and insurgent theories' (Yiftachel 2009, p. 87).

Furthermore, 'informality' is a recurrent question in the south-north debates in which scholars increasingly pay attention to the unchallenged conception of urban informality as a setting, sector or outcome, ignoring its diverging processes and forms across contexts and its everyday lived realities. For example, Kudva (2009) explores 'informalities' that are dominant in southern cities through the lens of Lefebvrian theoretical framework. In this, she unpacks the mutually constitutive political and spatial practices of informality under different structural conditions. Beyond urban resistance and encroachment, she discusses other forms of practices such as open protest, collective mobilization, and violence, which could as well be acknowledged under vocabularies in southern theory. From a feminist perspective, Miraftab (2004) coins the term 'invited' and 'invented' space for citizenship to describe community-based activism as an informal arena of politics and citizenship construction where women and disadvantaged groups actively and effectively participate in decision-making. Other temporal, rapid, transnational and politically loaded forms of informality are those related to forced displacement and national power. Fawaz (2016) discusses the Syrian refugees' process of negotiating access to shelter through slums in Lebanon where the government did not agree to the usual solution of camps. In this special issue, four articles contribute to the specific literature on theorizing about informalities in housing in the South. Stiphany's article discusses use of big data situated in the context in Brazil. Cirolia *et al* theorises the informal occupation of formal built environment in South Africa, which is a context-specific practice in the South. Zadeh *et al*. theorise about north-south transition of the idea of social housing. Siqueira generates critical reflections on the classical definitions of gentrification from the South.

In light of these debates, context-driven approaches, including case study methodologies and comparative analysis, have become among the vital strategies to build theories beyond any North-South divide, leading to the literature on 'what is being done' from a southern perspective. For example, McFarlane's (2004; 2008) southern turn in urban studies advocates comparison 'as a strategy of indirect and uncertain learning in order to move away from a predominantly Euro-American-orientated urban theory' (p.340). Robinson (2011, p. 1) points out that in spite of an analytical division of the worlds of cities into wealthier vs poorer, capitalist vs socialist, there has been very little research comparing across these divides, especially the North/South divide. She argues that as globalisation presents the rationale to do so, there are mainly two barriers in making such comparisons: one is methodological resources[3], and the other is 'prevalent intellectual and theoretical landscapes' emerged from the North. Advancing McFarlane and Robinson's position on comparative research, Galland and Elinbaum (2018), more recently, discuss the southern turn in planning in Latin America by comparing planning practices across different countries within Latin America. They explore planning interventions, contemporary forms of planning knowledge, and academic scholarship through comparison within the region (Southern America). Narayanan (2020), on a similar note, argues for developing southern theories without a North, with the example of narratives from street food sector actors in two contexts: Delhi and Colombo. Narayanan's (2020) approach is closer to Bhan's (2019) vocabularies. Bhan's (2019, p.116) study on developing new action-oriented vocabularies 'tied to the production of forms and theories of practice' is the newest development within southern theory literature. Such vocabularies are developed as both time- and space-bound, however, these ideas could be methodologically tested elsewhere as well. Calderon and Westin (2021) use comparative research from two case studies in India and

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[3] We argued above that considering global South as an analytical tool can potentially remove the methodological barrier, even though the idea of 'analytical tool' is not fully accepted.

South Africa to argue that context-driven approaches to planning theory could be carried out by focusing on the interplay between institutional and agential factors, as analyzing context. Finally in the recently published booklet, 'Watson: Planning from the South: Learning from Academia, Praxis and Activism', within the AESOP-YA project of 'Conversations in Planning Theory and Practice', Watson relates her contribution towards the evolution of southern theory. The booklet includes an interesting timeline of her contribution towards southern planning theory and the development of concepts such as 'conflicting rationalities' and 'seeing from the south' (p.15).[4]

Decolonisation of planning theories

An important call behind suggestions such as developing theories based on relaities rooted in the South (Narayanan, 2020) concerns the need to decolonise planning theories. Porter's (2006) stand on decolonizing planning theory and practice is through the undoing of planning ontology. Within Australian context, rather than ignoring the historical colonial context and impact of present planning practices, Porter calls for decolonizing planning so that its invisible spatial ontology that always acts as a basis of pervasive forms of colonial dominance, oppression and marginalization of the indigenous, becomes visible and challenged (Porter 2010, p. 18). In this, among the concretet suggestion is the engagement in the decolonization of planning theory through bottom-up approaches to planning (Cornelius et al., 2017; Seehawer, 2018). Fawaz (2016) proposes decolonization of planning through the lens of 'property effect'. With a case-study of land-use planning in Tebnine, Lebanon, she shows that planning interventions compliments the inequalities of property relations, and maintains the dominance of propertied representation of the landscape. She also argues that landuse planning institutionalizes structures of the property regimes in place, contextualized in historical and geographical political-economies.

A range of other calls for decolonizing planning can be drawn from the field of planning education (Wesley and Allen, 2019; Marques and Rishi, 2021). For example, Sunderasan (2019) discusses decolonization of urban pedagogy in India through his experience at a graduate level program. Sweet (2018) uses cultural humility as a lens to decolonize planning theory, education and practice. Bruns and Gerend (2018) promotes decolonial urban transformation by taking southern theories into consideration, and improving one's understanding of urban scholarship and sustainability science. There is an emerging literature on decolonization of planning theory where southern theorists are increasingly taking part.[5]

In this Special Issue we see how the vocabularies of Third World, developed-developing, and income groups were put at work, how they created new facts on the grounds, and how this has led to, and protected, sites of dominant representation, realities and knowledges of the world. These invented realities, representations and power-relations work within particular forms of governmentality (apparatuses of knowledge) (Lemke, 2002). Once a person, area, or period of history is included in one category, it implies an automatic attachment of a meaning to it. This Special Issue thus comes with new ideas, approaches, and conceptions from the non-North that are deeply situated in context, yet follow purposeful practices, informed by critical reflections and comparative analysis, and pointed towards making a specific contribution into the decolonization of planning theory.

Governance: Complexity in decision-making with multitude of actors

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[4] The booklet can be accessed here: http://www.aesop-planning.eu/uploads/watson_booklet-web_final.pdf.

[5] A roundtable organised on decolonisation of planning theory organised by Hiba Abu Akar at Columbia University could be accessed at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FhYti6FvBfA ; last accessed on 12th June 2021.

The classic southern theories on urban governance in the South focus on delivering just and equitable development through a range of actors from both formal and informal sectors. Miraftab (2009) coins the term 'insurgent planning' as a radical planning practice that responds to neoliberalisation through inclusive governance. She includes in the definition of insurgent planning a span of agents and activities, ranging from individual actions by 'ordinary' citizens, to collective, organized and purposeful interventions. In the Indian context, Benjamin's (2008) concept of 'Occupancy urbanism' is developed to address how both 'developmentalism' for the poor and 'globally competitive economic development' for the elite is politically dealt with and co-exists in the same context. Similar to Miraftab's (2009) 'insurgent planning', Benjamin (2008) argues that 'occupancy urbanism would help poor appropriate real estate surpluses via reconstituted land tenure to fuel small businesses whose commodities jeopardize branded chains' (Benjamin, 2008, p.719).

In the early debates on southern planning theory, Watson's (2003) argument on unpacking assumptions about how planning addresses challenges in varied contexts, by proposing the concept of a 'clash of rationality' (or conflicting rationality). She explained this concept as a clash 'between techno-managerial and marketised systems of government administration, service provision and planning, and increasingly marginalised urban populations surviving largely under conditions of informality' (Watson, 2009, p. 2259). Her explanation of this clash could be further discussed through the lens of governance as well. Watson's 'conflict of rationality' was central to our call for authors for the special issue. We seen in it an inspiration to supports our efforts to unpack the complexity of planning by re-emphasising struggle over space and territory, especially experienced in the global South as decisions are made in the intersection of formal and informal sectors, and justifies a 'southern turn' in planning theories.

'Governance' is defined as 'the way of governing'. Content-wise, 'governance' is discussed differently in the South both within academia and practice than how it is often discussed in northern contexts, reflecting the difference of the issues on the ground. Discussing urban governance in the southern cities focuses on decentralization of power from the national government through urban reforms, and the extent of success in implementing the reforms (Kamath and Zachariah, 2015). There are challenges to deliver equity and justice in urban development, to consider the significant role of civil societies in negotiating interests of vulnerable groups with the public sector and as to promote an extended form of public sector to implement pro-poor reforms in order to build peoples' trust on the public sector (Mathur, 2012). Public sector accountability (Mukhopadhyay, 2015) and corruption in planning (Chiodelli, 2019) are discussed under the broader umbrella of governance in order to improve democratic decision-making. Urban governance theories which emerged in the North often cannot be applied in the southern context. For instance, network governance emerged in the Dutch and Danish contexts advocates for public-private cooperation (Sorensen and Torfing, 2016), while the relationship is more conflictual in the South. This could be viewed as part of larger political agenda, and the public-private relation is matured over time.[6] It also includes debates on Right to the City, discussion related to cross-subnational border migration of skilled and unskilled labourers, and their right to access basic services. The spatial scale of discussion ranges from local jurisdiction to regional scale. While a top-down approach for planning and implementing tools is followed in practice, understanding urban governance through the lens of efficient public participation in implementing the tools and delivering equity is still limited. For instance, Mahadevia *et al* (2018) evaluate the Town Planning Scheme, an innovative tool on land pooling and re-adjustment, on the ground of 'equity'. Similarly, Jillela

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[6] Informal conversation between Chandrima Mukhopadhyay and Andreas Faludi in September 2016.

et al (2015) argue for inclusive planning processes through stakeholder involvement in order to deliver inclusive mass transit projects and Transit Oriented Development, as an innovative form of governance. The question however is how, and what opportunities the southern planning perspective may provide for a more just and social-equal urban change.

Learning from the South: Planning pedagogy and education

To further explore this question, it is imperative to illustrate how northern theory has dominated most of the scientific publication platforms (publishers of books, high-impact journals, etc), both in terms of authors and editors (Stiftel and Mukhopadhyay, 2007), as well as in research funding that is allotted by institutes located in the global North. Indeed, the past decade has witnessed an improvement in terms of both authorship and editorial board members in international planning journals from the global South, with certain limitations though. The impact however is still modest. One can still ask about the new realities this improvement has produced, and more specifically to what extent power-related vocabularies were translated into new practices and institutions, including democratic societies? Insights from political science suggests, as Chantal Mouffe observes while advocating liberal democratic principles of liberty and equality for all, that the liberal democratic ideals are promising but their problem is that these ideals are not put into practice in those societies.

As an alternative way forward towards an international planning education, Sanyal (2013) proposes a one-world approach to planning education, promoting an equal relationship in knowledge production and dissemination between the rich and poor countries. Marques and Rishi (2021), in another SI of Conversations in Planning booklet[7], followed Sanyal's path and sought to further develop the one-world 'shared approach'. However, to southern theorists, the one-world shared approach is useful only in internationalizing the urban/city planning education system in the US. Rather than internationalization planning education, Weseley and Allen (2019) go a step further by proposing decolonization as an imperative road towards liberating planning education from the dominant global North in planning theory. A specific from-below approach is proposed in Winkler (2018). She discusses resistant texts, which are most often found in endogenous systems of knowledge production in an African context, as an approach towards decolonizing planning education, i.e., delinking from Western knowledge. Frank and Silver's (eds.) (2017) recent contribution discusses the origins of urban planning education, the experience of educating planners in selected countries and future trends of planning education in many countries across the globe.

Along these critical reflections on the transfer of knowledge and decolonization of planning, Mohsen in the SI discusses Lacanian's philosophical position in understanding southern planning theory. He, and several critical southern scholars, criticize lack of use of philosophical theories from the South. For instance, outside of the discipline, Manjul Bhargav, uses Indian ancient philosophical stances to develop theories in Mathmatics. Wesley *et al*.'s paper in the SI bridges this gap to some extent by discussing generative 'Pedagogies from and for the Social Production of Habitat: Learning from HIC-AL School of Grassroots Urbanism'. Another contribution to the SI by Costa *et al* makes a call to move towards innovative southern-based pedagogy in planning education through Rooting metropolitan planning in critical theory and participatory practices. Furthermore, Wood (2020) discusses delivering an undergraduate module that teaches post-colonial concepts without relying on colonial constructs. He raises the questions: 'how do we locate the South without relying on concepts of otherness? and how do we communicate the importance of the South without re-creating the regional hierarchies that have dominated for far too long?'.

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[7] The booklet can be accessed here, when available: http://www.aesop-planning.eu/en_GB/booklet-series

The innovative southern-specific planning pedagogy and theorising about planning practices could lead to South to North transfer of knowledge as discussed in the following paragraph. Miraftab (2016) writes how communities from Togo and Mexico have been invisibly building communities in Illinois, the US, through the flow of migrant labourers, as they distribute their times both in their hometown and in the US. This is an excellent example showing how invisibly concepts of community building are already transferred from the South to the North. Many other scholars from outside the Urban Planning discipline also contributed to these broad debates. From the field of critical heritage studies. Harrison (2013) explains how Western-centric principles and models of heritage management have been transferred to the global South through the declared consensus among United Nations (UN) member states on the protection of the so called 'outstanding universal values'. In her thesis, Uses of Heritage, Smith (2006) explains how this consensus has since the 19th century been guided and protected by what she terms the Authorised Heritage Discourse (AHD), not only driven by certain narratives about nationalism, but also a specific theme about the legitimacy and dominant place in national cultures of the European social and political elite'. From Sociology, Connell (2007) identifies a similar tension in social theory between the 'prestige' of being able to abstract statements to the extent that they can be portrayed as universally true, and the post-modernist counter-position that is suspicious of generalization per se. Connell (2007) promotes the idea of a new 'world social science' that includes voices from outside Euro-American world. Comaroff and Comaroff (2012: 1-2) in anthropology suggest that in the global South the impacts of North-South relationships have been most starkly felt.

Building on these efforts from urban planning and other disciplines, the special issue adopted the term global South to address the unjust effects of long history of inequalities that foregrounded an important aspect of planning theory and practice. These inequalities are felt across the globe in living standards, life expectancy and access to resources that are maintained as a result of colonialism, neo-imperialism, and differential economic and social changes. We use the term global South as an analytical tool rather than a geographical one, though the latter is still relevant to particular debates on decolonization. We certainly acknowledge the critical relevance of the other emerging terminologies and approaches such as the global South-East. We however choose to proceed in our intellectual endeavor following the term: the global South. Finally, the argument behind emergence of the divide between developed/developing, North/South is changed, from a southern perspective. Since cities and regions in the global South will continue to be largely urbanized in coming decades, as forecasted by international organisations (McKinsey, 2010; United Nations), and since the decision-making in urbanization process is way more complex than how it was during the rise of the developed countries, for instance, with impact of climate change, with much higher urban density, with a subnstantial population still living below poverty line, it is a fact that the global South should follow a different path of urbanization and economic development than what was followed by the Western countries and a different notion of development than the Western one.

Purpose of the Special Issus

It is within these efforts that the Editorial Board of *plaNext*—Next Generation Planning put out a call for contributions to a Special Issue of plaNext on planning ideas and challenges from the global South. They also invited Vanessa Watson as a guest editor for conversation but also critical reflection on the ideas and arguments presented in the call and the contributions to the SI. Published in 2019, the call attracted more than forty original papers in which their contributions were based on cases from planning practices within the 'conceptual' and not only 'geographical' global South, that could also explore South-South learning. We selected twelve manuscripts and invited the other excellent contributions to rewrite their papers as either viewpoints that can be included in the special issue or as manuscripts to be included in other issues published by plaNext. Out of the twelve accepted manuscripts on certain of these topics eight were developed into peer-reviewed manuscripts in addition to one viewpoint for the special issue. However, the spread of the coronavirus and its ongoing disease (COVID-19) and the dramatic changes it brought to our lives, including restriction on cross-border movement and some international scholars moving back to their countries of origin, made the completion of manuscripts impossible for several contributors. Finally, eight complete manuscripts and one viewpoint could complete the review process. In the following section we have thematically organised these contributions, following what we, the editors, interpreted as the main shared theoretical grounds.

Summary of Articles

Theme 1: Planning philosophy and pedagogy: Rooted in the South

In reconsidering planning theory and practice from the global South, relatively little attention has been given to the issue of planning pedagogy. In the first of two articles (Generative Pedagogies from and for the Social Production of Habitat: Learning from HIC-AL School of Grassroots Urbanism) which touch on this subject, Wesley, Allen, Zárate, and Emanuelli consider the role of popular education and critical pedagogy as levers for developing and articulating the agency of social movements in their struggles for recognition and justice. Negotiating whose knowledge counts, how and why, has been a decisive factor in situating the pedagogic trajectories of social movements in particular contexts and historical junctures. This raises the question of what pedagogies are adopted by social movements and the role of such pedagogies in developing more transformative epistemic framings of the urban. this requires bringing together the areas of critical pedagogy and social movements to better understand the realm of grassroots urbanism.

The paper draws on the example of the Habitat International Coalition in Latin America (HIC-AL), identified as a 'school of grassroots urbanism' (*Escuela de Urbanismo Popular*). The curricula of these schools are rooted in principles of autonomy, flexibility and collectivising action, and assembled through variegated pedagogic logics rather than following a pre-determined curriculum. Three key logics are discussed: learning is not a linear process but rather a reflective practice based on experiential learning; learning is transdisciplinary, creating synergies and dialogic spaces between different kinds of knowledge; and there needs to be the rapid expansion and multiplication of pedagogic capacities at scale.

As in the paper by Wesley *et al*, the paper entitled Rooting metropolitan planning in critical theory and participatory practices: A university planning experience in Belo Horizonte, Brazil, by Costa and Monte-Mór, also links pedagogy and planning practice. A metropolitan analysis and development of planning proposals for Belo Horizonte Metropolitan Region was conducted by university staff and students as an 'outreach' programme which linked research and education. The paper explains the educational and research process, the history of change in metropolitan planning in the city, the achievements of the engagement process, and the rooting of metropolitan and urban planning in critical theory and participatory practices, in order to contribute to southern planning theory. Participatory Local Interest Committees put into effect the Lefebvrian concept of *autogestion* (self-management). They helped perpetuate the struggles for autogestion and extend them 'to all levels and sectors', aiming at the social, cultural and political appropriation of space. The authors argue that this is a struggle for *the* *right to the city*, which has been the main purpose of progressive planning theory and practice in Brazil.

In effect this was planning education within the ‘social learning’ tradition – through a collective and reflexive process that involved not only faculty and students but also, by extension, several metropolitan and state personnel and community leaders who were involved throughout the participatory planning process.

This paper entitled A Lacanian Understanding of the Southern Planning Theorists’ Identification under the Hegemony of Western Philosophy by Mohsen investigates the meaning of Southern planning theory based on a Lacanian approach. It links to the question of pedagogy by asking how planning theorists’ identities are constituted through their interactions within academia. Mohsen argues that planning curricula, and planning theory courses in particular, adopt, internalise, and use hegemonic Western philosophy, ideas, and discourses as the only accepted mechanism of truth. This is usually the case whether planning schools are located in the global North or South. Where planning theory is taught this way in the global South it alienates southern planning theorists from their local context, as they often devalue, overlook, and neglect non-Western beliefs, ideas, knowledge, and philosophy. More broadly the professional identity of planners is shaped and normalised through their interactions and socialisations within academia and through the dominant ideology of how planners define and use space. Mohsen makes the links between Lacanian thinking and post-colonial studies, and later to decoloniality. These ideas have also influenced the southern turn in planning as well as in a number of other disciplines. However, the deployment of Lacan’s master signifiers such as ‘Southern’ reinforces the colonial hegemonic mechanism of power as the southern people, including planning theorists, are perceived as inferior.

Theme 2: Governance: Complexity in decision-making with multitude of actors

Of the two papers on governance in the global south, the paper entitled Inclusion in urban environmental governance of small and intermediary cities of the global South by Adelina, Archer, Johnson and Opiyo explores how urban sustainability is governed beyond the urban scale through trans-local networks and assemblages of actors and institutions, with a focus on small and intermediary cities of the global South. This focus questions the assumption by policy networks that increasing the adaptive capacities of primary cities will trickle down to the responses of smaller or poorer cities. The paper notes the recent paradigm shift in urban environmentalism termed ‘climate urbanism’, pointing to how urban sustainability projects are framed around addressing climate action as an economic opportunity, leading to the formulation of narrow goals for both climate securitization and social equity. Literature on these cases also identify how these climate infrastructures are funded by certain assemblages of actors such as global banks, policy institutions, and development agencies. The interest in the case studies in this paper is therefore to analyse the actors leading and financing the projects and the drivers of the intervention so as to explain differential outcomes in the inclusion processes and the framing of environmental solutions. This allows conclusions to be reached about the barriers and potentials for advancing ‘multi-level governance’ in small and intermediary cities in the global South.

This paper entitled Legacies of Mistrust: Why colonial imprints on the implementation of fiscal reforms in Mozambique and Mexico matter by Carolini and Hess considers fiscal decentralisation across Latin America and Sub-Saharan Africa, which has not been entirely effective. A central reason for these reforms has been public dissatisfaction with the delivery of services through highly centralised administrative systems. The design of these reforms is usually based on the experiences of high income countries, and the very different contextual factors in global South countries may be one reason for this lack of success. However, the authors argue that there is another reason, related to understanding the impact of colonisation in these regions. Based on studies of Mozambique and Mexico the paper examines how race-based caste systems introduced under colonial administrations fed the development and evolution of dual governance systems across spaces and peoples that bred mistrust between residents, local authorities and central authorities. Social mistrust born of racist colonial administrations meant that paternalistic relationships were leveraged to build social security and gain rents within marginalized spaces and peoples. In the post-colonial era such paternalism translated into a strengthening of patrimonialism within governments and fed conflicts between the intentions of actors involved in the implementation of reforms. The paper argues that fiscal decentralization theories need revision in their application within geographies of the global South in which local rationales and political experiences are deeply shaped by extractive and spatialized racist colonial administrative histories.

Theme 3: Theorising about Housing: Gentrification, Repairing, and Distinctiveness

Four papers in this volume scrutinize diverging issues of housing at the north-south intersection/paradox. The first two of these four explore informality in housing, using case studies from Brazil and South Africa, respectively. In her South-North Scenarios: Reorienting Planning toward Future Informalities, Stiphany demonstrates the importance of informal morphologies produced by urban redevelopment to societal development in the global South. She investigated two case studies of informal housing from São Paulo in Brazil and focused on the opportunities past insurgences in the cases provided for change. They identified three, what she called, infrastructural insurgencies: making claims for land and infrastructure; revealing rental densification; and youth empowerment. Each of these evolved amid cycles of redevelopment, producing situated data, from below. Stiphany sees the importance of this form of knowledge for the future of housing systems in the global South, and argued that this knowledge is under researched. Stiphany argued that this little interest in community-based data production is likely to sustain 'an epistemic gap around the profound material transformations that shape and are shaped by informal settlement redevelopment'. For Stiphany, this knowledge is important to challenge traditional approaches to informal settlements, uncover spaces that most people cannot access, and understand how the production of this data from below is associated with a critical process of subjectification. The latter refers to self-effort of empowerment to take an active role in urban governance and redevelopment. In this context, Stiphany viewed the three infrastructural insurgencies as an action framework, which can support the efforts against displacement and other forms of exclusion.

Moving to South Africa, Cirolia, Ngwenya and Christianson investigate the informal occupation of existing formal structures and how this often ends with the placement of new meanings and values on these structures. In their paper, Repairing, Repurposing and Renovating: Informal Occupation in Cape Town, South Africa, Cirolia *et al* see the agency of occupation retrofit in the global South and their importance in city-making. The case study is the appropriation of a semi-vacant state-owned hospital building located in Cape Town, South Africa. The authors used documentary photography and interviews with residents to reveal the changes made in the public property to suit residential purposes. The empirical analysis showed that the processes of repairing, repurposing, and renovation the residents implemented in the building followed some sort of a logic of 'retrofit city-making'. Rather than adjusting the physical spaces as a shelter, the dwellers purposefully adjusted the physical spaces and infrastructure to meet their basic needs and leisure. As cities become more densely built and vacant land more peripheral or scarce, the authors argued that the retrofit of underutilised buildings, particularly through bottom-up actions such as occupations, will become an increasingly important mode of urban development not only in Cape Town but throughout the global South. For this reason, they advocated the need to rethink the role bottom-up informal settlement play in urban development. Not only are the practices of material transformation useful to understand, so too are the ways in which occupations reflect significantly more than simply survivalist strategies, but also care and meaning-making.

The third paper on housing searches for productive relations within the north-south paradox. In their Distinctiveness of Housing Systems in the global South: Relevance of ‘Social Housing’ Approach to Meet Housing Needs, Zadeh, Moulaert, and Cameron bring the challenging question of informal settlements in the global South into a dialogue with the celebrated models of social housing in the global north. Inspired by Weberian and Marxian theoretical traditions as well as State-failure and post-colonial theories, the authors identified five distinctive characteristics of informal settlements, or housing systems, in the global South. These are: the diverse facets of global financialization; the role of the developmentalist state; the importance of informality; the decisive role of the family; and the rudimentary welfare systems. Informed by these characteristics, they were able to describe two scenarios for the future of housing in the global South: the growing commodification of land and housing, following the blind forces of the global market; and the emergence of a universal role for social housing, yet with significant diverging conditions across the global South. They also explained that informality or unconventional methods of housing provision might become an inevitable option for low-income households to settle in cities or the peripheral areas. Through a comparative analysis of north-south housing systems, the authors considered the general validity of some features of social housing to the development of ‘affordable housing’, and thus advocated the need for a contextualized use of social housing models as a policy to deal with the present and future housing challenges in the global South.

In her viewpoint paper, entitled Gentrifying the Brazilian city: convergences and divergences in urban studies, Siqueira generates critical reflections on the classical definitions of gentrification. Dwelling on Glass (1964), she explains how much of the discussions of gentrification is still related to the transformation of existing urban housing stocks by new homeowners with a higher socio-economic profile, and this seems to hamper the efforts to better understand recent empirical data coming from Brazil and the global South more generally. Focusing on housing and gentrification in Brazilian cities, her viewpoint paper came to challenge ‘the Northern empirical foundations of gentrification theory, and called for a new methodological approach to both classic and new cases. To situate gentrification in contexts, Marina suggested us to engage in gentrification as a process rather than an end-result. Through this process, as she argues, gentrification is operationalized, contextualized, and articulated with local patterns in space and time. She therefore encouraged scholars of gentrification to critically compare processes of gentrification across geography, challenging any defined north-south boundary to generate new ideas that can inform practice in contextual ways, including those with capacity to resist gentrification.

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Generative pedagogies from and for the social production of habitat: Learning from HIC-AL School of grassroots urbanism

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Re-thinking dominant epistemological assumptions of the urban in the global South implies recognising the role of grassroots networks in challenging epistemic injustices through the co-production of multiple *saberes* and *haceres* for more just and inclusive cities. This paper examines the pedagogies of such networks by focusing on the experiences nurtured within Habitat International Coalition in Latin America (HIC-AL), identified as a 'School of Grassroots Urbanism' (*Escuela de Urbanismo Popular*). Although HIC-AL follows foremost activist rather than educational objectives, members of HIC-AL identify and value their practices as a 'School', whose diverse pedagogic logics and epistemological arguments are examined in this paper. The analysis builds upon a series of in-depth interviews, document reviews and participant observation with HIC-AL member organisations and allied grassroots networks. The discussion explores how the values and principles emanating from a long history of popular education and popular urbanism in the region are articulated through situated pedagogies of resistance and transformation, which in turn enable generative learning from and for the social production of habitat.

Keywords: Popular education, grassroots urbanism, critical pedagogy, epistemic justice, Habitat International Coalition, Latin America

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Introduction

The last two decades have witnessed multiple calls to rethink dominant epistemological assumptions on urban change (Watson, 2016; Mitlin et al., 2020). Brenner (2013, p. 91) noted that '[p]aradoxically, (…) at the very moment in which the urban appears to have acquired an unprecedented strategic significance for an extraordinarily broad array of institutions, organizations, researchers, actors, and activists, its definitional contours have become unmanageably slippery.'

Thus, in distilling a new epistemology of the 'urban', the question becomes: through what and whose categories, methodologies and pedagogies should urban life be understood? Researchers from across the world have responded to this question, contesting the perpetuation of eurocentrism, coloniality, and modernity in global urban studies and seeking to account for new empirics, methods and concepts emerging from subaltern geographies. The work of Colin McFarlane (2011), as well as collective volumes such as *The Routledge Handbook on Cities of the Global South* (Parnell & Oldfield, 2014), and its companion volume on planning (Bhan et al., 2017), among others, are manifestations of the multifaceted nature and breadth of current debates, and remind us of the need of decolonising contemporary ways of thinking about and acting upon cities.

Organised social movements, such as Slum/Shack Dwellers International (SDI), the Asian Coalition for Housing Rights (ACHR), as well as multi-actor alliances of movements, civil society organisations and academia such as the Habitat International Coalition (HIC) are amongst the key actors working across local, regional and global levels to re-define the ways we understand what 'knowing' the urban actually means, and who 'the knowers' are. For example, in its fights for social justice in marginalised and informal settlements across Asia, Africa and Latin America, SDI's Know Your City campaign puts these questions centre stage, advocating for informed, bottom-up action based on detailed settlement-profiling by, and for, their residents. Importantly, it has been shown that SDI's firmly contextualised approach has been leveraged to influence the knowledge paradigms framing global policy discourses, including the New Urban Agenda (Cociña, Frediani, Acuto, & Levy, 2019).

Contemporary urban social movements, particularly in Latin America, are built on a long legacy of grassroots or popular urbanism, such as the experiences of *Los Hacedores de Ciudad* (the city-makers) in Venezuela or large-scale movements of *autoconstrucción* in Peru. Since the 1960s, these movements have fought for the recognition of city-makers as entitled citizens, and sought to collectively contest the logics of the market and of political regulation and fiscalisation (Rebotier, 2010) in issues related to housing, territory and land. In Garcia's understanding, grassroots urbanism refers to a 'conceptual proposal, which recognises the initiative, capacity and experience of the population, generally low-income dwellers, to create an urban habitat with its own human resources and materials at different scales and with different degrees of institutional participation' (García, 2017, p. 66, authors' translation).

The aforementioned processes of social mobilisation played a critical role in democratising turning points in the region. Their dialectic relationship with the state has been highlighted by key figures such as John Turner, Manuel Castells and Enrique Ortiz, who reminded us over the years that grassroots urbanism is simultaneously conditioning and conditioned by the rules and processes of urban development envisaged by formal planning (see, for example, Castells, 2016; Ortiz Flores, 2017; Turner, 1976). Within this backdrop, the social production of habitat refers to 'all nonmarket processes carried out under inhabitants' initiative, management and control that generate and/or improve adequate living spaces, housing and other elements of physical and social development (…) (Habitat International Coalition, 2018, p.119). Rather than treating the social production of habitat as an anomaly or a marginal practice to be eradicated (Connolly, 2014), key activist scholars and organisations argued for recognising, valuing and supporting everyday practices of city-making, thereby locating the empirics, methods and principles of grassroots urbanism in a renewed epistemology of the urban.

These experiences of grassroots urbanism have undoubtedly been nurtured by popular education and critical pedagogy, two fundamental levers for developing and articulating the agency of social movements in their struggles for recognition and justice. Paulo Freire, a key founding figure in critical pedagogy, proclaimed that popular education is inevitably linked to action for change, where 'the movement *is* the school' (1991, in Kane 2012, authors' emphasis). Although Freirean critical pedagogy was strongly shaped by the experiences of rural peasant movements in Brazil, there have been clear parallels with the urban question throughout its history. Dynamics of action and change have been articulated by liberation theology in the 1950s and 1960s, through pedagogies of resistance to dictatorships and oppressive regimes in the 1980s and 1990s, and through critical pedagogies with a changing focus on citizens as political subjects as well as an intersectional understanding of 'the oppressed' since the return to democracies (Kane 2012). This particular Latin American history is central to understand the variegated political tactics and articulations of social movement learning in relation to state-led institutions and formal education systems. Negotiating whose knowledge counts, how and why, has been a decisive factor in situating the pedagogic trajectories of social movements in particular contexts and historical junctures. Freire thereby emphasises that this politics of knowledge is not about claiming one's knowledge over the other's in understanding the content of a specific issue. Rather, he advocates for 'epistemological curiosity', which he defines as an ever-expanding, *generative* perspective to learning and knowing (Freire, 1997).

More recently, scholars such as Tarlau (2014) lamented that social movement theory and critical pedagogy have increasingly grown apart, neglecting the potential of critical pedagogy 'to recast social movements as educational, and social movement theory (…) to analyse informal and popular education as partial causes for the emergence and sustainability of social movements' (p.386). For re-establishing a contemporary dialogue between those two fields, she advocates investigating the links between informal education and social change as well as building an understanding of the capacities and roles of social movement participation for building a critical consciousness. Tarlau's call strongly resonates with the aim of this paper, which seeks to bring critical pedagogy and social movements together into the realm of grassroots urbanism. With notable exceptions (see Marzioni, 2012, Guelman & Palumbo, 2018) the question of what pedagogies are adopted by social movements and the role of such pedagogies in developing more transformative epistemic framings of the urban have so far been rarely tackled or even raised.

In filling this gap, the concept of *epistemic (in)justice* (Fricker, 2007) is helpful to examine the pedagogic power, ethics and logics underpinning the producing, sharing and using of knowledge in learning processes (Allen & Wesely, 2020). This notion aims to capture and denounce discriminatory and oppressive practices leading to 'forms of unfair treatment that relate to issues of knowledge, understanding, and participation in communicative practices' (Kidd et al. 2017, p.1). In short, epistemic justice challenges us to think critically about 'knowing' and 'the knower' and how prejudiced practices are reproduced through what Miranda Fricker defines as 'testimonial' and 'hermeneutic' injustice. Testimonial injustice refers to prejudice on behalf of the hearer, leading to the speaker receiving less credibility, such as when women and men living in informal settlements are not heard or acknowledged by government officials or treated as ‘right-less squatters’. Hermeneutic injustice refers to the deficits, blindspots and biases in social collective resources – processes and institutional practices – that disadvantage specific social groups from having their distinctive experiences and interpretations of their own reality meaningfully heard and considered. Importantly, both forms of injustice do not imply that hearers *deliberately* ignore, manipulate and degrade the knowledge of the speaker; they rather point to underlying, often hidden, structural factors affecting both, the hearer and the speaker, or the oppressed and the oppressor (Walker, 2018; 2019).

Focusing on the experience of the Habitat International Coalition in Latin America (HIC-AL) – conceptualised here as a ‘School of Grassroots Urbanism’ (*Escuela de Urbanismo Popular)* – this article frames the exploration of critical pedagogies in the social production of habitat as a crucial means for building epistemic justice. Building upon Freire’s notion of the ‘movement as a school’, this paper examines the generative capacity of HIC-AL’s schools to stimulate epistemological curiosity, to contest hegemonic epistemologies of the urban, and to envision and realise diverse, transformative alternatives, that draw on the lived experiences of marginalised and low-income women and men living in human settlements often labelled ‘informal’ (Zárate, 2017).

The next section explores HIC-AL’s vocation to act as a school in its manifestations across the network. Sections 2 and 3 explore a number of experiences looking at the following questions: How does grassroots urbanism translate into and through pedagogic principles and practices? And, what pedagogic logics activate the generative potential of grassroots schools? The final section offers some critical reflexions on how the generative pedagogies of HIC-AL’s School of Grassroots Urbanism contribute to advance epistemic justice.

The schools that make HIC-AL a networked School of Grassroots Urbanism

The Habitat International Coalition (HIC) is a global network, which brings together civil society organisations, research institutions and academia, grassroots movements and NGOs fighting for the right to adequate housing, human rights related to habitat, and the right to the city, across five continents. Emerging over four decades ago from a group of NGOs set up in preparation of the UN Conference on Human Settlements in Vancouver in 1976, HIC has since been an active agent from local to international levels in defending habitat rights for all, foregrounding a justice approach to housing, land and human settlements, and the voices and experiences of marginalised communities inhabiting urban and rural areas (Habitat International Coalition, 2018).

HIC’s work is based on a rights-based agenda: In its advocacy for the right to adequate housing and the territory, and in positioning housing as a fundamental human right, the Coalition has firmly conceptualised over time how the social production of habitat creates and protects common functions and goods for all in society. This means that HIC works along four complementary and overarching paths, which are addressed with different priorities and nuances in the Coalition’s regional work: ‘(1) fight against violations of all rights related to habitat; (2) promote and implement the social production of habitat; (3) defend the right to a healthy environment; and (4) advance towards gender equality and equity’ (Habitat International Coalition, 2016, p. 8). Collective learning is an integral and transversal element across these four objectives, through knowledge exchanges, regional workshops and capacity building as key activities, organised collaboratively by members from civil society, NGOs and CBOs and universities, amongst others. These activities often include conceptual as well as practical components, such as sessions about the social production of habitat, and visits and workshops with housing cooperatives to share experiences and collectively reflect on them.

One of the key characteristics of HIC in the Latin American region – HIC-AL – is the explicit vocation to act as a 'School', or rather, through multiple schools where learning is collectively practiced and embedded in action. In a comprehensive survey, members of the Coalition identified critical added value in the work of HIC-AL as a School (HIC-AL, 2017). Detailed consultation with ten member-organisations from Mexico, Argentina, Peru, Uruguay, Bolivia and Colombia revealed a portfolio of seminars, internships, diploma courses, schools for community leaders, forums and discussions as pedagogic activities, which have reached more than 12.000 learners, including urban dwellers, public officials, and university students, between 2003 and 2007 (Ibidem).

HIC-AL's working group on Capacities Strengthening (*Fortalecimiento de Capacidades FOC-HAB*), in which 61 professors from seven different countries participate, has spearheaded this work by articulating a learning strategy and systematising some of these learning experiences into formal programmes. For example, the experience of a participatory design process in the *Barrio Intercultural Sustentable – Comunidad del Cambio* (Intercultural Sustainable Neighbourhood – Community of Change) in San Martín de los Andes, Argentina, has been transformed into the central case study of a Diploma Course in Participatory Design, which is formally accredited and recognised by the National Autonomous University of Mexico (Enet & Romero, 2019).

The above and several other transformative stories of the social production of habitat have been captured in the book *Utopías en Construcción* (Utopias in the Making) (HIC-AL, 2017), which celebrates the collective efforts of a multiplicity of actors working together to build the capacity of member organisations to strengthen their autonomy, while also having an impact on advocacy and public policy. Through inspiring narratives, the book recognises and values the agency and capacity of everyday city-makers, showing how knowledge is collectively produced, appropriated and used by HIC-AL members. Several schools organised by members feature as essential contributors to build and apply collective capacities, skills, values, and agency for advancing the social production of habitat. Amongst them is the *Escuela Nacional de Formación*[1] in Uruguay – National School of the Uruguayan Housing Federation (FUCVAM) – that operates since 2013 and brings together 200 leaders of cooperatives. The school supports capacities for self-management (*autogestión*), mutual work and collective property management, while also strengthening the bonds between FUCVAM's members. The *Utopias in the Making* further features several examples of regional schools, which exchange knowledge and practices across HIC-AL members and allies through immersed learning activities. An example is the *Escuela Regional de Formación Cooperativista* – Regional Cooperativist School – run by the Central American Coordination Entity of Self-managed Social Housing (COCEAVIS).

In the following sections, we analyse how HIC-AL member schools and their epistemic claims manifest in different contexts. The discussion draws from a desk review that combed a large number of published and internal reports and fieldwork conducted since June 2019. The latter includes 21 in-depth conversations and, in some cases, participant observation of the schools, with 14 HIC-AL members, coordinators and affiliates, online and in person in Argentina, Colombia, Chile, Cuba, and Mexico. Figure 1 highlights many of the schools and capacity building activities identified by HIC-AL back in 2017. Dark red marks popular schools led by social movements, orange highlights civic initiatives, and blue university-led courses, although all schools operate on a collaborative basis.

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[1] The Spanish term 'Formación' suggests a holistic and embodied understanding of education, whereby the learner capacities and capabilities are nurtured through the learning process.

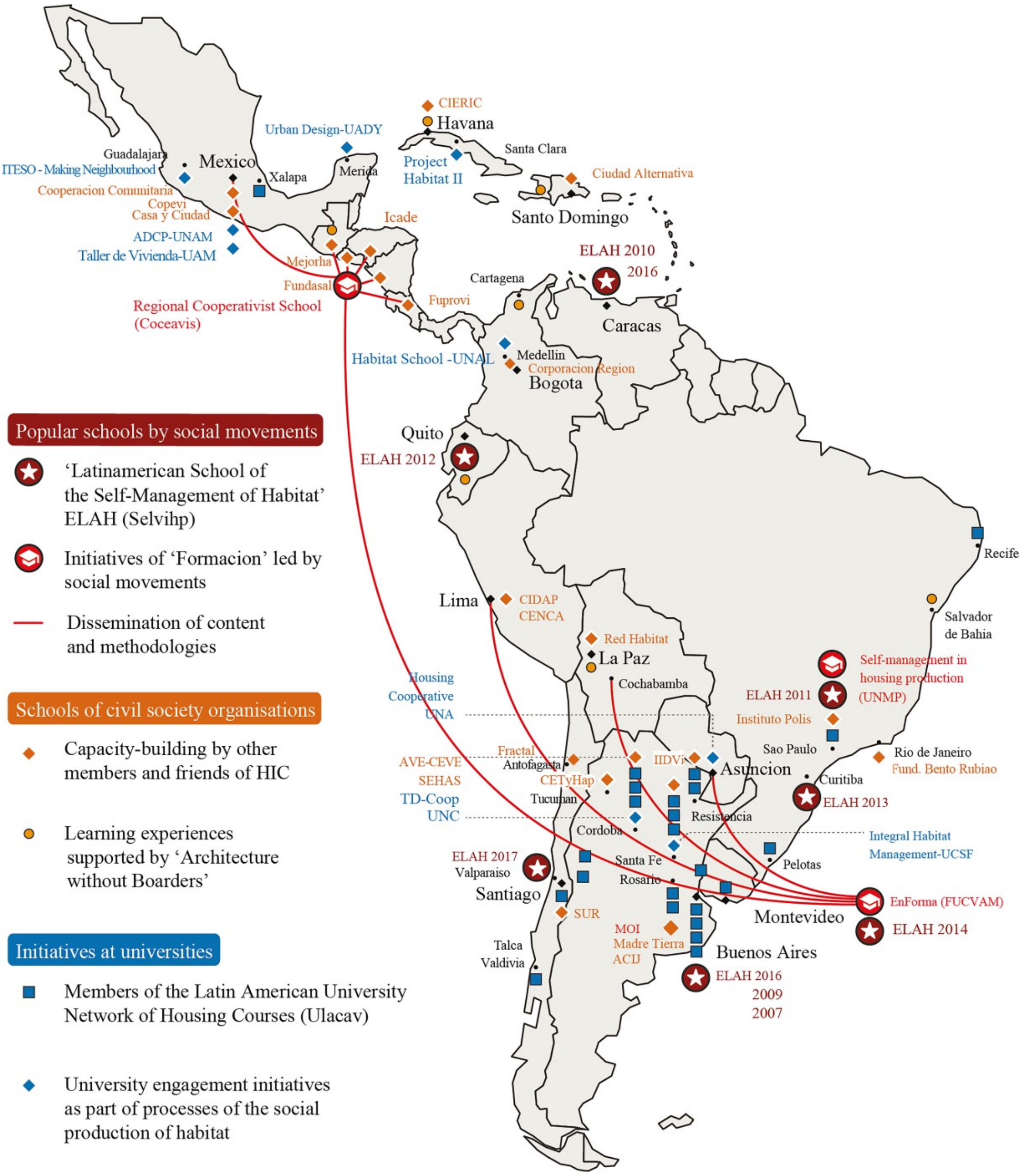
CIERIC
Havana
Urban Design-UADY
Santa Clara
Guadalajara
Mexico
ITESO - Making Neighbourhood
Xalapa
Merida
Project Habitat II
Ciudad Alternativa
Cooperacion Comunitaria
Copevi
Casa y Ciudad
Santo Domingo
Icade
ADCP-UNAM
Taller de Vivienda-UAM
ELAH 2010
2016
Mejorha
Fundasal
Cartagena
Fuprovi
Regional Cooperativist School (Coceavis)
Caracas
Habitat School -UNAL
Medellin
Corporacion Region
Bogota
Popular schools by social movements
'Latinamerican School of the Self-Management of Habitat' ELAH (Selvihp)
Initiatives of 'Formacion' led by social movements
Dissemination of content and methodologies
Quito
ELAH 2012
Recife
Lima
CIDAP
CENCA
Salvador de Bahia
Red Habitat
La Paz
Cochabamba
Self-management in housing production (UNMP)
ELAH 2011
Housing Cooperative UNA
Schools of civil society organisations
Instituto Polis
Capacity-building by other members and friends of HIC
Fractal
Antofagasta
AVE-CEVE
SEHAS
TD-Coop
UNC
IIDVi
Asuncion
Sao Paulo
Rio de Janeiro
Fund. Bento Rubiao
CETyHap
Curitiba
Tucuman
ELAH 2013
Resistencia
Cordoba
Learning experiences supported by 'Architecture without Boarders'
Integral Habitat Management-UCSF
ELAH 2017
Valparaiso
Santa Fe
Pelotas
Rosario
Santiago
EnForma (FUCVAM)
SUR
Montevideo
ELAH 2014
Initiatives at universities
MOI
Madre Tierra
ACIJ
Talca
Valdivia
Buenos Aires
ELAH 2016
2009
2007
Members of the Latin American University Network of Housing Courses (Ulacav)
University engagement initiatives as part of processes of the social production of habitat

Figure 1. Schools of HIC-AL [Adapted from HIC, 2017, p.143, complemented by interview data. Note that this map does not claim to be comprehensive of all schools (Authors' translation)].

Through fieldwork and multiple conversations with regional representatives of HIC-AL, we have identified that these schools have a variety of foci towards strengthening capacities for the social production of habitat. Although not intended to be a comprehensive or mutually exclusive typology, schools seem to foreground one or more of the following objectives:

- targeting a particular type of learner, such as schools for community leaders;
- appropriating a particular learning (and action) environment, as in the case of territorial and neighbourhood schools or 'virtual' or digital environments such as radio-schools;
- focusing on particular political agendas, and on building capacities for multi-actor advocacy in public policy;
- shaping and transforming curricula in public universities;
- following thematic entry points, such as schools focused on particular legal issues, solidarity economy and cooperative housing; or
- working with a particular theoretical-conceptual approach, including feminist schools or those working with intercultural practices.

Interviewees mentioned several rationales for identifying their efforts as schools. On the one hand, many see it as a means to challenge conventional pedagogies largely associated with the banking model of education (Freire, 1973). Hence, they explicitly use the term 'school' to contest hegemonic practices and discourses of outdated schooling models. Examples of this re-framing include defining a school not primarily as a physical space, but as a dialogic encounter, and questioning hierarchical roles, such as teacher-student or layperson-expert, through more horizontal relations. On the other hand, schools are also associated with some degree of institutionalisation, which means that educational efforts potentially gain visibility and legitimacy by providing degrees or accreditations by formally recognised education institutions. Although some HIC-AL schools collaborate with universities, such as the Autonomous National University of Mexico (UNAM) to provide accredited higher education courses, the schools are not generally framed by an overarching governing or regulating body. This ensures in general a high degree of autonomy and flexibility, which is fundamental for a horizontal network.

What follows is a transversal reading of these schools to examine how they articulate and translate the notion of popular urbanism and the social production of habitat into pedagogic principles and practices. The analysis uncovers how common pedagogic principles and practices are situated in particular contexts and struggles. Context-sensitivity is manifested in the heterogeneity of schools in regards to their (explicit or implicit) political vocation, their capacity to create space for new collectives to emerge, and their responsiveness to demands arising from specific political, social and cultural conditions.

Common characteristics include their focus on intergenerational learning and on dismantling hierarchies between teacher-student or layperson-expert; the inseparability of ways of doing from those of knowing; and open curricula that evolve in-the-making.

On learning, learners and pedagogues: Nurturing multiple ways of 'knowing and doing'

Heterogeneous pedagogic principles and practices

HIC's principles of autonomy and horizontal relations are closely tied to the political vocation of education, which manifests across schools in different facets. For instance, schools led by social movements have the explicit objective of learning with others for advocacy and incidence in political processes, often aligned with leftist political agendas. For example, the

Occupants and Tenants Movement (MOI) in Argentina, which runs a popular bachelor's programme, states that 'we see popular education as a tool which is inseparable from 'construcción autogestionaria' [self-managed construction] and from cooperativism, because it shares the same ends and the same organisational forms that prioritise the comprehensive development of individuals and collectives, and the protagonism of the participants in decision-making and in the everyday-doings to resolve their concrete necessities' (Rapp, Rodriguez, & Wrobel, 2015, p.1-2).

Other schools do not follow explicit political agendas, but emphasise that the social production of habitat is inevitably political, as is education about various techniques and strategies to transform collectively the living conditions of marginalised and impoverished inhabitants. Participatory planning and design processes, securing land tenure, and developing a solidarity economy are amongst the foci of many schools, demanding particular knowledge and skill-sets to enable learners to fundamentally change and challenge norms, values and institutional systems (Interview with Mariana Enet, National University of Córdoba, 29.11.2019).

What was articulated particularly by interviewees from Chile, is that schools are not only embedded into, but fundamentally responsive to, the political, cultural and socio-economic environment in which they operate. The importance of responsiveness was highlighted, for example, in the immediate aftermath of the Chilean dictatorship. At the time, HIC member SUR – a civil society organisation for Social Studies and Education – established a School for Social Planners (*Escuela de Planificadores Sociales*), which was attended by about 5,000 people between 1986-2002 (Interview with Susana Aravena, Corporación SUR, Santiago de Chile, 30.07.2019). The school addressed the fundamental need to reflect with participants – many of whom were forced to exile and saw their education, professional and personal life deeply disrupted by regional coups – on tools, practices and strategies to become active makers of their history during the return to democracy. The value of the school and power to steer collective action and ignite leadership, became visible when several participants decided to run for public office, and became mayor candidates and local council members as Chile returned to democracy.

In other instances, the pedagogy of HIC-AL schools has enabled not only collective learning in response to a particular political economy, but it saw schools igniting a collectivis*ing* capacity. This development has been highlighted in a citywide school in Talca, in the Maule Region of Chile. Over the last decade, Talca has been growing rapidly and under increasing socio-spatial segregation – with similar trends observable in other urban centres of Chile such as Santiago and Valparaiso – but without any collective space to reflect on this trend and to develop articulated responses. In the Talca school, participants learnt to de-normalise the way in which the city had developed through a series of conversations and workshops contrasting trends with other cities. This opened the possibility to perceive the city as a context amenable to analysis, discussion and change, to be shaped through the experiences, struggles and imaginaries of its inhabitants. As highlighted by Patricia Boyco, one of the pedagogues nurturing this experience: 'A group of community leaders, public officials, the Mayor and service providers, participated and talked in sessions about the city. And inequality in Talca – which at first seemed to be something natural, an entity that was changing in a way no-one seemed to understand – started to become an object of analysis, of opinions, of suggestions, with space to say and imagine how and where we want it to go' (Interview with Patricia Boyco, Corporación SUR, Santiago de Chile, 31.07.2019).

The process of collectivising involved the creation of a newspaper and radio programme to raise public awareness and expand collective discussions beyond the school. Moreover, after a devastating earthquake in 2011 that affected in particular the historic centre, participants in the school established a citizen's platform called *Movimiento Ciudadano Talca con Todos y Todas*[2]. The platform in turn developed a people-centred alternative recovery and reconstruction strategy that, if implemented, would have allowed residents to rebuild their habitat avoiding displacement and relocation.

Common pedagogic principles and practices

Freire (1997) reminds us that: 'Whoever teaches learns in the act of teaching, and whoever learns teaches in the act of learning' (p.31). Analysing the role of learners and pedagogues in different HIC-AL schools, it becomes clear that the principle of foregrounding individual and collective subjects as agents of change, is closely aligned with the principles of popular and critical pedagogy. The above-mentioned horizontal relations in HIC imply that learners in the schools are not perceived as empty vessels, whose brains need to be filled with expert knowledge (as critiqued by Paulo Freire as the 'banking model' of education). Instead, they are active agents holding the moral and political responsibility and capacity to enact their learning towards transformative practice, agents capable of bringing their own knowledges to the school, where inputs are collectively nurtured, tested and expanded (Interview with María Luisa Cuenca, COPEVI, 13.12.2019).

The initial stages of the schools are paramount for learners to become conscientious that everyone can contribute to a horizontal co-learning process. This approach often translates into pedagogies that start from micro-spaces of personal experiences: 'No one arrives [to the school] without knowing anything, even the person who says: I haven't studied, I don't know anything. So, we start from people's practice, from their knowledge, and we strengthen it with readings, with materials that support them to deepen their knowledge so that they can get back to their practice with new elements' (Interview with María Luisa Cuenca, COPEVI, 13.12.2019). This pedagogical model is not about 'flipping classroom' techniques and letting students take the lead in selected sessions. Rather, it concerns the fundamental orientation of conceiving participants simultaneously as pedagogues and learners, which involves valuing all knowledge and experiences, as well as learning relations.

Due to the long history of HIC-AL, several interviewees raised the importance of thinking specifically about how to nurture intergenerational dynamics in three different ways:

a) First, when learning relations are galvanised between new organisations and those with longer experience in habitat rights. Schools in many instances provide the learning space for hands-on collaboration, such as in the collaboration between the well-established Corporación SUR and the recently formed team of Ciudad Común, in supporting an emerging grassroots school in La Granja, a low-income neighbourhood in the periphery of Santiago de Chile (see Figure 2).
b) Second, when the youth take a leading role in the learning space, for instance, introducing the use of digital media. In the metropolitan area of Medellín, Colombia, Corporación Región has been working in five neighbourhoods with different learners such as community leaders, people with disabilities, and youth, with a particular focus on how to activate the right to the city. The contributions of youth groups brought a distinct quality to the co-learning process, particularly through the use of video-making and arts to express their own understanding of the right to the city.

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[2] Citizens Movement Talca with all Men and Women.

c) A third way in which intergenerational learning works in many schools is through the participation of the so-called 'wisdom keepers', individuals within the Coalition with decades of experience in the social production of habitat and advocating for housing rights. Their presence in learning experiences – be it through personal participation, written material or remote contributions – puts the learning processes of the schools into a wider historical and regional perspective.

Figure 2. Grassroots pedagogies at work in the School of La Granja, Chile. (Adriana Allen, 2019).

The contextual responsiveness of the schools is also reflected in the shared pedagogic principle of openness of the curriculum, which is sensitive to particular situations. Many schools start by covering basic contents around the right to the city and the social production of habitat to build a shared language. From that basis, the schools' 'curriculum' is fundamentally built around its purpose, be it learning to resist eviction threats or to develop a housing cooperative. This implies that learning is approached as a process of *formación de haceres y saberes,* where the collective construction of ways of knowing are inseparable from those of doing.

One clear example of this approach is a school that led to the co-development of a baking cooperative in Antofagasta, in the north of Chile. Led by the dwellers of Arenales – an informal '*macrocampamento*' of migrants from all over Latin America – and with support from the local NGO Fractal, and academics from the Regional Observatory of Human Development

(ORDHUM) at the Catholic University of the North in Antofagasta, the school was set up on demand from the community leaders to learn about their rights. Academics were transparent from the onset about what they felt they could best contribute and put forward for discussion different theoretical propositions about what the right to the city entails. Dwellers from Arenales embraced the proposal and collective readings of Lefebvre became the basis for deep reflection and awareness raising on the reality of living in a context of high social-spatial segregation, tenancy insecurity, and migrant struggles.

Months after the completion of this experience, the community leaders approached the university again, asking for support in setting up a baking cooperative, which they identified as a way to pursue their right to the city and to enhance the collective autonomy of their livelihoods (Interview Francisco Vergara-Perucich, UCLAS, Santiago de Chile, 02.08.2019). Reflecting on the process, one of the academics involved in the experience, describes this 'learning on the go' approach – as opposed to following a pre-defined curriculum – as a surprisingly rich learning experience for all involved; one that required strong reflective skills and openness to make mistakes and learn from them. In addition, the pedagogic pathway adopted without prior design, became generative of high levels of autonomy thanks to its focus on building the agency of the community (Vergara-Perucich & Arias-Loyola, 2019). In this sense, the notion of 'the movement as a school' means that the learning community *is* the curriculum, allowing for learning intentions to be co-defined throughout the process, precisely because agency-building outcomes, centred on the particular individual and collective capacities and challenges, are the focus.

Generative pedagogies for the social production of habitat

The previous sections have shown that HIC-AL schools are rooted in principles of autonomy, flexibility and collectivising action, and assembled through variegated pedagogic logics. Which pedagogic logics, then, activate the generative potential of these schools for the social production of habitat? Figure 3 graphically illustrates three underlying, interdependent pedagogic logics, identified through the many schools analysed, with each logic examined below.

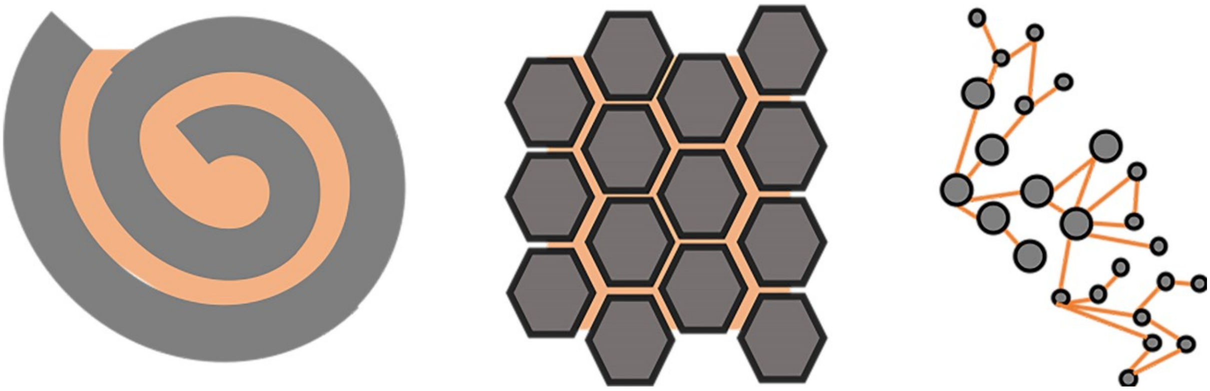

Figure 3. HIC-AL pedagogic logics, with orange areas highlighting their generative aspects: Virtuous spiral, inter-learning spaces, and multiplying emancipatory practices.

Transforming vicious cycles into virtuous spirals – 'el caracol peregrino'

In the re-telling of his professional and personal trajectory, former HIC President and General Secretary Enrique Ortiz Flores uses the 'peregrine snail' as a metaphor for conceptualising his understanding of the reflective practitioner (Ortiz Flores, 2017). Spiralling outwards yet remaining centred, learning is not a linear process, but wandering towards an opening up from the level of the individual agent to its immediate and then extended environment, and ultimately to the world and cosmovision. The snail's shell signifies a connector across levels, which is solid yet fragile; its circular movement representing distinct phases of life and learning (Interview with Enrique Ortiz Flores, former HIC General Secretary, Mexico City, 12.12.2019). This poetic account of one of HIC's 'wisdom keepers' merits a closer look, as it hosts a generative logic that is shared in the pedagogies of several schools. The pedagogic logic of transforming vicious cycles into virtuous spirals can be illustrated through the work of the Mexican NGO Cooperación Comunitaria, which started working in rural areas of the state of Guerrero immediately after the occurrence of hurricanes Ingrid and Manuel in 2013 that devastated the housing and infrastructure of many Indigenous communities.

The main aim steering Cooperación Comunitaria's pedagogic logic was to approach reconstruction efforts without reconstructing the risks that made local communities highly vulnerable to disasters in the first instance. Among such preconditions were the loss of local Indigenous knowledge, a dominance of modernistic visions of 'good quality housing', but also a close relationship across livelihoods, environmental conditions and cultural traditions. Pedagogically, these pre-conditions translated into two key principles: A focus on experiential learning based on nurturing pre-existing knowledge, particularly indigenous ones; and learning to manage complexity in practice rather than simplifying problems that lead to simplistic solutions.

For example, one of the major challenges for re-constructing seismically resistant buildings was the desire of many inhabitants to live in concrete buildings, following modernistic visions of 'safe' housing. Rather than imposing expert knowledge to the re-construction approach while advocating for local materials use, the NGO facilitated a dialogic learning process that enabled collective reflections on participants' personal housing experiences in relation to their environment. New perspectives on how to rebuild were gradually nurtured and expanded, starting with an evaluation of sensorial experiences – e.g. how does the indoor climate in a concrete building feel in comparison to a traditional adobe structure? Hence, reflective capacities matured from the personal to the household and community levels, and gradually to tackle critically broader issues, such as livelihoods, deforestation and climate change in relation to the local context. Through this pedagogy, complex issues were not simplified, but transversally and relationally learnt. Importantly, these reflections were immediately tied to actions, as Cooperación Comunitaria co-created physical pedagogic spaces such as a community centre to experiment with emerging ideas for a solidarity economy and eco-construction, such as building dry toilets, rainwater harvesting tanks, and re-enforced adobe housing units (Interview with Elis Martínez, Cooperación Comunitaria, 10.12.2019). Emerging ideas and concepts of the social construction of habitat were shared with a wider public in Spanish as well as in Mé'pháá (local language) through radio programmes.

The above example demonstrates that biases in perception and decision making initially identified as a vicious cycle – such as the modern, external vision of concrete housing making local communities more dependent on global production chains and more vulnerable to hazard events – was incrementally turned into a virtuous spiral that fosters the recognition of existing indigenous knowledges and local materials. The pedagogy activated a shift from externally prescribed and individualistic biases for reconstructing houses to the collective development of the local community agency for rebuilding and strengthening all aspects of the social production of habitat. The role of the NGO and wisdom keepers in this process was to act as facilitators, stimulating a dialogical process that did not pre-determine the learning and reconstruction outcomes based on expert knowledge. Over a period of five years, 526 people were part of this learning experience and the reconstruction programme has benefitted almost 2,500 inhabitants from seven communities (Cooperación Comunitaria, 2018). This approach has been refined and expanded to other rural sites in Mexico affected by hazard events, and several other HIC-AL members have adopted a similar pedagogic logic (see, for example, Santiago Hernandez, 2013). In 2019, Cooperación Comunitaria won the 'Transformative Cities People's Choice' award[3] in the housing category and became a key reference further developed as part of a HIC campaign for local materials. In this case, connecting the approach locally adopted by one relatively young NGO to the wider HIC network expanded the pedagogy of the peregrine snail regionally and internationally.

Inter-learning to nurture convivial spaces

Building on the metaphoric tone of the first logic, the second generative pedagogy can be visualised as a honeycomb, whereby co-learning takes place at the interstices of each cell. This logic can be explained with the example of the *Barrio Intercultural Sustentable - Comunidad del Cambio*, which came out of a well-documented participatory design process that took place in San Martín de los Andes, Argentina in 2011 (Enet & Romero, 2019). The pedagogy was responsive to the local context characterised by an acute housing emergency, as well as drastic social-spatial segregation between inhabitants of the Indigenous Mapuche community and others. In this participatory design process, led by *Vecinos sin Techo*, Comunidad Curruhuinca Mapuche and supported by the National University of Córdoba, 42 workshops on themes such as energy autonomy, land restitution and cosmovision took place over one year.

The workshops brought together technical and local knowledge into so-called *Espacios de Interaprendizaje* (inter-learning spaces), fundamentally conceived as transdisciplinary and intersectoral spaces. The pedagogic aim was to create synergies and dialogic spaces between different kinds of knowledges on various thematic areas. For example, the local Mapuche knowledge on medicinal plants was articulated in a workshop with the Argentinian plant health network *Red Jarilla de Plantas Saludables* de la Patagonia, generating insights for the growth of medicinal plants and herbs in the community. At the same time, capacities for critical thinking and practice were enhanced through pedagogic exercises like role plays designed to entice a sense of how others think and act upon a commonly identified problem.

The generative aspect of this pedagogy became even more prominent when the character of the process changed from one of resistance to one of working towards an alternative vision of the future. At this point, local inhabitants started to go beyond strategies to cope with the existing housing shortage into the development of collective capacities to transform their way of living together in the neighbourhood. They call it the 'Intercultural Sustainable Neighbourhood - Community of Change', to capture their search for an alternative way of life. Such alternative seeks energy and food autonomy, lovingness and solidarity and intercultural conviviality in a neighbourhood that in today's Argentinian context is still marginalised and where Mapuche people's right to their territory is not fully recognised. Starting from this very negative position, this neighbourhood generated a transformation. It showed that Mapuche and white people can live together in solidarity and can drive alternative lifestyles together. As highlighted by one of the pedagogues involved, in this experience, 'there was a moment of rhizomatic evolution, which no one directed. It was all done through dialogue between them' (Interview with Mariana Enet, National University of Córdoba, Argentina, 22.11.2019).

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[3] https://transformativecities.org/

This shift from a pedagogy of resistance to a generative one was nurtured and made visible in a competition to build dreams (*Concurso Construyendo Sueños*), which used models to exhibit the design practices generated by the School in a collective space. As the community became the curriculum, a cooperative was established with inter-related clusters on housing construction, and small livestock production, amongst others. Moreover, the process of developing cooperative social housing gained attention beyond the neighbourhood, making the experience a reference point for autonomous building and self-management.

In sum, this pedagogic logic of inter-learning created reciprocal recognition of different ways of relational learning. Similar to the experience described above, since its launch in 2011, this initiative has been widely shared and discussed through the HIC-AL network, and has moreover been one of the finalists for the World Habitat Award 2016. The territorial nature of the school meant that people arrived in the neighbourhood to learn from it through field visits and knowledge exchanges. Additionally, the experience was translated into pedagogic material that has been shared in webinars and diploma courses aimed at enhancing the capacities of urban practitioners to work in contested territories (Enet & Romero, 2019).

Multiplying emancipatory pedagogies for democratic practices of citizenship

The third logic relates to pedagogies in which the generative aspect relies on the rapid expansion and multiplication of capacities at scale. Schools operating with this logic often have elements of 'training of trainers' (*formación de formadores*), whereby learners take the role of pedagogues and get to appreciate and foster parity of participation throughout the learning process.

The *Escuela de Gobierno y Ciudadanía* (School of Government and Citizenship) in Mexico, emerged in the year 2000 as a response to the conjunctural momentum of election results, when the long-lasting one-party regime was ousted. Co-learning democratic practices of citizenship was identified as a need and a right to strengthen local capacities to hold newly elected governments to account. Importantly, target learners were not only citizens, but also public officials working in local governments. This school continues to be ran by the civil society organisation COPEVI (*Centro Operacional de Vivienda y Poblamiento A.C.),* which has worked for over 50 years on issues of popular housing, and on the intersection of citizen participation and capacity building based on principles of popular education. The school does not work in one specific territory or a particular site of learning; instead, it is assembled on demand by specific organisations, such as the Secretariat of Women in Guerrero.

The School of Government and Citizenship aims to strengthen the capabilities of learners as political subjects, as agents that contribute to enhancing 'local power' through their relations with one another and with government institutions. Hence, its conceptual focus is on activating relational knowledge and political action, as critical abilities to act strategically on specific struggles through relational engagement at various scales, such as the household, local committees, the municipality, the national government, international agencies or private sector. As put by one of the school's convenors reflecting on the approach adopted: 'If I conduct an action which allows me to relate to others and to influence government actions, then I am conducting a political action.' (Interview with María Luisa Cuenca, COPEVI, 13.12.2019). In this context, government institutions are understood as connectors with the responsibility and capacity for enabling the political action of learners within a given territory or action space.

The generative aspect of this school derives from its work at scale. COPEVI initially ran 16 parallel schools in collaboration with the Office of Citizen Participation from the Government of Mexico City. In a second round, the schools were extended to 54 neighbourhood committees, each hosting between 15 and 35 participants. The School of Government and Citizenship operates every Saturday over three months and, like in the case of other schools analysed, it departs from re-discovering and recognising existing knowledge about the city, based on experiences, material conditions and the histories of each specific neighbourhood. Moreover, a 'Committee of *Formadores*' was formed to propagate the practice of learners as pedagogues among staff from the Office of Citizen Participation. Enhancing the ability of this group to in turn develop the political capabilities of ordinary citizens generated capacities for emancipatory citizen participation at scale.

Concluding remarks

This paper set out to contribute a better understanding of the pedagogies required for re-thinking epistemologies of the urban. Due to the rich historical engagement with the construction of critical pedagogies in Latin America, reflecting on regional experiences stimulates valuable insights into the relations between grassroots urbanism, critical pedagogy and popular education. Conceptualising the pedagogic work of HIC-AL as a networked School of Grassroots Urbanism guided by common principles and practices, the paper examined Freire's notion of 'the movement as a school', thereby articulating the relation between advocacy and educational activities. A particular concern throughout the analysis has been to explore the generative potential of the multiple schools operating within the network to challenge and transform epistemic injustices.

The analysis reveals that HIC-AL pedagogies have the power to address both testimonial and hermeneutic injustices. The former can be observed through the way in which the schools act as vehicles to transform the often mal- and mis-recognised knowledge and practices of marginalised urban dwellers through the revalorisation of their role in the social production of habitat. The case of HIC-AL shows that generative learning requires individuals and collectives to inhabit – rather than to acquire – knowledge and skills. Each of the three pedagogic logics explored – transforming vicious cycles into virtuous spirals; inter-learning to nurture convivial spaces; multiplying emancipatory pedagogies for democratic practices of citizenship – go beyond learning through knowledge acquisition and accumulation. This entails dismantling the separation between learners and educators and the stigmatisation of knowers and knowledges, giving voice, recognition and legitimacy to diverse learning experiences, and ultimately, carving and claiming political spaces for acting upon these experiences so they become generative to urban equality.

It is also interesting to observe that what gives pedagogic coherence to this movement of schools is not a coherent and systematised design but rather their embodiment of the key principles and values of HIC-AL as a network. These include the defence of habitat rights, the revalorisation of the social production of habitat and the ways in which they activate the right to the city as integrative of multiple human rights. The generative capacity of the schools to enable the viral proliferation of their pedagogies is underpinned by their operation within the horizontal networks that make and transcend the Coalition. These two key characteristics together privilege high learner autonomy; prioritise learning outcomes over pre-defined curricula; focus on experiential knowledge that is responsive to particular historical and political struggles; and constantly question and nurture knowledge relations between participants.

Hermeneutically, the logics of virtuous spirals, inter-learning spaces, and multiplications of emancipatory practices, show that developing alternative urban futures requires a collective process of '*formación de saberes y haceres'*, but also challenging and expanding hegemonic political processes and institutional practices to listen and respond to the experiences and interpretations of those typically rendered invisible. Hence, several schools work through pedagogies of resistance – to halt evictions and defend territories, amongst others, but they often also generate transformative capacities to co-produce visions for more just and inclusive urban futures, leading to fundamental shifts in power relations, changes in housing policies or the formation of new collectives, amongst others.

Through these generative pedagogies and their implicit claims for epistemic justice, HIC-AL schools call out the power and ethics of producing, sharing, and using actionable knowledge in learning processes, which critically contributes to reframing epistemologies of the urban.

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Rooting metropolitan planning in critical theory and participatory practices: A university planning experience in Belo Horizonte, Brazil

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The paper aims at contributing to the discussion about planning theory and participatory practices in the Global South by focusing on a planning experience for the Belo Horizonte Metropolitan Region, Minas Gerais State, Brazil, led by faculty, researchers and students at the Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais, between 2009 and 2019. The initiative unveils the University autonomy in designing and carrying out the metropolitan analyses and planning proposals, in adopting theoretical principles and methodologies and, in developing an outreach programme tightly linked to education and research, resulting in significant improvements in planning education, innovations in planning methodology and the potential for rooting radical planning practices in the metropolitan context. First, objects and subjects of the experience are introduced, together with the three phases of the process: the drafting of a metropolitan plan known as the Integrated Development Master Plan for the RMBH; the Metropolitan Macro-Zoning; and the review of municipal Master Plans within RMBH. Secondly, the trajectory and influences of Brazilian urban and metropolitan planning are reviewed to the extent that they fed into the experience. The discussion of municipal planning processes leads to an assessment of the experience's main achievements. The concluding section offers some thoughts on rooting metropolitan and urban planning in critical theory and participatory practices, as a means to contribute to discussions of planning practices in the Global South.

Keywords: metropolitan planning, critical theory, participatory practices, Brazil

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Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to contribute to the discussion about planning theory and participatory practices in the Global South. We focus on a planning experience for the Belo Horizonte Metropolitan Region (RMBH), Minas Gerais State, Brazil, led by faculty, researchers and students at the Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais (UFMG), including the three authors, between 2009 and 2019. The initiative was unique in several respects due especially to the autonomy that the University team had in designing and carrying out the metropolitan analyses and planning proposals, including adopting theoretical principles and methodologies and, very importantly, developing the project as a university outreach programme tightly linked to education and research, rather than as a consultancy activity. More than 100 graduate and undergraduate students were involved in the planning process, resulting in significant improvements in planning education, innovations in planning methodology and the potential for rooting radical planning practices in the metropolitan context.

This discussion is organized in five sections. First, we introduce the objects and subjects of our experience, which comprised three phases: the drafting of a metropolitan plan known as the Integrated Development Master Plan for the RMBH *(Plano Diretor de Desenvolvimento Integrado da Região Metropolitana de Belo Horizonte*−PDDI-RMBH) (2009–2011); the Macro-Zoning (*Macro Zoneamento* – MZ) of the metropolitan region (2014–2016); and the review of municipal Master Plans (*Planos Diretores*) for 11 of the 34 RMBH municipalities (2017–2019). Secondly, we review the trajectory and influences of urban and metropolitan planning in Brazil, insofar as it fed into our experience, from its institutional origins in the 1960s until the early 2000s, when a new phase of metropolitan planning began. After a presentation of the review process for the 11 municipal master plans in the third section, the fourth section assesses the experience's main achievements. Finally, in the fifth section we reflect on rooting metropolitan and urban planning in critical theory and participatory practices, in the hope that it will contribute to discussions of planning in the Global South

Introducing objects and subjects

In 2009, the government of Minas Gerais became the first state government in Brazil to commission a federal university to draw up a metropolitan plan for its capital city's region, the Belo Horizonte Metropolitan Region. The State Sub-Secretary of Metropolitan Affairs and the Metropolitan Collegiate Body[1] contacted the authors of this paper to discuss the possibility of having a metropolitan plan drafted and conducted from within the UFMG. Coming from a common background in state and municipal urban planning and in teaching urban and regional issues in schools of architecture, geography and economics, the three of us, together with several colleagues who joined us, directed the process that led to coordinated efforts between the state and the university to develop a Metropolitan Plan. It should be mentioned that other studies by the authors about the metropolitan process in Belo Horizonte, focusing on both its southern and northern axes, as well as conceptual campaigns conducted by the State and professional associations attempted to set the tone of what that Plan should be[2].

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[1] Metropolitan affairs in the RMBH are handled by a Metropolitan Assembly, a Metropolitan Deliberative Committee and a Metropolitan Development Agency. The Metropolitan Plan and the Metropolitan Development Fund are the primary institutional instruments for development planning. The Metropolitan Collegiate Body is an informal civil society organization with 30 members, which fills only two of the 16-seats on the Metropolitan Deliberative Committee (which has 7 seats for municipalities, 7 seats for state secretaries and legislators and 2 seats for organized civil society), but it makes up for its size through the participation of professionals, unions, NGOs, entrepreneurs and organized social movements. The Metropolitan Assembly is composed of state secretaries and legislators, who have 50% of the votes, while the other 50% are held by all the mayors and heads of municipal councils.

However, commissioning the university was not a trivial matter, and a conflict within the State between supporters of such an innovative option and those who advocated hiring a foreign consulting company led to a series of difficulties in the early stages of the planning process. Perhaps the most damaging aspect was the fact that the newly created Metropolitan Agency (also 2009) initially leaned towards the foreign-firm group, and it therefore boycotted the cooperative efforts by the University and the Sub-Secretary to bring on board the multiple actors needed for the planning process[3].

Nevertheless, the University's planning team organized itself rapidly around the main objectives and methodology presented for discussion. Social participation, political commitment (or mobilization) and socio-ecological responsibility were the main principles. Several other principles were derived from these at different times and scales, but they always had living space and everyday life as priorities. In fact, the introduction to the metropolitan plan (PDDI-RMBH) reads as follows:

> (...) the critical approach supersedes the analytical and functional meaning of reformist planning, not disqualifying it, but limiting it to its immediate, operational character; it goes beyond that with the objective of apprehending totality in transformation and seeking to build processes aimed at a social, economic and environmental transformation, while searching for contemporary solutions for regulation, investment decisions, forms of social organization that favour diversity, and the construction of emancipatory social processes. (UFMG, PUCMinas & UEMG, 2011, p.5, authors' translation).

After all, we were all readers of Henri Lefebvre[4].

The University team included more than 50 faculty members from 14 departments at UFMG, plus faculty from PUCMinas and UEMG, the Minas Gerais Catholic and State universities, respectively. Graduate and undergraduate students, in addition to two dozen non-university professionals, made up the rest of the 180-strong team for the first part of the experience, drafting the Metropolitan Plan[5].

It was our concern from the beginning to use the metropolitan planning project as an educational process that would fulfil the three branches of academic work: teaching, research and outreach (addressing societal needs and actions). Accepting the social learning tradition as a methodological assumption, we believed that planning should have a horizontal perspective of mutual learning between planners (with our techno-scientific knowledge) and the people (with their knowledge rooted in everyday life). This Friedmannian[6] approach was enriched with Boaventura de Sousa Santos' post-modern scientific approach, which embraces common sense, in contrast to modern science, which sets itself up in opposition to common sense (Sousa Santos, 2003).

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[2] For other studies on the RMBH, see Costa et al. (2006) and Oliveira et al. (2012); for the *urbanicidade* campaign, see Monte-Mór (2009).

[3] It must be made clear that this boycott lasted only for the first two years of the planning process. Once the Macro-Zoning phase began in 2013, the Metropolitan Agency not only hired UFMG but also worked very closely with the University's planning team.

[4] In addition to his famous 'right to the city', Lefebvre's fierce criticism of urbanism and planning also calls for an *urban praxis* (Lefebvre, 2003), which sums up fairly well our main concerns and intentions.

[5] The UFMG team developed the metropolitan plan (PDDI/RMBH) in 2009–2011. It was then commissioned in 2013 to draft the Metropolitan Macro-Zoning proposal (MZ/RMBH) with a 90-person team and in 2016 to review the Master Plans for 11 of the 34 municipalities that form the Belo Horizonte Metropolitan Region, involving around 40 faculty and students.

[6] John Friedmann (1987) looks back 200 years in the history of planning thought to distinguish four traditions: social reform, social mobilization, social learning and policy analysis.

Therefore, in terms of planning education, this 10-year experience was especially active in training new planners, both through research and planning courses (which resulted in several Master's and PhD theses and numerous undergraduate monographs in the many disciplines involved) and through practical activities alongside the State, the municipalities and organized civil society. A series of new organizations came into being during the project, some not long-lived but active enough to involve people in many sectoral areas (housing, environment, transportation, etc.) and in different parts of the metropolitan region. The Front for Metropolitan Citizenship, the City Councillors' Front (*Frente de Vereadores Metropolitanos*–Frevem), the State Legislators' Front and other sectoral institutions or organizations were set up or strengthened during the planning process.

As part of its procedural methodology, the planning team included a social mobilization group to organize meetings and seminars and also, where necessary, to produce 'theatrical discussions' of concepts and proposals. An information group assembled data and helped with communications, both internally and externally. In order to proceed with mobilization efforts, the PDDI proposed a Policy for the Democratization of Public Spaces and a Programme for Places of Metropolitan Urbanity (LUMEs), a programme that today includes two practical courses (in Architecture and Economics) at UFMG.

At first, the planning team was organized into the following ten transverse thematic areas with a view to achieving a transdisciplinary reading of the metropolitan territory and social organization:

- Urban mobility, public transport& road systems;
- Land use, real estate dynamics & metropolitan centralities;
- Everyday life, housing & life quality;
- Culture, education, food security, work & income;
- Health, environment, sanitation & water resources;
- Cultural & environmental complexes;
- Institutional planning capacity & municipal administration;
- Socio-environmental risk, vulnerability & public security;
- Demographic & environmental aspects of social demand;
- Productive structure, knowledge, technology & energy alternatives.

(UFMG, PUCMinas & UEMG, 2011).

After the five-month diagnostic period, the thematic areas grew rather autonomous and were therefore dissolved so that the team members could discuss preliminary policies and programmes in workshops. The team was reorganized around four integrating thematic axes: Accessibility, Security, Sustainability and Urbanity. Accessibility encompasses policies related to transportation and mobility, access to information and qualifications, and access to basic urban and social services. Security deals with policies concerning everyday life issues, from urban violence to food security, land and housing, and work and income security. Sustainability refers to policies connected with all aspects of the environment and also economic growth mediated by environmental concerns. Urbanity relates to the 'right to the city' and includes policies around citizenship and the various ways of building a place and a being within a metropolitan space.

The workshop and seminar discussions were extremely fruitful, as participants raised several policy issues and propositions for the analyses carried out by the university group. From over

300 proposals put forward in workshops and seminars[7]and by the planning team itself, the Plan ended up with 28 policies, 23 of them divided among the four thematic axes plus 2 on territorial structural dimensions and 3 on institutional restructuring.

Our main aim was to use the planning process, not necessarily the Plan itself, to develop what we called an emancipatory approach to planning, that is, planning for social, environmental, territorial and political transformation. It was intended to contribute to the building of a metropolitan citizenship identity, that is, a sense of belonging simultaneously to several territories, and thus change the prevailing notion of competition between localities. The ideas of socio-environmental inclusion and justice, together with the strengthening of the economic integration and complementarity of municipalities, would perhaps allow the metropolitan region to occupy a stronger place within the national metropolitan network. Territorial restructuring aims at rediscussing urban-rural land uses, particularly reinforcing a network of urban centralities that would provide economic and cultural infrastructure and services to peripheral areas, hand in hand with more integrated transport and mobility systems (Costa, H.S.M., 2011).

Two years after completing the Plan, the Metropolitan Agency decided to commission the University again, this time to develop one of the Land Use and Control Policy programmes, the Metropolitan Macro-Zoning (MZ) Programme. Such a programme had never before been implemented in Brazil and the two main actors – the Agency and the University – had to decide on its scope. We opted to identify zones of metropolitan importance and restrict the MZ to them, and not include the whole metropolitan territory. By doing that, the MZ simultaneously reinforced proposals at the metropolitan scale and recognised the legitimacy of the local/municipal scale by taking the Master Plans into account in the macro-zoning process. In addition, there was no federal or state legislation establishing the terms of joint state and municipal governance of metropolitan territory, and the fact that Brazilian municipalities are federal entities gives them considerable autonomy in running their land use control and financial affairs (of which they are enormously proud)[8].

Zones and areas where metropolitan interests prevailed over local ones were identified through participatory cartography conducted in public workshops[9]. The methodology consisted of overlaying collaborative maps showing what participants considered areas of metropolitan interest, which were then confirmed in the technical territorial readings. This resulted in the delimitation of 19 Zones of Metropolitan Interest (ZIMs) with their corresponding urbanistic and environmental land use criteria. For the remaining metropolitan territory, municipal criteria would apply.

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[7] The PDDI-RMBH participatory process was developed in three cycles: Cycle A involved workshops held in 5 RMBH sub-regions followed by a general seminar, in which local demands, territorial readings and studies were presented and discussed; Cycle B followed the same regionalized workshops + general seminar format but to discuss preliminary proposals; and Cycle C involved 5 thematic workshops and a final seminar for the discussion of metropolitan policies, programmes and projects. Participation was open to all, and calls for the workshops were issued via several channels: radio, newspapers, websites, emails, institutional newsletters, social movement listings, etc. Over 3,000 participations were registered, involving 610 institutions and organizations (61 from the State government, 241 municipal officials and councillors and 308 from organized civil society) and the general public (UFMG, PUCMinas & UEMG, 2011). All workshop and seminar discussion materials and reports were made available throughout the project on the Plan website (http://www.rmbh.org.br) and were taken into account both in the drafting and content of the policies proposed and in their final discussion and approval in the seminars. They constitute a rich source of material for researchers, planners and social movements.

[8] In 2015, when the MZ was ending, the federal government issued the Metropolis Statute, laying down the legal terms for joint governance by states and municipalities throughout metropolitan territory.

[9] As far as participation was concerned, the MZ phase involved a Metropolitan Conference at which the process was launched, meetings in each of the 34 municipalities, 11 workshops and 10 seminars, with a total of over 3,600 participations (48% from civil society, 31% from municipal governments, 7% from municipal legislators, 5% from the State government and 9% from the university team).

In addition to ZIMs, with their strictly defined boundaries, the university team proposed a looser approach for broader Areas of Metropolitan Interest (AIMs), where major policies and programmes should be implemented, including social housing, cultural environmental complexes, ruralities and a ‘green and blue weave’ of green and water related spaces (the TVA – *Trama Verde e Azul*). The LUMEs were also to play an important part in organizing participation and information in close association with the municipalities; in fact, this only happened in the next phase when we developed the local Master Plans, as described below.

The TVA, an idea originally borrowed from initiatives in Lille Metropolitan Area and the Nord Pas-de-Calais *Bassin Minier* (mining basin) in northern France[10], is an effort to restructure the territory on the basis of environmental issues, particularly by rescuing green areas and watercourses (rivers and canals) from the devastating impacts of former coal-mining activities. In the RMBH, public discussions during the MZ workshops and seminars took the original proposal much further, moving from general indications (in AIMs) to a central structuring element of the metropolitan region. We also stretched the TVA concept beyond its ecological origin to include cultural, historical, social and economic features, while also bringing a Lefebvrian influence to the environmental agenda. In fact, the whole metropolitan planning process emphasised diversity, difference, the politicization of social space, a critique of bureaucratic planning and an attempt at promoting the right to the city[11]. Thus, the adoption of the TVA proposal also involved bringing into ‘naturalised space’ other features connected with urban life, such as cultural heritage, public spaces, urban agriculture, agro-ecological zones, and scenic routes and trails. A concrete and experimental utopia, in Lefebvrian terms, guided the TVA proposal both at the metropolitan restructuring level and at the local municipal level, involving all the major design elements ranging from the environmental to the socio-cultural. The reworking of the municipal Master Plans in phase three allowed us to make more detailed proposals, including precise zoning definitions, the design of specific areas and local maps in which the TVA was actually ‘set on the ground’.

The RMBH’s TVA experiment led to several academic studies and research projects, from outstanding PhD theses at UFMG to adaptations in other universities and metropolitan areas in Brazil. It is seen today as one the most important contributions of the RMBH planning process and informs diverse outcomes, including courses offered in UFMG departments and the LUMEs themselves. The participatory and environmental dimensions of contemporary urban planning and the multiple-scale approaches, from the broad metropolitan level to local master plans, has repositioned the meaning of planning for the University team, opening up new perspectives for planning theories and practices and pointing to a planning praxis that unfolds into a process of planning education, leading to a myriad of possibilities and engagements. Cooperative work with municipalities and communities in the metropolitan space, from peripheral marginalized squatters and traditional populations to other forms of socio-economic organization – other economies – has been carried out in the form of academic research and direct involvement with local and regional groups of active citizens. This is certainly quite a transformation from the old days of urban planning in the last century, as we shall see in the following section.

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[10] Agreements between the state of Minas Gerais and Nord-Pas-de-Calais and between the UFMG and the University of Lille allowed for joint research and visits between the two research teams.

[11] The PDDI/RMBH has, for instance, a specific Policy on the Democratization of Public Spaces, broken down into several programmes and projects.

Many of the older faculty members involved in this metropolitan planning experience, including the authors, had previous experience of urban and/or regional planning. Others, whose experience lay in different fields, had to learn the concepts, methods and ways of approaching objects from a necessarily interdisciplinary and action-oriented planning perspective, which was not a trivial task for some specialists. Brazil has a long tradition of urban and regional planning[12], although it does not recognise planning as a profession. Therefore, planning is very rarely taught in undergraduate courses and planning theory is not popular even in graduate programmes.

Those who had planning training, or who had worked with urban and regional planning within federal, state or municipal technocracies, had for reference a body of knowledge and practice in which decisions and ideas were derived from theories and methodologies of the tradition that John Friedmann (1987) termed ‘social reform’. In this tradition, the State was the main and almost the only agent, and the technocracy, deriving historically from Auguste Comte’s social physics, should know ‘scientifically’ what is best and, consequently, what should be planned for society. One could simply call it ‘top-down planning’.

The ‘social mobilization’ tradition, in contrast, took the State to be an agent of oppression favouring the rich and powerful, and based its ideas and actions on the social mobilization of civil society, constructing propositions bottom-up, usually against the State. As a third tradition, Friedmann saw ‘social learning’ as an attempt at building horizontal relations between the state technocracy (planners in general) and society, based on the principle that planners’ techno-scientific knowledge is matched by everyday-life knowledge, built on common sense and social practices deriving from daily life. In our case, the theoretical principle could be summed up as: ‘empower society to turn what used to be objects of planning into subjects of planning’.

Our experience aimed to develop sound social learning within the metropolitan territory, but it certainly also benefited greatly from the intense social mobilization that has transformed planning and public policies in Brazil since the late 1980s. Known in the literature as the urban reform movement, as we argue below, it affected both planning education and planning theory, bringing other rationalities to planning, such as the recognition of informality, diversity and everyday popular practices as constituents of Brazilian urbanization – and, perhaps, of urbanization in the South.

Brazil’s urban planning traditions: from practice to theory?[13]

Urban planning in Brazil, at least in the academic milieu and in the actions of social movements, has been considered a way of proposing structural socio-spatial changes ever since the 1950s, when urban problems resulted from rapid and very intense post-war urbanization concentrated in large cities, with persistent exclusion. The most evident face of that was informality, most clearly expressed in the proliferation of slums, a constitutive aspect of Brazilian urbanization. Nevertheless, for many years informality was (and in many spheres still is) seen as a deviation from the norm, something that could be repaired with intensive investment or else be removed from the urban landscape. It is not unusual to hear that informality is a result of lack of planning, and not due to structural social inequalities associated with a juridical order based on long-standing landed property rights. Maricato (2000) called this attitude ‘ideas out of place, and place[s] out[side the realm] of ideas’ (*As idéias fora do*

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[12] International recognition of ANPUR, the National Association of Urban and Regional Planning, a 30-year old institution assembling graduate programmes in planning-related fields, attests to the importance of the practice.
[13] This section combines extracts from two previous articles: Costa, H.S.M. (2011), and Monte-Mór et al. (2016).

lugar e o lugar fora das idéias). A similar approach to informality at worldwide level is provided by Davis (2007).

The first phase of institutionalized urban planning coincides with the period of military rule from the mid-1960s to the mid-1980s. Under the military governments, modernizing territorial policies to provide general conditions of production in support of economic growth were deemed more relevant than dealing with socio-political urban and metropolitan problems. Besides adopting conventional modernist principles as the knowledge basis for most urbanistic proposals, state planning was also financially and politically centralized at the federal level[14]. This kind of traditional planning and the related urban and economic policies have been widely criticised in Brazil, as elsewhere in the world, both for their functionalist approach and for their association with an authoritarian state.

In 1973/74, nine metropolitan regions were created by the federal government, including the RMBH, all with similar governance structures. In the RMBH, Plambel, the metropolitan planning institution created in 1974, was very active in developing studies and plans, although very weak in terms of implementing them. The governance structure was complemented by deliberative and consultative committees but, given their composition and the way members were appointed, they were effectively controlled by the Minas Gerais State government. Civil society was not represented and the committees merely legitimized decisions already taken by technocrats and politicians.

Together with the planning apparatus, relevant graduate planning education programmes were created, resulting in a new generation of planners and planning institutions. In some of them there was some room for creativity and engagement despite the authoritarian political atmosphere. Plambel was able to develop several important analytical documents, methodological approaches and planning proposals for the RMBH, some of them still relevant today.

From the mid-1980s onwards, during the period of redemocratisation of the country, a different planning approach emerged guided by ideas of urban reform[15], which included the belief that a democratic state could direct a process of building a socially just city. Those who fought for urban reform (planners, academics and social and professional movements) redirected their mobilizing forces against the military regime and its centralized and authoritarian urban policies. Therefore, urban reform came back to the political scene together with the need to restore democracy.

The 1980s represented a period of political restructuring in Brazil after military rule, and the transition to civilian government was somewhat tragic and disappointing[16]. Economic crises beginning in the late 1970s caused uncertainty and the state became financially weaker.

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[14] Although it is not the object of analysis in this paper, it is worth pointing out that since the late 19th and early 20th century Brazil has had a tradition of implementing modernist urbanistic projects and city plans throughout the country, such as city centre renewals, industrial cities, housing estates, or even entire capitals such as Brasília (Monte-Mór, 2019). In terms of institutional planning, even in periods when policies and resources were strongly centralized at the federal level, as mentioned above, municipalities developed their local plans and policies, usually adopting modernist and functionalist principles.

[15] Before the period of military rule, urban and agrarian reform movements were very active and were basically organized around demands over land for housing and land for food production and subsistence, respectively. Those movements were discontinued during the military regime.

[16] The first (non-)elected civilian president, a liberal, died just before taking office. The vice-president was a representative of the Brazilian oligarchies, which led to difficulties in introducing political and social changes. Nevertheless, social mobilization ensured that a progressive new Constitution was drawn up.

Despite that, all of the movements related to the urban question came together to propose popular amendments to the forthcoming 1988 Constitution. The urban reform amendment focused particularly on the construction of a legal system of land use and occupation and of controlling landed property surplus value, in accordance with the social function of urban property (land) and the city, and also on building a democratic governance structure based on participation in all spheres of action.

The 1988 Constitution incorporated some of the principles and proposals from the popular amendment. It restored local municipal autonomy, although this was still limited due to financial weakness, and emphasised municipal responsibility for several public policies, especially those related to land use and expansion control. New municipal committees (Costa, G.M., et al., 2009) and participatory budgeting initiatives are telling examples of this incorporation of new actors in the decision-making process, despite Brazil's political culture of patrimonialism and clientelism. Participatory conferences on a variety of subjects – housing, culture, health, urban policy, education – became important forums for discussion and evaluation of public policies at all government levels.

The culmination of the process of constructing a set of legal instruments to guarantee the social function of urban property and cities came 13 years later, in 2001, when the City Statute marked the beginning of a new phase for urban planning nationwide. This major piece of urban legislation was a lifesaver for social mobilization, and civil society participation became mandatory in all instances of urban planning and governance. Municipal master plans became the main instruments guiding the implementation of urban reform.

Brazil's experience over the last three decades shows that urban planning required new relations to be established between the state and society. Such relations are being transformed worldwide, sometimes induced by international agencies or by the more rapid circulation of ideas, but they are also influenced by trends in national and local policies and politics. In the planning field, urban policies in many countries have incorporated values and concepts related to neoliberalism and the adoption of structural adjustments, fuelling fierce competition between places, cities, regions or even countries for new economic investment (Costa, H.S.M., & Costa, G.M., 2007). However, since the late 1980s, the urban reform paradigm has been a strong influence on urban and planning theory and practice in Brazil, in spite of its competitive, market-oriented turn in the 1990s usually referred to as neoliberal urbanism.

Reviewing the trajectory of planning in the international literature, Watson (2009) points out that the comprehensive functionalist approach based on modernist ideas is still very strong in many countries, especially in the South. She mentions some African situations where existing regulatory state structures had their origins in European or North American planning instruments of the mid-20th century. Moreover, even when new ideas emerged, some of them very much influenced by international agencies, the shift was mainly from spatial land use planning towards local public administration approaches, which 'usually targeted just one aspect of the urban planning system, forward spatial planning, leaving the inherited land regulation systems to continue to protect the rights and perpetuate the inequalities inherent in them' (p.2269).

In Brazil, the urban reform movement that led to the City Statute was an attempt to move away from such an approach. On the one hand it recognised the totality of urbanization – formal and informal – and claimed the right to the city for all citizens. On the other, it reinvented planning and urban policies to deal with those issues, as new instruments were created and long-standing popular demands were reinterpreted. Participatory budgeting, upgrading of informal settlements, regulatory mechanisms for property development, the emergence of environmental concerns within planning, and the establishment of sectoral deliberative committees and conferences to discuss and define priorities within policies and plans are examples of urban policies that were implemented. The new watchword or principle guiding decision making was ‘the inversion of priorities’[17].

However, despite democratic advances in political and financial decentralization towards local levels, and the creation of participation processes through which progressive local governments tried to build new and more democratic forms of urban governance, popular participation in the recently created deliberative or consultative committees fell well short of constituting genuine social control of planning, because in many cases it was merely a means of legitimizing decisions that had already been made. Edésio Fernandes (2013), in a critical review of ten years of the City Statute, points out that:

> The law has been internationally acclaimed, to the point that Brazil was enrolled in the Scroll of Honour Award (UN-HABITAT) in 2006 only for having approved it. Openly envied by public policy makers and urban managers from various countries, the City Statute has been repeatedly promoted by the important international initiative Cities Alliance as the most appropriate regulatory framework to provide sound legal bases for government and socio-political strategies committed to promoting urban reform (p. 214, authors' translation).

But he concludes by emphasising the need for social, and not just legal, control: ‘The future of the City Statute requires mainly a broad renewal of socio-political mobilization around landed property, urban, housing and environmental questions’ (Fernandes, 2013, p. 232, authors' translation).

Looking back, it seems clear now that most of those who were actively engaged in the urban reform movement, the authors included, believed that social transformation could be achieved by institutional means and that achieving new terms of urban and environmental regulation would be enough to change the terms of social production of space in urban areas. There was still a belief that the state could be transformed from within and that it would continue to reflect the imbalance of forces within society. Some of those beliefs are reflected in contemporary planning education, still very much oriented towards regulatory propositions, but increasingly exploring new paths towards the ideal of planning *with* social movements and residents, instead of planning *for* them.

Besides innovative practices, traditional tools were also reinforced as long-established planning practices are resistant to change. The Municipal Master Plan, a resurrected local planning instrument, was made mandatory by the constitution for all municipalities with 20,000 inhabitants or more, as well as those of special interest such as historical heritage sites, those belonging to metropolitan regions, and others. This was considered a ‘market reserve’ for consultants and planning professionals. It could be seen as just one more legal requirement of minor importance if it were not for the fact that urban reform instruments had to be established and defined in the Master Plan in order to be implemented. Such a requirement linked progressive policies to an already criticized planning instrument. In response, the City Statute adopted participation and urban reform instruments as mandatory elements in Master Plans. Many interesting experiments emerged from constructing local Master Plans, but several municipalities were unable to provide an alternative to conventional technical plans.

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[17] This expression was used by progressive local governments, especially those run by the Workers' Party (PT), referring to investment in poor urban peripheries as opposed to traditional investment in rich areas of the city.

The fact that Master Plans became compulsory for municipalities within metropolitan regions suggests that the 1988 Constitution recognized the complexity and interdependence of urban questions at metropolitan level. However, since local (i.e. municipal) autonomy was a basic principle of the Constitution, metropolitan governance, including metropolitan planning, was seen as a return to the authoritarian centralization of the previous military period.

Neither the 1988 Constitution nor the City Statute legislated on the metropolitan issue. From the beginning of the redemocratisation process in the mid-1980s, metropolitan policies and planning slowly decayed, and Belo Horizonte's Plambel was officially closed down in 1996. For almost two decades, metropolitan planning was abandoned in the country.

By the early 2000s, the Minas Gerais Legislative Assembly – acting under the 1988 Constitution, which had transferred to the federated states the power to create and manage metropolitan regions – instituted two metropolitan regions in Minas Gerais, one of them the RMBH, and approved a new structure of metropolitan governance (see footnote 1). This time, it included social participation through a deliberative Metropolitan Development Committee, allowing for an informal, but very legitimate, Metropolitan Collegiate Body, which expanded participation throughout civil society. During the metropolitan planning process carried out within the University, besides the proposed channels of participation – including workshops, seminars, public hearings and online interactions – several other participatory groups emerged, as mentioned previously, which exercised some social control over metropolitan planning and governance in processes that went beyond formal participation.

Minas Gerais pioneered the reinstatement of the metropolitan planning and governance structure, and was followed some years later by other states in the country. The planning process, the methodology built as and when needed and the products and outcomes of this process have been discussed by us and the team in various academic and institutional forums since their early stages. The 2015 Metropolis Statute made metropolitan plans and their macro-zoning mandatory for all Brazilian metropolitan regions. In the RMBH, the PDDI and the Macro-Zoning programme were, after significant discussion and amendments by the municipalities, assembled by the Metropolitan Development Agency into a bill presented to the State Assembly in 2017. The bill is yet to be debated and voted on.

In short, our metropolitan planning experience has benefited from this trajectory from the urban reform movement, through the City Statute and the redefinition of Master Plans, to the resumption of planning at metropolitan level.

Master plans as metropolitan unfoldings

The third phase of our 10-year planning experience for and within the Metropolitan Region of Belo Horizonte was an attempt to combine our findings in the metropolitan planning process with several decades-worth of struggles around the idea of the 'right to the city', as partially consolidated in the City Statute. Therefore, the redrafting of 11 municipal Master Plans[18], as mentioned above, was supported on the one hand by the principle of the social function of urban land and the city and the adoption of planning instruments to realize it, as required by the City Statute. On the other hand, it coupled municipal issues with metropolitan guidelines and proposals that had been established in conjunction with the municipalities through the participatory methodology of the previous phases. However, local politics had to balance a general drive for competition for projects and investment with the pursuit of metropolitan solidarity, deriving from a perception of shared problems and leading to the construction of joint projects and policies.

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[18] Eleven out of the 34 metropolitan municipalities responded to a Metropolitan Agency call to establish a further partnership with UFMG to provide technical support for the redrafting of their Master Plans. As master plans have to be reviewed every ten years, the other metropolitan municipalities did so by other means.

The PDDI/MZ provided broad drivers and guidelines open to permanent interconnections between the metropolitan and local scales. This was an innovation in metropolitan planning, since territorial planning – land use and expansion, zoning, environmental protection and financial incentives, among other aspects – usually happens at the local scale. The revision of the master plans also benefited from existing participatory initiatives at local municipal level, such as holding thematic conferences and compiling sectoral plans in fields such as sanitation, social housing, land regularization and previous master plans.

The process began with a broad reading of the municipal territory based on the existing plans, the projection of the metropolitan PDDI and MZ proposals on each municipal territory and, especially, collaborative mapping exercises to identify perceived problems, potentialities and proposals, which were conducted in workshops involving residents, social movements and municipal officials. The readings were discussed in seminars and public hearings organized along the four thematic axes derived from the PDDI policy structure – accessibility, security, sustainability and urbanity – in addition to the territorial and institutional structuring dimensions, as mentioned above.

Central to the methodology adopted was the constitution of a steering group (GA – *Grupo de Acompanhamento*) in each municipality, formed of 12 to 16 members, half of them municipal officials and legislators nominated by the mayor and the other half elected representatives of civil society, all of whom were approved in public hearings. The GA, housed in public rooms known as the Master Plan Space, was permanently assisted by UFMG students and faculty.

The groups were very active in linking local knowledge (and local politics), municipal institutional arrangements and the university team. They also played a central role in mobilization and communications. Ideally, the GAs would make up the future City Committee to be formed in each municipality. The Master Plan Spaces were also intended to become LUMEs, and therefore each local administration was expected to provide a suitable location for public access as well as the necessary equipment when setting up the Spaces.

In addition to their methodological approach, Master Plans were also innovative in the design of policies. Inspired by City Statute instruments, some innovations were mainly concerned with territorial restructuring to contain urban expansion[19]in agricultural or environmentally sensitive areas, so as to prioritize food security and small-scale economies, issues rarely considered in Brazilian master plans. The adoption of the TVA – the ‘green and blue weave’ – as a territorial restructuring element, as mentioned above, is perhaps the initiative’s most innovative outcome, as it projected a vision of the future in which urbanization is intertwined with nature, culture and appropriation of the land through leisure, tourism and other public activities. With this in mind, the plans defined zones and subzones, parameters, instruments, areas, types of roads and new regulations[20], ‘setting the TVA on the ground’ in each municipality.

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[19] As an example, the urban perimeter was redesigned to encompass only already developed areas, leaving future urban expansion areas outside in a proposed Rural-to-Urban Transition Zone (ZDE-Trans), in which an urbanization tax (*Outorga Onerosa de Mudança de Uso*) to be paid by developers would apply. Brazilian law defines the urban perimeter as the formal boundary between urban and rural areas.

[20] The TVA is a special zoning network throughout the municipal area, comprising all the environmental Protection

At the institutional level, an innovative structure of local governance was proposed, including the City Committee covering all urban policy-related areas, with deliberative powers, and *ad hoc* Special Interest Committees to be proposed by citizens for specific collective demands, lasting for up to two years. Existing committees would be maintained whenever required by particular area regulations, such as health and the environment. The Master Plan bill has yet to be approved by the Municipal Council[21].

The participatory process and the definition of zones, areas, limits and parameters raised many conflicting interests, some explicitly within the GAs, others coming from outside by various means, including the formal discussions of the Master Plan bill. Our belief is that this planning process may have contributed to some degree to socio-political learning, so as to enable social forces to face up to vested interests that do not coincide with the interests of the majority of the population.

This third phase involved approximately 40 faculty and students at UFMG, working under the same principles and methodologies as in the previous phases. The participatory and collective way in which the work was conducted resulted in sound, creative and progressive planning proposals. Our aim in encouraging participation was, in a primary political sense, to help produce citizens committed to their living space.

A quick assessment: major achievements

Our experience made significant advances in at least five main aspects. First, it produced quite powerful and innovative methodologies, as pointed out in the previous sections. Departing from principles, and not from pre-established frameworks of planning theory and methodologies, the planning team constructed and applied a John Dewey ‘learning by doing’ method (Friedmann, 1987). This resulted in real learning – planning education within the ‘social learning’ tradition – through a collective and reflexive process that involved not only faculty and students but also, by extension, several metropolitan and state personnel and community leaders who were involved throughout the participatory planning process. This effective approximation to the object of (urban) planning – socially produced space – meant that various metropolitan and local actors were potentially influenced by the planning process, moving thus towards one of the stated goals pursued by the planning team, to transform socio-political actors from objects into subjects of planning.

The second achievement was the relatively effective participatory process involving representative fractions of society from the very beginning of the analysis through to the discussion of the final products, including the territorial guidelines that make up the plan itself and proposals for institutional procedures and laws. Although the final products are comprehensive and cover highly diverse aspects of metropolitan life, as described above, the territorial and institutional dimensions were at the very core of our proposals from the outset. In the second phase of our project, Macro-Zoning, the focus was more specifically on the territorial dimension and on several new institutional aspects regarding metropolitan laws and codes, which were further developed and extended in phase three. For this purpose,

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Zones (ZPs); special overlapping zones such as TVA-Fluv (rivers, lakes, springs and creeks requiring protection), TVA-Agroeco (agroecological uses), TVA-Min (post-mining recovery) and TVA-Cult (cultural assets requiring protection); rural/tourist cycle and pedestrian routes and paths; and linear-parks, either existing or to be created. Each zone has its own land use and occupation criteria, instruments and parameters. The ensemble should produce local territorial restructuring interlinked with the metropolitan Macro-Zoning proposal.

[21] So far, 4 out of the 11Master Plans have been approved and others are under local discussion.

participation took the form, as said above, of a steering group (GA) set up to discuss and approve the proposals.

Thirdly, collaborative maps were produced during the Macro-Zoning and subsequent phases. These maps went beyond traditional legal instruments for controlling land occupation and use in that they were the result of genuine social and participatory cartography, potentially[22] representing both a permanent channel of dialogue between social planning agents and an instrument to support actions for mutual social, political and territorial transformation (Acselrad, & Coli, 2008) and, consequently, for the social appropriation of both urban and rural municipal space.

Fourthly, our experience added important elements in planning education. Combining a learning-by-doing methodology with a trans-disciplinary approach and critical theory proved to be a powerful means of preparing professionals and faculty to deal even more effectively – either in practice or in theory, or hopefully both – with socially produced space, the complex object of urban and regional planning. This, however, is a matter to be more thoroughly addressed in the future.

The fifth achievement was the drafting of the Master Plan bill, comprising all the instruments, maps and public policies needed to support and guarantee the plans' implementation[23]. Some of those instruments are mandatory, as specified in the City Statute. Others are initiatives arising from the participatory process with the aim of strengthening the social control of planning, such as giving the City Committee a more central role and greater power to control the implementation of the plan. Also important is the collectively agreed proposal of creating *ad hoc* Participatory Local Interest Committees to address specific demands concerning inequalities, such as the provision of means of collective consumption, and other material and immaterial issues related to local differences and diversities. It will be a few years, however, before the effectiveness of such initiatives can be properly assessed.

Final remarks on rooting metropolitan and urban planning in critical theory and praxis

The proposal to set up Participatory Local Interest Committees put into effect the Lefebvrian concept of *autogestion* (self-management): 'The concept of *autogestion* does not provide a model, does not trace a line. It points to a way, and thus to a strategy. (.....) the strategy must concretize *autogestion* and extend it to all levels and sectors. This perpetual struggle for *autogestion* is class struggle' (Brenner, & Elden, 2009, p.135).

To feed such a strategy we proposed that these Committees should spring up as a way to help perpetuate the struggles for autogestion and extend them 'to all levels and sectors', aiming at the social, cultural and political appropriation of space. In other words, it is a struggle for *the right to the city*, which has been the main purpose of progressive planning theory and practice in Brazil and, we venture, in the peripheral capitalism of the Global South.

Our experience has also relied on a process of cross-pollination between theory and practice, pointing to what Watson (2003) says:

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[22] This potential was verified in the participatory process, when socially produced maps became essential tools for discussing demands and proposals.

[23] The Master Plan for the metropolitan municipality of Rio Manso is a good example, as it was approved by the Municipal Council exactly in the form decided during the participatory process. (https://www.riomanso.mg.gov.br/abrir_arquivo.aspx/Lei_Complementar_81_2019?cdLocal=5&arquivo={AB83BA0C-E6DE-76AB-84CE-7ABA8D5E40BA}.pdf#search=plano%20diretor)

> Planning research needs to return to the concrete, to the empirical and to case research, not as a mindless return to empiricism, but as a way of gaining a better understanding of the nature of difference, and generating ideas and propositions which can more adequately inform practice (p.396).

In view of the above and our planning experience itself, we can reflect on the meaning of planning theory in the South. First, as Santos (2000) emphasises, any theory that deserves the name must be critical, which also means it must be linked to practice. These are necessary conditions for the construction of alternatives that can bring about social transformation and emancipation. Our understanding of critical theory therefore relates to the following conceptualization by Nobre (2004):

> Critical theory does not fight either for blind action (without taking knowledge into consideration) or for empty knowledge (ignoring the fact that things could be different), but questions the meaning of 'theory' and 'practice' and the distinction between these two moments. The responsibility to perform this task is inherent in the very idea of 'critique' (p.9, authors' translation).

Again, we look to Lefebvre as he discusses the need to give concreteness to the utopian and theoretical concept of 'urban society':

> The expression 'urban society' meets a theoretical need. (...) A movement of thought toward a certain concrete, and perhaps toward the concrete assumes shape and detail. This movement, if it proves to be true, will lead to a practice, urban practice, that is finally or newly comprehended (Lefebvre, 2003, p.14).

Here remains a doubt: is it correct to conceive of our experience as a radical urban practice, in spite of the institutional character of urban planning? We believe it can be considered transformative, if not emancipatory, but only under certain conditions, as posited by Lefebvre in his fifth thesis on the *Right to the City* (Kofman & Lebas, 1996):

> The realization of urban society calls for a planning oriented towards social needs, those of urban society. It necessitates a science of the city (of relations and correlations in urban life). Although necessary, these conditions are not sufficient. A social and political force capable of putting these means into *oeuvres* is equally indispensable (p.178).

Setting this social and political force in motion was constantly in the minds of those struggling for urban reform in Brazil. That is, the notion of urban planning in Brazil has, since the 1960s at least, been equated with politics. Initially there was a belief in the possibility of social reform (Friedmann, 1987), which presupposes a democratic State's willingness to challenge hegemonic interests, especially those of the urban economy in general – through demands to create appropriate general conditions of production rather than the conditions for social reproduction – and in particular the interests of real estate agents, which were almost always favoured in State actions. These persistent economic, social and political struggles point to the importance of including an urban political economy approach as essential theoretical support for urban analyses and planning. Fainstein and Defilippis (2016) share a similar understanding in the introduction to the latest edition of *Readings in Planning Theory*: 'We place planning theory at the intersection of political economy, history and philosophy' (p. 4). We would add that socially produced space – the object of territorial planning in Brazil, and possibly in the Global South in general – requires a critique of political economy itself to include post-structuralist approaches and, most importantly, theories and empirical evidence about socio-spatial practices: occupations, insurgencies, informal economies, urban commons, urban agriculture and several other self-managed practices observed in contemporary urban Brazil.

Nowadays, democracy and social control, in addition to a democratic state, are the main drivers to be taken into account in strategies and planning methodology, as observed in the struggle for urban reform and in our 10-year experience of metropolitan planning. This is considered an essential condition for reversing the State’s tendency to favour hegemonic interests in its actions. Hence the need for planning theory and practice to incorporate critical thought and a trans-disciplinary approach. Furthermore, planning theory and practice must consider not only urban socio-spatial inequality, the focus of the urban political economy (Fainstein, 1997), but equally those theoretical approaches, which emphasise culture, difference, diversity and other material and immaterial aspects of urban life. The theory of space production (Lefebvre, 1993) has much to say in this respect by suggesting that potentially revolutionary differential spaces should spring up to express diversity within the totality of social space, in contrast to the tendency of abstract space – the space of capitalist expropriation – to become and remain hegemonic. In another work, Lefebvre (1979) went beyond this question by stating: ‘Insofar as we can conceive it, given certain current tendencies, socialist space will be a space of difference’ (p.293).

It seems that there could be a contradiction in this idea of socialist space as a space of difference. However, it has to be understood in its dialectical dimension. Differential spaces mean that potentially counter-hegemonic social movements can arise to struggle for the recognition of cultural and social differences neglected by some theoretical approaches, particularly by urban political economy. That is, we are envisioning another kind of socialism –different from 20th-century ‘real socialism’– a utopia that should be a guide for theories and practices in urban analysis and planning, aiming at a permanent search for emancipation. This is what Holston (2008) refers to with his notion of insurgent citizenship, to theorize about potential and continued emancipatory social practices.

These quests and actions may have limitations, as pointed out by Lefebvre (2015) in a short piece reflecting on his previous theory of urban revolution: ‘The urban [utopian urban society] conceived and lived as a social practice is in the process of deteriorating and perhaps disappearing’ (p.567). This sounds rather sad coming from an author who wrote seminal texts on the possibility of another society, the urban society, as a result of theory and praxis.

We choose to end this reflection, however, with Lefebvre’s optimistic statement on his radical theory of the right to the city and a possible urban revolution, expressing his belief in the need for continued praxis: ‘The right to the city implies nothing less than a revolutionary concept of citizenship’ (Lefebvre, 2015, p.570). In our 10-year metropolitan and municipal planning experience, the construction and consolidation of metropolitan citizenship was a constant goal for the university team. In the Global South, such a revolutionary idea implies the need to root urban planning in social movements, particularly those that have been traditionally excluded from the bourgeois and oligarchic projects of modernity. They will form the basis for the construction of alternative planning theories and practices stemming from effective citizenship and radical democracy.

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A Lacanian understanding of the southern planning theorists' identification under the hegemony of western philosophy

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As a planning theorist who has studied and taught planning theory in the Global South and North, I grapple with the question – 'What does planning theory mean in the Global South?' To answer this question, I ontologically investigate the meaning of Southern planning theory based on a Lacanian approach. Drawing on the Lacanian theory of human subjectivity, this article explains how planning theorists' identities are constituted through their interactions within academia. Lacanian discourse theory assists in exploring how most Southern planning theorists adopt, internalise, and use hegemonic Western philosophy, ideas, and discourses as the only accepted mechanism of truth. Consequently, this process profoundly alienates Southern planning theorists from their local context, as they often devalue, overlook, and neglect non-Western beliefs, ideas, knowledge, and philosophy. I argue that although the number of Southern planning theorists has increased during the last decades, non-Western philosophy is seldom utilised as the core of their critical studies. Based on the Lacanian discourse theory, I show that they mostly remain in the hegemonic mechanism of knowledge production that is embedded in the colonial era.

Keywords: Colonialism, Decoloniality, Lacanian discourse theory, Southern planning theory

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Introduction

This article reflects my personal experience as a non-Euro-American planning theorist who has studied and taught planning theory in the Global South and then the Global North. During my study of planning in Iran, planning theory courses mainly focused on Western philosophy and thinkers rather than Iranian. However, historic Iranian cities were developed according to certain principles and regulations that were informed by local philosophy and ideas and planning clearly has a longer history than that of industrial capitalism in the West. The neglect of local philosophy and ideas in Iranian planning courses has been justified on the premise that the 'planning discipline is the invention of the West to address contemporary issues; thus, we should merely focus on Western ideas. Iranian ideas are irrelevant to planning.' Several famous thinkers, scholars, and planners such as Foucault (1980), Hall (2007), and Friedmann (1987), among others, have promoted this understanding of planning. I came to realise that the hegemony of Western philosophy in planning theory is not limited to Iran – it is a global phenomenon. As Winkler (2018, p.592) points out, '[T]he philosophical lenses and the methods we use to collect, analyse, synthesise and interpret our research findings remain rooted, whether knowingly or not, in Western systems of thought.' Despite this, over the last decade, the number of publications on planning theory in the Global South has increased significantly (De Satgé & Watson, 2018; Roy, 2011), with most Southern planning theorists and others criticising the role of planning in the Global South as being an instrument of colonialisation, Westernisation, and neoliberalisation (Njoh, 2010; Porter, 2010; Yiftachel, 2000).

I have been asked several times, 'Why do you work within planning theory? Since philosophy and theory emanate from the North, it is not relevant to the South.' As a Southern planning theorist, I am acutely aware of my own position as a normalised subject whose knowledge of planning has been shaped based on Western philosophy and ideas. Winkler (2018, p.592) argues that 'our privileged education, whether obtained in the Global North or South, effectively socialises us as Western thinkers'. I struggle with what it means to be a Southern planning theorist and how to 'engage in a process of claiming an existence defined by a sense of being true to oneself and not having to continually seek legitimation, validation, and acceptance in the eyes of the (Western) academy' (Dei, 2014, p.169). Friedmann (2008, p.131) argues that, '[F]rom the beginning, then, planning theory was being conceptualised as a bio-continental, Euro-American enterprise. And such it has remained.... [P]lanning theories are not only embedded in Euro-American planning traditions, they also suggest a way of thinking that is quite alien, to cite but one example, to Asian academic life.' The hegemony of Western philosophy and ideas is not limited to planning theory; the wider domains include, but are not limited to, philosophy and political studies (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2012; Connell, 2014). Mahbubani (2010) in *Can Asians Think?* and Dabashi (2015) in *Can Non-Europeans Think?* reflect on,

> the naturalization of certain ways of thinking and producing knowledge that are given the name Eurocentrism … [by] devaluing the humanity of certain people by dismissing it or playing it down (even when not intentional) at the same time as highlighting and playing up European philosophy, assuming it to be universal. (Walter Mignolo, 2015, pp.x-xi)

The titles of Mahbubani and Dabashi's works were purposefully chosen to pose two questions to two groups of readers. The first question addresses non-Europeans and asks them: 'Can you think?' Western interlocutors are then asked: 'Can non-Europeans think for themselves?' (Dabashi, 2015). As Nietzsche famously put it, philosophies are narratives told from a perspective. They are the products of particular times and places, rather than timeless truths valid for everywhere (Gunder et al., 2018). If philosophies are context and time-dependent narratives, why are non-Western ideas and narratives mostly overlooked in planning theory, particularly in the Global South? Friedmann (2008) defines three main tasks for planning theory: planning theory should evolve deeply in humanist philosophy to make clear its implications for planning practice; it should assist in the adaptation of planning practices to their real-world constraints with regard to scale, complexity, and time; and it should translate concepts and knowledge generated in other fields into the planning domain and make them accessible and useful for planning practices. From my perspective, local ideas, narratives, and terms should inform planning theory of the Global South in order to meet planning theory tasks in the context of the Global South as defined by Friedman. According to Gunder et al. (2018, p.2), '[P]lanning theories need to be contextualized and localized, as they are narratives developed in the context of particular circumstances and in response to certain concerns.' In the absence of non-Euro-American theories and under the hegemony of Western planning theories, I grapple with the question – 'What does planning theory mean in the Global South?' To answer this question, I ontologically investigate the meaning of Southern planning theory based on a Lacanian perspective.

This article also reflects and analyses my self-identification as a Southern planning theorist who has trained and worked within Western-based academia. All planning theorists' identities are constructed and constantly reshaped through their interactions within academia, including, but not limited to, the university, the wider academic society, and higher education institutions such as academic publishers. Through these interactions, planning theorists 'are socialised into planning that values (or at least gives the appearance of valuing), a core of common norms, knowledges, and practices while simultaneously being absorbed by essentially contested and intractably ambiguous intellectual discourses' (Gunder, 2004, p.299). How and why do planning theorists so often overlook non-Western philosophies and ideas? Furthermore, how does academia define, naturalise, and promote certain ways of thinking and producing knowledge in planning theory? This article will draw on the discourse theory of Jacques Lacan (2006) to propose answers to these questions and provide insight as to how planning theorists consciously and unconsciously accept and apply Euro-American theories in their investigations to become fledgling members of the planning discipline. The first section justifies the utilisation of Lacanian discourse theory. The second section reviews the concepts of the Global South and Southern Planning Theorists. The following four sections focus on Lacanian discourses. The last section provides the conclusion.

Why Lacanian Discourse Theory?

Jacques Lacan (1901–1981) was a post-Freudian psychoanalyst, philosopher, lecturer, neo-structuralist, theoretician, surrealistic poet (Sturrock, 2003), and one of the most influential intellectuals of the 20th century (Foucault, 1998; Thakur & Dickstein, 2018). Lacan developed his psychoanalytical approach based on Freud's psychological method (Evans, 2010; Homer, 2005). He investigated human self-identification as a process and conceptualised the mechanism for collecting knowledge of the self and the world, specifically through the use of language when interacting with others (Gunder, 2011; Sturrock, 2003). Lacan defined the human subject's identification as an unconscious process. 'For Lacan, the true subject is the subject of the unconscious, not to be confused with the ego, which functions in consciousness as a structure of identification' (Muller, 2000, p. 44). The subject of the unconscious significantly challenges the pre-existing dominant approaches in philosophy, such as phenomenology, which focus on human subjectivity and consciousness (Homer, 2005).

Lacan's psychological theory, particularly his definition of human subjectivity, has contributed to individual and social studies (Dean, 2000; Elliott, 2019). The Lacan psychoanalytical approach and its subject identification has significantly influenced philosophy, sociology, anthropology, politics, and linguistics, among others (Russell, 2008). It is particularly influential in the study of post-colonialism. 'So powerful is the legacy of colonial rule that the subject of the post-colonial condition is always already somehow predetermined, somehow stamped, indeed inscribed by the colonial experience' (Jabri, 2013, p.11). Authors, including Bhabha (2004), Burman (2016), Easthope (1998), Fanon (2008 [1952]), Kouri and Skott-Myhre (2016), Spivak (1999), among others, have applied Lacanian subject identification to trace the trajectory of the post-colonial subject in their colonial and post-colonial studies. The utilisation of Lacanian theories helps in identifying how 'the system of Western coloniality has more fundamentally penetrated and shaped [colonial] and post-colonial subjectivities' (Vieira, 2019, p.154). They conclude that most anticolonial movements are entangled with Western colonial ideas and values because their actors' subjectivity is already normalised through their interactions within the colonialised social, economic, and political institutions and mechanisms.

Gunder and Hillier (2003, 2009, 2016) were the first to utilise the Lacanian psychoanalytical approach in planning theory. In 'Shaping the Planner's Ego-Ideal' (2004), Gunder explains how planners are socialised into a profession through their education process in which their identities as planners are shaped based on common norms, values, knowledge, and practices.

Discourse is at the core of Lacanian psychoanalytic theory, through which Lacan investigates 'the subject as the subject of discourse' (Clarke, 2015, p.72). Lacan uses the term 'discourse' to 'stress the transindividual nature of language, the fact that speech always implies another subject, an interlocutor' (Evans, 2010, p.44). Lacan also used the term 'discourse' to investigate different social relations and 'the crucial factors through which language exercises power in human affairs' (Bracher, 1988, p.32). As a result of this investigation, he formulated four discourses: the university, the master, the hysteric, and the analyst. Brown, Atkinson, and England (2006) define these discourses as follows:

- The master's discourse refers to ascendancy, dominance, governing, and commanding;
- The university's discourse relates to education, training, and indoctrinating;
- The hysteric's discourse refers to resistance, protesting, and desiring;
- The analyst's discourse refers to analysing, transforming, or revolutionising.

Lacan's discourse 'provides an account of the intersubjective production of knowledge, and of knowing as a socially mediated act' (Campbell, 2004, p. 57). Lacan developed four algorithms to present the discourses, which provide an understanding of the connections between discourse, subjectivity, and social practice, such as planning theory from the Global South. All algorithms include four algebraic symbols: master signifier (S1), knowledge (S2), divided subject ($), and surplus enjoyment (*a*) (Evans, 2010). Lacan differentiates the four discourses from one another by changing the positions of these symbols in the algorithm. The symbols rotate through four positions: the agent is in the position of agency or dominance which defines the discourse; the other refers to whom the discourse is addressed; the product represents the by-product as the result of the interchange; and the truth is the representation of the factors underpinning, yet repressed by, agency or dominance (Olivier, 2009). Figure 1 presents the structure of the four discourses.

In Figure 1, the horizontal upper arrow is crucial to all four discourses as it shows that the desiring agent addresses the other. This movement from the agent to the other reveals the human tendency to create social connections. Nonetheless, for Lacan, 'the relationship between agent and other is marked by a “disjunction of impossibility”’ (Vanheule, 2016, p. 2) because the other never fully receives the agent’s intended message. Therefore, since the other cannot respond adequately to the agent’s message, Lacan does not use an arrow to connect the other back to the agent.

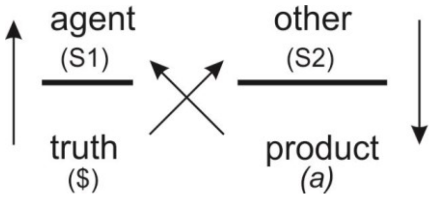

***Figure 1**. The structure of the four discourses*

Lacan (2007) explains the hidden function of discourse in the lower part of the algorithm. The first position on the bottom left is the truth. Lacan uses an arrow pointing upwards to connect truth to the agent. This arrow means that truth is a repressed element that informs the agent’s discourse. This repression generates the possibility of a social bond that is represented at the upper level of the formula (Vanheule, 2016). Therefore, Lacan depicts a diagonal arrow to show the effect of truth on the other. The right arrow pointing downwards shows a product that is created when the agent communicates with the other. The product stimulates the agent through ‘a disjunctive position in relation to the truth that set the discourse in motion’ (Vanheule, 2016, p.2). The utilisation of the Lacan discourse assists me to investigate how Southern planning theorists’ identities are shaped through different social positions in academia.

Global South and Southern Planning Theorists

There are different ways of naming global social, economic, and political divisions, including ‘North/South’, ‘centre/periphery’, ‘West/East’, ‘developed/underdeveloped’, ‘metropole/colony’, and ‘First World/Third World’. Although these terms have their own points of reference, they all allude to the realities of profound global division, that is, ‘the long-lasting pattern of inequality in power, wealth and cultural influence that grew historically out of European and North American imperialism’ (Connell, 2007, p.212). Among these terms, I will apply the terms ‘Global South’ and ‘Global North’ as the centre of my argument in this article.

There is a lack of consensus around the term ‘Global South’ and its social, economic, political, and ideological meanings and implications. ‘The notion of the global south is fluid and increasingly contested, both geographically and conceptually’ (Oldfield & Parnell, 2014, p.3). Clarke (2018) argues that the term ‘South’ was initially suggested to replace previous terms such as developing countries or the Third World. She adds that the word ‘Global’ was added to ‘South’ under the influence of ‘globalisation’ discourse in the 1990s. Watson (2016) and Dados and Connell (2012), among others, argue that the definition of ‘Global South’ should include an entire history of colonialism and neo-imperialism, which have generated and more crucially maintained the existing social, economic, and geographical inequalities around the world. Following Connell (2007), I use the term Global South to refer to regions which have been greatly affected by hegemonic Euro-American knowledge, discourses, norms, and values. ‘Those who use the word ‘southern’ are rarely referring to the Global South as a geographic location but rather to a critical perspective which aims to both deconstruct and reconstruct our understanding of the world everywhere’ (De Satgé & Watson, 2018, p.12). Under the hegemony of Euro-American knowledge, Southern theorists, as the agents who represent the modern world, are often 'eager participants in the formation of universalized global culture' (Meyer, 2000, p.240). Thus, they often reinforce the existing mechanism of knowledge production, which is embedded in the colonial era (Connell, 2014).

'Global South', however, is also an empty signifier lacking specific signification and concise meaning, and can accommodate a set of different and, even controversial, meanings (Gunder & Hillier, 2009). 'Global South' is also an identifying label, among others, which Lacan names 'master signifiers'. The subject's identity is constituted in wider society with a range of master signifiers such as male, planner, theorist, and Southern (Verhaeghe, 1998). Bracher (1999) argues that master signifiers include both descriptive and abstract signifiers. Master signifiers shape the subject's ego-ideal, which includes their core beliefs, values, and a sense of self-recognition of who they are, or so they believe. Master signifiers thus describe and articulate who individuals are to others, or at least how they want to be seen by others. Lacan (2006) argues that the subject's identification is an incomplete identity because there is always an inherent lack in the identification. This lack persuades people to constantly search for completeness, which shapes the human subject. 'Each abstract master signifier of identification is in turn comprised of a complex aggregate of ordered words constituting diverse narratives of contestable sets of knowledges and beliefs' (Gunder & Hillier, 2009, p.16). The term 'Southern planning theorist' is the combination of three master signifiers. Southern is a master signifier that is pervasively used to describe a group of individuals who are perceived as 'others' (Connell, 2007), and subsequently shapes the identifications of the group with a set of contested and contestable meanings which mostly normalise and more crucially internalise their historic inferiority. Gunder and Hillier (2009, 2003) investigated the role of master signifiers, such as planning, in the process of shaping planners' identities. The following sections will primarily consider the term 'Southern' to represent non-Euro-American planning theorists who often neglect local theories, ideas, and knowledge. Based on Lacanian discourses, I conceptualise the connections of Southern planning theorists within academic and non-academic institutions that constitute their individual and collective identities.

Colonialism and its Discourses of Mastery

The master's discourse is associated with self-assurance and control of others (Clarke, 2012). The absolute ruler, like the domineering parent, teacher, or colonist, must be obeyed because of who they are. 'The master's discourse is that kind of discourse which functions to organise the social field according to its "master signifier" (S1) – whether that be "empire", "masculinity", "kingship", "whiteness", "blackness", "the market", "development", or "globalisation"' (Olivier, 2009, p.28). Lacan developed the other discourses based on the discourse of the master (Schroeder, 2008); however, he developed the master's discourse drawing on Hegel's works to conceptualise the structure of the dialectic of the master and the slave (Grigg, 1993). The master is represented by the master signifier (S1) as the one who imposes order on the submissive other – slaves. This master signifier provides knowledge (S2) to the receivers – the slaves – concerning the master's wants. Yet, knowledge does not belong to the master but to those who obey (the slaves). The discourse of the master proceeds in an unconditional manner and must be obeyed on the sole authority of its enunciation (Salecl, 1994). Although the master, as a subject, is an alienated and divided subject ($) like any others, this alienation is concealed from both the master and the subordinate. 'The master is as deluded as anyone else as to the source of his own power. That is, the master may try to tell himself that he deserves to have power, but in his unconscious (which he cannot confront) he knows that this is the empty claim of a master signifier' (Schroeder, 2000, p.4). The master is not primarily interested in knowledge, but merely generates knowledge to maintain his/her position as the master (Lacan, 2007). 'I AM = I AM KNOWLEDGE = I AM THE ONE WHO KNOWS' (Ragland

1996, p.134). Once the master's discourse establishes its hegemony, other existing discourses should follow and operate under the master's discourse; otherwise, they should be eliminated. The discourse of the master works through asserting itself ruthlessly in the social field. It represses all knowledge that may reveal the inadequacy and incompleteness of the 'master' (Olivier, 2009). In this context, non-Euro-American knowledge and ideas that may challenge the hegemony of the master's discourse are aggressively omitted or marginalised (Connell, 2007; Dabashi, 2015).

Lacan believes that modernity has transformed the traditional discourse of the master, such as master and slave (Boucher, 2006). During the colonial era, the relationship between the Global North (the colonists) and the Global South (the colonised) was constructed based on the relation of master and slave from the Hegelian perspective (Teixeira, 2018). In *Black Skin, White Masks*, Fanon (2008 [1952]) argues that master-slave relations have been sustained and even reinforced since colonialism. In the post-colonial era, (S1) and (S2) constitute the totality of the structure of the new master-slave relations. If the colonial master was a paternalistic master, who functioned based on a vertical structure of power, the new structure of power is more horizontal than vertical. The colonist as the dominant agency, through its master signifiers (S1) that generate knowledge (S2), compels the individuals (slaves) to adapt themselves to the master's norms and values. 'The other [colonised/enslaved] has to sustain the master in his illusion that he is the one with the knowledge … in the Hegelian sense: it is the slave who confirms by his knowledge the position of the master' (Verhaeghe, 1995, p.27). In *Southern Theory*, Connell (2007) explains how the mechanism of knowledge and theories, which are embedded in the colonial era, has pervasively developed to sustain the hegemony of Euro-American theories (the master). The hegemony of Euro-American theories reinforces the pre-existing master/slave relations by generating new kinds of dependency (Connell, 2014). In planning, the diversity of planning practice around the world is well-recognised and debated. However, regardless of the existing diversity in practice, Watson (2014, p.23) observes that 'for many decades the intellectuals who led the field in planning theory have lived and worked in the Euro-American regions and, consciously or not, have produced ideas about planning'.

The lower lines in Figure 1 refer to the subject's unconsciousness, which is fundamental to Lacan's discourse theory. For Lacan (2006), all subjects are alienated ($) from knowing their unconscious being and desire. They never know themselves completely and cannot fully present their own self-consciousness. The master is also an alienated subject, which is the truth of the master's discourse. 'The masters' weakness is that they are unconscious of their own desire, the actual reason for asserting the master signifier (S1), for the hidden truth of the discourse is that of the divided subject' (Gunder, 2004, p.306). The discourse is vital to maintain and reinforce the master's hegemony. The subliminal function of the discourse is to conceal the master's weakness from both the master and the salve. Also, in the discourse, 'the master (S1) is the agent who puts the slave (S2) to work; the result of this work is surplus (*a)* that the master attempts to appropriate' (Evans, 2010, p.45). The object petit *a* is the 'object-cause' of the desire for an unattainable object – a surplus enjoyment. 'While the desired content (object) promises to provide pleasure, a surplus-enjoyment is gained by the very form (procedure) of pursuing the goal' (Žižek, 2017, p.9). Therefore, the failures of the master in providing the promised object do not generate discontent in the slave. The process itself produces a surplus-enjoyment at the subjective level.

In planning, the theories deployed by planners in the Global South often fail to address the issues in non-Western contexts (Njoh, 2010; Watson, 2014). Yet, Southern planners are mostly involved, and enjoy being involved, in the process of learning and then implementing

Euro-American theories in their plans and policies. Euro-American knowledge and theories are perceived as truths ($) that are essential for planners, including planning theorists from the Global South, because the master (S1) says they are, and the coloniser is the master who always knows! Southern planners and theorists, 'in obeying the master forgo jouissance as the loss of enjoyment or frustration, not to mention loss of spontaneity and creativity, produced by their obedience and conformity to the master' (Gunder, 2004, p.306). The Southern planners' enjoyment is generated through the process of learning and implementing theories and is the hidden product of the master's discourse.

Post-colonialism and its Discourses of University

'Lacan's diagnosis of modernity involves the displacement of the master by the bureaucrat' as the discourse of the university (Boucher, 2006, p.274). For Lacan, the discourse of the university is not limited to educational institutions such as universities, although they play a crucial role in this mechanism of power (Schroeder, 2008). The university discourse refers to the bureaucratic, technocratic, and scientific mechanisms of the production of knowledge, including, but not limited to, universities, publishers, and governmental and non-governmental institutions. The displacement of the master's discourse by the university discourse does not necessarily mean that power has been replaced by reason. Zupančič (2006, p.168) argues that,

> What Lacan recognizes in the university discourse is a new and reformed discourse of the master. In its elementary form, it is a discourse that is pronounced from the place of supposedly neutral knowledge, the truth of which (hidden below the bar) is power, that is, the master signifier.

Schroeder (2008, p.53) argues that 'the university's discourse is meritocracy – rule by experts who (are supposed to) deserve their position by virtue of their superior knowledge'. The agent who has the constituted knowledge (S2) has the dominant position in the university's discourse. Knowledge always creates an acceptance of dogmas and assumptions – master signifiers (S1). Lacan (2007, p.167) argues that,

> [W]hat happens between the classical master's discourse and that of the modern master … is a modification in the place of knowledge…. The fact that all-knowing has moved into the place of the master is something that does not throw light on it, but rather makes a little bit more obscure what is at issue, namely, truth … this is well and truly the S2 of the master, revealing as it does the bare bones of how things stand under the new tyranny of knowledge…. Now the sign of truth.

The other is reduced to becoming the unattainable object, the cause of desire (*a*) who intends to fully know and consequently control either natural or human objects. Although a complete understanding of the object is unattainable, the process generates enjoyment that fuels further knowledge creation (S2). The fact is that 'behind all attempts to impart an apparently 'neutral' knowledge to the other can always be located an attempt at mastery (mastery of knowledge, and domination of the other to whom this knowledge is imparted)' (Evans, 2010, p.46). Since all existing scientific and non-scientific methodologies are inherently incapable of providing full understandings of natural and social phenomena, the product of this discourse is a divided subject ($) who is alienated from their desires and interests as well as the context.

As the product of the university discourse, Southern planners and planning theorists are also alienated subjects ($), whose identities and desires are shaped and normalised within the university and academia. Academic or professional planners, like others, are often not aware of this alienation.

> The more systematic knowledge is received, the more students are transformed into 'normalized' planners, symbolically regulated by these norms, knowledges, and practices, while at the same time they become progressively more alienated from their own unconscious desires and any passionate response, or challenge, to the received 'wisdom'. (Gunder, 2004, p.307)

The alienation is more intricate in the Global South because the modern bureaucratic systems, such as governmental organisations and the mechanism of knowledge production including educational institutions and universities, were often established and developed during the colonial era. The university discourse has been predominately reinforced in the post-colonial period. The discourse progressively normalises Southern planners' identity, including planning theorists, based on the colonisers' knowledges, values, and norms (Connell, 2007) and consequently alienates them from their local interests, values, and ideas. Winkler (2018, p.589) argues that 'for most of us who are educated within privileged (or what I refer to as Western) ways of knowing, we simply cannot accept that some things will remain unknowable (unless we decolonise our minds). In fact, we are trained, and we train others, to know the text [of the hegemonic discourse]'.

Lacan suggests 'a sort of historical movement from the master's discourse to the university discourse, the university discourse providing a sort of legitimation or rationalization of the master's will' (Fink, 2018, p.33). The modern bureaucratic system normalises the subjects based on Euro-American knowledge. The intellectual hegemony of the master 'has a broad institutional underpinning, including universities but extending far beyond them into professions, governments, corporations, and communities of practice, creating in these institutions a common-sense in which other logics of knowledge seem exotic, objectionable or downright crazy' (Connell, 2014, p.218). Other knowledge that challenges the hegemony of the colonists', or masters', knowledge is perceived as irrational and full of untruthful ideas that should be eliminated from society. Universities and international publishers play crucial roles in normalising and reinforcing the hegemony of Euro-American knowledge, philosophies, and ideas in the Global South and Southern academics have often endeavoured to investigate their societies based on Euro-American hegemonic knowledge.

The colonial [master] relationship of knowledge has been increasingly institutionalised through universities and other academic institutions (Connell, 2007). The professional identity of planners is shaped and, more importantly, normalised through their interactions and socialisations within academia based on hegemonic norms, values, and discourses, or through 'the ideology of how we define and use space' (Gunder, 2010, p.299). Healey (2012, p.188) argues that

> planning concepts, techniques, instruments and the general idea of 'planning' itself flow from one place [Global North] to another [Global South], particularly in the context of the transnational flow of planning ideas. In the past, our conception of such flows was underpinned by linear and singular models of development pathways – the 'modernization' myth.

Colonialisation and the project of modernisation, or modernity, are intertwined as two sides of the same coin: 'there is no modernity without coloniality' (Mignolo, 2007, p. 476). The flow of planning ideas is not a neutral process; rather, the discourse of the university has reinforced the hegemony of the colonists, or masters in the Global South. These concepts, techniques, instruments, and the general idea shape and fortify the hegemonic discourses that 'frame the possibilities of thought, communications and action for practitioners, for participants and non-participants in planning, and for theorists' (Richardson, 2002, p. 354). In the context of South

Africa, Watson (2004, p. 253) observes that,

> Students will inevitably find themselves confronting conflicting rationalities, or different worldviews in practice and they need to be able to approach these situations with critical understanding, rather than backing off in confusion or disdain. Unexpectedly, it is often students who have grown up in conditions of poverty and/or a non-Western culture who most enthusiastically embrace mainstream and Western notions of modernization and development, and are the first to dismiss their cultures and contexts as inferior or backward.

In the Global South, planners are mostly acclimatised to hegemonic Euro-American theories, intellectual discourses, critical perspectives, and philosophical lenses within planning and wider academia (De Satgé & Watson, 2018; Friedmann, 2011) and the best practices particularly from the Global North (Healey, 2012; Njoh, 2010; Vainer, 2014). Under the influence of post-colonial studies, particularly the concept of ‘borrowed urbanisms’, Roy and Ong (2011) conceptualised the term ‘worlding’ to investigate how the Global South cities have been ‘worlded’ in the discourses and imaginaries of the colonial and then the post-colonial era. This acclimation is vital for Southern planners’ identification and sustains and improves their position as planners in academia and wider society. Based on Lacan’s works, I consider how the transnational flow of planning discourses and best practices from the Global North to the Global South shape Southern planners’ identity from two different intertwined stages, namely ego-ideal and ideal ego. Lacan argues that ‘the ego-ideal is a symbolic introjection, whereas the ideal ego is the source of an imaginary projection’ (Evans, 2010, p.53). By using the Lacanian concepts of the ego-ideal and ideal ego, Gunder (2003, 2004) points out that new planners are socialised into a profession with a core of common norms, knowledge, and practices in the university and then in practice.

‘The ego-ideal stands for what the individual wants to be. But that is not all… the subject sees himself as his parents or other significant others desire him to be’ (Declercq, 2006, pp. 76-77). For Lacan, the kernel of the ego-ideal is formed through both identification and idealisation (Glowinski, Marks, & Murphy, 2001). The ego-ideal includes the main values, norms, and sense of self that the person believes and uses for self-identification and also to present themselves to others (Gunder, 2010). Universities, other educational institutions, and planning schools contribute to reshaping students’ ego-ideals to become, or to be seen as, good students and later good planners. The ‘relationship between the teacher and the pupil is always based on transference, that the teacher is ‘the subject supposed to know’ for the pupil’ (Salecl, 1994, p. 168). ‘Symbolic-order transferences are in place when the teacher functions primarily as an authority figure from whom the student seeks recognition, positive reinforcement, or new, more powerful, master signifiers or knowledge’ (Bracher, 1988, p.133). This symbolic transference is crucial to learning about the values, norms, knowledge, and discourses in the planning discipline. When students arrive at the university, their ego already contains ‘a whole organisation of certainties, beliefs, of coordinates, of references’ (Lacan, 1988, p.23) based on their interactions within their local societies and communities. As Watson observes, these local norms, values, and beliefs are often different from the hegemonic values and norms of planning. In the university, ‘the professor overcomes the student’s intransigence through transference and interpolates new master signifiers and supporting subcodes – value and knowledge sets – that the student seeks to adopt in identifying with the educator’ (Gunder, 2004). When the Southern planning student’s ego-ideal is entangled with planning’s pervasive signifiers (S1), norms, values, and knowledge (S2), ‘the ego’s defensive posture, the subject’s perception of itself, of others, and the world around it is submitted to a systematic distortion [$], which is part of communication’ (Jagodzinski, 2004, p.50).

De Satgé and Watson (2018, p.13) argue that ‘northern dominance of the publishing industry along with journal editors, reviewers and citation systems … can work to support hegemonic theory and writing styles’. The transference occurs in the process of publishing internationally in which Southern planners, including planning theorists, often deploy dominant discourses, master signifiers, and knowledge sets (S2) as the only accepted mechanism of truth in academia (Connell, 2014). Influential academics, such as well-known thinkers, pioneer scientists, and/or theorists, significantly influence the mainstream of the discipline by offering new master signifiers (S1). These academics mostly work for the main research and educational institutions in the Global North (Connell, 2007; Dabashi, 2015). They, wrongly or rightly, act as role models (the subject who knows) for young academics, including Southern planners (*a*). Consequently, their works are referenced and quoted in academia. The international, high-ranked publishers often require a rigorous blind peer review process, in which it is usual for two assessors to evaluate the quality of a research. Authors mostly attempt to develop their argument according to the predefined framework of journals and publishers, and more importantly deploy the dominant master signifiers (S1) in their works based on the works of influential academics.

For Lacan, the ideal ego originates in the mirror stage, ‘which functions as a promise of future wholeness which sustains the ego in anticipation’ (Evans, 2010, p. 118). Introducing best practices to Southern planners plays an important role in reshaping their ideal ego and significantly influences their identification. During their education and work as planners, Southern planning students are constantly informed about the best international planning practices (De Satgé & Watson, 2018; Njoh, 2010; Watson, 2004). The selection of the best practices is not a neutral process; rather, it is inherently political whereby Southerners endeavour to literally imitate these ideal projects from the Global North. Vainer (2014) believes that ‘constituted and legitimized in theoretical, methodological, or operational paradigms, shifting notions of ‘best practice’ have built and sustained universal notions of the city models, planning practices, and projects embedded in and disseminated through colonialism and globalization.’ Southern planners often conform to Northern ideal practices since they are informed by evidence and scientific knowledge, and affirmed by the hegemonic discourses, norms, and values of the planning discipline. These best practices are introduced as solutions to be deployed in situations and contexts entirely different from the ones for which they were comprehended, which is absurd (Njoh, 2010). Yet, Southern planners eagerly search for new exemplars from the Global North.

The hidden product of this discourse is the divided subject ($), who is an alienated subject. Southern planners as technocrats attempt to understand their cities and local societies based on the prevalent master signifiers and norms and values in order to transform them according to the best practices in the Global North. Yet their attempts ‘inevitably fail because they strive to capture and contain that which resists such capture’ (M. Clarke, 2012, p.54). Therefore, they ask the subject who knows (S2) from the Global North to provide new knowledge and explanations for their local issues. The discourse of universities reinforces ‘academic dependency’ (Alatas, 2006), in which the attitude of Southern planners in the Global South ‘is one of ‘extraversion’, that is, being oriented to sources of authority outside their own society’ (Connell, 2014, p.211). This academic dependency is more pivotal in planning theory, as the theoretical stage of knowledge production was omitted in the Global South during colonialism (Connell, 2014).

The Hysteric’s Discourse and Southern Planning Theorists

‘The hysteric's discourse is the discourse of anxiety. It is the speech act of dissatisfaction and disappointment of an alienated subject' (Hillier & Gunder, 2005, p.1058). The hysteric's discourse takes the form of a question, complaint, protest, and resistance against the discourse of the university (Bracher, 1988; Olivier, 2009), as well as the master's discourse. 'The discourse of the hysteric represents a half-turn, or 180-degree revolution, from the discourse of the university' (Clarke, 2012, p.55). The hysteric's discourse consists of an agent, a split subject ($), who is lacking something and therefore challenges master signifiers (S1). The split subject ($) is 'a manifestation of the alienation that occurs as a result of the subject's accession to language – an alienation that is suppressed in the discourses of the master and of the university, but which gains expression and dominance in the discourse of the hysteric' (Bracher, 1988, p.44). The truth is that the object petit (*a)* as the cause of desire is an object that cannot be attained. 'For the truth of the discourse of the hysteric, represented by dissatisfaction, or lost enjoyment *a*, stems from the non-coincidence of the subject and its favoured master signifiers' (Clarke, 2015, p.81). The product of the hysteric's discourse is new knowledge and affirmations (S2) that attempt to answer the hysteric, and more importantly, to maintain the position of mastery (Hillier & Gunder, 2005).

The discourse of the hysteric identifies overlooked knowledge by questioning hegemonic knowledge and its master signifiers (Clarke, 2012). Michael Gunder (2004, p.307) argues that hysterical discourse should be appreciated as it may present ethical queries, essential transformations, and creativity that are necessary 'to develop the passionate, reflective, adaptable, creative, and ethical – 'Is this fair?' – practitioner'. De Satgé and Watson (2018) point out that there has been a recent 'Southern turn' in the various fields, including urban studies, planning, sociology, and anthropology, among others, in which hysteric scholars, as divided subjects ($), have questioned the hegemony of master signifiers, inherent knowledge, norms, and values produced in the Global North such as liberal democracy and its global mechanism of truth. They argue that Southern theorists refer to the social, economic, political, and historical differences between the Global South and North that reveal the necessity of new theoretical concepts, master signifiers, and knowledge. Also, colonialism has informed the processes of knowledge production in the Global South. For example, De Satgé and Watson (2018) observe that the deployment of 'collaborative planning' as a master signifier has failed to increase local residents' participation in the process of decision making because of the deficiencies of civil society and other democratic institutions in the Global South. Winkler (2018, p.590) proclaims that 'we are excited to learn that our Southern and 'insurgent' planning initiative is drawing much interest.… Yet regardless of our purposeful embrace of planning values such as "equity" and "socio-spatial justice", we simply cannot find a way into the [Southern society]." Porter (2010) argues that the prevalent master signifiers in the planning discourse, such as state, civil society, and property ownership, are perceived as the universal truth, and any rejections will result in severe consequences.

Despite the hysteric agent's expression of alienation, Zupančič (2006, p.165) maintains that 'the truth of her or his basic complaint about the master is usually that the master is not master enough'. Lacan argues that the hysteric agent is asking for, and will get, a new master (Bracher, 1988). 'The tendency in this discourse is for the subject to seek a new master, new sources of certainty, whilst demonising the old' (M.Clarke, 2012, pp. 55-56). More importantly, the hysteric remains in solidarity with hegemonic knowledge because his/her subjectivity 'depends on there being a symbolic order of language, law, and sexuality' (Schroeder, 2000, p.200). Bracher (1988, p.45) argues that

> the receiver of the hysterical subject's message is summoned to respond by providing a master signifier, (S1), in the form of an object that will satisfy all desire, or a secure meaning that will overcome anxiety and give a sense of stable, meaningful, respectable identity.

The new master is a subject 'who knows'. According to Bracher (1988, p.45), '[M]aster signifiers covertly entail or produce a system (S2) of knowledge/belief within which the master signifiers take their bearings and assume their force, and within which the hysterical subject can thus find its stability.' Many planning theorists utilise 'cognate, northern-dominated, disciplines (urban studies, social science, economics) and … philosophical positions (Habermas, Rawls) which are shaped by a faith in Western liberal democracy as a desirable normative project' (De Satgé & Watson, 2018, p.15). Yet, hysteric Southern planners, as with other disciplines, often turn to the opposite spectrum of Global North ideas such as Marxist, post-structural, and post-colonial theories and their associated master signifiers. Southern planning theorists increasingly use post-structural and post-colonial theories to challenge 'abstract universalised theories which claim to be valid everywhere, while their highly parochial nature is not difficult to reveal' (De Satgé & Watson, 2018). The hysteric agent ($) hails the receiving master to respond with an answer that contains new knowledge (S2). However, the new master is required to communicate convincing knowledge through the dominant discourse – the university discourse. Connell (2007) argues that under colonialism, a mechanism of knowledge production developed that omitted the capability of theory production in the Global South. Consequently, the Global North has become the only source of new knowledge and theories. Hountondji (2002) argues that the colonial mechanism of knowledge production has persisted in the post-colonial era. Consequently, the attitude of intellectuals and theorists in the Global South 'is one of 'extroversion', that is, being oriented to sources of authority outside their own society' (Connell, 2014, p.211), often looking toward the Global North for new master signifiers and knowledge that can be deployed in their social contexts. Thus, hysteric Southern theorists often utilise Euro-American 'conceptual lenses' and critical perspectives, particularly Marxist, Foucauldian, or Habermasian, among others, to challenge hegemonic master signifiers, knowledge, and norms in planning and to propose new theories to define their local context (De Satgé & Watson, 2018). The quest for a new master who promises certainty also involves academic researchers and planning educators, including Southern planning theorists, who continually attack the dominant knowledge until new insights and answers emerge (Fink, 2002). The answers supplied are inherently not those sought for because the new knowledge 'is unable to produce a particular answer about the particular driving force of the object *a* at the place of truth' (Verhaeghe, 1995, p.11) that drives the hysteric agent, or planner.

Following Michael Gunder, I believe that the hysteric's discourse should be valued and appreciated in its ability to question the hegemony of the Global North and its production of planning knowledge, in particular planning theory, because the hysteric's discourse remains within the existing mechanism of knowledge production that is shaped by the Global North. This discourse, in its best capacity, may assist Southern planning theorists to develop 'critical perspectives on existing theory and practice' (De Satgé & Watson, 2018, p.24).

The Analyst's Discourse, Revolutionary Southern Planning Theory, and Decoloniality

The analyst's discourse is the inverse of the master's discourse, whereby the object petit *a* is in place of the agent and the divided subject is in the position of the other (Vanheule, 2016). The analyst's desire is to know the unconscious cause of the other's dysfunctional symptoms, which is the hidden truth beneath the agent's knowledge (S2) (Gunder, 2005). Lacan describes the analyst as the subject who should know (Schroeder, 2000). The knowledge is that the truth underlying the object petit *a* is not the analyst's own expertise and knowledge of scientific adequacy. Rather, the hidden knowledge is the analysand's own unconscious knowledge of the truth in his/her subjective position, which 'begins with an awareness of the philosophical spaces from where we think and interpret the "the world"' (Winkler, 2018, p.589). In other words, 'the agent (analyst) reduces himself to the void which provokes the subject into confronting the truth of his desire' (Žižek, 2016, p.486). The goal of the analyst's discourse is to assist the alienated subject ($) in acquitting the irritation of the call to enjoyment.

For Lacan, the analyst's discourse is the 'one truly radical or potentially world-changing discourse' (Schroeder, 2000, p.25). Lacan maintains that to 'accomplish what truly merits the title of revolution in relation to the discourse of the Master … [the analyst should] be in a position to interrogate what there is of culture in the position of mastery' (Bracher, 1988, p.47). In the analyst's discourse, 'the subject is in a position to assume its own alienation and desire and, on the basis of that assumption, separate from the given master signifiers and produce its own, new master signifiers' (Bracher, 1988, p.45). Žižek (2016, p.495) argues that,

> The analyst's discourse stands for the emergence of revolutionary-emancipatory subjectivity that resolves the split into university and hysteria: in it, the revolutionary agent (a) addresses the subject from the position of knowledge which occupies the place of truth … and the goal is to isolate, get rid of, the master-signifier which structured the subject's (ideologico-political) unconscious.

Decoloniality has emerged and developed within the context of the Global South owing to Southern thinkers and theorists (Quijano, 2007; Tlostanova, 2019; Mignolo & Walsh, 2018). Decoloniality investigates 'who produces knowledge, from where, and why, and never starts with applying the established [Western-based] theories to some new post-colonial material' (Tlostanova, 2019, p.168). Decoloniality aims 'to decolonize the 'mind' and the 'imaginary,' that is, knowledge and being' (Mignolo, 2007, p.450). Mignolo (2017, p.44) argues that, 'Decolonial thinking strives to delink itself from the imposed dichotomies articulated in the West, namely the knower and the known, the subject and the object, theory and praxis.' To delink from the logic and discourse of coloniality, people utilise the local discourse, including its vocabulary and narratives. Decoloniality embeds in the local discourse, norms, and values, which inherently generates pluriversality and diversity of truth against the hegemony of Western universalism and its mechanism of truth. Although decoloniality originates in non-Western ideas, it is aligned with the analyst's discourse, as the role of the analyst is to communicate with the alienated society ($) and to analyse and introduce alternative master signifiers based on the local discourse, norms, and values.

In planning, Gunder (2005, p.102) suggests that 'this is perhaps a role for the critical theorist and hence, perhaps, that the analyst's discourse might be metaphorically one discourse for critical 'academic' research that seeks to draw out the hidden structures of ideological illusion and fantasy underlying our social reality'. The analyst's discourse provides the space for critical scrutiny which 'explicitly renounces its own rights to the determination of the structure of speech' (Clarke, 2015, p.82). The agent, the Southern planner *a*, assists the alienated society ($) to reveal its obscure desires and dysfunctional master signifiers (S1) that have been imposed by hegemonic knowledge production. 'Lacanian critique can reveal that what the subjects of a community are asking for (and perhaps think they are having) in their values, ideals, conscious desires, and identifications is not the only expression or even the most truthful embodiment of what they really want' (Bracher, 1994, p.126). The product is a new set of master signifiers shaping a new discourse which is different from the dominant discourse and its master signifiers. De Satgé and Watson (2018, p.189) argue that the Southern planning theorist should use contemporary ethnographic research which 'requires the language(s) to employ a suite of literacies in order to identify, code and interpret a range of social markers associated with relative length of stay, living circumstances and locality, employment status, type of work, access to social networks and proximity to local figures with power and influence, gender and age'. Understanding local discourse and knowledge as well as post-colonial discourse (S2) is crucial for communicating with the colonised society as divided subjects ($). Through their interactions with the colonised society, Southern planning theorists, as analysts, should seek to identify the colonialists' master signifiers that have shaped and sustained their identity as a colonised society. Hillier and Gunder (2005, p.1063) suggest that 'operating as a Lacanian-inspired analyst of planning practice within society means trying to find its hidden essence, its unconscious fantasy, cause of desire, which operates from behind the facade of master signifiers and the entire signifying apparatus'. The analyst's discourse should potentially include 'techniques that are directly applicable to the political strategies that an organizer uses for activating political agents' (Krips, 2004, p.140). Based on the analyst's discourse, Southern planning theorists should act as analysts to introduce a new set of contestable master signifiers, narratives, interpretations, and alternative perspectives to traverse beyond the hegemonic mechanism of knowledge production that is inherited from the colonial era (Hillier & Gunder, 2005). Winkler introduces the concept of decoloniality to planning based on her planning project in South Africa. The local discourse and maser signifiers assist her 'to revision planning as an anti-colonial project that is de-linked from only Western ways of knowing, being and acting' (Winkler, 2018, p.599). Also, Winkler acts as an analyst who deconstructs the local discourse, norms, and values to suggest alternatives in planning discourse.

Conclusion

Under the influence of post-colonial studies, and more recently decoloniality, there has been a 'Southern turn' in planning and other relevant disciplines such as urban studies, geography, sociology, anthropology, and political studies over the last decade (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2012; Connell, 2007; Dabashi, 2015; De Satgé & Watson, 2018; Edensor & Jayne, 2012; Yiftachel, 2000). Yet, Euro-American ideas, knowledge, and philosophies persist around the world in the post-colonial era as a pivotal component of the hegemony of the Global North (Hountondji, 2002). The role of the hegemonic mechanism in producing knowledge, including through educational institutions and universities, and in reinforcing and expanding the hegemony of the Global North has been thoroughly investigated in academia and planning. This mechanism of knowledge production has generated a hegemonic discourse composed of 'sets of knowledges and beliefs communicated between individuals in society via language in speech and writing' (Gunder, 2004, p.301). The hegemonic discourse is based on a set of master signifiers that encompass 'stopping points, words, terms, or phrases that create points of order out of disordered nebulous aggregations of associated knowledges, beliefs, and practices' (Fink 1998, p.38). To traverse hegemonic Euro-American knowledge production and its master's discourse, Southern planning theorists should investigate the prevalent master signifiers that shape their self-identification. This investigation should include at least two stages: self-analysis and then analysis of their societies.

The prevalent master signifiers have shaped the identifications of Southerners, including planners, and have therefore become part of their self-identification. For example, the term 'Middle East' was coined by America and Britain in the early 20th century for military-strategic interests (Bilgin, 2004). Regardless of the existing social, cultural, and ethnic diversities in the region, the residents of the region often accept and utilise this master signifier for their self-identification and distinguish themselves from others. The deployment of master signifiers such as 'Southern' reinforces the colonial hegemonic mechanism of power as Southern people, including planning theorists, are perceived as inferior. While non-Euro-American planning theorists largely rely on the Euro-American hegemonic discourse and often deploy prevalent master signifiers to frame their arguments, they mainly function within the university's discourse and the hysteric's discourse, which are embedded in the master's discourse. Planning theorists should avoid colonial discourse, including dichotomies such as Global North/South, in their works. They should develop alternative theories based on the local discourse through their interactions with society. Alternative theories are context dependent and propound 'pluri-versality and truth and not … uni-versality and truth' (Mignolo, 2017, p.41). The conceptualisation of alternative theories fortifies the diversity of planning practice around the world.

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Inclusion in urban environmental governance of small and intermediary cities of the global South

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Urban sustainability is governed beyond the urban scale through trans-local networks and assemblages of actors and institutions. There is an emerging field of interest that aims to understand the outcomes of urban sustainability interventions, both from the environmental and social equity perspectives. This paper contributes to the literature on governing urban environmental sustainability transitions, with a distinct focus on small and intermediary cities of the global South. Actors in cities of the global South are adopting a variety of ways towards achieving urban sustainability transitions in the realm of disaster risk reduction, adaptation building, greenhouse gas emission reduction, and natural resource management. Our paper employs an analytical framework derived from Bai et. al. (2010) to chart the actors, drivers, finances, barriers, and the inclusivity and sustainability outcomes in seven interventions led by different actors. Five of the cases are drawn extensively from literature, while two case studies reflect on our primary engagement in the cities of Nakuru in Kenya and Udon Thani in Thailand. We find that the actors leading and financing the projects and the drivers of the intervention can explain differential outcomes in the inclusion processes and the framing of environmental solutions. We then delineate the opportunities and barriers to achieve multi-level governance approaches that are relevant to planning transformations in the South.

Keywords: Multi-level governance, urban sustainability, inclusion, participation, urban governance

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Introduction

Research on multi-level governance has largely focused on sustainability transitions in primary cities (Bulkeley and Betsill, 2005, 2013; Castán Broto and Bulkeley, 2013; Gouldson et al., 2016; Lee, 2014; Ong, 2011). In addition to the primacy of 'cities' in dealing with the planetary crisis (Goh, 2019; Long and Rice, 2018), policy networks assume that increasing the adaptive capacities of primary cities will trickle down to the responses of smaller or poorer cities (Fitzgibbons and Mitchell, 2019; Geldin, 2019). Global cities, which are largely primary cities, feature repeatedly in different interventions and sectors as leaders and educators, and other cities are pressured to emulate their governance models and best practices (McCann and Ward, 2012).

The importance of small and intermediary cities, in terms of their population shares within urban settlements or the functions they serve for the regional economy and state administration, is well understood (Hardoy et al., 2019). There is an emerging stream of literature on environmental governance in small and intermediary cities of the global South. These case studies highlight the potentials and challenges in realizing urban sustainability interventions including community-based adaptation measures, disaster risk responses, and multi-level environmental governance initiatives. However, systematic attempts to make sense of how the environment is governed in small and intermediary cities across the global South using comparative techniques are largely missing with a few notable exceptions (Anguelovski et al., 2014; Bai et al., 2010; McEvoy et al., 2014).

In secondary cities with limited financial and human resources, investing in the environment can be seen by municipalities as both an opportunity and impediment to growth (Véron, 2010), leading to greater trade-offs for taking climate action. For instance, Tuhkanen et. al. (2018) documented the different trade-offs faced by the Tacloban municipality in their disaster risk response following Typhoon Haiyan in Philippines, such as contradictions between economic goals of the city versus disaster risk responses in land allocation and cost-effective versus meaningful participation of communities. Véron (2010) argued that the growth trajectories of intermediary cities are shaped by regional and local politics within the existing neoliberal governance system in the case of India. Land availability and lax land regulations may make intermediary cities ideal for unchecked project expansions (Watson, 2014). In Hessequa in South Africa, the 'smallness' of the city helped to spread new environmental norms, knowledge sharing, and institutional coordination (Pasquini et al., 2015)

There is an emerging focus amongst scholars in understanding and identifying elements of urban greening or sustainability projects, in order to explain their planning design and outcomes. For instance, Long and Rice (2018) trace the characteristics of a recent paradigm shift in urban environmentalism terming it as 'climate urbanism', pointing to how these projects are framed around addressing climate action as an economic opportunity, leading to the formulation of narrow goals for both climate securitization and social equity. They also identify how these climate infrastructures are funded by certain assemblages of actors such as global banks, policy institutions, and development agencies (Long and Rice, 2018). It is, therefore, important to assess the drivers, actors, finances, and outcomes of urban sustainability transitions in relation to each another to identify their interlinkages and interactions.

In this paper, we attempt to systematically analyze approaches to urban sustainability transitions across seven case studies of small and intermediary cities in the global South. In each case, we examine some of the key features and challenges of these actions for urban sustainability transition. We seek to answer the following research questions:

i. What is the relationship between actors, finances, drivers of interventions and their environmental and inclusion outcomes?
ii. What are the barriers and potentials for advancing ‘multi-level governance’ in small and intermediary cities in the global South?

This paper is structured as follows: in Section 2, we briefly outline the literature on urban environmental governance and set out a framework for assessing multi-level urban governance. Section 3 outlines our methodology and the rationale for case study selection. Section 4 presents the case studies in detail and Section 5 draws out our findings based on case study analysis. We argue that the actors leading and financing the projects and the drivers of the intervention can explain some of the differential outcomes in participatory processes and involvement of actors in interventions and the framing of environmental solutions. Finally, in Section 6 we return to our framework to offer additional insights and considerations regarding barriers and potentials in achieving multi-level governance.

Literature Review

In this section, we begin by introducing the key terms that we use for framing our research questions, followed by a literature review on the role of actors in shaping urban sustainability interventions and multi-level governance. Finally, we present a framework for analyzing inclusion in the realm of urban sustainability transitions.

Environmental governance in intermediary cities

Small and intermediary cities (intermediary cities are also mentioned as secondary cities in the literature) can be sub-national centres of ‘administration, manufacturing, agriculture, trade or social and cultural services’ (United Cities and Local Governments, 2016, p. 134), connecting urban areas with their hinterlands. They can also be industrial districts, corridor cities, or greenfield developments in the peripheries of large metropolises. Although they typically carry a population between the range of 50,000 to 1 million, this range can vary, given the country-specific characteristics of size, form, and function.

Governance can be defined as the pathways and mechanisms through which diverse forms of state and non-state action are coordinated (Rosenau, 2000). Specifically, environmental governance is the ‘regulatory processes, mechanisms and organizations through which political actors influence environmental actions and outcomes’ (Lemos and Agrawal, 2006, p. 298). Multi-level governance signifies the involvement of actors and networks across different geographic scales, extending beyond the scale of the urban (Bulkeley and Betsill, 2005).

When studying urban sustainability transitions, we recognize the need to bridge the discourses on adaptation and disaster risk reduction, despite the relationships between climate risks and the adaptive capacity of urban communities (Parnell et al., 2007). In addition, natural resource flows and their metabolism are a crucial element of achieving urban sustainability (Alberti, 1996) and is especially a concern for small cities in the global South, where there may be persistent issues in managing flows and equitable access to natural resources by the local government. In this vein, Zhang and Li (2018) locate an empirical gap in the application of the concepts of urban resilience and sustainability, leading to unfavorable development outcomes in implementations that do not take into account both these elements. For these reasons, the paper uses a broad definition of ‘urban sustainability transitions’ including interventions on disaster risk responses, adaptation measures, and natural resource management in small and intermediary cities.

The role of actor-networks in shaping sustainability interventions and multi-level governance

We seek to find how the outcomes of urban sustainability interventions can be shaped by the actor-networks and drivers. A study by Bai et. al. (2010) used a conceptual framework that included triggers, actors, linkages, barriers, and pathways in 30 experiments to identify successful elements of sustainability interventions in cities. This is a helpful exercise as 'a different combination of external and internal factors can result in cities following different pathways' (Bai et al., 2010, p. 3) and therefore, it is worth analyzing the pathways and outcomes in relation to these factors. We modify this framework to identify linkages identified in Figure 1. We use the term 'driver' instead of 'triggers', and replace 'linkages' and 'pathways' with 'finance' and 'outcomes' in the environmental and inclusion spheres.

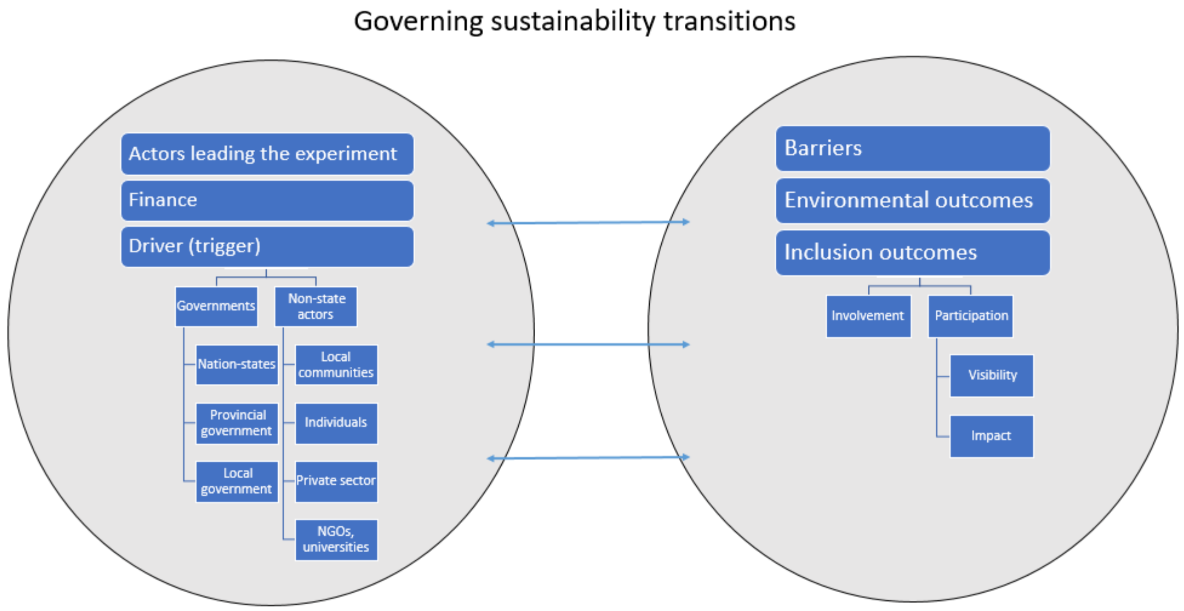
Governing sustainability transitions
Actors leading the experiment
Finance
Driver (trigger)
Governments
Non-state actors
Nation-states
Provincial government
Local government
Local communities
Individuals
Private sector
NGOs, universities
Barriers
Environmental outcomes
Inclusion outcomes
Involvement
Participation
Visibility
Impact

Figure 1. A framework for analyzing the governance of sustainability transitions. (Adapted from Bai et al., 2010)

In line with the recent literature on environmental governance, we recognize the role played by a multiplicity of actors and networks that contribute to governing a sustainable urban future (Castán Broto, 2017; Joubert and Martindale, 2013; Leck and Roberts, 2015; Matin et al., 2018; Munene et al., 2018; Okereke et al., 2009; McCann and Ward, 2012; Grandin et al., 2018). Shadow systems and informal spaces of knowledge-sharing in formal systems can play a crucial role for governing climate change (Leck and Roberts, 2015; Munene et al., 2018).

Interventions led by international development banks such as the ADB have been the foci of criticisms by civil society organizations for due lack of consultations and adverse impacts of their infrastructure projects on local communities and environments, despite their move towards sustainability and poverty alleviation projects (Hirsch, 2001). Transnational municipal networks (hereafter TMNs) mostly frame urban interventions around the delivery of climate mitigation and increasingly, adaptation projects (Bulkeley and Betsill, 2013). TMNs give cities access to resources, policy learning, profile-building, and political leadership (Bulkeley and Betsill, 2013; Castán Broto, 2017; Fuhr et al., 2018). Despite the appeal of this mode of operationalizing sustainable urban governance, their sustainability impacts and their inclusion approaches are not clear. Fitzgibbons and Mitchell (2019) point to the piecemeal approaches and threats to social equity based on their analysis of the 100 Resilient Cities program. However, global actors can also correct power imbalances between actors in cities of the global South. For instance, Shand (2018) explains how globally funded initiatives can help change institutionalized power relationships between the state and low income communities in Harare.

In this paper, we identify three levels of government: national, provincial, and local. While these can be referred to in different ways (e.g. provincial can also be referred to as regional, state, or county governments in different countries, and local governments are interchangeably used with the terms municipalities or municipal or city governments), for clarity we will use the terms national, provincial, and local governments. Involvement of communities in participatory deliberations and consensus building are increasingly the norm in environmental and urban planning (Collier et al., 2013). Initiatives by local governments are operated and managed in partnerships with community-based organizations or private for-profit actors (Bai et al., 2010; Castán Broto and Bulkeley, 2013).

The role of regional and national governments is key in sustaining coordinated climate action and building partnerships in urban areas (Corfee-Morlot et al., 2011; Fuhr et al., 2018). For example, Anguelovski et al. (2014, p. 156) find that, for climate adaptation, ‘sustained political leadership from the top, departmental engagement and continued involvement from a variety of stakeholders are integral to effective decision-making and institutionalization of programmes in the long run.’ Local governments are well-positioned to create livable communities, by promoting carbon-neutral transport, introducing advanced waste or water management systems, and pushing for energy-efficiency in building standards and city planning (Fuhr et al., 2018). However, not all local governments possess a similar capacity or will and face a great deal of barriers to action, including a lack of knowledge, resources, political will, or autonomy (Pasquini et al., 2015; Sami, 2016; Tuhkanen et al., 2018). Cities lack control over industrial policy or large-scale infrastructure (Wachsmuth et al., 2016). Political interests may hamper adaptation actions at the local level (Brockhaus et al., 2012).

Private sector actors have a prominent role in several local partnerships on urban sustainability interventions and are taking on roles that are typically regarded as public dominion (Castán Broto and Bulkeley, 2013), as governments outsource the planning process to private consultants (Sami, 2016). Many critical urban infrastructure projects are handled and financed by private sector players – especially in the sectors of waste management, public transport, road, and water (Harman et al., 2015). However, the increasing privatized nature of urban service provisions has been questioned in terms of its social equity and inclusion implications (Datta, 2015; Halpern et al., 2013). Under a supportive policy environment, boundary organizations such as research organizations, universities, and civil society groups can build and maintain local partnerships (Corfee-Morlot et al., 2011).

In terms of local communities, Archer et al. (2019) note that there are constraints to community action related to levels of asset ownership, differential priorities, social networks, and policy support, such as service provision. However, civil society actors, including grassroots networks like Slum/Shack Dwellers International (SDI) and Asian Coalition for Housing Rights (ACHR), have demonstrated the potential of community-led development to address infrastructure and housing needs – with technical support from NGOs and professionals where necessary – increasingly through co-production with the state, fostering new partnerships at the urban scale (Mitlin, 2018, 2008; Mitlin and Bartlett, 2018).

A joined-up approach can help to ensure that measures taken by one actor do not have negative impacts on others through displacement effects. Fuhr et. al (2018) identify key sets of drivers and enablers for local climate action, including high capacities and accountability that requires local governments to showcase performance, local democracy, an enabling policy framework, a conducive socio-economic environment and local leadership. However, it is important to note that multi-level frameworks are mostly framed in a normative manner, based on cases from the North. City governments from Asia, Africa, and Latin America may lack the financial resources to activate mechanisms for co-operation (Castán Broto, 2017). Power asymmetries between different actors across and within the formal-informal spectrum might impede action. Conflicts across different levels and departments of the government are common when resources are scarce and goals are conflicting. Competition for resources across cities pit them against each other for capital investments and infrastructure (Wachsmuth et al., 2016).

Inclusion in urban sustainability transitions

We identify two forms of inclusion – first, participation of actors in a consultative process for designing the intervention, and second, the involvement of actors in planning or implementation of the intervention. In this section, we define the framework used for assessing participation outcomes.

In a multi-level governance context, where the main objective may rather be the legitimization and institutionalization of climate action, multi-actor, deliberative, and collaborative planning approaches are more effective (Castán Broto, 2017, p. 5). Where an effort is made to integrate participatory approaches in governance, the challenge remains to ensure that participation moves towards 'deliberative approaches that recognize both the multiple capacities of urban actors and their right to participate in the making of sustainable urban futures' (Castán Broto, 2017, p. 7), rather than being mere exercises in consultation or education (Shi et al., 2016). This may require, for example, more qualitative data and stories which allow multiple interpretations and plurality of experiences to co-exist, and institutional processes which are not overly technocratic or reliant on technical knowledge (Borie et al., 2019).

Urban poor communities adopt a range of strategies from individual and collective self-help to organizing social movements through a mix of strategies such as contention, subversion, and collaboration to secure well-being outcomes (Mitlin, 2018). Households and individuals in urban communities may be regarded as the most important players in environmental governance, because people 'self-govern' (Joubert and Martindale, 2013) and cope with disasters individually or at the household level (Corfee-Morlot et al., 2011). Households also engage at the community level, for instance by building shared resilient infrastructure or by negotiating and political bargaining with the support of local leaders and area councilors (Bulkeley et al., 2018; Joubert and Martindale, 2013). These deliberated strategies to deal with climate risks and disasters or developing low cost and low carbon infrastructure can by no means be regarded as a lack of participation in the realm of politics and governance.

We therefore build on the framework for analyzing participation developed by Chandrasekhar et. al (2014), which accounts for 'non-traditional' modes of participation such as 'active opposition', where people act outside of formal planning processes to influence outcomes (see Table 1). They also distinguish between the mere presence of stakeholders in a consultative process termed as 'nominal participation' (Arnstein, 1969) from more meaningful participatory processes such as 'transformative participation' (White, 1996), in which stakeholders are enabled to become decision-makers. Transformative participation also implies that the unequal power relationships between the state and communities are effectively addressed (Shand, 2018). We add 'self-governance' (Joubert and Martindale, 2013) to the framework to signify a type of participation that has high visibility but less transformative outcomes. For example, while households in informal settlements develop coping mechanisms as a direct response to crises, long-term adaptation strategies may be adopted to a lesser extent (Archer et al., 2019).

Table 1. Framework for conceptualizing participation (Chandrasekhar et al., 2014)

Forms of Participation		***Visibility***	
		High	***Low***
Impact	***High***	Transformative participation	Active opposition
	Low	Nominal participation or Self-governance	Non-participation

Even though the participatory strategies or involvement of actors might change or shift, we simplify the outcomes of participation and inclusion for the purpose of analysis.

Methodology

Our seven case studies are purposively chosen to highlight differences in terms of the actors leading the urban sustainability transitions, based on a scoping of existing literature. Our motivation behind the varied choice of interventions is that 'it is usually impossible to manipulate particular aspects of political or urban systems in an experimental fashion and observe the differences that these changes make, social scientists instead use variation across systems to explain similarities and differences' (Denters and Mossberger, 2006, p.553).

We focus on the actors leading the seven interventions, and how they shape the drivers and the financing mechanism of the intervention, and assess the barriers, and the inclusivity and sustainability outcomes. The interventions considered are in the fields of natural resource management, climate change adaptation, disaster risk reduction or mitigation, or a combination of the above. The interventions analyzed may resonate with the challenges of many small and intermediary cities in the region, however generalization of results may not be tenable due to the impacts of specific socio-economic trajectories, environmental flows, local histories, and political conditions in how interventions are designed and implemented.

Table 2. Case study selection criteria and sources

City	**Leading actor**	**Sources**
Surat	Transnational municipal network	Secondary (Chu, 2016; Chu and Michael, 2019; Sharma et al., 2013)

Đông Hà	International development bank	Secondary (ADB, 2016, 2015)
Nakuru	National government and county government	Primary data
Udon Thani	National government and local government	Primary data
Manizales	National government and local government	Secondary (Hardoy and Velásquez Barrero, 2014)
St. Bernard	Non-governmental organization	Secondary (Co, 2010)
Khulna	Households	Secondary (Haque et al., 2014; Roy et al., 2012)

We choose seven case studies, two from South Asia, three from Southeast Asia, one from East Africa and one from Latin America. Additionally, in two of our case study cities, Udon Thani and Nakuru, the research team conducted primary research. In Nakuru, five participatory workshops were conducted to discuss environmental issues in the city with the municipal staff, civil society, and community leaders and members from four neighborhoods. In Udon Thani, these included a series of three community-level workshops in two different communities to understand environmental concerns that residents considered to be priority issues, which were then explored further through a collaborative citizen science process, followed by participation by the research team in a monthly meeting of all the city's community leaders at the municipality to share findings and identify further priority issues, as well as meetings with municipal staff. Our five other case studies were drawn from secondary sources, selected based on the kind of actors leading the intervention, while ensuring the reliability of available information. The seven cases are made comparable by culling out the same information from each case study to employ the identified framework of analysis.

Case studies

In this section we provide an overview of the seven case study locations and initiatives, in relation to the elements of Bai's framework as outlined earlier and in Figure 1. We organize the case study section based on the type of actor leading the interventions - starting with the interventions led by global actors, followed by the ones led by national, regional, and local governments, and subsequently, we describe civil society interventions and community-based adaptation measures (Table 2).

Resilience building in Surat, India

Introduction: Surat is vulnerable to floods, storms, increasing sea level, and precipitation. Karanth and Archer (2014) estimate that a 1-metre sea level rise could submerge nearly 40% of the city land. Despite these risks, an official integrated assessment of losses and damages is yet to be conducted in the city (Bahinipati et al., 2017). Although India launched the National Action Plan on Climate Change in 2008, political authority is decentralized and climate and urban planning rests with individual state governments.

Surat city joined the Asian Cities Climate Change Resilience Network (ACCCRN), a transnational municipal network (TMN) to improve disaster preparedness and resilience to floods. The cities were selected by ACCCRN on pre-defined criteria based on an assessment of climate-related hazards, capacity and resources of local government, and the geographical profile of cities. With an objective of preparing a City Resilience Strategy (CRS), ACCCRN supported processes such as stakeholder workshops, vulnerability assessments and detailed sectoral studies (Sharma et al., 2013). In addition, an Urban Health and Climate Resilience Centre (UHCRC) was established to address public health issues related to climate change and disaster impacts.

Actors: The Surat Municipal Corporation (SMC), the regional business association Southern Gujarat Chamber of Commerce and Industries (SGCCI), academics, and experts drafted the CRS. TARU, a private advisory group provided risk assessments. The Surat Climate Change Trust (SCCT) was set up as a result of key government and private stakeholders desiring more institutionalized and sustained action (Chu, 2016). The SCCT consists of various inter-sectoral organizations such as provincial disaster management authority, water departments, SGCCI, and academic institutions (Sharma et al., 2013).

Finance: The ACCCRN project was funded by the Rockefeller Foundation. Both the SCCT and the UHCRC was established with seed funding from the Foundation and also received support from the SMC. The SCCT can receive funding for projects from external sources.

Drivers: The plague epidemic of 1994 (Chu, 2016) and the 2006 flood (Bahinipati et al., 2017) increased the awareness of the city on environmental and public health issues and led to active participation. The SGCCI had an important say in city planning and an interest to prevent future capital losses. They hosted consultation meetings and lead pilot projects after the end of the project.

Barriers: Lack of institutional co-ordination at the municipal level was identified as a major challenge. The SCCT aims to act as an independent funnel for funding (Karanth and Archer, 2014) but it is still reported to be battling constraints regarding institutional co-operation (Chu, 2016).

Outcomes: The CRS was only adopted partially. An early warning system for disasters and a cool roof and passive ventilation program was set up (Sharma et al., 2013). SCCT's objectives included building long-term capacity to address climate change adaptation and GHG stabilization (Karanth and Archer, 2014).

Inclusivity: The visioning process lacked the involvement of communities (Sharma et al., 2013). Traditional divisions on the lines of religion and caste have not been overcome in this case of adaptation planning (Chu, 2016; Chu and Michael, 2019). The role of civil society has been neglected (Karanth and Archer, 2014).

Adaptation Planning in Đông Hà, Vietnam

Introduction: Đông Hà is located along an economic corridor at an intersection of National Road 1 A and the Trans-Asian Road, important for its international trade location in the Mekong Region. The riverside city is also susceptible to flooding. Increasing severity of flood and drought events are expected in the region along with climate change. The local Master plan does not take into account climate considerations and lacks safeguards. Areas which were highly susceptible to flood risks were allowed to be developed for real estate development. The Quang Tri province emphasizes the role of Đông Hà in the overall settlement system and its socio-economic development plan (ADB, 2015).

The Asian Development Bank (ADB) identified Đông Hà as one of their Greater Mekong Subregion towns (GMS) for a technical assistance project that aims to develop integrated plans for strengthening flood resilience of the city through green infrastructure and nature-based solutions (ADB, 2015). The city's major drainage channel constituting a box canal was found to be inadequate for flood events and was to be redesigned. The plan suggested improving the resilience of the market-to-port commercial zone, which is the economic centre of the city. Le Duan Park, which could act as natural drainage, is also envisaged as a green space with footpaths and recreational facilities, with functionalities ranging from improving permeable surfaces, use of public space for recreation and tourism, and to facilitate stormwater drainage and waste management.

Actors: A core group including the technical experts from the International Centre for Environmental Management (ICEM), provincial and local government, and local construction companies identified flood risks in the city and two areas for building resilience. The technical expertise was provided by ICEM. Key players from the local government, technical experts, and civil society actors formed the core group constituted by ADB.

Finance: The project is funded by the ADB with a 4 million euros grant from the Nordic Development Fund. The redevelopment of a modern, green urban zone is expected to increase the development value of the basin that could be utilized to fund further green infrastructure.

Drivers: The green infrastructure plan of ADB was to redevelop the basin and the economic centre areas into resilient zones that could also thrive financially for trade, tourism, and commercial activity. They accordingly revised the city vision and chose a 'highly visible demonstration site' (ADB, 2016, p. 148). The project is a part of GMS Corridor Towns Development Project (ADB, 2016).

Barriers: Poorly planned or unplanned developments has exerted pressure on the city's natural ecosystems and resources. There are also inconsistent goals within the organization, with the core group stating that one of the issues in the region was that national governments and ADB preferred 'hard engineering solutions because they are standardized and relatively easy to deliver' (ADB, 2016, p. 149).

Outcomes: The project is expected to increase the micro-climates of the two sites and the flood resilience of the city. The project also aimed to raise awareness about simpler bio-engineered and nature-based solutions. The focus of the project was narrow and focused on water management (ADB, 2016).

Inclusivity: Although a participatory mapping exercise was conducted, the core committee did not consist of any local community members or associations. The connectivity plan hinged on displacing the small shop holders in the region, without delineating plans for inclusive relocation or compensation of those affected by the plan (ADB, 2016).

Regional water and sanitation improvement in Nakuru, Kenya

Introduction: Nakuru is Kenya's fourth largest town and the headquarters to the Nakuru County Government. The town is facing severe water, sanitation and solid waste management challenges, as blocking of drainages by solid wastes leads to flooding and health hazards. The national government has several important legislations in place for environmental and waste management. The national government enables devolved governance through the County Integrated Development Plan.

Nakuru county leads Kenya in prioritizing improved sanitation. County-level policies addressing water and sanitation management include: the Water Bill that makes provision for water services and sanitation, the Solid Waste Management Bill that established the County Solid Waste Management Fund, the Nakuru Countywide Inclusive Sanitation Strategy provides a framework for improving sanitation infrastructure and faecal sludge management regulations, and the Nakuru County Sanitation Programme, an EU-funded public-private partnership, which applies a behavioural change and market-based model of accelerating sanitation improvements. The programme is implemented by the Nakuru Water and Sanitation Company (NAWASCO) with Vitens Evides International, and receives technical support from SNV Netherlands Development Organisation and Umande Trust. In addition, the Annual Development Plan (ADP) is a one-year extract from the County Integrated Development Plan (Nakuru County Government, 2018, 2013), allowing for reviews responding to the emerging issues in the economy. It sets out strategic initiatives that address the County Government's priorities and plans for each financial year.

Actors: The county government is working with the national government and other key stakeholders such as UN Habitat and private sector in implementing water and sanitation programs. Private providers such as NAWASCO are a part of service provider associations that contribute to delivering the county mandate.

Finance: Most funds are provided by the state, unless implemented in partnership mode. As per mandate, no funds should be appropriated in the budget unless planned for and the ADP is prepared accordingly.

Drivers: The anticipated upgrading of the town to city status in 2020 is pushing county-level action in Nakuru city. The need to deal with the poor water supply quality and sanitation conditions as the population of the city increases is also a major driver.

Barriers: The major challenge is lack of political goodwill and inadequate budgetary allocations. Although there is a working group bringing water, sanitation, solid waste and drainage management sectors, there is no policy guiding their operations and integration purely relies on trust and goodwill.

Outcomes: Nakuru county is planning to incorporate an integrated solid waste management system that will involve collection, sorting, treatment, recovery recycling, and composting to protect the environment and human health through public education. The county has partnered with local organizations and private individual to handle solid waste in Nakuru.

Inclusivity: Public participation is required during the review of the budget and projects listed in the ADP. The constitution of Kenya, County government Act, and Urban Areas and Cities Act has well-defined conditions on public participation for any development project which is funded by public finances.

Udon Thani - A Greener City in Thailand

Introduction: Udon Thani in Thailand is a small city of 130,000 residents facing rapid development due to its strategic location near the Lao border. Udon Thani is exposed to both flooding and drought. It is heavily reliant on one reservoir for its water supply.

Through the Udon Charter for 2029, a multi-stakeholder vision for the city, the city is committed to achieving six policy points, driven by the objective of becoming a green city focused on MICE (Meetings, Incentives, Conferences, Exhibitions). It seeks to increase Gross Provincial Product, become an employment hub for MICE and green jobs, narrow the inequality gap, have a walkable urban core, and minimize the impact on global climate change. These policy objectives include action points for investing in green transport, green energy, green industry, and green infrastructure, as well as parks and public spaces, affordable housing, safe food, health, and becoming a MICE city with a green economy. The city is also invested in becoming a sport city. Clear, measurable targets have been set for these objectives according to baseline data, such as ensuring all residents have green space within a 5-minute walk. The Udon 2029 process is home-grown through a collaboration of city stakeholders, ranging from the local government, academia, local businesses, and local communities.

Actors: The local government has played a key role in driving city-wide initiatives. It has regular monthly meetings with community leaders of all 105 communities in the city to update leaders on municipal activities. The Udon Thani 2029 team consisted of volunteers from academia, local businesses, communities, and a local co-ordinator, who have driven the Charter process. The Udon City Development Company (CDC) also plays an important role.

Finance: The city receives a centrally allocated budget, as well as locally raised funds (e.g. taxes on advertising billboards) to fund infrastructure and services. There is also investment through private-public partnership (PPP), such as for the Smart Bus (which was cancelled during COVID). There have been externally funded research projects focusing on urban climate resilience.

Drivers: The Thai government, through the Digital Economy Promotion Agency, is urging cities to collaborate with the private sector to form a City Development Corporation (CDC) to secure funding for development projects. There is also a national drive for a National Charter for Urban and Local Economic Improvement, which promotes the development of charters for provinces and urban areas. Experience of flooding and water shortages is driving the city's investment in green infrastructure.

Barriers: The city faces a shrinking and ageing population within the municipality, but rapid urbanization on the outskirts of the city, which are areas with important wetlands. Community leaders feel that there could be better arrangements for water and waste management and need for improving citizen awareness on these issues.

Outcomes: The city is carrying out the important step of collecting data to use as a baseline for monitoring progress, such as mapping all the trees on public land. With regards achieving green transportation, the city piloted a multiway pedestrian crossing to improve walkability (contributing to the healthy, sporty city objective) and launched the Udon Smart Bus. There has been a public discussion on haze and air quality from crop burning, to increase access to public spaces and green spaces and led to arborist training and tree-planting activities.

Inclusivity: In the monthly community meeting held by the municipality, there are opportunities for information sharing and dialogue between the city representatives and community representatives. The municipality shares budget plans and asks for the approval of the community leaders. The process of developing the Charter was volunteer-led with representatives of different stakeholder groups taking a lead on different sections according to their interest.

Local integrated climate planning in Manizales, Colombia

Introduction: Manizales in Columbia is a case of an early adapter and leader of climate action in intermediary cities of the global South, starting as early as 1990s. The city expanded from a plateau region into steep slopes that were not zoned for development covering ecological zones mostly in hilly, tropical rainforest regions. Intense precipitation causing landslides, erosion, and sometimes flooding add to the risks of volcanic eruptions, earthquakes, and man-made pressures on the ecosystem. Columbia has a strong awareness on climate risks and has integrated a National Adaptation Plan and an environmental legislation that support disaster risk reduction systems and adaptation actions (Hardoy and Velásquez Barrero, 2014). The Ministry of Environment and Sustainable Development, the National Environmental System and the Disaster Risk Management Unit at the federal level, and the Corpocaldas at the regional level are the government authorities responsible for natural resource management and managing climate change priorities.

Disaster risk management and governance is led by the local government in Manizales. The Municipal Office for Disaster Prevention and Response (OMPAD) oversees local DRR initiatives and the formation of emergency committees. Manizales municipality's independent control entities along with the civil society nominated Territorial Planning Council constitute the local body responsible for planning and monitoring. Their local plans focused on reducing risk and building resilience, namely the Biomanizales of 1993, the Bioplan of 1995, and the local disaster risk plan are integrated with the Municipal Development plans. The creation of an Environmental Secretariat with an allocated budget shows the importance given to the integration of environmental initiatives at the local level.

Actors: Strong institutions at the national and local level are driving the action. Civil societies and local universities are designing and monitoring a city-level risk management index and river behavior data. The Chamber of Commerce supported an environmental education program and the growth of eco-friendly business. 'Slope guardians' program has trained women in high risk slopes to mitigate risks at the slopes through management of vegetation, drainage channels, stabilization projects, registration of households, and land-use.

Finance: The central transfer of funds to municipalities are earmarked to be spent on sectors such as health and education. The capacity of the local bodies to raise funds for other services such as environmental planning is varying. The 1.2% tax revenue from urban properties went to finance environmental conservation projects of Manizales.

Drivers: The willingness of local actors to work on risk management has enabled the integrated approach. The municipality's autonomy as envisaged by the national constitution has been instrumental, and the co-ordination required with other levels of the government for financial and policy support have been smooth (Hardoy and Velásquez Barrero, 2014).

Barriers: Persisting issues of sewage treatment services and wavering local participation in meetings indicate lessening interest on disaster risk reduction are key issues. Many initiatives such as the slope guardian project were not expanded due to lack of funding. There is lesser autonomy of municipalities for revenue spending on climate risks adaptation and DRR initiatives. The National Disaster Fund is also shrinking.

Outcomes: Some of the outcomes of the integrated planning approach include eco-park networks, reforestation of river basin, environmental observatory, indicators for environmental management, the Environmental Plan for the Biocomuna Olivares, the Integrated Risk

Management Programme for Manizales, and the integration of environmental studies into school curricula.

Inclusivity: Nearly hundred women participated in the slope guardians initiative. The process of planning had strong participative mechanisms in place, both embedded in the constitution and in institutional practice (Hardoy and Velásquez Barrero, 2014). A portion of insurance premium that is paid along with the property tax is shared with poor groups voluntarily by upper income segments. Whereas displaced or migrant population living in steep slopes have been re-settled, licenses are issued for middle income housing projects on risk zones.

Post landslide recovery in St. Bernard, the Philippines

Introduction: St. Bernard is located in the eastern rural region of the Visayas in Philippines. Due to the frequency of disasters in the region the government had signaled its shifting priorities from disaster response to reduction through the Medium-Term Development Plan (2004-2010) and the Strategic National Action Plan for Disaster Risk Reduction (2009- 2019). The National Disaster Coordinating Committee (NDCC) with an emphasis on local disaster mitigation, preparedness, rehabilitation and response, both pre- and post- disaster, showcases the presence of a strong leadership and increasingly proactive policy responses. A landslide hit the St. Bernard city on 2006, following an earthquake. At the time of the disaster, a comprehensive national framework for managing disaster risks was largely absent. Local governments had constrained capacity and resources to provide comprehensive relief. The landslide collapsed settlement and led to leaking of mud, water and volcanic rocks from the slope, where about 18,862 residents were affected. The case study focuses on the Guinsaungon settlement, which was one of the most hit communities by the disaster (Co, 2010).

The municipality provided evacuation centers housed in schools. The Homeless People's Federation Philippines, Inc. (HPFPI) is a community-based organization that stepped in to mobilize communities to build temporary housing after a landslide destroyed houses of a community in St. Bernard. They located land in a school premises and offered the requisite technical support to build row-house type of housing units. Overcrowding at the centers led to deteriorating health conditions and shortage of drinking water, electricity, sanitation, and drainage facilities in the schools. The change to more spacious housing units resulted in better health conditions.

Actors: The HPFPI was the main actor in post-disaster governance. Municipal health office, local NGOs, religious groups and faith-based organizations such as the Parish Social Action Centre (PSAC) and the Vincentian Missionaries Social Development Foundation also provided basic necessities, medical support and relief assistance. The HPFPI also garnered support from the local and national level agencies from the Department of Social Welfare ad Development and the Department of Education (Co, 2010).

Finance: The project used community funding and relied on the community's regular savings to invest in development. The Federation provides an institutionalized network at the local, regional and national level to organize these efforts. The Federation is funded by international donors, NGOs and faith-based groups such as the ADB, IIED, CordAid.

Drivers: Disaster played a key role in the organization and coming together of multiple stakeholders. Established participative and negotiation mechanisms and the well-defined objective of the NGO streamlined the process.

Barriers: Due to lack of data, targeting relief to the families in need was difficult. The federation overcame most of the barriers through continued persuasion towards long-term strategic solutions. Involvement of the community helped in identification of worst-affected families.

Outcomes: The building of temporary homes used available, low-cost materials, and reused landfill materials to raise the height of the housing.

Inclusivity: The participation of communities in data collection, selection of beneficiaries, design, construction, and maintenance of housing resulted in community ownership. The federation also prioritized providing support to elderly couples and families with children (Co, 2010). By building trust and partnerships amongst local groups, the community associations that worked with HPFPI have organized as home-owners associations at the municipal level and transformed to a mode of self-governance, with the HPFPI only providing a supportive role. The NGO is scaling up their initiatives, advocating for policy changes that are suitable for low-income dwellers.

Community-based adaptation to flooding in Khulna, Bangladesh

Introduction: Khulna is located on the southwestern coastal region of Bangladesh, and is prone to floods, storms, fresh-water shortages, salinity intrusion, riverbank erosion, and heat waves. Industrial expansion, water pollution and lack of drainage facilities compound to the climate-related risks on the city. Waterlogging as a result of inadequate drainage is a regular occurrence in the study site. There is a lack of national policy response to respond to the needs of the increasing urban population in Bangladesh. The 1999 National Housing Policy, the National Adaptation Programme of Action, and the Bangladesh Climate Change Strategy and Action Plan do not take into account the concerns of the urban poor (Roy et al., 2012). The municipality largely focuses on providing post-disaster relief.

Residents engage in a wide range of in-situ adaptation strategies such as changes to the built environment and livelihood strategies (Haque et al., 2014). The roofs of homes are lined with polythene bags or cement bags to prevent leakage during heavy rainfall. The floor heights are raised by using elevated plinths or constructing on stilts. Other coping strategies include use of ash or wood on slippery floors, raising furniture, and using top shelves for storage. The role of social networks plays an important role in communally responding to reduce risks.

Actors: CBA measures are used in low-income settlements to cope with climate risks, specifically high rainfall and flood. The urban poor have limited capacity and resources for adaptation, but individuals, households, and communities come up with low-cost measures to reduce their exposure to risks. Local NGOs work on concerns of the community and together with the Khulnaa City Corporation (KCC) mediate to reducing vulnerability of the households (Haque et al., 2014).

Finance: The actors finance these low-cost initiatives through incremental communal efforts and re-using existing infrastructural elements. While older members in the community dedicate their time in mobilizing funds and people, the younger members volunteer with physical effort.

Drivers: Disasters and their adverse impacts on livelihoods and health forces vulnerable communities to develop coping mechanisms and resilience.

Barriers: Most of the residents do not hold tenure security and have fewer incentives to invest in future-proofing their houses. The KCC does not provide them with drinking water, roads, drains, and sanitary facilities. The existing efforts of the individuals and communities do not address the structural issues and policy gaps that exacerbates the vulnerabilities of these populations (Haque et al., 2014; Roy et al., 2012).

Outcomes: Residents use low-cost, soft-engineering measures. Households increase their food access by growing food on their roofs. Available containers are used to store water. Bamboo sticks are used to clear blocked drainage systems and they use bricks and stones to build lanes. Communities reduce risk together by fishing for food, taking shelter together, and setting up community kitchens. They also built common infrastructure such as elevated pathways, toilets, and drains.

Inclusivity: Informal settlements' vulnerability to disasters are worsened by poverty, low assets, loss of livelihoods, precarious living conditions in hazardous areas, risk of evictions, food, and water insecurity, and associated health problems. The community receives risk information late due to lack of communication devices. Most members of community in question live in extreme poverty and possess very limited physical assets. The senior members in the community negotiate with ward commission for better support (Haque et al., 2014).

Discussion

We organize the discussions in three sub-sections: in the first section we delineate how actors leading and financing interventions can impact participation outcomes. The second sub-section looks at how drivers of intervention shape the framing of the interventions. The third set of analyses deals with the inclusion of different actors, pointing to potentials and challenges in achieving multi-level governance in small and intermediary cities of the global South. Table 3 uses the modified Bai et. al. (2010) typology to present a snapshot of environmental transitions in small and intermediary cities.

Table 3. Summary of case studies

City	**Leading Actor**	**Finance**	**Drivers**	**Barriers**	**Environmental outcome**	**Participation**	
						Visibility	**Impact**
Surat	TMN, Business association	International Donor	Disasters and capital loss	Institutional co-operation (local level)	Resilience strategy (city level), health center	Low	Low
Dong Ha	International development bank	International Donor	Disaster, Economic agenda	Institutional co-operation (international level)	Blue-green infrastructure in core zones	Low	Low
Nakuru	County Government, National Government	National Government	Infrastructure deficit, Local vision	Institutional Co-Operation	Service provision	High	Low
Udon Thani	Local government, National government	National, Local	Local and National vision	Rapid Urbanization, Infrastructure deficit, Local will	Green spaces and green infrastructure development	High	High
Manizales	Local government, National	National, Local	Local will	Infrastructure deficit, Decreasing	Integrated planning and risk management	High	High

	government			local will, Lack of Funding			
St. Bernard	NGO	Community Savings	Disaster	Lack of data	Disaster risk response	High	High
Khulna	Households (Self-governance)	Community mobilization	Disaster	Tenure insecurity, Infrastructure deficit	Disaster risk response	High	Low

Linkages between leading actor-networks and participatory processes

Even though we set to analyze the actors leading the interventions and those that finance the interventions as two distinct explanatory factors, we find that these two factors often overlap (Table 3). In this section, we analyze the links between the actors leading and financing the interventions and its links with participation.

In Surat and Dong Ha, global actors and funders lead the urban sustainability transitions in the intervention studied. In line with the literature, the social equity aspects of globally funded projects need greater scrutiny, as we find that both the cases have low level of participation, both in terms of stakeholder visibility and impact (Table 3). The selection of the local partner should be considered with greater consideration to social equity outcomes and the participatory process could be embedded in criteria for financing interventions by global donors. In a context where local communities suspect international organizations to be interfering in national policy agendas (Ruszczyk, 2019) or having piecemeal approaches to social equity considerations (Fitzgibbons and Mitchell, 2019), these solutions may be of utmost priority for international actors for the success of their interventions.

We find that there are strong procedural mechanisms in place for participation when governments lead and finance interventions, resulting in a high degree of visible participation as seen in Udon Thani, Nakuru, and Manizales. However, their impacts on transforming power relationships between state and non-state actors is mixed (Table 3). Manizales has a highly favorable participatory outcome, where sustained prioritization of and investments in building adaptation of communities have built strong, transformative partnerships. The high degree of municipal autonomy may have also strengthened institutions at the local level, even if sustaining the interests is noted to be a challenge. In Udon Thani, the monthly meetings of community leaders at the municipality have fostered an openness between community representatives and municipal leaders and there is a clear drive towards transparency from the local authorities. In contrast, although residents of Nakuru are aware of their role in shaping development of their community, the opportunity to participate in such forums is rather limited and is merely done as a 'formality' as part of the approval process of the ADP. Participation is largely cosmetic in this case, since the outcomes of the consultative processes are not always binding.

When we look at the 'bottom-up' interventions in St Bernard and Khulna, we find a high degree of 'non-traditional' modes of participation (Chandrasekhar et al., 2014) through active opposition or self-governance in driving low-cost adaptation or disaster risk responses in the absence of state action. However, their political outcomes are mixed. Interventions led by strong civil society actors such as the HPFPI have built local partnerships, mobilized communities to collect data, plan and finance projects, and negotiate for better infrastructure and policies from the government. This has led to transformative outcomes in terms of improved power relationships between the communities and the state and the formation of community groups that can mobilize and organize independently. In Khulna, the largely unorganized activities of households, operating without the support of governments or coordinated social movements, have individualized disaster risk responses.

Linkages between drivers of interventions and the formulation of environmental goals

In the interventions led by global actors, the sites of intervention were chosen based on experience of disasters and existing political leverage and will, so that the interventions can be demonstrated in visible demonstration sites, both in Surat and Dong Ha. A strong economic motivation for investing in climate adaptation infrastructure in Dong Ha for boosting the growth of the GMS region for attracting large-scale foreign investment has led to the framing of site-specific or sector-specific solutions such as investments in blue-green infrastructure in the central zone of the city. Surat played an important role as a business district of manufacturing and the previous experience of capital losses led to the business organization's key involvement in shaping outcomes, such as the setting up on early warning systems for flooding. However, the institutionalization of climate change responses through the SCCT and UHCRC in the case of Surat marks a positive departure from site- or sector-specific climate protection solutions when economic incentives drive urban sustainability transitions.

We find linkages between local visions of improving city level adaptation measures and the framing of integrated and holistic city-level solutions. Udon Thani's drive to become a green city, Manizales community's interests and volunteering in finding integrated risk management solutions, and Nakuru's aspirations to receiving city status are all examples of local visions for urban development. While we recognize that there may be contesting interests even within local-led development agendas, a considerable level of political will in the community can strengthen participatory processes and a demand for accountability from the local government as seen in these three cases. Some form of a unified 'local vision' have also brought together stakeholders with different expertise in these two cases, such as universities or business sectors to fill knowledge or infrastructure gaps, in a move to find integrate solutions to urban sustainability transitions. Therefore, an important priority for policymakers is embed participatory processes to draft local aspirations and capacities in the design of interventions.

Previous disasters can act as a strong reason to increase participation (Chandrasekhar et al., 2014) and often are the main drivers for local community action. In the case of Khulna and St Bernard, disasters have driven low-cost innovations that have shown promising ground-up sustainability innovations by re-using available materials and manpower and modelling CBA measures for financing long-term projects. However, without systemic, institutionalized responses in greenhouse gas stabilization, risk reduction, or service provisions from the government, the burden on low income communities will be disproportionate to respond to the impacts of unsustainable urban development trajectories.

Barriers and considerations for advancing multi-level governance

In this section, we synthesize the involvement of different actors from the seven cases to draw implications for potentials and challenges in multi-level governance. Co-operative networks in governing sustainability transitions overcome traditional institutional barriers that actors might face individually, by tapping into the common interests and capacities of the state, the market, and the civil society. Achieving multi-level governance in small and intermediary cities of the global South can help overcoming many of the barriers noted by the sources. For instance, when governments are leading the intervention, they often point to a lack of local will in the take up of interventions. In the bottom up projects of self-governance, there is a clear indication of the need from support of governments in providing infrastructure and protections. In small cities where funding and infrastructural deficits are high, advancing long-term, trust-worthy partnerships are key in advancing environmental transitions.

The signs presented in Table 4 indicate the involvement of different stakeholder groups in each case: with – meaning not represented; +/−, weakly represented; +, actively represented and ++, very actively represented. We define 'very actively represented' actors as those that are leading the action but also financing or driving the political will for the intervention. Any other level of involvement is marked as 'actively represented'. We only use 'weakly represented' if the literature specifically points to their weak capacities. If there were literature gaps in relation to the role of a given actor, the cell is left empty to signify missing information.

Table 4. Involvement of actors in city-level initiatives

Case	**Actors**								
	Global actors and networks	**National government**	**Provincial government**	**Municipal government**	**Business actors**	**Social and cultural institutions**	**Political leaders, Volunteers**	**Academic community**	**Local communities, households**
Surat	++	+	+	++	++	-		+	-
Dong Ha	++		+	+	+	-		+	-
Nakuru	+	++	++		+	+		-	+
Udon Thani		++		++	++	+	+	+	
Manizales		++	+	++	+	+	+	+	+
St Bernard	+	+		+		++	++		++
Khulna		-				+			++

However, the involvement of different actors may not always imply successful outcomes. Political and institutional inertia were found to be significant barriers to climate experiments in the Bai et. al. study (2010). Similarly, we find that enabling institutional co-ordination and political will of local governments are one of the main barriers in four of our cases (Surat, Dong Ha, Nakuru and Khulna). Lack of an integrated policy framework and funds for addressing climate risks and urban adaptation in many developing country regions hinder local action. Scaling up of pilots require influx of resources which can be hard to locate. For Manizales, even where the national policy support exists, funds are decreasing due to shifting national priorities.

The lack of financial autonomy and resources barriers also play a key role in hindering action. Some of the cities under consideration such as Nakuru and Khulna have persistent challenges in improving and universalizing service provision, and weak capacities to plan for urban expansion compound these barriers. Conflicts or tensions over land, like in the cases of Dong Ha, St Bernard or Khulna, can weaken trust between parties. Little or dwindling interest in community participation and lack of people's awareness is also an issue, pointing to the relatively slower momentum in community mobilization in smaller cities compared to primary cities. In Nakuru, citizen participation in decision-making and service delivery is hindered due to the lack of integration between multiple government actors. The participants in our stakeholder workshops indicated that they were unaware of the issues allocated to different departments, coupled with the fact the response level of the duty bearers is minimal.

While the key thrust areas of TMNs are shaped by global discourses on sustainability, emission reduction or resilience (Bulkeley and Betsill, 2005; Long and Rice, 2018), in our example of Surat, the local partners have influenced the design and outcomes of the project based on their motivations and expertise (Chu, 2016). There can be contesting notions for development even within an organization, as seen in the case of the ADB resilience building project which notes ADB's push for technocratic solutions as a barrier in realizing urban adaptation. However, reflecting on these contradictions and pitfalls by the core group can itself be seen as a conceivable way forward for advancing sustainability transitions. CBA measures have an impact on activating political capacities and transforming and challenging governance mechanisms in intermediary cities with limited resources and capacity. However, we find that there are fewer partnerships with more powerful actors and governments involved to support CBA (Table 4).

Governments are achieving their environmental goals in partnership with social or business institutions to tap on external resources or technical expertise, as elaborated in the previous section. Provincial governments are playing a key role in stirring policy directions for cities as seen in the cases of Dong Ha and Manizales and are also involved in building partnerships in Nakuru. Local governments lead collaborative governance processes by steering public awareness and motivating volunteer efforts in environmental management processes like in Udon Thani or Manizales, showcasing high potential for becoming leaders in multi-level environmental governance amongst small and intermediary cities (Table 4). There is a need to critically reflect upon the inclusion element in urban transitions, as new forms of governance are created while actualizing these partnerships. For example, CDCs are appearing in a number of Thai cities, largely in response to a national strategy to achieve smart cities and to catalyze the involvement of the private sector. This raises the question of whether a new monetary mechanism will emerge in these types of urban development, where the city dwellers will have to pay these business partnerships in return for a number of services rather than expecting service delivery from the local government.

Conclusion

Small and intermediary cities mainly play a limited role in global or national politics of sustainable urban development, but their unique pathways in achieving urban sustainability transitions merit attention. Urban sustainability transitions in small and intermediary cities of the global South are analyzed in our paper, in order to explain variations in the framing of the outcomes and their inclusion outcomes. One of the limitations of our study is that most of the analysis is based on secondary sources, and therefore, the parameters could have been inconsistently assessed by different sources. Secondly, the study design does not allow us to distinguish features of urban sustainability transitions in 'intermediary', 'small' versus 'primary' city contexts. More comparisons across city sizes within a similar policy context can help understand these differences (Marais et al., 2016). While the results from a comparative case study analysis are not likely generalizable to predict outcomes in other small or intermediary cities with different political or socio-economic settings, they can stimulate reflections on similar challenges and opportunities and facilitate South-South learning.

It is found that the inclusion outcomes of urban sustainability interventions can hinge on different factors such as the actors leading or financing interventions and that the drivers shape the way interventions are formulated. In resource-scarce contexts where there are trade-offs to investing in sustainability interventions, participation and involvement of poor communities, civil society groups, and other institutions are essential in order to gather momentum to build a unified, local vision and ensure that the poor are not made worse off.

Some of the limitations in applying multi-level governance framework in small and intermediary cities of the global South are also noted. Smaller cities with lesser resources or autonomy have difficulty in mobilizing taxes and utilizing funds for designated sustainable projects. This calls for coordinated multi-level policy frameworks to earmark funds for environmental management, in addition to providing a flexible institutional governance that enables city governments to decide independently on the allocation of resources based on local risks and priorities. There is a burden on the urban poor to finance and organize their adaptation interventions, in lieu of support from governments or other powerful actors. Sustainability interventions will have to prioritize needs for better service provision or natural resource management, as self-governance cannot substitute service provision and lagging action in these areas will have adverse impacts on the adaptive capacities of the urban poor.

The involvement of multiple actors and mechanisms are transforming the nature of governing sustainability transitions in small and intermediary cities of the global South. Greater inspection is required to balance the sustainability and inclusivity outcomes of these interventions, and to overcome the barriers that emerge as a result. More in-depth study is necessary for an understanding of the contextualized needs, policy gaps and potential challenges of small and intermediary cities in achieving an inclusive and sustainable future. Through these entry-points and considerations, we hope that planners, donors, governmental, and non-governmental actors leading, driving, and financing interventions can reflect on instituting long-term collaborative partnerships and trust with different stakeholders, towards achieving holistic solutions for urban sustainability.

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Legacies of mistrust: Why colonial imprints on the implementation of fiscal reforms in Mozambique and Mexico matter

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National authorities across Latin America and Sub-Saharan Africa have implemented various forms of fiscal decentralization over the past three decades with equivocal results. The design of such reforms has long rested on theories based on the experiences of high-income countries' efforts at increasing local autonomy, accountability, and basic service efficiencies. Critics of the global advocacy for fiscal decentralization, however, point to several challenges with its implementation across diverse political economies that differ significantly from those in high-income environments. Nonetheless, these critiques often obscure the impact that colonial regimes and their legacies have on current efforts to fiscally decentralize. In two post-colonial environments where fiscal decentralization projects have unrolled, namely Mozambique and Mexico, we show how colonial imprints remain critical to understanding efforts at fiscal decentralization. Our focus in these cases is on how race-based caste systems introduced under colonial administrations fed the development and evolution of dual governance systems across spaces and peoples that bred mistrust between residents, local authorities and central authorities. We argue that the conflicting rationales in evidence between stakeholders involved in fiscal decentralization projects today are rooted in the social mistrust and power struggles born from these colonial experiences. In conclusion, we contend that fiscal decentralization reforms must explicitly grapple with these spatialized and racialized legacies of mistrust and the diverse rationalities guiding stakeholders in both the design and evaluation of public policies meant to strengthen local autonomy, transparency, and efficiencies.

Keywords: fiscal decentralization, Mozambique, Mexico, colonialism, racism

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Introduction

National authorities across Latin America and Sub-Saharan Africa have implemented various forms and levels of decentralization over the past three decades, often with encouragement from or under conditionality of loans from international organizations and bilateral donors. Indeed, by the end of the twentieth century, the promises of decentralization were de rigeur in the development industry, with the conditionality terms offered in international loans often prescribing decentralization as a means to improve fiscal spending and accountability. The World Bank, for example, strongly advocated for decentralization across administrative, political and fiscal arenas since the 1980s. However, the results of such efforts to empower and hold accountable local level authorities while also producing efficiencies in the use of the public purse have shown only equivocal results.

One of the major motivations for moving from a centralized system of government to a decentralized one across lower and middle-income countries has been a dissatisfaction in public services under centralization. Several scholars have indeed found that such dissatisfaction is alleviated by the incorporation of citizens into local public service provision decisions, which in turn improves public sector costs and performance (Baiocchi 2001; Fung and Wright 2003; World Bank 2004; Speer, 2012; McMillan, Spronk, and Caswell 2014; Veiga and Kurian 2015). Such findings reflect theorized aspirations of decentralization in practice, or more precisely how moving decision-making to the most local levels of government would best reflect the local-level preferences of residents and generate greater local autonomy, efficiency, and effectiveness of public spending on service delivery (Bahl, 2008; Bonet & Cibils, 2010; Tanzi, 2001; von Braun and Grote, 2000).

However, several scholars highlight the deep challenges in achieving other objectives of decentralization reforms in practice. Faguet (2014) provides an overview of decentralization's impact on local governance, noting how reforms that have promoted political competition and accountability have also often introduced fiscal threats. In a volume reviewing the decentralization experiences of ten African countries, for example, Dickovick and Wunsch (2014) note that while subnational authority has grown under decentralization reforms, improvements to accountability, autonomy, and capacity at the local levels of government remain deeply mixed and/or weak. Ironically, they find that decentralization can strengthen or more deeply entrench existing national power and national elites, leaving local governance largely unchanged (Dickovick and Wunsch 2014). Similarly, across Latin American countries, scholars have found significant variance in how well decentralization reforms have achieved stated objectives. Reform impacts on efficiencies in the provision of services, as well as equities therein, have been heterogenous (Bossuyt 2013). Simpser et al. (2016) assert that globally municipal budgets increased under fiscal decentralization, but this has not necessarily improved local accountability. With regard to questions of governance, Dell'Anno y Teobaldelli (2015) find positive effects on corruption emergent from decentralization reforms, while others like Fan et al (2009) find that decentralization reforms create more levels of government and a larger number of public employees associated with more corruption.

In an effort to explain the variation in performance of decentralization reforms, Smoke (2015) points first to the complications in how different scholars have used different measures and frames for understanding decentralization outcomes, and then to how the plurality of institutional arrangements, the national political economy and bureaucratic environment, international development assistance, and local political dynamics all critically shape the complexity and design of decentralization reforms as well as of course the capacity to actually implement them. The combination of these factors, according to Smoke's summary of extensive empirical literatures, is often used to relate why or how decentralization efforts meet the ground. However, he also points to how political economic considerations and attention to context matter much more to understanding decentralization in practice than is often relayed within the expansive literatures evaluating the reform.

Smoke's critique is helpful in reviewing the literatures examining the performance of fiscal decentralization in particular, which often stop at identifying the outcomes and the constraints of fiscal decentralization in practice without engaging in the more rooted histories from which those constraints were born. Prud'homme (1995), for example, argues that failures in the reform's implementation stem from basic assumptions that fiscal decentralization leads to allocative efficiency. Instead, he notes that in the context of lower-income environments, there is not a great deal of variation in regional preferences for public spending, as the fundamental desire across localities is to satisfy basic needs. Prud'homme also notes that the logic of voting reflecting residential preferences for services and determining local election outcomes presumed in fiscal decentralization advocacy is likely flawed in some country contexts where election outcomes are often instead determined by affiliations and loyalties that are inherited (e.g., ethnicities and tribes) or politically fixed. In such contexts, he argues that local governments are not likely to have the resources, the will, or the support to implement policies aimed at local preferences. Like Prud'homme, Bojanic (2018) also finds the implementation of fiscal decentralization reforms across countries, such as in the Americas, problematic from a lens of income inequality. He shows that the introduction of fiscal decentralization reforms accentuated income inequality within lower and middle-income Latin American countries instead of mitigating it. Similarly, Tanzi (2001) highlights the challenges of unequal distribution of wealth within lower-income countries operating under fiscal decentralization due to natural resources found in specific regions—Nigeria and Indonesia being examples. Citing the case of Argentina, Tanzi (2011) further argues that decentralization makes tax reform and sharing more challenging, but that such latter reforms are needed in order to pay national debts which remain in a state of inertia in part driven by decentralization. Falletti (2010), referencing Latin American experiences, concludes that decentralization reforms do not always put more power in the hands of governors and mayors. Rather, the success of decentralization initiatives to improve accountability, enhance local services, and enable local empowerment largely depends on who initiates reforms, how they are initiated, and—critically their sequence or the order in which decentralization reforms are introduced.

What falls aside in the above discussions about the motivations, critiques, and advocacy around fiscal decentralization in practice across diverse regions is how deeply the adoption of decentralization reforms on the ground is rooted in colonial experiences with political and fiscal institutions and further complicated by the legacy of institutionalized racism via caste systems that were often spatialized and used to exert control over former colonies. Colonial legacies feature much more prominently in the literatures examining economic histories and the implementation or performance of political and administrative decentralization—particularly in African contexts—than in policy examinations of fiscal decentralization.[1] However, as the perception and framing of fiscal decentralization reforms have increasingly transitioned from being positioned as technical exercises, for example, in the determination of the appropriate scale of specific tax administration, into more participatory and democratically oriented exercises of fiscal power like participatory budgeting, we argue that insights from a discussion of colonial legacies with a focus on colonial legacies of institutionalized and spatialized racism are critical for understanding how and why fiscal decentralization operates as it does across countries in the global South.

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[1] A few key economic history, law, and political science papers examine fiscal systems with a critical analysis of colonial administration and legacies thereof (for example, Acemoglu and Robinson 2001 and 2010 Gardner 2010, Dickovick and Wunsch 2014). Such texts that examine more deeply how colonial legacies bear upon modern governance arrangements and the potentialities of local governance powers from decentralization, however, are not the norm in the broader literature on fiscal decentralization. Shah (2004), Smoke (2006), and Faguet and Posch (2015) for example, point to but do not dwell on the specific colonial administrative experiences that have led to diverse institutional arrangements and politics, particularly at the local level, in their examinations of fiscal decentralization within lower and middle-income countries.

Institutionalized racism in the colonial regime manifested in dual governance systems for different peoples across different spaces, feeding distrust between actors in such systems. Here we argue that the legacy of such systems at play in countries with deep histories of colonialization help explain the divergence in objectives between how advocates of fiscal decentralization reforms intended to improve efficiencies and transparencies in public spending, and those that adopted the reforms for other reasons. Several scholars have already explored the conceptualization and importance of parallel institutions or the interplay and evolution of imposed colonial and indigenous institutions active in colonial and post-colonial state-building periods (Ekeh 1975, Davidson 1992, Mamdani 1996, Finot 2001). Within planning literatures, Watson (2003) discusses the urban development epistemological imprints of such dual institutions in terms of the conflicting rationalities at play in planning interventions pursued by public authorities in cities like Cape Town, where upgrading interventions have met with resistance from the presumed beneficiaries of projects despite 'participation' in project designs.

In this article, we contend that conflicting rationales emergent from legacies of distrust between dual governing, racist institutions in former colonies help explain how fiscal decentralization reforms have been operationalized as they have in former colonies, and why such reforms often fail to achieve the objectives that their proponents forward. Employing a critical analysis of historical and legal precedents as well as secondary resources, we trace how the operationalization of fiscal decentralization reforms in practice reflect colonial heritages of dualistic exercises of power—and mistrust between actors therein—in contexts of both recent and early decolonization, namely Mozambique and Mexico. We argue that social mistrust born of racist colonial administrations meant that paternalistic relationships were leveraged to build social security and gain rents within marginalized spaces and peoples. In Mozambique and Mexico, with the entrance of reformed State practices in post-colonial eras—as seen in participatory fiscal reforms—such paternalism translated into a strengthening of patrimonialism within governments. In the next two sections, we detail how the objectives of two different fiscal decentralization reforms in these diverse contexts interact with local political realities that emerged from diverse yet consistently racist colonial administrative spatial and political legacies, revealing how distrust between public officials at different scales of government as well as between local authorities and residents feed conflicts between the intentions of actors involved in the implementation of reforms. The two fiscal decentralization reforms we study are participatory budgeting in Mozambique and the national '3x1' remittance-matching program in Mexico, the latter of which actually began as a subnational initiative for directing the investment of remittances in localities before evolving into a national program with decentralized implementation. In conclusion, we highlight how fiscal decentralization theories need revision in their application within geographies of the global South in which local rationales and political experiences are deeply shaped by extractive and spatialized racist colonial administrative histories that have widely influenced public perceptions of the openness and authenticity of public sector efforts to localize decision-making, particularly in the fiscal realm.

Fiscal Decentralization in Mozambique

The rootedness of control in pre- and post-independence decentralization

Mozambique has the unenviable history of being one of the last countries in the world to decolonize. The country fought for and won independence in 1975 from the Portuguese, led by the Mozambique Liberation Front, or Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (Frelimo), which today remains the dominant political party in power across all scales of government throughout much of the country. This reality complicates the notion of separate powers between the government, at multiple levels, and the political party itself. In Weimer and Carrilho's (2017) review of the political economy of decentralization in Mozambique, they stress that despite the administrative decentralization, or devolution, of management and planning to local levels of government in the country since the end of the country's post-independence civil war in the early 1990s, Mozambique remains fundamentally controlled by the Frelimo central government—both politically and economically—and the connections between political and fiscal decentralization remain critical. The fidelity to centralized control of both politics and the public purse is in part a reflection of the ongoing conflict between Frelimo and its main political revival and former civil war nemesis, the National Resistance Movement (*Resistência Nacional de Moçambique*, or Renamo). Given Renamo's strength in Mozambique's central provinces, and Frelimo's dominance in elections over much of the rest of the country—including in national elections, which it has consistently won—there is a lack of incentives for Frelimo to comply with the promises of decentralization made during the Peace Accords ending the country's civil war in 1992 (Bueno, 2019; Vines, 2013).

The administrative exception to this reality was the creation of autarquias or independent municipalities, of which there are now 53. The first municipal finance law, 11/1997, and its 2008 reform give autarquias the power to manage, collect, and budget their own sources of revenue. Autarquias also have the unique right to hold local elections, and also provide some basic services, leveraging mostly intergovernmental transfers and international funds therein, with own-source revenues providing the smallest portion of municipal budgets (Weimer, 2012). Maputo city, the capital, is by far the most well situated of autarquias in regard to both political and economic power. However, Frelimo's influence means that even in autarquias like Maputo, Frelimo has the ability to sway traditional authorities and municipal leaders at the most local levels, where the party's interest remains in voter mobilization, especially with the recent gains of new political parties like the Democratic Movement of Mozambique (*Movimento Democrático de Moçambique)* and growing clashes with old foes like Renamo since 2013 (Macamo, 2017). Critics note local level elites tend to support Frelimo out of concern that they may otherwise suffer financial and political disadvantages (Ferrant, 2018; Macamo, 2014).

This tension and arms-length cooperation—between the center and the local nodes of authority—is not unique to Mozambique and reflects a deeper colonial, race-based administrative construct used by the Portuguese and others across the continent. Within Mozambique, the Portuguese colonial administration mobilized the segregation of Mozambicans into a local hierarchy that spanned labor systems and political administration. A practice of forced labor, called *chibalo*, for example, exempted Africans with European ancestry as well as a small number of Mozambicans referred to as *assimilados*, or those the Portuguese had deemed 'civilized' (Penvenne, 1981). Similarly, the *indigenato* regime, instituted in the early 20th century, positioned the majority of Mozambicans as *indigenas* or subordinates to chiefs of communities defined as tribes with a common culture and subject to traditional (read indigenous) law, while *assimilados* and colonialists were subject to Portuguese colonial law (O'Laughlin, 2000). This dual legal system also had a spatial materialization in the creation of two distinct territorial units: the *conselhos* in urban areas and the *circumscrições* in rural ones. The latter were broken down into *regadorias*, which were headed by an appointed Mozambican official, the *regúlo*, who was in turn supervised by higher-level (*posto*) colonial officials (*chefes de posto*) (Isaacman and Isaacman 2018). In Mozambique, O'Laughlin explains that the regúlo became a hereditary position, and that 'when Mozambicans moved into urban areas, they were [still] governed by a local regúlo without particular regard to their ethnic origin; the boundaries of semi-urban regadorias were adjusted with the growth of the cities' (2000, p. 17). As such, black Mozambicans living in cities often found themselves subject to both colonial law and traditional law, and both urban and rural governing constructs, with conselhos but particularly regúlos seen as the local face of the colonial regime.

Post-independence in 1975, the Frelimo-led national government worked to institute a sharp break with colonial administrative legacies by removing practices like taxation and by nationalizing housing and other resources. In Maputo, Frelimo also instituted a governing system that went deep into neighborhoods and encouraged loyalty to the political party of freedom fighters with new administrative positions. Outside of the central Municipal Council of Maputo, led by the city mayor, governing positions were decentralized within each of the city's seven districts, making the capital a hybrid of both urban and rural administrative norms (See Figure 1).

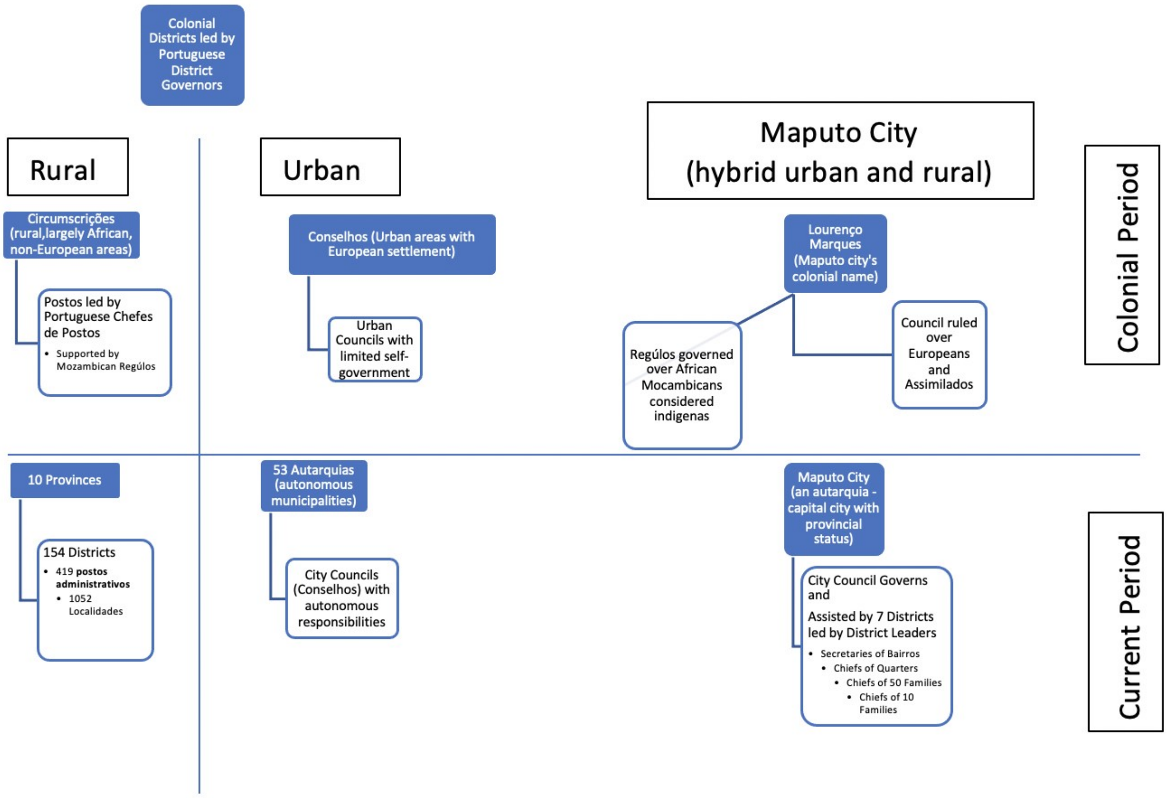
Colonial Districts led by Portuguese District Governors
Rural
Urban
Maputo City (hybrid urban and rural)
Colonial Period
Circumscrições (rural,largely African, non-European areas)
Postos led by Portuguese Chefes de Postos
Supported by Mozambican Regúlos
Conselhos (Urban areas with European settlement)
Urban Councils with limited self-government
Lourenço Marques (Maputo city's colonial name)
Regúlos governed over African Mocambicans considered indigenas
Council ruled over Europeans and Assimilados
10 Provinces
154 Districts
419 postos administrativos
1052 Localidades
53 Autarquias (autonomous municipalities)
City Councils (Conselhos) with autonomous responsibilities
Maputo City (an autarquia - capital city with provincial status)
City Council Governs and
Assisted by 7 Districts led by District Leaders
Secretaries of Bairros
Chiefs of Quarters
Chiefs of 50 Families
Chiefs of 10 Families
Current Period

Figure 1. Legacies of Colonial Political Administration in Mozambique and its capital, Maputo

Mimicking the provincial administrative construct, every municipal district in the capital city of Maputo today remains led by a district head, but under the municipal district the hierarchy is led by *bairro* or neighborhood secretaries, and then chiefs of neighborhoods or 'quarters', chiefs of '50 families,' and 'chiefs of ten families,' which were all created for the census of 1980. These local positions often corresponded to hierarchies and the specific lineage of leaders who acted as heads under the colonial regulado (O'Laughlin, 2000). Another pertinent example of this reproduction of former organizing architectures was in the neighborhood level ‘dynamizing groups’ Frelimo originally established to mobilize Mozambicans during the fight for independence. After independence, individuals were elected into these dynamizing groups—but only to replace the regúlo as a local authority (O’Laughlin, 2000). The fidelity of all these groups are primarily to Frelimo as a political party, as opposed to the institution of local government. Frelimo also worked to shape urban and rural labor forces. Quembo (2012) describes how in 1983, Frelimo launched a coercive labor program, Operation Production, sending unemployed urban residents from Maputo and other cities off to work on rural state farms in a style reminiscent of chibalo. Finally, Frelimo’s passing of municipal law 2/1997 only allowed for locally elected governments in autarquias and not in any rural areas, where instead ‘traditional’ authorities or community councils were given limited governing power over the largely native, black Mozambican population, further institutionalizing a rural-urban administrative divide rooted in part in the system of racialized control under colonial rule (Buur and Kyed, 2006).

Mozambique’s post-independence experience is again far from the exception, as several scholars of post-independence across African countries have noted that the centralized control and extraction mechanisms instituted under racist colonial systems were reconstituted in the political architectures of newly independent states (Bleck and van de Walle, 2018; Burton and Jennings, 2007; Mamdani, 1996; Schneider, 2006). Indeed, the racialized and spatialized tensions across the country have remained over the past two decades, even as Mozambique abandoned some of the control mechanisms instituted under the early Frelimo socialist regime and introduced stronger market-based reforms in line with much of the international donor community’s push for greater democracy and more neoliberal economic policies. These efforts have mostly centered on introducing transparencies in practice while still allowing for Frelimo’s central fiscal control. For example, greater transparency over budgets was mandated for all subnational provinces and autarquias in a 2008 reform of the municipal finance law. This effort included the digitalization of fiscal accounts through a national accounting system (SISTAFE) and a new fiscal management system for autarquias (SGA), both of which received major donor-funded support. In rural areas, an effort at fiscal decentralization also took the form of the 2005 introduction of a law allocating an annual District Budget for Local Initiatives, known as the ‘7 million’ budget—whereby seven million meticais were allocated to District governments each year. However, this mechanism took on a centralized nature as well. As Gonçalves explains, district administrations began by using the money for public infrastructure projects previously identified by the district administration and District Local Councils. However, early in 2006, uncertainty about how to use the money began to grow among administrators as speeches by central government figures began to indicate specified intended uses for goals like food production and job creation (2013: 615). Cahen too (2011) argues that the 7 million budget is an excellent example of how well Frelimo was able to recover and centralize the support of traditional chiefs across the country after having disavowed many of them in a modernist push post-independence. He notes that ‘all over the country, the huge majority of so-called “community authorities’ are members of the [Frelimo] party and, more recently, the components of the advisory local councils which deal with the local budgets of ‘7 millions of meticais’ are closely controlled and composed by state and party members. In the past, the communal village was the way of creating the state apparatus in the country and the bush …but now it is neopatrimonialism and state clientelism.’ (2011: 5). The introduction of participatory budgeting in Mozambique’s cities, then, is perhaps the latest mechanism of both fiscal decentralization and political democratization which has grappled with the legacy of centralized political control and continued disjuncture between dual systems of governance for different racialized (and spatialized) populations.

Experimenting with Participation

While Dondo was the first city in Mozambique to introduce participatory budgeting, it was a combination of external linkages and internal experiences like that of Dondo's that influenced the capital city's launch of participatory budgeting in 2008. As with other formally introduced decentralization reforms, participatory budgeting's arrival in Maputo very much reflects the city authorities' engagement in the international circuit of policy ideas and exchange fora for municipal professionals (Carolini, 2015). In particular, the former and once again mayor of the capital city, Eneas Comiche, played a critical role—both because of his clear internal influence on municipal management but also because of his long and wide engagement in international circuits of policy leadership and exchange. Comiche participated in early World Bank and UN-backed conferences promoting participatory budgeting held in South Africa, but also visited and later sent emissaries to Porto Alegre, Brazil, where participatory budgeting was first introduced (Nylen, 2014). At the same time, Comiche, while widely popular in the city, was facing a power challenge within Frelimo before municipal elections, and thus was looking for a way to strengthen his position with the popular vote (Nylen, 2014, Carolini 2015). The participatory budget held potential therein—and was further in line with the portfolio of municipal reforms that the World Bank wished to support with the introduction of ProMaputo, a series of initiatives to improve fiscal municipal performance and basic service provision.

While the participatory exercise did not save Comiche from falling out of favor with Frelimo, participatory budgeting was instituted city-wide by the next Frelimo-approved Mayor, David Simango. Under Simango, the exercise faced challenges from the start. The first years of the reform saw revision upon revision of the time-line, administration, and project-level intents of the participatory budget, reflecting different contextual obstacles in instituting a participatory reform under conditions of what has been described as a party-based or 'competitive' authoritarian regime with little civil society organizational strength outside the political party system (Nylen, 2014).[2] While the participatory budgeting initiative remains a presence within the local governing structure of budgeting, its operations work under the constraints of the existing architecture of power as opposed to opening it up to the wider group of residents within each of Maputo's seven districts. For example, in the very rural municipal district of KaTembe, where participatory budgeting was first launched and celebrated in Maputo, the Consultative Council—which includes the district leadership, bairro secretaries, and Frelimo-connected local elites from business and sometimes religious organizations—led the exercise, with votes for action items cast by 'elected' as opposed to all residents (Carolini, 2015). The same dominance of existing leadership groups was found across other districts of Maputo (Nylen, 2014). Indeed, in the third iteration of participatory budgeting, the city envisioned a new methodology that would exclude wealthier central city districts (Nylen, 2014). These are the same city districts where the majority of foreign nationals live, alongside relatively wealthier mixed race and black Mozambicans.[3] As such, not only was the participatory budgeting exercise no longer a democratic fiscal reform that aimed for the whole city, regardless of socio-economic characteristics, as originally intended, but its implementation within the remaining included districts would still be subject to the legacies of Frelimo-controlled leadership reflected in the roles of district leaders, bairro secretaries, and other neighborhood appointed chiefs of families. It also again reflects the differentiated administration of funds for different spatialized, racially distinct settlements first introduced under the colonial regime— save that now with wealthier, racially diverse neighborhoods are excluded while lower income, largely black Mozambican neighborhoods are included.

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[2] According to the Economist Intelligence Unit's Democracy Index (2020), on a scale of 1 to 10, Mozambique receives a 3.65 and is classified as 'authoritarian,' scoring 2.58 on a scale of 1 to 10 for its electoral process and pluralism.

[3] It is of interest that other districts like KaTembe were also excluded—not because of their wealth but because of their access to other national funding sources (Nylen 2014).

Political fidelities clashing with reform rationalities

One of the major obstacles to participatory budgeting's institution as intended (e.g., as a democratic, transparent fiscal governance reform) has been the colonial legacy of control mechanisms in government's relationship with civil society. While most note the discord and mistrust between residents and government in rural areas, even in the capital of Maputo, residents do not have extensive experience or histories of self-administration—and instead are used to both the pre- and post-independence oversight of conselhos, dynamizing groups, and other constructs of patrimonial control over popular voice (Filipe, 2019). This reality complicates attempts at improving fiscal decentralization and strengthening democratic voice through initiatives like participatory budgeting, which place a particular demand in theory on the universal exercise of local-level voice and self-administration.

While international development institutions today recognize how critical local contextual inputs are in accepting or rejecting the premises of decentralization reforms (World Bank 2018), historically there has been much criticism launched at international efforts to roll out decentralization across several countries where the reforms were not necessarily welcomed. Africanists, for example, long argued that the introduction of policy and planning reforms from international institutions ignored contextual politics, institutions, and histories. As Bunk (2018) notes, the donor community historically ignored the instrumentalization of decentralization reforms by the political elite in Mozambique, instead focusing on aspects of technical implementation in their continued push for formal decentralization reforms to enhance democracy and to spur financial efficiencies in the tradition of decentralization in the West's experience. Bunk and others like Weimer (2012) position this donor oversight as an example of what is often referenced as a now well-established game that local elites play with donors, reflecting their divergent interests and objectives in the implementation of reforms. Similar to how Watson (2003) highlights the conflicting rationales between the urban poor and municipal professionals at the local level of urban planning in South Africa, here the deviations have been between national and international actors, with the former—embodied in the Frelimo political party administration—attempting to use the latter's push for decentralization reforms as a means of securing political loyalty from localized reform beneficiaries and, perversely, of centralizing control over the country's political apparatus. Erk further criticizes the roll-out of decentralization reforms by bilateral development agencies and international organizations as a 'decontextualized and unconditional embrace of formal institutional blueprints without due attention to structural and contextual local factors' (2015, p. 410). Participatory budgeting in practice, even in Mozambique's most capacity-full city, reflects these challenges of reform implementation without contextual integration.

Problematically, however, it is not simply that context has been ignored or depoliticized in the international circuit of development reforms—and in particular decentralization—exported to Africa, but that context is itself has been often blamed for the failures of such reforms. This point is made forcefully by Erk who argues that the contextual environments into which reforms have been introduced in Africa since the 1990s are often pinpointed as the drivers for the failures of reforms—an ex-post consideration of context which centers blame on the 'recipients', as opposed to an ex-ante one, which would more appropriately point to the failures of reform advocates to consider contextual realities and histories to begin with (Erk, 2015, 2014). Others too note how 'good governance' is often cited as the missing ingredient in the implementation of decentralization reforms across the African continent. For example, scholars working on accountability and principal-agency problems note how decentralization reforms were perceived as a means of minimizing rent-seeking behaviors (Hiskey, 2010; Wunsch, 2014). The potential that decentralization reforms would bring in theory are thus linked to the enhancement of local control to 'reduce decisional and organizational costs through smaller and less heterogeneous populations; to utilize social capital, social pressure, and existing social infrastructure to discourage free riding; and to reduce the operational costs of large organizations by enhancing the capacity of smaller, subnational governance institutions' (Wunsch, 2014). However, such decentralization theory fails to grasp the reality of the different realms of local control and the legacies of local socio-political patronage in the wake of racist administrations in African countries like Mozambique. For example, Weimer and Carrilho (2017) apply Ekeh's (1975) formulation of two publics on the continent—the civic public and the primordial public—in their discussion of decentralization in Mozambique. The former sphere—the civic public—represents formal and codified institutions, often with racist colonial legacies, that are mostly mimicked and resisted on the ground, while the latter—or the primordial public—encompasses informal, but well-defined and hierarchical social rules of engagement that are well-known and followed. In the context of participatory budgeting, this reality works against the assumed relevance of the exercise as a means of overturning traditional budget oversight, as not only is the exercise now delimited to certain neighborhoods, but the civic public in Maputo remains attached to Frelimo as opposed to local government itself, and the primordial public tacitly governs what priorities should be at the neighborhood level.

Cornwall leans on Lefebvre's conceptualization of the social histories and political life of spaces and the connectivity between different social spheres of power therein to call for 'situating... dynamics with regard to patterns of interaction in other domains of association [outside that of public participation]: the mosque or church, the clinic, the field, the home' (2002, p.7). This is evidenced in the constitution and dynamics at play in the way that participatory budgeting was introduced and operationalized in Maputo, where the Consultative Council—much as the bairro-level secretariat and quarter chiefs—are often constituted by the same individuals as those in Frelimo's local-level party structure—and sometimes held by such members by over a decade (or more). This reality reflects the importance of Cornwall's analytic use of Lefebvre and the overlap of different social—and in Mozambique, racial—spheres of power. Participatory budgeting does not so much empower the ordinary resident in Maputo. Its exclusion of neighborhoods follows a racialized administrative dynamic still present in the city. Further, it has created another avenue of access to finance and political power for the district's existing leadership, again dominated by fidelity to Frelimo as a political party.

An Experiment with Homegrown Decentralization in Mexico

Early traditional decentralization reforms and a step in a new direction

Mexico is a federal republic whose fiscal structure is defined by the Fiscal Coordination Law (Ley de Coordinación Fiscal, LCF), which was passed in 1953. Prior to this, according to the 1917 constitution, the central government and federal entities (the states) had equal taxing authority, which resulted in a competitive system and efficiency losses. Over the years, several national fiscal conventions were held in an attempt to coordinate taxing authority and distribution of national income, eventually resulting in the 1953 LCF which held that states coordinating with the federation would suppress local taxes on trade and industry in return for transfers from the central government (Cantú de la Cruz, 2003; Escobar Latapí, 2012). The LCF underwent two major reforms in 2007 and 2013 with the goal of increasing tax collection at the subnational level and modifying some of the funding formulas for the Municipal Development Fund and Hydrocarbon Taxation Fund among others in order to enforce fiscal federalism. The overarching goal of both reforms was to make states less dependent on central government transfers (Carolini et al., 2019).[4]

In contrast to the more traditional forms of fiscal decentralization embodied in the LCF reforms, which attempted to increase local tax collection, the Mexican federal government has also launched other programs that specifically target territorial inequalities by strengthening local authorities and communities with greater fiscal power—one of the main objectives of fiscal decentralization. While these programs are not orthodox representations of fiscal decentralization reforms as conceived in higher-income countries, here we argue that they represent compelling, if complicated, alternatives to traditional fiscal decentralization projects. One such program is the Priority Attention Zones (zonas de atención prioritaria, or ZAP). According to the 2004 General Law of Social Development (Ley General de Desarrollo Social, LGDS) Article 43, ZAPs receive federal funds to boost local budgets, with the transfer volumes determined by a ZAP's level of social lag (including educational gaps, lack of access to healthcare, and quality of built homes) and the percentage of the population living in extreme poverty (Carolini et al., 2019; CONEVAL (Consejo Naiconal de Evaluación de la Política de Desarrollo Social), 2020). According to a report by the National Evaluation Council of Development Policy (Consejo Nacional de Evaluación de la Política de Desarrollo Social, CONEVAL), between 2005 and 2012 there was an 8.6% increase in access to basic housing infrastructure in the ZAPs. This diminished the gap in access to basic housing infrastructure between non-ZAPs and ZAPs from 20.8% in 2005 to 13.4% in 2012 (CONEVAL (Consejo Naiconal de Evaluación de la Política de Desarrollo Social), 2020). As of 2015, the National Institute of Statistics and Geography (Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía, INEGI) had identified 25,286 towns with a very high or high degree of marginalization in 698 municipalities with a total population of 8 million people as potential beneficiaries of the ZAP program (SEDESOL (Secretaria de Desarrollo Social), 2015).

Another initiative, Tres por Uno (3x1), also serves a purpose traditionally sought by fiscal decentralization reforms. While the 3x1 program is typically categorized as a social spending initiative, it embodies an alternative form of fiscal decentralization in that it combines subnational funds with private funds from Mexican citizens living and working abroad, and federal funds to implement social and community development projects at a local level—in short, amplifying local entities' access to funds for local development. The funding associated with 3x1 is significant for municipalities. According to Simpser et. al. (2016), 20% of total public works spending in approximately 30% of participating municipalities were 3x1 expenditures. 3x1 builds formalized connections between hometown associations formed by Mexican citizens abroad and their home communities in Mexico, combining their support with funding at the federal, state, and municipal level to support local projects giving all three entities a say in the project selection and implementation process. Simpser et. al. (2016) highlight 3x1 as a particularly compelling case of decentralization reform to consider because it is evidence of the fiscal, administrative, and political decentralization reforms which have led to local governments having increasing influence over the implementation of redistributive spending policies. Further, the program is unique in that it is a national government initiative that formalized and expanded upon a long held grassroot tradition of Mexican citizens abroad investing in their hometowns.

The 3x1 program was not, at least initially, a top-down approach like ZAPs, but rather a bottom-up one born from the realities of migration, which strongly shape the Mexican socio-economic landscape. Nonetheless, the program came to confront the challenges commonly associated with colonial legacies of centralized control, the deep racial inequalities whose origins can be traced to the Spanish caste system, and generalized distrust between disadvantaged social and ethnic groups and public officials.

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[4] In Spanish, these funds are referenced as 'aportaciones y participaciones.'

A unique initiative founded on place-based realities meets a centralist legacy

3x1's origins can be traced back to the informal community projects funded by Mexican migrants beginning in at least the 1970s if not earlier (Malone and Durden, 2018). The program's first formal antecedent was the foundation of a 2x1 program in the state of Zacatecas in 1992. The initiative worked by matching every US$ invested by migrant social clubs in hometown associations (HTAs) with another US$ given by the state and municipal governments. In 1998, Zacatecas extended this subnational level initiative to a cooperation with the national government, forming 3x1 whereby every dollar invested through the HTAs was matched by the federal, state, and municipal governments (Hamann, 2007). In 2002, the program was expanded nationwide (Malone and Durden, 2018).

As the name indicates for every $1 migrant groups contribute, the federal, state, and municipal governments contribute a total of $3 more. Project selection is under the control of community groups known as the Comité de Validación y Atención a Migrantes (COVAM), which is composed of representatives from the three levels of government and the migrant association in question (Simpser et. al., 2016). This architecture differs significantly from the typical fiscal decentralization narrative, which fully entrusts local governments to decide on the ideal mix of goods and services for their populations. Rather, 3x1 incorporates the priorities of a Mexican population spread around the world for socioeconomic reasons but still with strong connections to their homes and a desire to make an impact there. Again, in its origins the program was a cooperation between the state government of Zacatecas and the Federation of Zacatecan Clubs, an associate of Zacatecan hometown associations, which did not involve the federal government. In an attempt to spread a decentralized development program across the nation, the central government also got a seat at the decision-making table.

The impact of 3x1 has been debated extensively over the years (Iskander 2005). From the time the national program began in 2002 to 2007, 27 out of 30 Mexican states participated and by 2008 the total budget between migrants and the three levels of government grew from $424 million to $1.7 billion. On the ground, one study found that 3x1 magnified local public works budgets, increasing access to public sanitation, drainage and water, though not electricity (Duquette-Rury, 2015). There is also evidence that 3x1 projects tend to be implemented in more disadvantaged areas that traditionally lack public works spending (Burgess, 2005).

Colonial legacies produce mistrust and mixed results

As Lopez (2009) indicates, the goal of expanding 3x1 into a nationwide program was to reach 'marginalized' communities with reference to Mexico's indigenous population. In reality, the country's colonial legacy and the corresponding Spanish caste system continues to impact who has the resources to migrate or not and the level of trust Mexicans living abroad may have in Mexican public officials at home.

During Spanish rule, a racially based caste system was imposed and used to maintain control over the colony. Society was broken down between European-born Spaniards, who occupied the top socioeconomic sphere of society, followed by Mexican-born people of Spanish descent (*criollos*), people of mixed European and indigenous descent (*mestizos*), indigenous people and finally, people of African descent. In this social hierarchy, the indigenous and Afro-Mexicans were the most marginalized with the least social protections (Layson et al., 2017). The indigenous population of Mexico is often so marginalized that its members have less access to the resources needed to undertake a journey abroad and as a result, have a shorter history of migration and weaker migrant networks abroad (Lopez 2009). This reality has strong implications for the outcome of a decentralized funding scheme based on remittances.

As previously noted, 3x1 was rolled out nationally based on its success as a 2x1 program in the state of Zacatecas. Zacatecas has the smallest indigenous population as a percentage of the total population of all Mexican states—0.29%. As of 2009, Jalisco had received the most federal support for the 3x1 program and its indigenous population is also among the lowest in the country, 1.16% of the total population. Jalisco has a long history of migration, beginning in the mid-20th century, whereas a state like Oaxaca with a much larger indigenous population (47.56% of total population), has a migration history going back approximately 30 years (INEE (Instituto Nacional para la Evaluación de la Educación), 2000; Lopez, 2009).

The legacy of colonial patterns of settlement and segregation means that today, some areas of Mexico produce more migrants than others, making 3x1 an unreliable strategy for addressing fiscal inequalities across regions. As Rocha Menocal (2007: 5) states — 'while the programme is intended in principle to reach those sectors of the population/communities that are poorest/most marginalised, given the way the programme operates, this cannot be guaranteed in practice. Migrants select the communities that they want to work with, but this does not guarantee that it will always be the poorest communities that are selected.'

Relatedly, Rocha Menocal (2007) also indicates that one of the initial challenges of the national rollout of 3x1 was the mistrust the migrant communities harbored of local authorities whom they perceived as corrupt or uninterested in migrants' challenges. The program has been known to reflect a degree of politicization. Rocha Menocal (pg. 5, 2007) claims that this tension is specifically linked to conflicts around political party affiliations, for example, in the state of Puebla. Mexican citizens originating in Puebla but living in the US were strongly opposed to the leadership of the Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI) and 'resent[ed] the party as partly responsible for their leaving Mexico in the first place.' Thus, the idea of participating in a partnership with the local government controlled by the PRI was out of the question. Similarly, in their study of the political economy, Simpser et. al. (2016) also found empirical evidence that despite the project selection process being managed by the COVAMs, municipalities' disbursement of funds appeared to be timed with the end of the electoral cycle and that when determining infrastructure spending to match 3x1 projects, municipal governments protect 'politically-sensitive budget items,' like personnel salaries, at the expense of debt service.

The development of a local elite that monopolizes power at the municipal level is also problematic for the implementation of fiscal decentralization reforms, for as Smith and Revell (2016) argue in their analysis of the impact of fiscal decentralization in the city of León, local elites in Mexico have national aspirations that often conflict with local priorities. What these scholars do not dwell on, however, is the further link between the establishment of local elites and the colonial caste system, which excluded individuals of indigenous origins from positions of power. The assumption behind fiscal decentralization initiatives is that local leadership will better understand the demands of their constituents than national leaders and act accordingly. This does not take into account, however, the particular challenges for many Mexicans in overcoming the legacies of a colonial administration in which some racial and ethnic groups were entirely excluded from leadership, even at the subnational level, and left with patrimonial systems that depended on elites who historically did not act in their best interest. The UN's Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC) has pushed to the forefront the notion of a 'culture of privilege' in the region, which is inextricably linked with colonial history and to this day perpetuates a system in which the historical elite have better access to positions of power at every level in both the public and private sphere (2018). Another product of colonialism in Mexico according to Finot (2001) is that the local level of government has always been seen operating on the margins of the official centralized government. In the case of 3x1, there was an explicit effort to incorporate and formalize the local governments' involvement in transnational development initiatives. It was nonetheless, met with hesitation by citizens abroad. In the context of 3x1, in order to cope with this distrust, migrant communities 'demanded playing a bigger and more direct role in supervising and overseeing the executing of the development projects they supported' (Rocha Menocal 2007).

What is perhaps perverse in how 3x1 as a national program has fared is that it began on a very local level, working between HTAs and the state and municipal governments of Zacatecas. But as the program drew the attention of the federal government and was instituted nationwide, it became apparent that Mexican citizens abroad did not all share the same level of trust with decentralized programs as implemented by the central government. This harkens back to Falletti´s (2010) observation that the success of decentralization reforms depends greatly on who initiates them and how they are initiated. In this case, the original program was initiated in a single state working with migrants specifically from that state. As this expanded to a program initiated on a national level with federal level decision makers involved, distrust at the local level grew. Krannich (2016) points out that a potential alternative to 3x1 could be the *usos y costumbres* program which grants indigenous communities in Mexico a certain degree of political autonomy. However, this often leads to elder males in the community occupying positions of leadership at the exclusion of women and the youth. In her study based in Oaxaca, Worthen explains that even efforts to reform patriarchal traditions fail because indigenous women have felt that reforms actually 'exacerbate their exploitation within the local terms of gendered collective labor' and create 'tension over women's political roles instead of ushering in women's participation' (2015:914, 915). Ultimately, even alternatives to traditional decentralization programs cannot escape the implications of a colonial past and the many ways in which societies were divided under colonial rule with the purpose of maintaining control.

Conclusion

As Watson (2003) highlights, even when planners attempt to recognize variations across communities and cultures, there is still a tendency to lean towards assumptions and a desire to create common truths—such as what works to leverage remittances for development in one state could work in all states, or what works to enhance participation in one community or country will work in all—when in fact there are deeper conflicting priorities rooted in complicated colonial histories and rationales that are not readily apparent today.

Decentralization in the Western paradigm has been viewed as a way to increase autonomy and to improve accountability and service efficiencies in subnational entities. This is the logic that steered its implementation under the influence of international donor organizations in participatory budgeting in Mozambique as well as in earlier traditional and new forms of fiscal decentralization in Mexico. While prior critiques of the implementation of decentralization reforms in the global South have highlighted the possibility that decentralization can increase regional inequalities and that greater fiscal authority and spending power at the subnational level do not necessarily equate with greater accountability, here we introduce a new consideration by exploring the impact of colonial legacies—and especially racist governing institutions—on the implementation of decentralization policies. This institutionalized racism often facilitated the establishment of dual governance systems that became nodes of societal distrust which are still evidenced today. In practice, the racism and its reproduction in dual governance systems rooted in colonial administrations can help to explain some of the divergence between how advocates of fiscal decentralization perceive its potential benefits and its actual impact.

While Maputo's Mayor Comiche in Mozambique sourced international expertise in his implementation of participatory budgeting, 3x1 in Mexico was a homegrown alternative to other more traditional forms of decentralization. In Mozambique, dominant classes and their members, determined under the Portuguese colonial administration and often with racially biased criteria, continued to impact who filled leadership positions, even in a post-colonial and decentralized system. This complicated stated objectives to increase citizen participation and accountability of leaders, who were more likely influenced by the dominant political party, Frelimo, instead of the general public. In Mexico, 3x1 began as a homegrown effort at the subnational level and was based on the realities of a low to middle income migrant nation, as opposed to a high-income country. Nonetheless, the colonial legacy of a Spanish caste system that greatly disadvantaged indigenous groups, to the point where they had fewer resources to be able to migrate and to try to improve their living standards elsewhere has meant that the program has a limited capacity to address deep regional inequalities. Further, when it was adopted at the national level, 3x1 confronted the realities of parallel governing institutions and distrust between different levels of government and citizens, evidence again of the impact of racial dynamics in colonial regimes.

In conclusion, subnational government is inherently complex in post-colonial contexts in which racially based caste systems were institutionalized under dual governance systems that have led to deep and lingering societal mistrust. In this context, the assumptions behind fiscal decentralization as applied in high income countries in Europe and in North America do not resonate in the context of Latin America and sub-Saharan Africa. A reconsideration of methods for improving efficiency and accountability with an explicit discussion and understanding of the often spatialized colonial legacies of race and power is necessary in order to develop and adapt more appropriate tools than Western-style fiscal decentralization. In the case of Mexico, as in much of Latin America, there is a need to dismantle the 'culture of privilege' by defending historically disenfranchised groups and ensuring their active and equal participation in the public realm at every level of government. This goes hand in hand with a progressive tax reform and greater social protections that work to counter historical inequalities across space. In Mozambique, legacies of spatialized privilege and racial differentiation remain entrenched in how administrative reforms like participatory budgeting are rolled out and implemented. Even though more recent efforts have aimed to enhance the resources afforded to the poorest—and most uniformly black African—neighborhoods, these efforts are problematic in that they again entrench the idea of dual governance systems across spaces and peoples, and in that they allow for yet another venue of elite capture by privileged groups aligned with the very centralized power of the dominant political party. Thus, an exercise meant to enhance transparency and broad popular participation instead breeds further illusions about decentralization power.

Evaluations of participatory fiscal reforms in the global South like 3x1 and participatory budgeting often remains positioned in terms of the efficiencies achieved or in terms of how well they encourage broad participation (Cabannes 2018; Malone and Durden 2018; Sintomer et al 2013). However, here we have considered another avenue for understanding and evaluating participatory fiscal initiatives. In analyzing the success of reforms like those forwarded in Mexico and Mozambique, scholars and policy makers would do well to first consider how legacies of racialized and spatialized power sit across the contexts in which reforms are forwarded and to examine how well the actual design of reforms and their implementation incorporate such realities and the rationales they have institutionalized among participating stakeholders—before considering the reform's 'success' in terms of efficiencies and numbers of participants gained. Colonial legacies of mistrust ingrained in the differentiated treatment of peoples across spaces are difficult to unravel in political contexts keen on the uptake and scaling up of championed policies. However, these fiscal participatory policy reforms unravel on the ground precisely because their design and implementation did not consider the histories of peoples and spaces in targeted sites. This should change if fiscal reform is to even begin helping to address the deep roots of spatial and racial inequality born from colonial administrations.

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Infrastructural insurgency: Constructing situated data at Brazil’s urban periphery

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This paper focuses on how insurgencies are continually recast in parallel to State-led redevelopment or ‘upgrading’. It brings attention to communities that shape and are reshaped by inclusion of data in processes through which citizens participate in city-making. Drawing on a comparative case study of intensively upgraded informal settlements in São Paulo, Brazil, findings show that data-based insurgencies have been forged from prior collective action. The resultant co-created or *situated* data challenge the State’s legitimacy as sole arbiter of informal settlement representation and infrastructure transformation in cities. In this context, the term infrastructural insurgency is proposed as a way that socio-material agencies iterate over time and in space, and to stimulate discourse about the future of upgrading. It reflects on which interactions between data and redevelopment can inform planning in post-redevelopment conditions across global south.

Keywords: insurgency, infrastructure, redevelopment, situated data, Brazil

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Introduction

Insurgent planning has sought to recognize contexts of socio-spatial injustice in cities, focusing on how formal and informal planning frameworks interact and reinforce one another in poor neighborhoods (Sandercock, 1999; Friedmann, 2011). However, there is a lack of concrete, empirical data about what differentiates these spaces (Watson, 2003) and the panorama of socio-spatial inequalities shaped by ongoing cycles of urban redevelopment, particularly recent 'smart' data-based versions (Moser, 2014). This epistemic gap has motivated collective efforts to co-construct counter data networks that merge public, macro data with micro sources collected through fieldwork, a synthesis that I define as *situated data*. Situated data reveals the lived impacts of redevelopment in informal settlements, and it is evidence against the proposals that redevelopment makes. Related research has focused on informal home building's vital role in shaping broader spaces of internet-based resistance (Holston, 2019). This article argues that amid this shift, local data-based insurgencies have been overlooked.

To illuminate these data-based insurgencies, this paper focuses on residents who built housing through processes of autoconstruction in the settlements of Heliópolis and Jardim São Francisco in São Paulo; have long participated in municipal planning processes; and, in the wake of ongoing cycles of redevelopment, have co-constructed their own data about the formal and informal housing interactions in their neighborhoods.[1] Their work dialogs with a global data-based planning turn and through Brazil's post-democracy environment, in which a right to the city inspired the legal inclusion of all citizens in urban development and guaranteed poor residents a provisional right to the land where they built their own homes (Fernandes, 2007). Although not initially referred to in these terms, residents' right to the city has evolved as they cope with unjust dynamics between democracy and exclusion (Holston, 2008) and tensions between the social use of urban space and private property rights (Friendly, 2013). These coping mechanisms initially entailed land retention and infrastructure but expanded to encompass broader redevelopment processes and projects. Although the expectations for redevelopment to improve informal settlements progressively—even 'formalize' them—were significant, failed or unfinished projects led to more informalization and degradation (Roy, 2009; Perlman, 2010). At Brazil's economic peak during the latter half of the 2000s, the municipality of São Paulo took steps to improve redevelopment by using GIS-based technologies that prioritized high-risk areas for tailor-made interventions (SEHAB, 2008). However, greater data precision did not alleviate the most widespread risk: settlements that were already intensively redeveloped were redeveloped more, and those most at risk were ignored (Stiphany et al., 2021). The disconnect between data and effective informal settlement redevelopment is evolving, but two early studies suggest alternatives that would today be called citizen science: residents documented their housing assets in favelas to make claims for improvements (Sampaio, 1991; Taschner, 1999). This history reveals that citizens have used local data sources to generate strategies of self-reliance and to reveal phenomena that city planners may not otherwise see.

Thus, there are manifold interconnections between the process of urban redevelopment and data co-creation about redevelopment's lived outcomes, protracted nature, and material transformations. This paper demonstrates that the production of situated data signals forms of community representation that have emerged from past insurgencies but operate to reveal redevelopment's hidden aftereffects. Beyond this empirical contribution, these emerging planning spaces are embedded within local knowledge infrastructures that resist subjectivity to externally-defined planning processes (Haraway, 1988; Sletto, 2012). Although much has been written about insurgency before redevelopment, there is a poverty of terms for differentiating between what data permit planning to see and the responsibility planners can take for urban informality.

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[1] Autoconstruction (Holston, 1991) and self-help (Ward, 1982) describe the process of incremental home construction, whereby people build their dwellings over time and as their resources permit. I will use autoconstruction in this article, as this is the term that people who live in informal settlements use to describe their contributions to home and community building.

To contribute to this special issue's focus on planning from a southern perspective, I use empirical case material to consider four dimensions of insurgency. First, insurgency is often conceptualized in terms of social life and mobilizations *for* infrastructure. This overlooks how the built environment, trunk networks, and communal spaces are bound up in insurgent cultures and agencies (Amin, 2014). Second, the relationship between the right to the city's constitutional provisions and disperse socio-materialities that distribute resources and reshape cities is understudied. Third, insurgency builds reciprocities between diverse planning agents, but there are epistemological gaps related to how citizens learn insurgency and co-construct supportive resources. Finally, insurgent action that creates resources (in this case data) raises important questions about the ethics and moral dilemmas of 'making the invisible visible' (Sandercock, 1995). Broadly, this study discourses with many studies that grapple with the empirics of actually existing insurgencies and the reality of how cities are structured and territorialized through processes of redevelopment (Meth, 2010).

These findings stem from my doctoral (2011 – 2015) study about the spatial politics of redevelopment and displacement in Heliópolis, Jardim São Francisco, and another community (Bamburral), and postdoctoral study (2015 – 2017) about the role of situated data for revealing how the historical impacts of redevelopment impact future growth alternatives. I also bring to this study my professional experience as a planner for the city of São Paulo on a redevelopment project in Bamburral (2008 – 2009). While most of the data presented here draw from 2015 – onward, historical references are carried forward from the doctoral fieldwork period; in contrast, my understanding of redevelopment logistics comes from practice.[2]

Redevelopment, insurgency, and planning

Redevelopment, a system of planned interventions in the existing urban fabric, first gained traction in the global south through what was referred to as 'upgrading' in informal settlements (Perlman, 2010). Governments strategically intervened to add 'first world' infrastructure to these areas (Caldeira, 2017). As Brazilian urbanist Erminia Maricato suggests, such interventions were frequently rationalized by 'ideas out of place', or external standards and practices that are imposed from the outside, resulting in the suppression of endemic versions inside of poor neighborhoods (Maricato, 2000).[3] Over time, these processes have structured Brazilian cities around three main types of development: formal development, informal settlements, and redeveloped informal settlements, each shaped by a nexus of formal and informal housing types (Stiphany et al., 2014).

Initially, exogenous codes and standards offered a benchmark for how people could participate in urban transformation (Ben Joseph, 2005). By building their own homes to fit formal housing models and ready-to-hand infrastructures, working-class populations demonstrated to governments that they could successfully adapt to virtually any hardship. However, many communities soon recognized that their practices of self-reliance were no match for increasingly unjust redevelopment processes, and the need for 'soft' infrastructures of social networks and human capital to regulate urban policy (Simone, 2004; Amin, 2014). Increasingly, residents' everyday efforts to build hard and soft infrastructures have attracted attention to incremental housing production as a mode of urbanization (Roy, 2005). In Brazil, local material agencies that destabilized the State were considered evidence of 'insurgent citizenship' that formed spatialities of 'insurgent urbanism' (Holston, 1998).

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[2] I defined 'situated data' as 'data that is co-created by residents about change that happens in their own communities' (Stiphany et al., 2014). This term has been used in the area of digital humanities (see: Havens, 2020 and Rettberg, 2020), although I find no studies that have used 'situated data' in relation to data and informal settlement redevelopment in the global south.

[3] Maricato's use of this term draws from Roberto Schwartz (1992), who used the term 'misplaced ideas' to describe Brazil's post-colonial condition.

In response to globalization in other planning contexts, Leonie Sandercock (1995) extended definitions of insurgency to encompass issues of multiculturalism, reorienting the axis of binary State-community relationships to the differentiated social spaces where people share concerns but adopt dissimilar approaches to reshaping the city. The diversification of bottom-up practices has continued throughout the global south, where people challenge power frameworks in a variety of ways (Sandercock, 1999). Insurgency thus provides a name for violent (Meth, 2013) and nonviolent collective action; highly variegated (Sweet, 2011) forms of resistance in planning theory; and 'something oppositional, a mobilizing against one of the many faces of the state, the market, or both' (Sandercock, 1999: 41).

The association of insurgency with rapid urbanization initially led scholars to view it as an aftereffect of rural-to-urban migration, linked to collective land settlement and autoconstruction (Holston, 1991). Yet, with persistent and 'peripheral urbanization' (Caldeira, 2017), insurgencies began to rise outside of the home building process and in response to emerging social injustices (Holston, 2019). These extra-housing insurgencies have shaped new epistemic dimensions of planning based on contextual knowledge and resistance conditions (Knorr-Cetina, 1999; Sandercock, 2003). Rooted in concerns for how hegemony inculcates the fabric of everyday life, emergent insurgencies are associated with new tools, resources, and methods that unravel old ties that have been tightened by 'scientific notions and philosophical opinions that have entered into common circulation and continue to oppress vulnerable populations (Gramsci, 1985: 421). Yet, rather than wholesale revolution, such place-based resistance aims to reach *collective* awareness or a 'counter-hegemony' that can be reapplied and thus co-produced across other contexts (Miraftab, 2009). For example, recent work in the area of insurgent planning operates within a larger discursive field but also in concert with dialogic approaches to learning and engaged, *in situ* research (Sletto, 2012). The overlap between knowledge *about* and *by* urbanization-marginalized populations signals the extent to which urban development is at once a research activity, a suite of material interventions, and resultant morphologies that constitute a local spatial politics (Freire, 1993; Arratia, 1992).

Beginning in the mid-2000s, the process of redevelopment also changed. Municipalities across the world built urban databases of informal settlements to more precisely intervene in particular places, while civic and academic actors saw data-based planning as an opportunity for greater participation in urban transformation (Odendaal, 2006). One area of local data work focused on a 'science of slums' (Brelsford et al., 2018) that physically 'reblocked' informal settlements using data collected by community residents (SDI, 2015a,b; Chakraborty et al., 2015). Other data-based planning was more nebulous and organized around various urban problems and leading to highly contingent 'democratic research' infrastructures (Science Communication Unit, 2013) and 'data action methods' (Williams, 2020:42). In a variety of contexts, such citizen science from below began to highlight how marginalized populations use technology to become the primary translators of subjective socio-spatialities (Hachmann et al., 2018; Shelton, 2018). However, rarely do these data flows specifically focus on how redevelopment transforms community morphology over time.

Despite the expansion of data sources across the global south, there are concerns that persistent ‘wicked problems’ will be overlooked (Goodspeed, 2015). For example, planners Glasmeier and Christopherson (2015) argued that the success of ‘the smart city’ will be measured in places where infrastructure is non-existent and governance is minimal. From a similar perspective, one digital scholar-activist refers to the redistribution of digital resources to poor neighborhoods as the ‘actually existing smart city’ (Shelton et al., 2015). Others observe such grounded ‘street science’ as critical cartography for revealing sociospatial injustice, but not necessarily transforming its material dimensions (Corburn, 2003). Thus, what may have been considered a minor form of ‘smart’ urbanism is now a dynamic area of community based research to source, sense, monitor, and mine data to potentially invert the unidirectionality of conventional data-based planning (Joseph and Chambers, 2020).

There may be a tendency to think of the data actions described above as insurgency. All detect an order within the seemingly disordered and ungovernable places that underlie insurgent praxis (Trovalla and Trovalla, 2015). Yet scholars have increasingly echoed Sandercock’s early arguments that not all collective action is insurgent (Sandercock, 1995; Sweet, 2011). As concerns redevelopment, the insurgency of an action depends on whether those who are revealing social injustice in informal environments have done so with the intent of confronting a threat to amend an injustice. There are legitimate reasons for acting in an everyday manner or as a ‘quiet rebel,’ particularly when acting out may draw substantial repercussions (Bayat, 2000). However, to be clear, mapping informality or documenting informal urban morphology, in themselves, are not insurgent. Absent intentional resistance to State power and direct exposure of injustices, these descriptive modes of data collection do not deepen engagement with emergent territorializations of power in urban peripheries (Holston, 2009).

Insurgency requires data to effectively confront redevelopment processes. Without resources and methods that generate needed raw information, or data, insurgency cannot act on a range of issues that residents of informal settlements currently face. One issue is that many informal dwellings have become slum tenements (cortiços) whose residents have been removed from redevelopment sites but have been provided no housing alternative (Santoro, 2016). Another issue is that more informal housing creates new infrastructural demands that strain community systems and decrease urban livability (Scheba and Turok, 2020). The lack of post-occupancy evaluation for social housing may also reinforce the State’s culture of building and leaving (or not building and leaving, as the case may be) (Abiko and Ornstein, 2002). Where low-income communities wish to compensate, and co-create data, many face difficulty accessing the technical or software equipment necessary for collection and visualization because they lack the education, resources, and internet connections that people in wealthier parts of the city enjoy (Wamuyayu, 2017). Difficulties collecting data at micro, household, and dwelling scales about ad-hoc additions, internal subdivisions, and spaces that are difficult to access also contribute to this disconnect (Varley, 1994). These challenges impact how data insurgencies promote concrete outcomes and navigate broader arenas of data-based planning.

The long term aftereffects of redevelopment in the global south are rarely referenced in urban policy or discussion. How these concrete conditions are assessed is also frequently absent from theorizing about insurgency (Watson, 2012). Given increasing state withdrawal and the potential for insurgent actions to operate at broader scales, it may not be obvious to scholars or activists what power to trace and confront inside of informal settlements. Building upon the aforementioned case studies, in the next section, I describe the methods for observing how insurgency in two communities resulted in the co-creation of data about diverse dimensions of urban informality.

Methods for constructing situated data in two intensively redeveloped communities

This study's data were collected as part of two projects undertaken in São Paulo between 2015 and 2020 about redeveloped informal settlements on the city's industrial east side.[4] The first project investigated the role of data in urban redevelopment. [5] Building on the findings of the first project, the second project involved follow-up studies about the specific drivers of changes in building type and urban morphology, undertaken during the summer of 2018, the summer and fall of 2019, and the summer of 2020. Both projects collected data in Heliópolis and Jardim São Francisco, settlements that were established in the late 1960s and have been subject to extensive State-led redevelopment processes since the 1980s.

Guided by the principles of Participatory Action Research (PAR), the first project involved two phases and used a range of quantitative and qualitative methods to investigate how the impacts of redevelopment vary across the two case communities (Park, 2006; Stiphany et al., 2014). In phase one, focus groups and interviews with residents provided a broad understanding of how redevelopment was experienced, guided the collective identification of research questions, and led to the development of an intensive post-occupancy and household survey about individual dwelling change, household transformation, and community character. During the second phase of fieldwork, one field team composed of researchers and collaborators in each community applied the survey across a weighted sample of 1,032 dwellings (formal and informal) in the two case studies. For each dwelling (one respondent per dwelling), photography, field drawings, field notes of follow-up interviews, and 3D digital modeling were used to understand the intersection between redevelopment and individual house and household transformation. The project was facilitated by the construction of a community data visualization tool, ComuniDADOS, that offered public access to the project and data as the study was unfolding.[6] Once it was clear that the data captured residual and hidden impacts of redevelopment, a series of follow-up studies were undertaken in the areas of informal rental and environmental degradation.

I have previously outlined why São Paulo and these two communities are good cases for understanding urban redevelopment, but it is important to briefly note my reasons for re-engaging Heliópolis and Jardim São Francisco for postdoctoral research. When São Paulo's 'smart' upgrading program (Moser, 2016) came to a halt in 2013 amid political and economic decline, residents and community activists sought continuity to their housing needs and, in some places, this activism led to the co-creation of data. In the meantime, the fate of the small favela for which I was a planner on a redevelopment project was unknown. During the 2010 rainy season a treacherous mudslide accelerated the redevelopment project's initiation and broadened the footprint of displacement. What was not demolished by water and mud was taken down by bulldozers and men with sledgehammers. As I listened to resident stories about being displaced, a common problem cited was their lack of data to fight the city's data. The problem of data arose again after my doctoral study of how people built educational spaces in another settlement, Heliópolis, to resist displacement. A young resident of Heliópolis who attended my dissertation defense cited the need for data to not only resist displacement, but to improve community participation in urban redevelopment (Resident of Heliópolis, doctoral dissertation defense, August 15, 2015). These experiences motivated me to establish the Chapa Civic Data Lab in the context of my postdoctoral research, and this lab remains active and in construction today.[7] It is from this embedded yet outsider position that I trace how insurgencies in the case communities morphed in response to cycles of redevelopment and catalyse, as I suggest in the next section, infrastructural insurgency.

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[4] For a detailed account of São Paulo's east side and the two case studies presented here see Stiphany, 2015a; Stiphany et al., 2021.

[5] This work was supported by the National Science Foundation under Grant #1513395.

[6] The ComuniDADOS data visualization tool can be accessed at www.chapa.io.

Three insurgencies

The Heliópolis and São Francisco favelas have been substantially shaped by three insurgencies spanning almost fifty years. While early insurgencies that stemmed from acts of land occupation are typical in Brazil (Holston, 2008), those that arose in response to post-redevelopment conditions in these communities are new. Add to this trajectory the use of geospatial data for redevelopment, which municipalities have used to more precisely subdivide Heliópolis, São Francisco, and other 'upgraded' favelas into enclaves of new social housing or swathes of autoconstructed dwellings. These data-driven fragments are literally the 'interstices' of planning (Sandercock, 1999) because they redefine concepts of rights, housing, and home as residents are displaced from autoconstructed to formal housing environments. Despite ongoing cycles of uneven development and urban 'splintering,' informal settlements do become places where people challenge sociospatial injustices (Graham and Marvin, 2001). As described below, these insurgencies are increasingly facilitated by data co-creation among residents, sometimes in partnership with academics (Sletto, 2012).[8]

Insurgency 1: foundations

Heliópolis and São Francisco share an active history of insurgency. Heliópolis was settled in 1967 when municipal authorities evicted approximately one-hundred families from a *favela* beneath a viaduct in Vila Prudente, an industrial neighborhood east of São Paulo's historical center. These families were temporarily relocated to a large land tract owned by the Federal Instituto de Aposentaria e Pensões dos Industriários (IAPI) and promised new housing. The social housing was never built, and over the next three decades, Heliópolis grew to be one of the largest settlements in the city. In the late 1970s, illegal land bosses called *grileiros* moved in, dividing up the land and controlling infrastructure access. The 1980s were marked by violence as fighting broke out between the *grileiros* and a vigilante group called the *matadores*. At this time, Brazil was emerging from a twenty-year military dictatorship and grassroots movements were building a progressive urban reform movement (Rolnik, 2011). Thus, favelas became sites where residents actively negotiated their rights on the streets, learned political activism in spaces established by the Catholic church, and where different, often antagonistic, actors made claims for the same land (Friendly, 2017).[9] A former resident of Heliópolis, who now holds State office, describes the clashes:

> At the time, we (residents) were fighting off two opponents—the IAPI and the municipality who

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[7] See the Chapa Civic Data Lab website: www.chapa.io

[8] Data may be accessed through a range of media and publications at www.chapa.io.

[9] Community organization in favelas was deeply influenced by Catholic neighborhood movements, which became embedded in communities through pastoral spaces called Comunidades Eclesiais de Base (CEBs). In these spaces, residents learned to mobilize for housing and infrastructural improvements, and to understand their rights to these resources. Most residents understand this history and refer to these spaces as '*o pastoral*'. See Singer & Brandt, 1980; and Sader, 1988.

> wanted to evict everyone—and the *grileiros* who wanted to kill us because we were trying to get the city to buy the land from the feds that would displace them of their livelihood. When the city did buy the land, it brought us together in a powerful way (interview, August 02, 2014).

In 1984, the municipal housing agency COHAB assumed the management of Heliópolis, and residents were permitted to stay on the land, except without claim to tenure, and under a ninety-nine-year concessional use contract. At the time, the first census was undertaken in Heliópolis and accounted for 20,104 people living in 4,774 houses—approximately half of which had already evolved from a wooden shack into a masonry structure (Sampaio, 1991). The educational deficit in Heliópolis was found to be 'very high' and low educational levels motivated residents to convert most of the Catholic CEBs, and some residential spaces, for educational purposes (Stiphany, 2015a). As a community leader stresses, residents 'wanted to get away from the Catholics, so we were partners in these shacks for a while, and after we appropriated them, then they (the educational spaces) were taken over by a municipal program'.[10] This educational infrastructure played a key role when, in 1986, there were attempts to redevelop Heliópolis with high-rise apartments instead of the adaptable, user-based 'sites and services' *mutirão* housing that residents had requested two years before in a statement dated February 2, 1984, and titled 'What we want' (Sampaio, 1991). A daily municipal press release of September 27, 1987 illustrates a gap between housing promises and results, with reference to the importance of the social cadaster:

> In parallel with high levels of real estate speculation, discrepancies in the number of people counted, and political tension, many challenges have blocked the project's progression. […] COHAB has opted to construct more apartments instead of upgrading existing lots. […]. 'in the midst of so much uncertainty, our struggle to realize the project previously elaborated will continue' affirmed Miguel Leao, resident and associate of the UNAS community organization (Sampaio, 1991).

At this time, Heliópolis was characterized by a fragmented pattern that was not unlike other growing informal settlements. Conglomerations of families radiated across a large land tract, and each, referred to as a *nucleo,* had a leader. The union of these nucleos into a community organization in 1988 provided a socio-material resistance against an attempt by the authoritarian mayor Jânio Quadros to remove Heliópolis '*nucleo* by *nucleo*.' As counterevidence, residents declared that they had already established schools *nucleo* by *nucleo*. Residents went even further, demanding that the placement of their desired *mutirão* housing should follow this same pattern, to create a network of integrated housing-educational centres. This integrated model was new to Heliópolis, but it facsimiled what was referred to as a 'school-park' strategy that was established in Salvador, Bahia in the 1940s and eventually became a widespread model for building schools in São Paulo's favelas (Freire, 1993). As a resident of Heliópolis describes:

> Through our struggle for land we learned to fight for our educational spaces. And that became a struggle for the housing we want, not the housing they [the municipality] wants to give us. When the municipality saw the schools we built, they could not just tear down those places where children were playing. And so they built the *mutirão* in those areas, that was our idea, to have schools and housing across the community […] then the community grew around them [the housing-educational centers] (interview, Heliópolis).

In prior work, I frame Heliópolis' housing-educational centres as what Star and Ruhleder

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[10] The municipal program called CCAs—Centers for Children and Adolescents—was established when Paulo Freire was Secretary for Education between 1989 and 1993. Most of the CCAs are adaptations of former CEB, pastoral spaces (Stiphany, 2015a).

(1996) define as an *installed base* of infrastructure that 'does not grow de novo; it wrestles with the inertia of the installed base and inherits the strengths and limitations from that base,' stimulating new socio-material agencies (113).[11] In the case of community organizations in informal settlements, a key dimension of this wrestling involves a parallel dependency on the state for more interventions. Here, too, the insurgency stems from residents' position between their created sites of planning and those controlled by a State that 'is viewed both as a strong regulator and a failing provider' (Meth, 2010: 252 makes an identical argument).

Take for example Jardim São Francisco, where the same *mutirão* housing was constructed, but as a massive mat of dwellings – a giant suburb – for families removed from various favelas across the city. The community's peri-urban location with large vacant tracts was conducive to such expansive developments—which were placed, unbeknownst to these families, next to a landfill and in an area where two additional landfills were constructed in the following years, both near a petrochemical plant. During this period, members of São Francisco's 'community from zero' was divided up into work canteens composed of to-be residents and municipal engineers, each of which built starter housing that was serviced with infrastructural plenums, and as is typical with 'sites and services' developments elsewhere (Laquian, 1983; Felipe, 1997). Resident members of each work group subsequently adapted and expanded the starter house across a slightly larger lot (Stiphany, 2019a). As they did, the land surrounding São Francisco's *mutirão* was occupied by illegal invasions, which continues to be the case today. Unlike Heliópolis, if there was a census, it was not shared with residents; 'the emphasis was adding more and more housing and people, not counting them, not planning for the infrastructure needed to service them' (interview, São Francisco). Further, the resistance in São Francisco did not arise until 1999, ten years after residents had formed an association in Heliópolis, as the landfill and its stench grew. Residents demanded the landfill's closure, and with the passage of the 2001 Statute of the City, a plan to remediate the Sapopemba Landfill was inserted into a masterplan for the District of São Mateus. In 2002, the Sapopemba remediation was identified as one of two projects in the city that was eligible for a Clean Development Mechanism (CDM), a component of the Kyoto Protocol that permits developed countries to purchase carbon credits from underdeveloped ones, on the condition that the surplus be applied to improvements in areas that suffer direct environmental degradation (Brose, 2009). In 2006, two years after the City sold the credits and the stipulation for improvements were not met, São Francisco residents signed an *abaixo assinado* or public declaration demanding that the landfill be remediated into a park.

As the former Sapopemba Landfill was being remediated, its edges were further occupied by informal invasions. Residents explained that the municipality had removed these invasions previously, in 2009, yet had not provided replacement housing units. Thus, these areas were re-squatted by former residents and by new ones from elsewhere, and much like Heliópolis in the 1980s, these new occupations are today controlled by *grileiros* who divide the land and control new construction. These areas are not welcomed by original settlers, who believe they must defend their neighborhood and the Sapopemba park project against people who live in what they term a 're-invasion':

> Those people are not from here, they're renters from Africa…oh and Venezuela. The women all have disease, and that is why they live together under that bridge. There is prostitution. We don't go down there (interview, São Francisco).

The picture inside of São Francisco's re-invasions, however, is otherwise: some women form communal spaces to share cooking and childcare duties, much as women in Heliópolis did decades ago. In distinction, these women in the 're-invasion' are not supported by higher-level social movements, nor are they embedded within the housing imaginaries and environmental extensions that original settlers construct over time. Far from trespassing, these women have adapted a displacement zone into a social infrastructure that, although substantially less developed than Heliópolis, is peripheral even to these unsanctioned and more familiar insurgent planning spaces. Although the comparison between Heliópolis and São Francisco suggests that what Amin (2014) terms human infrastructures in the latter could grow into a substantial organization later, the challenges of São Francisco's lived experiences limit the realization of such a scenario.

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[11] See Stiphany, 2015a.

Insurgency 2: translations

Most collaborators in the study outlined above are original settlers or children of original settlers in Heliópolis or Jardim São Francisco. Directly or indirectly, they have lived the legacy of building their homes through autoconstruction, and have witnessed the trials of mobilizing for infrastructure and warding off displacement. These residents know their communities from the inside out, yet guessed that our study would find that about ten to fifteen percent 'max' of the community are renters, even though we found renting to occur in much higher numbers. The stigma of renting and rental in informal settlements is widespread, galvanized by the reality that before autoconstruction produced homes, it was an escape for working-class populations from the high rents of inner-city tenements (Bonduki, 1998). Some families have taken on renters from time to time, but to minimal extents. This narrative was unsettled over the course of the fieldwork.

Collaborators from Heliópolis or Jardim São Francisco also observed that despite many upgrading projects, not enough units were being constructed, and informal dwellings in some areas were rapidly densifying. As the municipal redevelopment cycle gained momentum there was more displacement, creating a 'chasm between the people kicked out of autoconstructed areas, the neighbors, and the housing units constructed in the enclaves' (interview, Heliópolis). At the same time, where informal buildings were densifying, micro-developers from outside of the favela began to move in and their investments have generated new informal land markets (Stiphany and Wegmann, 2020).

These on-the-ground observations were crystallized by a randomly-selected survey undertaken across 505 households in Heliópolis in 2016. Through the survey's focus on interactions between building transformation and household change, it became clear that families were dramatically recalibrating their living patterns to accommodate rent, either by downsizing within an existing dwelling or building substantial additions (Stiphany, 2019b). Indeed, while official census data reported that 26% of Heliópolis residents were renters (IBGE, 2010), this study's data showed that when measuring rental by buildings, over half of all individual properties had densified with some form of residential or commercial rental (Stiphany et al., 2021). Collaborators and respondents once again declared that the community was being 'taken over by renters,' and micro-developers:

> Those micro-developers who have always been operating behind the scenes are now out in the open, and they have a lot of power. They have cash on hand to buy entire buildings and make them into anything they want overnight. They build housing that residents have never seen and now, most cannot afford. We have to listen to them (interview, Heliópolis)

The intersection between redevelopment and greater rental housing densities is not a mystery.

External micro-developers and local landlords enjoy a unifying source of support from a municipal resettlement program that offers rental vouchers for people displaced from redevelopment sites (Stiphany, 2019b; Stiphany and Wegmann, 2020). As a local planner suggested to colleagues gathered at the recent symposium in São Paulo *Rent in Latin America: State, Finance, and Popular Markets*, 'informal rental is created by public policy, it is a purse that never stops paying' (Conference Panel: Rental in Favelas, September 15, 2020). Residents in Heliópolis are increasingly torn between the low-income housing that rental facilitates, and the exclusions its production deepens, as one leader expressed when visualizing the staggering rise in rental across São Paulo and in Heliópolis: 'we lack the time that we once did—ten, fifteen years—to address this rent issue' (interview, Heliópolis).

Renting has long been a dimension of informality that has been studied extensively in other Latin American cities (Ward, Jiménez, and DiVirgilio, 2015) and global south contexts (Gilbert and Varley, 1991; Gilbert *et al.* 1997; Gilbert, 2016). Nevertheless, because the housing deficit in Brazil, although improved, remains exceedingly high, the demands for low-income rental housing have soared, particularly amid Latin America's deep economic decline (Baqai and Ward, 2020; Ward and Wilson, 2018). Moreover, although renting is the principal mode of low-income rental globally, it remains absent from housing policy (Wegmann and Mawhorter, 2017). As Renato Cymbalista, Brazilian urbanist and rental housing activist, confirms, the policy gap is exacerbated because social movements 'won't touch rental – it compromises their agenda for land reform' (invited lecture, Texas Tech University, October 27, 2020). UNAS is now caught between the evidence of their own data, the problems rent engenders—evictions being one of many—and a lack of policy and movement support. In parallel, renters, particularly those provided municipal vouchers, are put in the vulnerable position of being permitted to live seemingly anywhere but ultimately nowhere. Even though rent, at one time, seemed to be helping the poor, 'once the entire community went up for rent, absentee landlords called *senhorios* are coming in droves' and changing community character (interview, Heliópolis).

Insurgency 3: disruptions

There is a lack of data about informality across the world and this pattern holds in Brazil (Perez and Bishoff, 2019). Informal settlements are mapped at national, urban, neighborhood scales, however these data are frequently unreliable (Samper, Shelby, Bahary, 2020). The greatest empirical gaps at micro (building) scales make it impossible for governments to accurately assess housing density to adequately allocate infrastructure and undertake successful title and land regularization. The lack of data is particularly problematic in Heliópolis and Jardim São Francisco for two additional reasons. First, without data residents cannot challenge the data that municipalities make and use to displace residents from redevelopment project sites. Second, an accurate measure of housing density is not possible because data are collected according to households, not housing units. As the global coronavirus pandemic clearly illustrated, little can be done to protect citizen health without understanding informal forms of housing and their densities.

In both Heliópolis and Jardim São Francisco, residents have taken measures to cope with housing densities that are rising in the wake of redevelopment projects. In São Francisco, they are improvising to manage the new squats in areas that were depopulated for projects that never materialized, testing soil contamination levels in these vast re-squatted areas, measuring water pollution along gullies, and forming resident groups that help squatters with trash management and childcare (Stiphany, 2015b; Weindorf, et al., 2019, unpublished dataset). These actions were dispersed, as activists traced new spontaneous densification that formed beneath viaducts, along riparian zones, and at the edge of forests. The converse was true in Heliopolis, where the densification was an add-on to dwellings that have been consolidating for decades. Beginning in April of 2020, this stabilizing characteristic motivated COVID-19 relief efforts that were organized to target the densest and most vulnerable parts of Heliópolis. Youth members of an active community organization who had learned QGIS used this free geospatial software to make maps of where COVID-19 cases were high relative to high housing density, using data from the municipality and data collected by the Chapa project, respectively. These maps ensured that COVID-19 relief packages were distributed from high to low density areas. The youth also used municipal data to compare the concentration of cases in Heliópolis relative to neighboring areas, where people with higher incomes live. Their maps reinforced that, for a host of known reasons, the pandemic bore disproportional impacts on low-income communities, as was the case globally (Rossi, 2020). Overall, collective action in São Francisco and Heliópolis make it clear that communities are progressively constructing a multi-media data system based on the aftermath of redevelopment.

Infrastructural insurgency

In Heliópolis and São Francisco, three decades after the first insurgencies mobilized for infrastructure, the aggregate of citizen actions has become an infrastructure. The citizens who struggled to occupy land in Heliópolis and to close the Sapopemba landfill in Jardim São Francisco were fighting for the right to infrastructure, urban services, and better conditions in informal settlements. In the first (foundations) and third (disruptions) eras, when insurgency was high in both communities, State data resources were minimal, and residents orchestrated highly visible acts against State action and inaction. In the first era, citizen claims led to the establishment of interconnected hard and soft infrastructures, which were fortified through subsequent mobilizations for housing and improvements to communal spaces. Residents continued to assemble skills, build assets, and deploy tactics to bolster a foundation of socio-material resources that they adapted to emerging needs and threats. Alternatively, in the second era, State data resources about informal settlements were plentiful, and the insurgency in the case communities was mixed: some groups channeled their energy into collaborations with local government, while others opted to monitor past patterns of redevelopment and ascertain if the State met its stated promises.

Although rooted in common historical struggles for land and housing, data insurgencies today are united by life amid diverse, precarious conditions that unfold in the aftermath of redevelopment. Redeveloped communities have paved streets, sewerage connections, electricity networks, and piped water. Yet despite these improvements, residents see an irreconciliation between past achievements and future aspirations. Data become a rallying cry around which some citizens changed and are changing how the conditions they wish to transform are detected and represented. Early insurgencies mostly aligned with State interests, but later variations, as in Heliópolis and São Francisco, organized around the patterns that residents deem critical for future growth. In other poor neighborhoods, changing concepts of housing and household, what the right to the city looks like in ideology and on the ground, and how space is building up as the country's economic reality is spiraling down, remain ambiguous. São Paulo's big data may show informal settlements as never before, but it is limited for capturing the nuance between what planning can measure and what communities believe should be revealed.

If insurgency has shaped infrastructure, then planners should deploy planning in infrastructural terms. According to Star and Ruhleder's (1996) definition, insurgencies in Heliópolis and São

Francisco are an infrastructure because they constructed a system that transitions 'beyond a single event or a one-site practice' (113). Heliópolis' data infrastructure arises from an 'installed base' of hard and soft networks that years of self-organization have 'sunk into' existing structures and social arrangements over time and across space (113). Jardim São Francisco's mobilizations were dispersed but eventually led to targeted actions that could create robust reciprocities between environmental justice and new modalities of informality (Walker and Alcarón, 2018). The co-construction of data can be learned, with the lesson that the most powerful standards are those that adapt to change, as demonstrated by young data insurgents in Heliópolis. Looking across the infrastructural insurgencies in both cases, it is clear that collective action was inspired by Brazil's broader urban reform movement. That the trajectory of both cases recalibrated to encompass a range of urban problems signals the potential for data co-construction to continue in other contexts. In sum, infrastructural insurgency describes socio-material agencies that synthesize data into forms that reveal fractures when States proclaim cohesion, and distribute services where States fail to deliver.

The system builders (Hughes, 1987) of infrastructural insurgency in Heliópolis and Jardim São Francisco operate in an interregnum between time (census data years) and space (redevelopment projects). Their study of housing from the inside out and in places that most people cannot access makes the invisibility of informality visible, however the data they create underscore the State's persistent failure to deliver on its promise to improve vital urban services in favelas (Stiphany et al., 2021). For this situated system to endure, the upcoming decennial census data release will be an important input for reappraising another entire decade of redevelopment outcomes. There are undoubtedly thousands of neighborhoods where States have intensively intervened and withdrawn across the world. Situated data networks can foster a transgeographic debate about how citizens should mobilize data to confront the injustices that bear on modern informal cities.

Rethinking redevelopment through situated data infrastructures: concluding thoughts for planning in and beyond the Brazilian global south

This article has shown that the infrastructural insurgencies in Heliópolis and Jardim São Francisco recast prior collective action by inclusion of situated data. To progress planning and move situated studies of insurgencies forward, this study of infrastructural insurgency highlights several important themes for reappraising data and redevelopment in contexts of the global south.

The first theme concerns the nature of data streams that enable people to take action in different ways than they did before. The agency of urban transformation is often assigned to big buildings and massive data streams that governments use to make change more scientific and that communities cannot often affect. Indeed, the 'smart data' turn is valuable for distilling complex urban phenomena into quantified terms that can be easily evaluated. However, these distillations frequently omit the complex morphologies and insurgencies that characterize post-redeveloped environments. This blindness deepens injustice, as aftereffects build up and citizens are expected to manage more residual outcomes. From the cases presented here, one theme to carry forward is how planning interventions can also be subtractive, whereby planning can follow the lead of local insurgencies and calibrate plans to the findings they present. In such a scenario, planning may look back to insurgency's initial intention: to reject northern planning ideas and models that have been blindly applied in the global south (Watson, 2012). Doing so may entail moving beyond 'driving' data and toward civic data environments where citizens can make collective decisions about how redevelopment transforms the relationship between poor neighborhoods and cities.

Second, when thinking about how social and material change agents stimulate power asymmetries, the right to the city is broad in its provision that citizens are guaranteed participation in city-making. Yet, as the cases emphasize, while all data are situated and political, it is critical to understand the dynamism of data as neither remote nor local, qualitative nor quantitative. From this perspective, the focus is on how a data infrastructure's resources promote reciprocities between urban agents, each of whom have different data powers to measure cities, and thus change them. In the case of Chapa, the construction of ComuniDADOS made it clear that one-way data dissemination is useful during incipient phases of project development, but that it must eventually be upgraded to include two-way or crowdsourced data collection processes and tools that synthesize data into 3D forms that enable the public to visualize, and thus potentially change, urban transformation. Indeed, there are multiple digital platforms for translating situated data streams into future design scenarios. The extent to which these translations help data insurgencies to not only reveal inequality, but transform it, is an area of future planning theory and practice.

Third, studying insurgency from an up-close perspective in Latin America helps to inform the possibility of using data to solve problems associated with informal housing across the world. Yet this depends on municipal mainframes that look beneath the surface of cities, and a recognition of uneven municipality and administrative capacity to produce data about informality and engage situated sources when appropriate. As Sletto (2012) shows, local mapping is often categorized as community work, however there are tenuous links to municipal plans and planning processes. That said, studying how data insurgencies evolve provides the possibility of using data to solve problems of informality with data made *in* informal environments. Insurgencies that coalesce around data present the potential to regulate housing policy from the inside of housing environments outward. Co-created data streams can offer a useful corrective to housing policy that is often inflexible and, as is increasingly the case in Latin America, narrowly focused on housing products and single family homeownership (Rolnik, 2019). *In situ* analyses of informal dwellings can expand understanding about which housing elements and volumes matter to today's working-class populations, and increase relevance for planning with immigrant communities, who frequently bring housing concepts and material practices with them. Only by drilling down into the details of insurgency can planning respond to calls for a 'politics of methodology' from the south, focusing on how, and by whom, informal settlements are studied and represented (Watson, 2003).

Infrastructural insurgency can help planning see and subvert historical patterns of injustice. Data-driven planning has transformed redevelopment in São Paulo, but in the process it has dissolved public trust. The aftermath, and the insurgencies embedded within, will be important for clarifying how different rationalities are unsettling the pace, scope, scale, and location of social injustice in cities and beyond sanctioned planning spaces. Co-creation of situated data crystallizes evidence against what municipal agencies propose, yet is not driven by opposition alone; failure to synthesize into tangible outcomes can generate new injustices. Only with greater attention to communities that radically morph through urban transformation can planning engage the spaces that citizens reveal and collectively contest.

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Retrofitting, repurposing and re-placing: A multi-media exploration of occupation in Cape Town, South Africa

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The vast majority of city planning literature on informal occupations has focused on how residents occupy vacant and peripheral land, developing informal structures to address their basic needs. A smaller body of work, but one with much purchase in South Africa, explores the informal occupation of existing formal structures and how residents infuse these emergent places with social and political meaning. Across this work, occupations represent a dominant mode of city-building in the Global South. Contributing to this debate on city-making and occupations, this paper departs from an unusual case of South African occupation. We explore how displaced people have occupied a multi-storey vacant hospital building situated close to Cape Town's city centre. Using documentary photography and interviews with residents, we argue that this occupation reflects a logic of 'retrofit city-making'. We show that, through processes of repairing, repurposing, and renovating, dwellers have retrofit an institutional building, previously designed by the state for a very different use, to meet their needs and desires. As cities become more densely built and vacant land more peripheral or scarce, the retrofit of underutilised buildings, particularly through bottom-up actions such as occupation, will become an increasingly important mode of urban development. Not only are the practices of material transformation useful to understand, so too are the ways in which occupations reflect significantly more than simply survivalist strategies, but also care and meaning-making.

Keywords: Occupation, retrofit, Cape Town, South Africa, housing struggles

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Introduction

Most of the literature on informal occupations focuses on why and how residents occupy vacant land, incrementally developing shelters to meet their basic needs (Ahmad, 2010; Hidalgo et al., 2010; Lemanski & Oldfield, 2009).[1] In this literature, land occupations have, and continue to be, a dominant mode of city-making in the Global South. Occupation is driven primarily by a need for accommodation in cities gripped by perpetual housing shortages (Shatkin, 2004). Concepts such as ‘peripheral urbanization’ (Caldeira, 2017) and ‘insurgent citizenship’ (Holston, 2009) capture how bottom-up practices of land occupation have fundamentally shaped cities in the Global South, resisting market logics, which exclude the poor.

This article contributes not only to this debate on city-making and occupations but also to the limited work on the occupation and retrofitting of existing buildings. In South Africa, the occupation of buildings, as opposed to vacant land occupations, has primarily featured in the inner-city areas of Johannesburg and Durban (Hoogendoorn & Giddy, 2017; Wilhelm-Solomon & Pedersen, 2017). Referred to in the literature as hijacked buildings, bad buildings, problem buildings, and the Zulu term ‘em’nyamandawo’ (place of darkness), these occupations occurred following the capital (white) flight from downtown areas towards the end of apartheid (Bénit-Gbaffou, 2012; Chambers, 2019). In most cases, these informally occupied buildings are privately owned, residential buildings, abandoned by their owners and occupied by those trying to gain a foothold in the city (Dugard & Ngwenya, 2019). While the occupation of existing buildings has also taken place in Cape Town, the city centre did not experience the marked decline, which provided the ground for occupation of high-rise buildings at scale.

This article focuses on an unusual case, the Cissie Gool House (CGH) occupation. CGH is unusual because residents, who were facing eviction, occupied a semi-vacant, state-owned hospital. As such, this occupation constitutes an effort to re-appropriate, so to speak, public assets and actively reshape them to fit residential purposes. The occupation is also unusual as it occurs in Cape Town, where, despite having one of the most unaffordable property markets, so-called hijacked buildings are uncommon. Using documentary photography and interviews with residents, we reflect on how residents make homes. We argue that this occupation reflects a logic of ‘retrofit city-making’. We show that, through various practices, dwellers retrofit a space, previously designed for a very different use, to meet their needs and desires. While the paper primarily deploys the concept of retrofit, we also use the concepts of repurposing and replacing.

The paper is structured in five parts (of which Part 1 is this introduction). Part 2 provides a review of the literature related to two bodies of work: occupations and retrofit infrastructure. First, we explore how occupations have been framed and understood in the Southern urban literature. Second, we explore retrofit infrastructure. The concept of retrofit, well established within the urban infrastructure debates, provides a starting point for the discussion of related concepts, such as incrementalism, adaptation, care, and meaning-making. It also provides a foundation for extending our thinking on retrofit practices to include issues related to purpose and place, themes we pick up on in the empirical sections. Part 3 outlines the research methodology. At the core, this paper is a case study. One of the unique contributions this paper makes is that its empirical basis includes both conventional qualitative research methods such as policy review and interviews, and documentary photography[2]. Part 4 documents the findings. The anchor of this section is a series of images, organised around five themes. The first is *Retrofit infrastructure.* This theme refers to the practices of material improvisation that residents engage in order to connect and access water, electricity and other services necessary for daily life. The second theme is *Retrofit internal structures.* This refers to the ways in which neglected infrastructures are resuscitated, reimagined and repaired. The third theme is concerned with the *Repurposing of micro-publics.* Here we discuss the importance of solidarity and care as emergent from collective practices. The fourth theme of *Repurposing for enjoyment*, and the fifth theme of *Re-placing* speak to the ways in which residents bring meaning into the materiality of the space. They serve as a reaction to displacement and an effort to forge a sense of belonging. The paper concludes by arguing that processes and practices of occupation and retrofit are essential themes in the study of Southern cities. They are not only a survival strategy, but reflect laborious practices of material (re)configuration and meaning-making. Considered together, retrofitting and occupation foreground the malleability of apparently fixed infrastructure and the potential for new modes of generative city-(re)making.

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[1] Also see Cousins (2000) on why informal occupations occur in South Africa’s rural areas.

[2] We do not aim here to write a methodological paper making the case for photographic methods, but rather to use photos as one mode of data collection. Papers within planning, which have used photographs in a similar way

Occupation and retrofit as modes of city-making

This section provides a review of the literature related to occupations and retrofit infrastructure.

Occupation as city-making

Within the urban literature, ‘informal occupation’ refers to the process of claiming and inhabiting property, such as land or buildings, by individuals or collectives without the consent of the property owner (Huchzermeyer, 2002; Mitchell, 2012). While often manifesting as an informal settlement, defined by UN-Habitat (2015) as a residential area or neighbourhood characterised by unregulated construction and insecure tenure, the concept of occupation draws attention to the process through which such settlement is initiated. This process involves physical interventions by occupiers in space, as well as the rhetorical and discursive frameworks to make sense of occupation practices (Mitchell, 2012).

Occupations form a significant part of urban development, and place-making discourses. In cities marked by colonial histories, occupations are now widely acknowledged in academic literature and in urban policy debates as fundamental forces in the construction of new spatial formations and imaginaries (Ghertner, 2011; Padawangi, Marolt & Douglass, 2014). From ‘quiet encroachment’ to bolder forms of spatial insurgency, occupations have shaped cities for decades, often being incorporated into city planning processes through informal settlement upgrading programmes (Bayat, 1997; Huchzermeyer, 2006).

Depending on both the nature of occupations and the state’s responses to them, occupations have resulted in many different living conditions and arrangements in cities (Gouverneur, 2015). In places with progressive state responses, informal settlement upgrading programmes have regularised occupations over time, drawing them into formal planning systems and land markets (Abbott, 2002; Chenwi, 2012; Hegazy, 2016). In other cases, occupations have led to the creation and expansion of highly precarious settlements or been dismantled through often violent evictions (El-Batran & Arandel, 1998; Strauch, Takano & Hordijk, 2015).

There are some significant differences between the Northern and Southern literature on occupations. The former has focused on alter-globalisation movements such as the Occupy movements (Jacobs, 2018; Langman, 2013). Occupations have been framed as a radical

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include Bigon (2020) and De Boeck & Baloji (2016). Another inspirational piece, with conceptual synergies related to questions of dispossession in South African cities, is Chari (2009).

response to the hyper-neoliberalization and financialization of real estate in cities. Katz and Mayer (1985), for example, demonstrate how occupations not only work to fight capitalism, but also state practices, which reinforce market-led economic solutions to urban development.

Research and theorization on occupations in the Global South, in contrast, focuses on a wider range of issues, including the process of occupation (Huchzermeyer, 2002; Smart, 2001), the materiality of dwellings either constructed or claimed by occupiers (Amin & Cirolia, 2018; Meth, 2013), and the precarity experienced primarily in the form of tenure insecurity by occupiers (Durand-Lasserve, 2006; Ramanathan, 2006). This body of literature, which generally focuses on land occupations, frames occupations primarily as a survival strategy (Sihlongonyane, 2005). For example, Vaz-Jones (2016) shows how the Ithemba Farmer's land occupation in Cape Town enables access to basic livelihoods. There has been very limited work on occupations of existing buildings and the more affective nature of occupation experiences.

In both Southern and Northern scholarship, there is also a significant body of work on how occupations intersect with social mobilization (Ballard, 2015; Gillespie, 2017; Vasudevan, 2015). For example, Bayat (1997: 56), writing on the daily, non-institutionalised practice of silent encroachment as a current for socio-spatial change, argues that occupations are an 'everyday form of resistance', which enable the urban poor to individually and discretely challenge systems of oppression. This work reframes occupations as a more complex, political activity that is not just about survival or housing. This framing has been taken further by a number of scholars who argue that occupations are a form of resistance against settler colonialism, financialisation of urban spaces, and exclusionary land and housing markets as well as policies (Abellán, Sequera & Janoschka, 2012; Fields, 2015; Snelgrove, Dhamoon & Conrntassel, 2014; Watt & Minton, 2016). This literature acknowledges that, rather than being 'leaderless movements' (as has been suggested by the Occupy discourses within Northern literature) such struggles have their own endemic power dynamics, which are shaped by context and play out through the process of occupation (Huat, 2017; Sheriff, 2001).

The valorisation of occupations as a political project (as opposed to purely technical or instrumental responses to unmet housing needs), allows for nuanced and relational analyses of occupations to be developed (Aitchinson, 2011; Bhan, 2019). Several scholars have nuanced the concept of occupations, and facilitated the reframing of occupations as a series of different practices, with multiple urban outcomes, undertaken by various and power-laden actors. One of the practices, which this work touches on, is retrofitting.

Retrofit as city-making

While occupation is a central part of Southern city-making, the process of occupation is only one part of the city-shaping/making process. After occupation, people work to maintain their space and establish their place in the city. A part of this includes various forms of resistance to eviction. Another part of this relates to how people invest in occupied spaces, to make them more habitable and fulfilling, even if only temporarily.

Making occupied land and buildings into spaces for medium- to long-term habitation requires laboured investments in the material conditions of places and infrastructures. Southern scholarship on cities has documented the incremental, informal, and often sophisticated material investments that households and communities have made into their residential structures (Huchzermeyer & Misselwitz, 2016; Harrison et al., 2018; Silver, 2014). Incremental housing, linked to the informal settlement of land, has a long lineage in both scholarship and policy processes; this work has been inspired by scholars such as Turner, Burgess, De Soto and others whose work has shaped development policies globally (Adebayo, 2011; Greene &

Rojas, 2008; Van Noorloos et al., 2019). It is not in the scope of this paper to rehash the debates on incremental housing. However, it is useful to note that this work spans many urban disciplines and has been both celebrated and critiqued.

In addition to the vast body of work on incremental and informal housing practices, new concepts have emerged to capture how infrastructure and service delivery systems are incrementally adapted, retrofitted, repaired, and extended, through bottom-up processes (Amin & Thrift, 2017; Lawhon et al., 2018). This work draws on a range of scholarship, including urban studies, geography, city planning, politics, and anthropology, valorising the practices households and communities undertake to amend the urban fabric in order to access water, energy and other infrastructural services (Jaglin, 2015). The concept of retrofit, as we use it in this paper, departs from its traditional use within engineering and construction, instead working to foreground the ways infrastructure systems are constantly reconfigured through everyday practices of people, often in conditions of duress and extreme hardship (De Boeck & Baloji, 2016; Graham & McFarlane, 2015; Pieterse, 2008). This departure – or perhaps expansion – of the more mundane uses of the term retrofit aligns closely with humanities and social science scholars who have, for over two decades, sought to challenge the monopoly that technical disciplines have had over infrastructure debates and terminologies (Amin, 2014).

In cities where the infrastructure systems, such as those for the provision of water or energy, are partial and contested, space is created for wider participation in infrastructure provision (Coutard & Rutherford, 2016; Jaglin, 2016). In the context of precarious and often poor settlements, practices of material retrofit work to fill gaps in or repair infrastructure networks and connections without which the poor would remain excluded (Amin, 2014). These practices of filling and suturing take many forms, some more permanent than others. For example, Simone (2004) discusses ‘people as infrastructure’, celebrating the ways people use their bodies and labour to fill the gaps in incomplete systems of provision, maintenance and repair. Silver (2014) discusses ‘material improvising’ in Accra, as a more permanent way to extend networked systems. Lemanski (2019) deploys the concept of ‘infrastructural citizenship’ to foreground the relationship between political identity and infrastructural practices in Cape Town. These pieces show how, as Howe et al. (2016: 553) point out, ‘infrastructural solidity, in material and symbolic terms, is more apparent than actual’. In other words, infrastructure, and its dynamic coming into being, is deeply intertwined with questions of identity, social reproduction, and political practice; it is not solid, fixed or neutral. While cities all over the world experience infrastructural adaptability and reconfiguration, in the Global South, the everyday, people-driven, and often informal nature of retrofit both responds to, and further creates, deeply fragmented urban service delivery and housing systems.

Across much of this work, infrastructure ‘coming into being’ through processes of retrofit, extension, repair, and reconfiguration is viewed in relational terms – reflecting the relationships between objects, agents, and discourses of meaning-making (Amin, 2014). In this way, infrastructural arrangements and transformations contain within them a temporality, constructing material and immaterial bridges between the past, present experiences, and future possibilities (Howe et al., 2016). While some scholars are critical of the ways in which structural inequities are reproduced through practices of retrofit and extension, there is important work which examines how urban socio-spatial relations are reimagined through re-placing, that is, through the re-inscription of a building’s history and identity (Lehrer, 2006). Another growing body of work considers how such processes are infused with care, solidarity, and resistance – progressive and even radical social and political practices (Lemanski, 2019; Silver, 2014). Mattern (2018) defines care as everything that we do to continue and repair our world so that we can live in it as well as possible. Similarly, Millington (2019: online) draws a connection between repair and care, suggesting that ‘[r]epair can also be a care practice, especially if we understand the infrastructures that surround us to be interlinked … with broader dynamics of social reproduction'. These practices of care are driven by a shared understanding of purpose and are central to the meaningful production of places – particularly at the micro and everyday scale (Jackson, 2015). Improvisation and adaptation are pervasive features of peripheral urbanisation in South Africa, and elsewhere in the Global South (Bhan, 2019; Caldeira, 2017).

Through our case, we contribute to these discussions on Southern city-making, exposing the ways in which spaces are retrofit, repurposed, and replaced in CGH. We draw attention to the emergent and inscribed meanings awarded and show how meaning-making is inextricably bound to the material reconfiguration and use of these places (Mattern, 2018; McCann, 2002).

Methods

The research is focused on the case of CGH occupation in Cape Town, South Africa. Using the case study method allowed us to deploy a combination of conventional and creative methods. More conventional data collection methods included: conducting non-participant and participant observations at CGH since the second quarter of 2017; engaging with the occupiers and supporting NGO, Ndifuna Ukwazi (NU)[3], during their weekly Advice Assemblies; 6 in-depth interviews; and 10 less formal (i.e. unscheduled) interviews.

The creative contribution to this article is grounded in the methods of documentary photographer, Barry Christianson.[4] A key part of the research method included reviewing hundreds of images, which Christianson captured of the occupation. The visual data analysis entailed the identification of retrofitting activities and grouping those into different themes. We intentionally included this work as we are interested in knowledge production that goes beyond the confines of academia and works through different registers.

The question, which underpinned the review and selection of the photographs, was: '*How are residents in CGH shaping the space and with what purposes?*' Through the review of the images, we were able to identify a series of practices that might have been too micro and mundane to have been identified through interviews, but were apparent in the images. For the descriptions of the images, we used, with their informed consent, the occupiers' real names. It is important to note that the research participants' names, as well as the names of the majority of the occupiers, are already in the public domain, for example in court documents related to eviction proceedings, newspaper articles, and reports written by NGOs/activists about the occupation.

Understanding the CGH case requires a wider grasp of South Africa's housing and human settlements dynamics. In various capacities, the authors have been involved in tracking Cape Town's urban development and housing experiences over the past ten years (see, for example Amin & Cirolia, 2018; Cirolia, 2014; Cirolia & Scheba, 2019). For this research project in particular, the authors reviewed relevant policies, plans, and legislation, interviewed City of Cape Town and Western Cape Government officials involved in the human settlements sector, and attended workshops related to human settlements and land development.

Occupation and retrofit in Cape Town's central city

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[3] NU is an NGO, which is involved in housing and land struggles. RTC (http://reclaimthecity.org.za/) is a social movement, supported by NU.

[4] The choice to work with a photographer, and particularly Barry, reflects an effort to bring together projects, which were independently underway. The African Centre for Cities has an existing programme on occupations, of which CGH is one empirical site. Barry has, since the inception of the occupation, been photographing residents at CGH.

Occupations have been a key component of the growth of Cape Town's built fabric since the 1940s (Bonner, 1990). As the White Paper on Land Reform notes, occupations (often referred to as 'squatting') are a 'result of past racially discriminatory laws or practices' and inadequate housing policies (Department of Land Affairs, 1997: 4). South Africa's apartheid history thus plays a central role in the informal settlement of Cape Town's urban landscape.

The pace and scale of occupations has increased since the 1980s (Sihlongonyane, 2005). Whilst many discriminatory laws and measures have been repealed, Cape Town, like South African cities more generally, bears a history marked by displacement and exclusion. Apartheid, both as a spatial and economic set of policies, built racial segregation into the fabric of all cities and drove the hyper stratification of economic outcomes across racial groups. Many post-apartheid policies have reinforced, this history. In contrast to other South African cities, Cape Town's inner-city land values have skyrocketed in the last twenty years as a result of aggressive state-led investment in Cape Town's city centre, for example through the Cape Town Partnership and other entities. Increasing land values have, in turn, resulted in market-led displacement and overcrowding (Miraftab, 2007; Pirie, 2007).

Cape Town's housing challenge

Cape Town is characterised by, among other things, a highly skewed land and housing market, which has left many households unable to access formal housing opportunities. Cape Town's housing backlog is estimated to be between 360,000 and 400,000 units (Malusi Booi, interview, November 15, 2019). Given that the household growth rate is projected to be 1.5 – 2% per annum and that only 8,000 – 10,000 units are built by both the government and the private sector annually in Cape Town, keeping up with the demand for housing has been impossible (Fischer, 2019).

Of this housing backlog, roughly 146,000 households live in 437 informal settlements across Cape Town (Ndifuna Ukwazi, 2016). Most of these informal settlements are on sites that are owned by organs of state or individuals. The housing backlog is not only made up of residents in these informal settlements, but also the many people living in overcrowded formal accommodation and 'backyards' – informal accommodation, which is provided in the backyards of formal housing. There are also growing numbers of families who have occupied vacant buildings, many of whom are undercounted in studies on housing demand.

The challenges related to housing access in South African cities, particularly Cape Town, persist despite a plethora of policies that have been developed to realise the state's legal obligation to provide [access to] adequate housing (see Government of Republic of South Africa v Grootboom [2001] and the South African Constitution 1996). These policies include the state's housing delivery programme, which includes subsidy instruments for developing new housing projects, upgrading existing informal settlements, and even providing emergency accommodation in cases of fires, floods, and evictions (Department of Human Settlements, 2004, 2009). There is a plethora of documentation on the challenges and opportunities these programmes have created (Charlton & Kihato, 2006; Cirolia et al., 2017).

Despite the existence of these tools to address housing needs, they do not function optimally, and many remain excluded. For example, for state housing projects, families must meet income-related criteria and put their name on a long list. For upgrading programmes, the settlement must be deemed 'upgradable' through a range of assessment criteria, which few settlements meet. For the emergency housing programme, qualification is less an issue. However, the temporary relocation areas people are sent to are often far from transport, incredibly dangerous, and poorly serviced (Cirolia, 2014; Levenson, 2018). The result is that families choose and in some cases are compelled by circumstances to fend for themselves, rather than make use of this programme. The occupation of Woodstock hospital, discussed below, is one example of Cape Town residents creating homes for themselves.

The Cissie Gool House occupation

CGH is located in what was a provincial hospital, situated in the gentrifying suburb of Woodstock. Woodstock is located one kilometre from the city centre of Cape Town. One of the few neighbourhoods that was able to resist forced removals in the 1950s, the area has maintained its racially and ethnically diverse character (Garside, 1993). During apartheid, food processing and textiles manufacturing industries were located in Woodstock, providing working class employment opportunities to people living across the metropolitan area (Whittingdale, 1973). Having undergone a significant decline in industrial activity since the 1990s, Woodstock is gentrifying as the private sector takes advantage of the area's designation as an urban development zone (UDZ) by the City of Cape Town. This designation provides a tax incentive for private developers to develop residential and commercial properties in the inner city. Consequently, the area has experienced significant increases in property prices that have been accompanied by displacement of the neighbourhood's lower income residents (Ngwenya, 2013).

In response to this market-led displacement, Reclaim the City (RTC), a social movement made up of housing activists, evictees and working-class people, occupied the abandoned Woodstock Hospital building in 2017. They renamed it Cissie Gool House after anti-apartheid activist Zainunnisa 'Cissie' Gool. At present CGH is home to over 900 people, who occupied CGH wing-by-wing; a process which occurred between 2017 and 2019. The majority of occupiers are originally from Woodstock, however, they can no longer afford the rental prices in the area. Many families, having been evicted from their previous homes, are scared as they face another threat of eviction from CGH, and the possibility of being relocated to Wolwerivier. Wolwerivier is a desolate and shoddily constructed temporary relocation area around 30 km from Woodstock, which has been proposed as the site for alternative accommodation for occupiers by the City during eviction proceedings in court. The occupiers, with the legal support from NU, have refused the offer, hoping to stay in the central suburb where most have lived their entire lives. The occupiers have made the abandoned hospital their home whilst trying to maintain community ties with former neighbours, some of whom are also now living in CGH. This is the backdrop for the everyday stories of occupiers and retrofitters, as they work to shape the city.

Empirical data on how people are retrofitting the building

In this section, we turn our attention to retrofitting, repurposing, and replacing as modes of urban practice, exploring the ways in which these distinctive practices contribute to building the city. For the purposes of this paper, retrofitting is specifically concerned with the material restructuring of external and internal infrastructures. In contrast, repurposing focuses on using the existing infrastructures and spaces, but for new purposes. Finally, replacing focuses on how place is given meaning and constructed by the residents. In examining these practices, drawing on the photographic method as a route in, we identify five emergent themes that are discussed in greater detail below.

Retrofit infrastructure: Connecting the building outside infrastructure systems

CGH residents have had to build infrastructural connections between CGH and the wider urban infrastructure network. These connections are essential for ensuring that the building can serve as people's homes. As a hospital, the building was connected to the City of Cape Town's water supply system and electricity networks. However, the downscaling of the hospital to a day centre in 1993, left much of the building unused and disconnected from the urban infrastructure network. When the Woodstock hospital was closed in 2018, many of the pipes and cords were stolen or simply fell apart.

Since occupying the building, residents have made their own connections to urban infrastructures through material improvisations (Silver, 2014) – retrofits intended to reconnect the building and transform CGH for residential use. In one of the images an orange water pipe is hanging between two sections of the hospital and an electricity chord is hanging out of the window. In another image, a resident, Uncle Freddy, is fixing a leak in a sink after connecting a water pipe from another section of the hospital. Figures 1 and 2 reveal practices of retrofitting points of connection, improvising to fill gaps and access water, electricity and other services needed in their everyday lives (Baptista, 2019; Howe et. al., 2016). They also suggest a wider connection to the city, as residents challenge uneven urban infrastructural provisioning, by tapping into the grid.

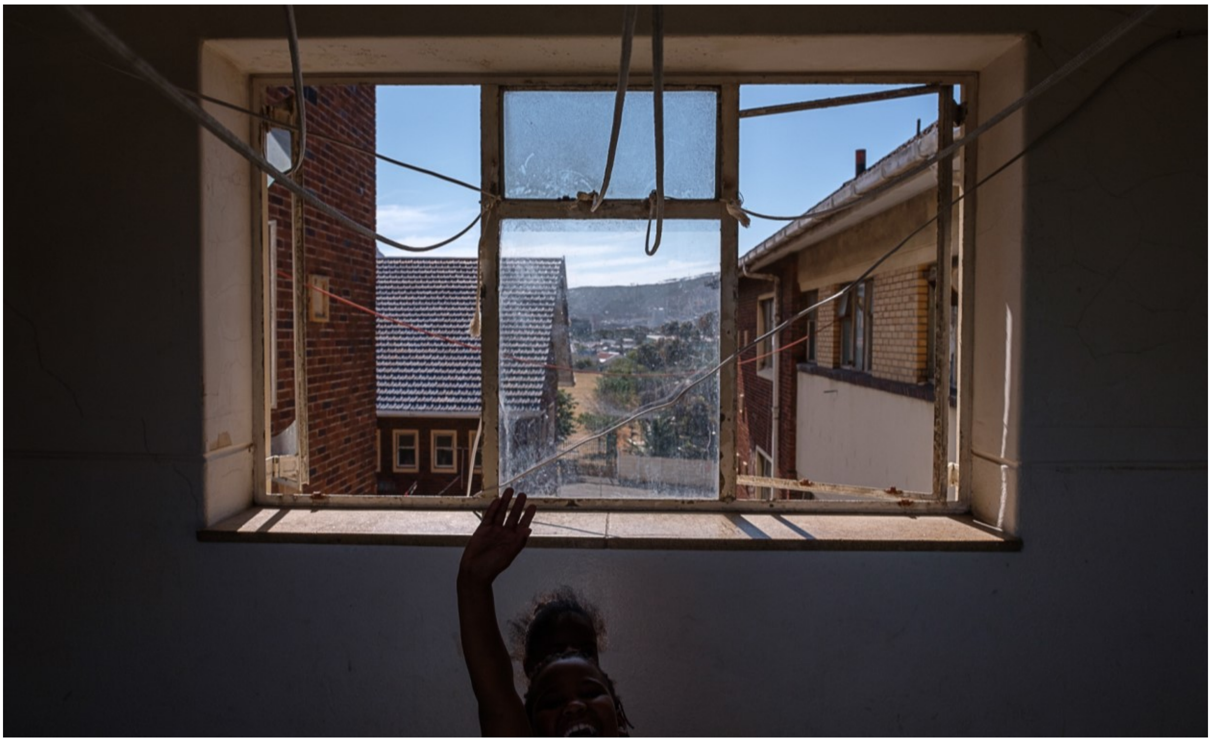

Figure 1*. An orange water pipe and electricity chord connect CGH to the city networks*

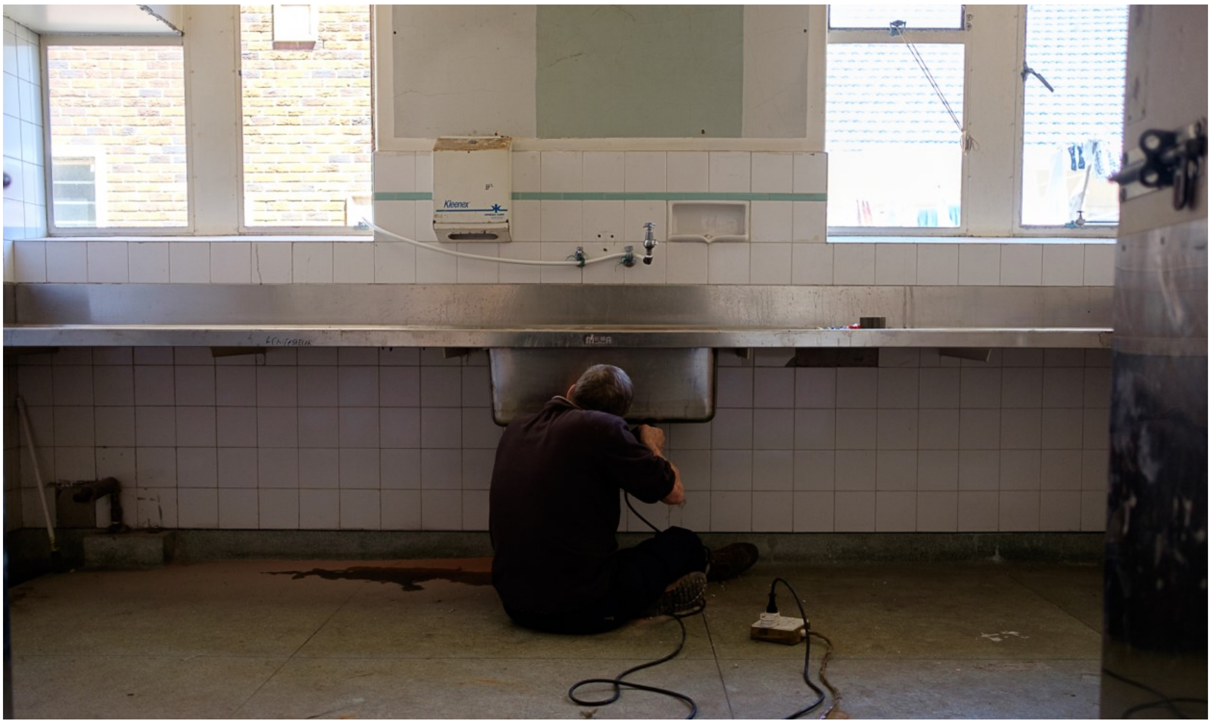

***Figure 2**. Uncle Freddy fixes a leak in a sink after connecting a water pipe*

Retrofit internal structures: Reshaping the internal spaces for residential use

Occupiers have not simply retrofit CGH to connect to the wider city, they are making internal changes to the building to better accommodate their needs and desires. While part of CGH served as a nursing home, the rest of the building was not structured for residential purposes. As a hospital, many spaces were used for temporary stays, with hospital beds being separated by thin veils of fabric for privacy. Some spaces were not used for the living at all, for example, the room which was used to prepare the bodies of those who had passed. To transform the various hospital spaces to cater for residential use, significant material retrofitting and incremental consolidation has been undertaken. This has primarily entailed carving out individual living quarters by erecting more permanent divides between spaces. These investments represent real material and financial investments made by people to secure their space within the building (Huchzermeyer & Misselwitz, 2016; Silver, 2014). Many factors have shaped the nature and form of these internal divisions, including the time of settlement, the households' individual needs, and the design constraints and opportunities that each of the original spaces pose.

The images show two striking cases of internal retrofit. In the first image, a former operating theatre has been converted into a laundry room. In the second image, Faghmeeda Ling and Nazley Salie, who are part of CGH's leadership team, examine a new section of the building that is being prepared for a tenant to move in, ensuring that the wall is constructed properly.

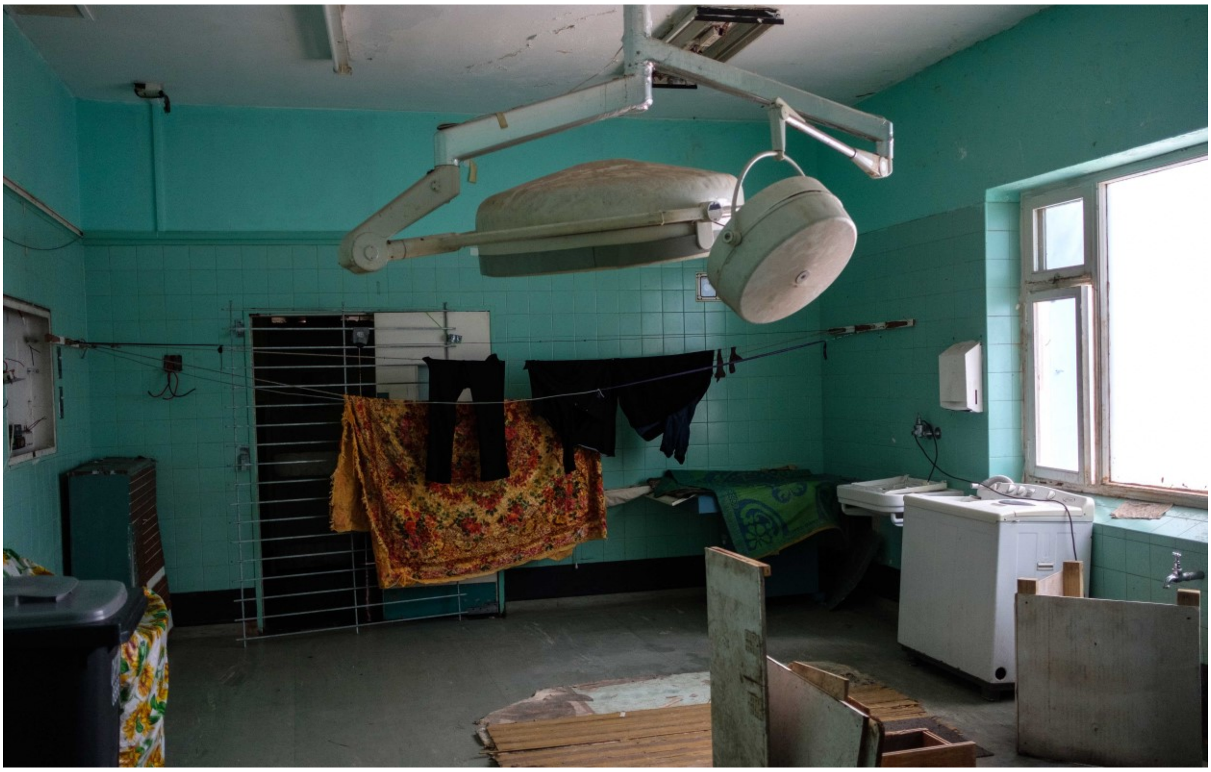

Figure 3. *A former operating theatre has been converted into a laundry room*

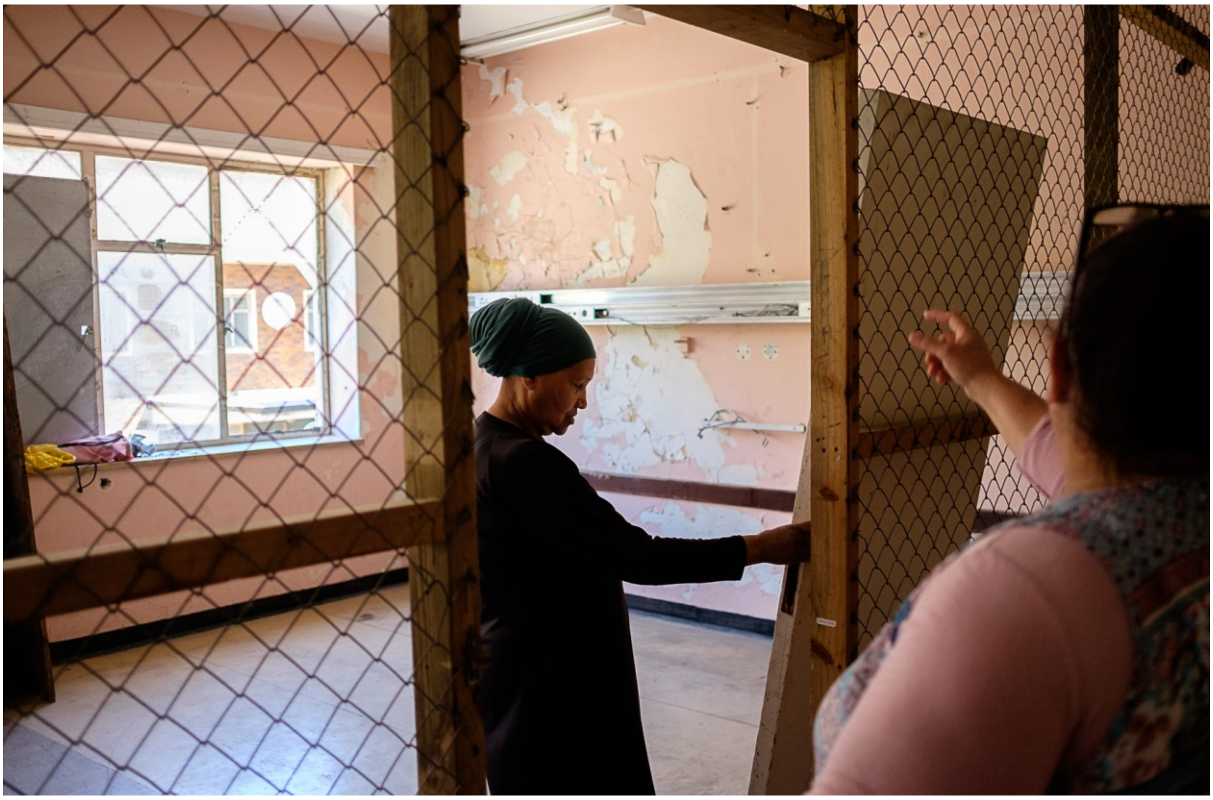

Figure 4. *Members of the leadership team inspect a new section, which has been built for rental*

The leadership team, which is elected by occupiers annually, is responsible for ensuring that the house rules are followed by all. They organise meetings, and work to ensure that CGH is safe, and secure for residents, especially women and children. To this end, the leadership team occasionally hosts fundraisers to raise money for building maintenance and improvement purposes. Together, these images show a complex negotiation between malleability and durability – a careful balance between building for the dynamic present and planning for a more durable future. This temporality and futurological orientation (Howe et al. 2016) are extant in each of the images.

Repurposing micro-publics: Using the hall for new purposes

Another important practice, similar to retrofit, but without requiring changes to the material structure, is repurposing. In CGH, spaces are repurposed in ways that reflect the residents' current and emergent needs. One of the best examples is the central hall. Prior to occupation, the central hall served as a nurses' dining room. This hall has remained materially intact, today serving a myriad of new purposes. Weddings, yoga classes that are open to the public, community feeding schemes, public meetings, and church services are conducted in the central hall. In many ways, the hall is repurposed almost daily to serve the residents' evolving needs. The hall also operates as a public space, largely for the community, but also for the wider neighbourhood. As control over the building is maintained by RTC activists, the hall is not fully a 'public space'. Instead, it is a micro-public (Amin & Cirolia, 2017), a small-scale effort to build something communal and shared, even if there are constraints to access.

The focus on repurposing, and purpose more generally, allows us to also explore issues related to solidarity and care. In this sense, these reflect purposeful practices which foreground collective, rather than individual survival. The images powerfully capture this relationship between material places, social reproduction, and care as affect in the world. The image of Boeta Naziem and his wife preparing a huge pot of food or residents, as they do every Friday using donated food items, is particularly illustrative. The other image shows collective child-care and communal activities, namely yoga taking place in the hall. While recognizing the purposeful practices associated with these micro-publics, we are also cautious not to overly romanticise the care, which goes into the repurposing of these spaces (Mattern, 2018; Millington, 2019). Care work is often the work of women. Furthermore, in South Africa women of colour tend to perform care roles at home and as paid labour, as nannies and domestic workers, in other's homes in the city. This is the case for women in the occupation, resulting in them carrying multiple care burdens simultaneously. However, we do think that the construction of micro-publics and purposeful practice (Jackson, 2015) point to a more progressive potential for the work of care, opening up different types of social relations.

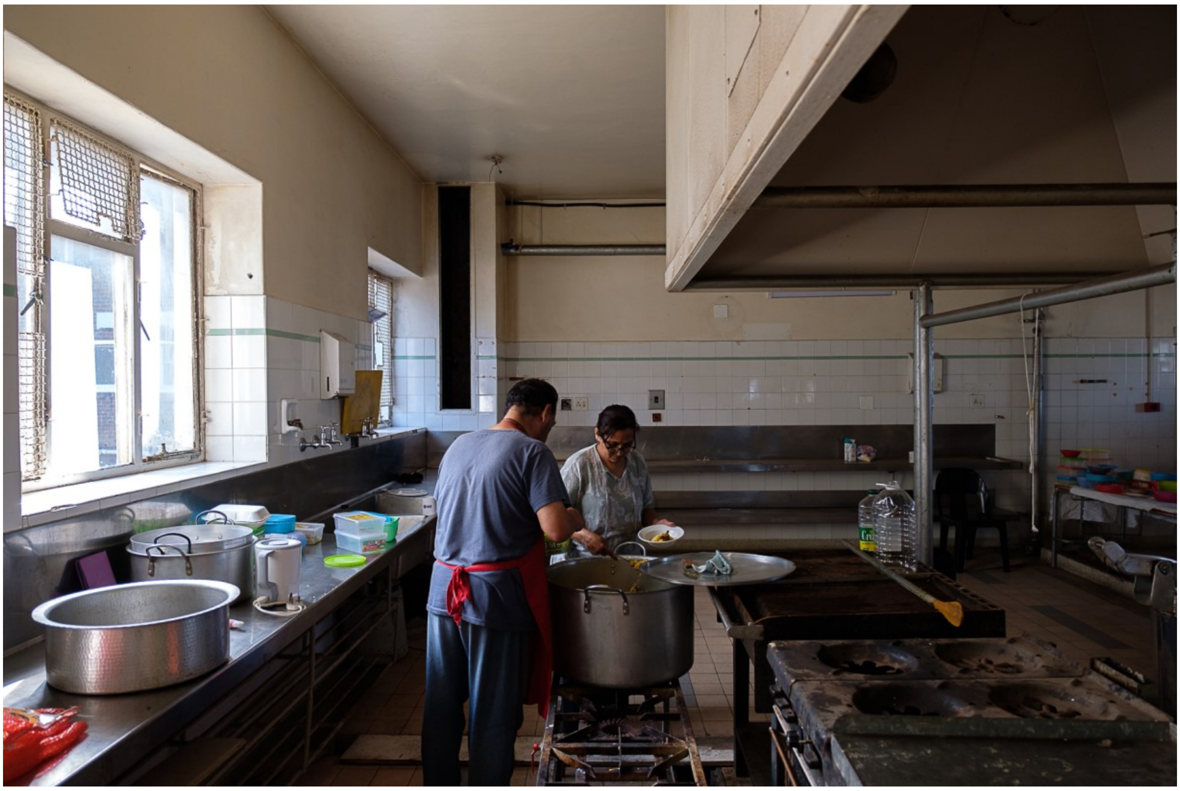

Figure 5. *Boeta Naziem and his wife prepare a huge pot of food for their fellow residents*

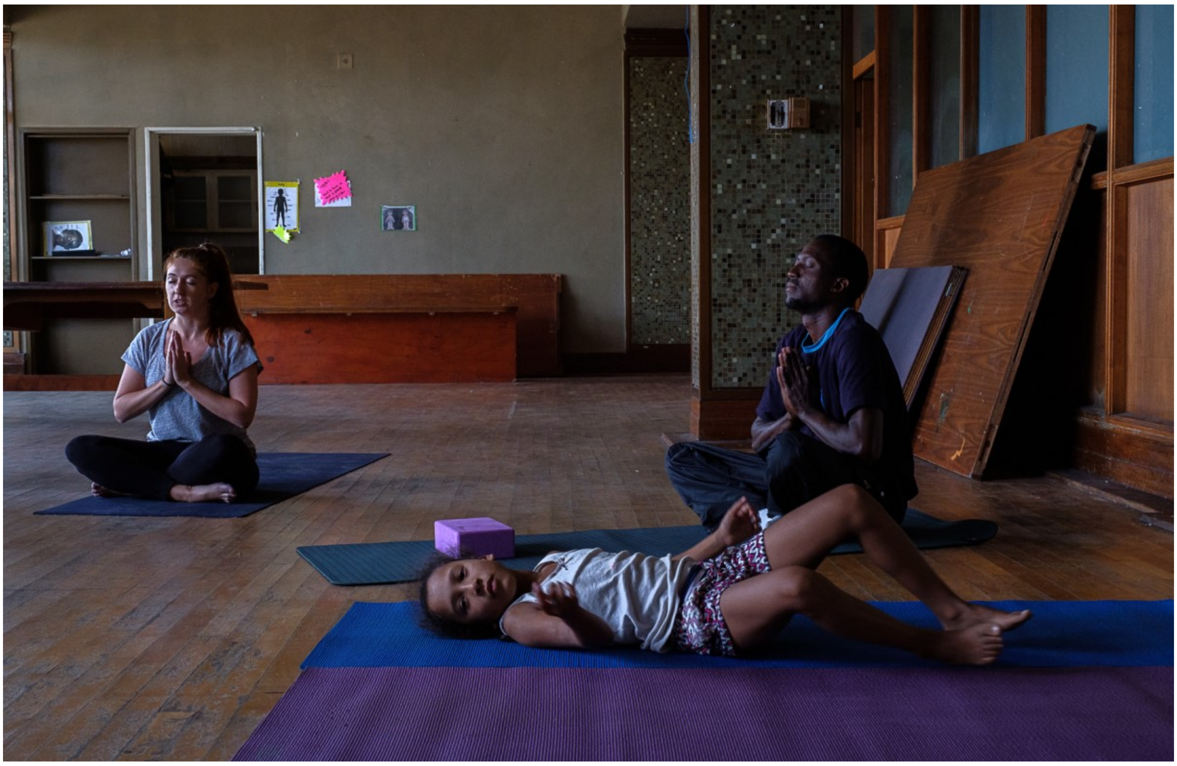

Figure 6. *A yoga session in the central hall*

Repurposing for enjoyment

The practices of repurposing are not only about functional activities like feeding or childcare, but also joy and recreation. In a context where much of the documented work on occupations focuses on survivalist strategies, enduring violence, and the precarity that marks everyday life for occupiers, many of the images also show occupiers repurposing spaces simply to enjoy them. In this sense, people are not reduced to their pain and precarity; they experience a full range of human emotions. The enjoyment of urban life takes many forms. These include raising and training pigeons for racing (figure 8), coming together as family and friends to celebrate special moments (such as Eid, Christmas, birthdays), and play. For example, in figure 7 Adam Nibizi's niece is playing with peeled off paint while he fixes the wall in the other room. The image captures an unexpected moment of enjoyment and meaning-making (Mattern, 2018; McCann, 2002). The images in this section show a wide range of recreational and enjoyable activities, many of which are uniquely cultural in their specificity and deeply relatable in their humanity.

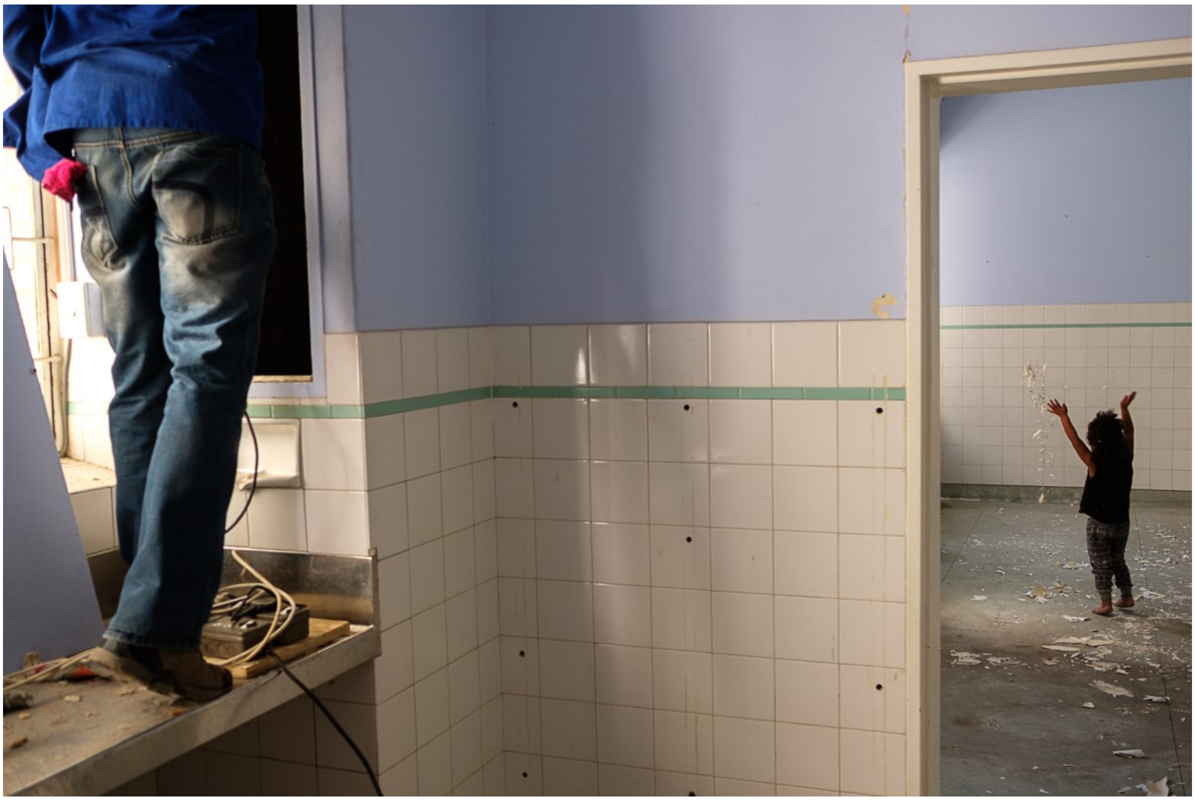

Figure 7. *Adam Nibizi's niece plays with peeled off paint*

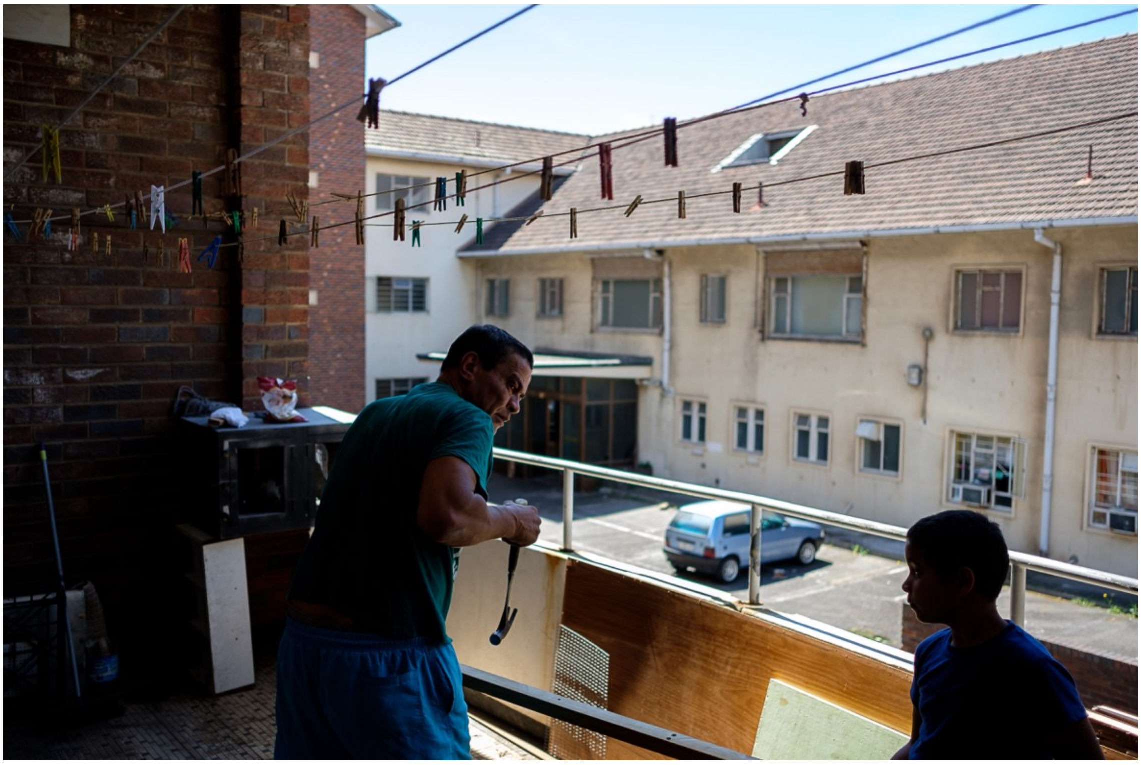

Figure 8. *Snake is busy building an enclosure for two racing pigeons*

Re-placing

As part of the processes of understanding ‘place’, which is coming into being through the CGH occupation and retrofit, residents often compare the spaces where they lived before to those they are creating within CGH. Most people living in CGH moved there after being evicted from their homes in Woodstock. In this sense, they were forcibly displaced. While residents do miss the homes and spaces they left, residents also seem to be involved in a process of what we have termed ‘re-placing’. We see this as an act of translation, a challenge to their experiences of displacement through making spaces, which they perceive to be better and more meaningful than those they left behind (Ghertner, 2011). The images shown here speak to practices guided by vision and a future orientation, a claiming of the possible in the now and a challenge to normalised exclusions.

Here the residents claim a home through mundane acts. These acts are aimed at improvement and ascent – making the space better than what they left. At the same time, they are reflective of gestures that show a refusal to be ‘kept in place’ or ‘pushed out of place’ (Lemanski, 2019; Silver, 2014). Instead through beautifully decorating the entrances to their homes, celebrating acts of natural beauty (such as the view of Table Mountain), and creating shops in their homes, residents are challenging their market-led displacement through acts of replacement. They are creating not only new spaces, but new places, which are improved and provide better material and symbolic conditions (Lehrer, 2006). They are actively claiming their role as city-makers, repairers, carers, transformers and transgressors.

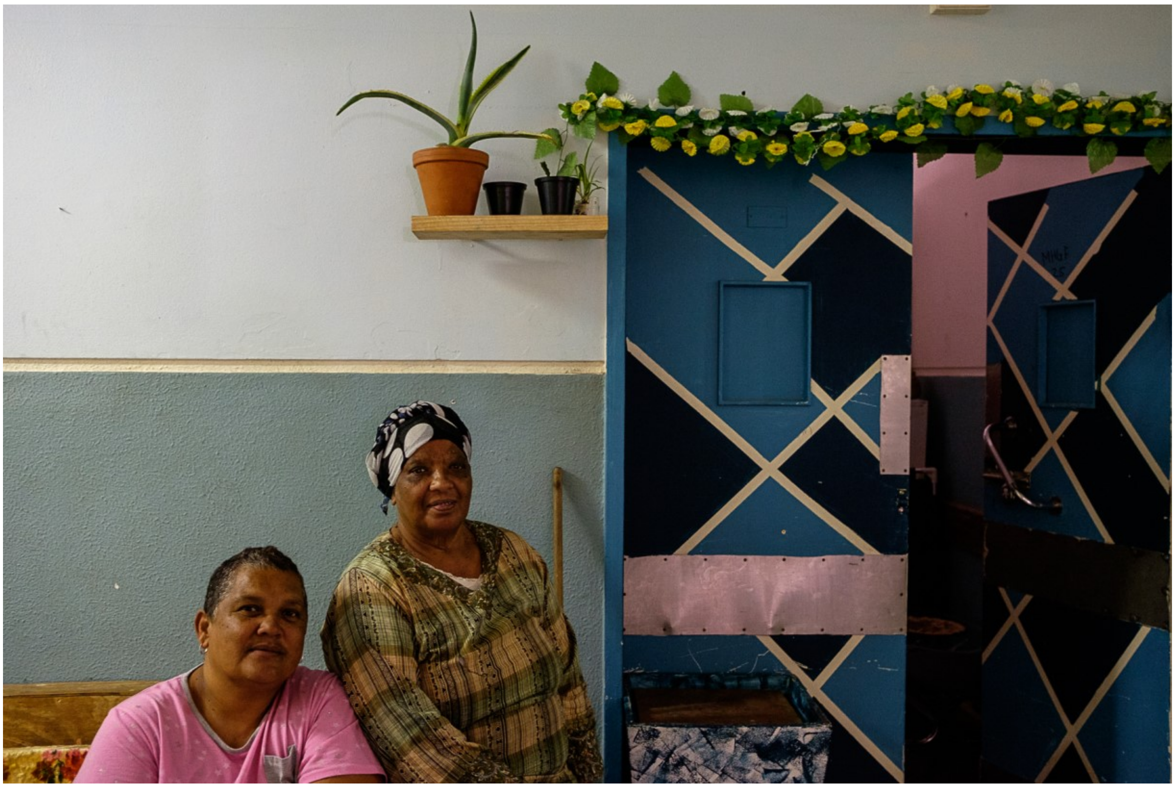

Figure 9. *Aunty Mackie (left) and her friend sit outside her home*

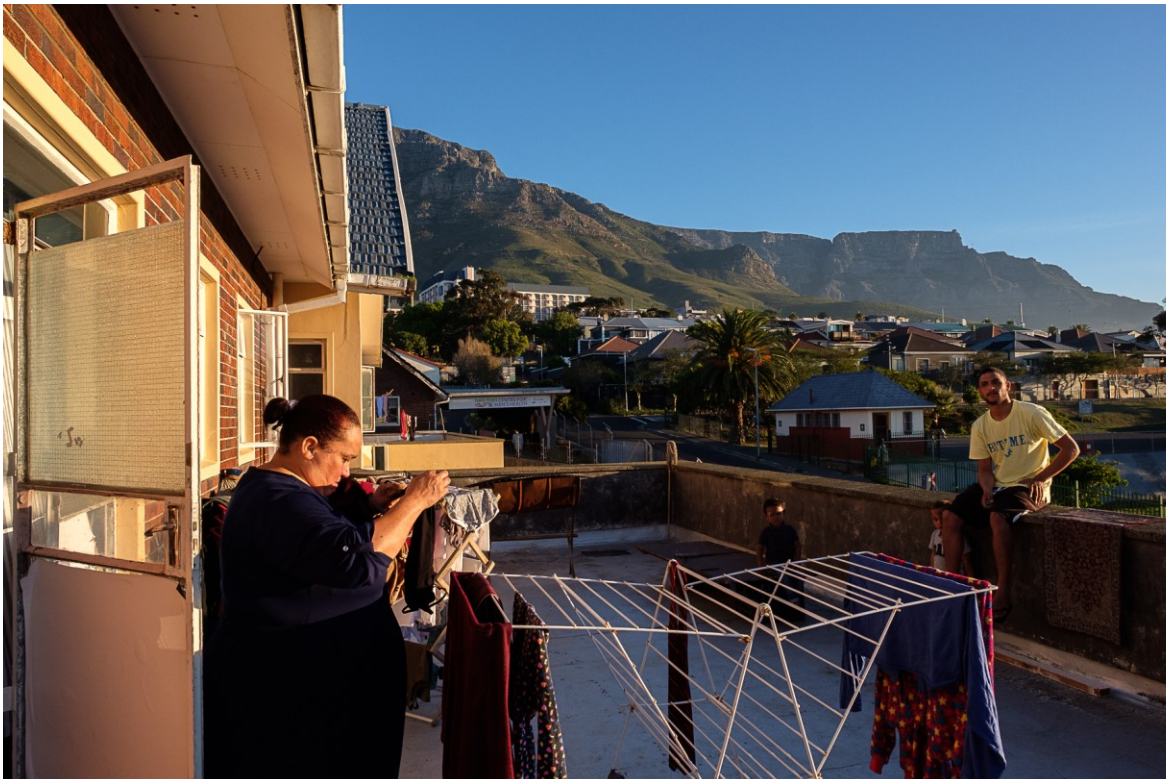

Figure 10. *Fagmeeda Ling hangs laundry to dry on her balcony*

Conclusion

As cities become more densely built and vacant land more peripheral and scarce, the retrofit of underutilised buildings, particularly through bottom-up actions such as occupations, will become an increasingly important mode of urban development not only in Cape Town but throughout the Global South. It is now, more than ever, imperative that we think about retrofit, repurposing, and re-placing as central to the Southern urban project.

We have shown that residents' practices of occupation and retrofit include several dimensions. First, there are practices, which are distinctly material in nature. They rework infrastructure systems externally, for example through connecting to infrastructure and internally, for example through partitioning space (Amin & Cirolia, 2018; Meth, 2013). However, not all processes require material changes to the space. As we show, people are also involved in repurposing spaces, infusing fixed spaces with new everyday activities. These activities are not only about collective survival as Sihongonyane (2005) and Vaz-Jones (2016) argue, but also about recreation, joy, care, and meaning-making, both in the building's micro-publics and in the private spaces of peoples' homes. Therefore, there is a need for us to acknowledge the influence of the affective dimensions of occupier's experiences on the choice not only to participate in an occupation but also on the choices regarding how the occupied building is retrofit to ensure it meets occupiers' needs. Finally, and most importantly, these practices reflect a 're-placing' – the making of new places, infused with meaning, ambition, and desire. Through practices of replacing, residents build bridges between their past (displacement), the present (experiences of collective precarity), and future (ambitions and desires) (Howe et. al, 2016; Mattern, 2018). This temporality is present materially as neglected infrastructures are resuscitated, reimagined and repaired. These material interventions and reconfigurations also act symbolically as a gesture to alternative futures and spatial imaginaries (Ghertner, 2011; Padawangi, Marolt & Douglass, 2014), as adaptation, care, solidarity, and improvisation open-up to the recognition of possibility.

This theoretical contribution was only possible because of methodological creativity and generosity. In reflecting on working with a photographer and incorporating arts-based methods into data collection, we were concerned about the need to deploy alternative methods that support collaborative engagement beyond the confines of academia. While not necessarily Southern in nature, the use of non-conventional tools provides ample room to consider a resistance to classical modes of inequality by enabling intertextual analysis, and open-up the city in new ways. Hence, we centralised the photographic method to enable an ethnographic attentiveness to urban sense-making. The medium we have used for this project allows for these everyday practices to be foregrounded and understood in richer and more creative ways.

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Housing systems in the Global South: The relevance of the ‘social housing’ approach in meeting housing needs

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This paper addresses the problem of accessing decent and affordable housing in the Global South, where the housing need is, in general, more problematic than in the Global North. The paper first identifies five distinctive characteristics of housing systems in the Global South as compared to those in the Global North. These include: (a) the diverse facets of global financialization; (b) the role of the developmentalist state; (c) the importance of informality; (d) the decisive role of the family; and (e) the rudimentary welfare systems. Given these features, the paper reflects on the concept and practices of social housing, particularly their appropriateness to deal with the housing problem in the Global South. The paper then addresses the question of whether the social housing approach is relevant for solving the contemporary housing needs in the Global South. It argues that social housing, redefined to better encompass the distinctive characteristics of housing systems in the Global South, is indeed a useful policy approach and can play a decisive role in satisfying unmet housing needs. Such an approach needs to take into account the great role of informality and family support systems and develop appropriate funding instruments and modes of institutionalization protecting housing rights and the quality of life.

Keywords: social housing in the Global South; financialization of housing; developmentalist states, rudimentary welfare systems, informality

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Introduction

In the Global South[1], housing needs are generally much more problematic and intense than those in the Global North, particularly in countries experiencing fast growing urbanization. In contrast to European countries where only a small share of the population is concerned, a vast majority of the population in countries in the Global South is not properly housed. For many households in the Global South, living and housing standards remain very far behind the so-called normal expectations in European societies; access to decent homes is a major concern, particularly for low-income households living in rural or peripheral areas of the southern big cities. As addressed by Mike Davis (2007) and many others (Forrest & Lee, 2003; United Nations Centre for Human Settlements, 2003), for millions of low but also middle income families in the Global South, the basic question of affordable housing remains unanswered.

This paper explains the distinctive characteristics of housing systems in the Global South, having arisen from different social, political and economic contexts to housing systems in the Global North. The paper focuses on how the notion and practices of '*social housing'* in industrialized (north-west) Europe are relevant to the Global South in meeting the housing needs for disadvantaged households.

Accordingly, it addresses the following questions: (1) Why has the notion of social housing not inspired housing policies in the Global South as it did in Europe during the Fordist period (starting after WWII and continuing through the 1970s)? (2) How relevant is a *social housing* approach for addressing contemporary housing needs in Southern countries? [2]

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[1] Dados and Connell (2012, p. 12) define the Global South as *'one of a family of terms, including 'Third World' and 'Periphery', that denote regions outside Europe and North America, mostly (though not all) low-income and often politically or culturally marginalized. The use of the phrase Global South marks a shift from a central focus on development or cultural difference toward an emphasis on geopolitical relations of power.'*

In this paper, the distinction between the Global North and South regarding the housing system is virtually identical. The Global North, as we refer, are those countries which have been industrialized since the 19th century and after the WWII established the Keynesian welfare system. The institutionalization of a (social) housing system in these countries are comparatively more advanced. Accordingly, our reference to the Global South is a heuristic device to focus on countries other than North America (USA and Canada), North-West Europe, Australia, New Zealand and Japan. Thus, the Global South is a shorthand to refer to countries in Africa, Latin America, most of Asia, and even many in Southern and Eastern Europe (although some of these countries can be considered as having high-income economics).

[2] By the end of 20th century, Renaud (Renaud, 1999) categorized the housing systems in all countries into six broad types, according to fundamental elements that shape accumulation systems:
(a) Undeveloped housing systems: present at a very early stage of development. In these countries, the informal financial sector dominates due to the absence of necessary professions and as a result of bad public policies.
(b) Lack of housing systems: these had a weak private property right inherited from a past system of state control over land, finance, and construction sectors. Here, private housing finance remains limited, experimental and relegated to high-income groups.
(c) Fragmented and unstable housing systems: these result from high inflation and macroeconomic instability. The size of housing finance is very small in relation to the urban economy.
(d) Segregated but stable housing systems: these systems are mostly under the control of the state, which has adopted complicated financing policies that give emphasis to priority sectors, where and when it is of necessity.
(e) Sound and integrated housing systems: these are found in economies with outward growth that partially integrated well into the global markets. The financial legal, regulatory and supervisory frameworks are comparatively in place.
(f) Advanced housing systems: The advanced housing finance systems can be found in most of the mature economies of Europe.

To contribute to recent debates on housing in the Global South and the South-North convergence in urban contexts and trajectories, this paper draws from specific bodies of theory including: (a) Weberian and Marxian models of analyzing housing systems used to explain the trajectory of contemporary social housing development in the Global North (Harloe, 1995; Cameron, 2006; Scanlon *et al.*, 2008), (b) State-failure theory, to evaluate the achievements of state (housing) development programs in developing countries (Khan, 2004), and (c) Post-colonial development theories, to show that cities in the Global South constitute a distinctive 'type' of human settlement and follow a different paradigm of urbanism (Roy, 2017; Schindler, 2017).

Starting with the idea that the notion of social housing originated and developed in the industrialized North-West Europe, this paper discloses ontological dissimilarities in the north(s) and south(s). Though it avoids considering the social housing practices in the Global North as a reference, it recognizes the general validity of some features of social housing, yet acknowledges the wide variety of social housing practices across countries.

The paper consists of four sections. In the next section, the paper concisely defines 'social housing' and describes its significant related concepts. Subsequently, it identifies the distinctive characteristics of housing systems in countries of the Global South that make the notion and practice of social housing different from that found in (north/western) Europe. Then, in next section, the paper offers a more embedded definition of social housing in these countries. And the final section looks at recent trends in housing systems in the Global South.

A tentative definition of social housing 'made in the Global North'

Social housing—also called council, public or affordable housing in various contexts—was envisaged and developed in industrialized northwest-European cities, especially during the Fordist era, to satisfy the *housing need* of societies and communities in a *decent way* (Un-Habitat, 2009; Lund, 2011).

As Robinson (1979, pp. 56–57) states 'Housing need [is] defined as the quantity of housing that is required to provide accommodation of an agreed minimum standard and above for a population given its size, household composition, age distribution etc., without taking into account the individual household's ability to pay for the housing assigned to it.'

In turn, M. Oxley (2000) underscores the 'agreed minimum standard' in this definition and argues that housing above this standard (called 'decent housing') would provide adequate shelter to households and produce no negative externalities. That is, it would impose no

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Years after the Renaud categorization, much has changed in housing systems and regulatory frameworks, particularly in the Global South. Firstly, the structure of the regimes and the form of governing in many countries in the Global South have been changed. There are now many more democratic and elected governments in the world. Consequently, some social-political concerns, such as social exclusion and informality, have been noticed in a rather more open, accountable, and generally stable, if sometimes volatile, policy environment. Secondly, most of the developing economies now have more sophisticated and diversified financial and accumulation systems and regulatory frameworks - mostly - spinning off from the international financial system that affects the housing system. Thirdly, and perhaps most importantly, after the fall of the Soviet Union and the adoption of market-oriented economic policy in Asia, South America, and Africa during the 1990s, the neo-liberal discourse has discharged welfare policies not only in European countries, but also all around the world (Pugh, 1997; Aalbers & Christophers, 2014). It seems that for all these reasons -and maybe others as well- such kind of housing system categorization, or even other kind of categorizations, is accurate no longer. Probably there are few countries - if exist at all - fit into the first two categories and the boundaries between other categories have been gradually faded away. This means that in our distinction between the housing systems, the line between in the Global South and North is very blur.

external costs on the community in terms of, for example, adverse effects on security and health.

The social housing approach rests on the role of the common (collective) good in housing systems. This lens fits the logic of the distribution of wealth for the benefit of the entire society through fighting exclusion, promoting social solidarity, limiting price discrepancies and more. Valuing use-value attributes of housing *versus* exchange value, this approach emphasizes social aspects of housing rather than determining housing as financial asset. In this case, social housing is directly linked to the de-commodification of housing. The de-commodification of housing—keeping housing out of the competitive real estate markets—can provide a safeguard to ensure the provision of a home, at least in an agreed standard, for all[3].

Accordingly, *social housing* can be broadly defined as the manifestation of a greater, non-market force in the housing system: where households or individuals, independently of market forces or regulated market conditions, are provided with the resources to uphold a socially acceptable standard of living in decent homes.

However, as Scanlon and Whitehead (2008) emphasize, there is no definition for social housing that would be ubiquitous across all housing systems. The mechanisms of social housing diverge from country to country, or even within the same country. This diversity relates to the following types of factors: ownership regimes; the type of entities managing construction works; whether or not rents are below market levels; the relevant funding or subsidy stream; the type of tenure; and most importantly, the purpose for which the housing is provided.

Regardless of the diversity of housing provision mechanisms found across different housing systems, any given social housing approach must answer the following four inquiries: (a) Who should provide social housing? (b) Whom should it be provided to? (c) How is it provided, and (d) Why does the provision take place? During the Fordist period in Europe, it was the State, through public funding, that supplied formal off-market housing; it did so inclusively, to the entire society but particularly to families with limited financial resources, through direct intervention in the housing market, and as part of its social welfare policies (Doling 1999; Cameron 2006; Kemeny 1992; Maclennan & More 1997).

Social Housing applied to the Global South

Social housing has a long history in most Western European countries; though diverse, these housing systems share similar roots, draw upon a common philosophy and boast a variety of experiences[4]. As highlighted by Malpass (2008a), social housing did not simply entail, from the onset, the provision of housing to deprived households; it was also an efficient tool to address specific economic, social and integrative concerns of modern society.

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[3] Agreed standards may vary from society to society. However, the agreed minimum standard, as Oxley (2000) mentions, refers to being in situations such as: (1) not suffering from the lack of proper facilities, such as sanitation, (b) not living in a derelict building or shanty, (c) not being too crowded, (e) not being located in remote area, (f) not having tenure security; (g) not being vulnerable to hazards.

[4] The history of social housing in Europe can be summarized into five periods (Reinprecht, Levy-Vroelant and Wassenberg, 2008; Aalbers, 2015): (1) The origin (late 19th century): social housing was mainly based on philanthropy and non-state religious foundations. (2) The period of municipal commitment (early 20th century): public authorities and other societal and political actors played a more important role in housing. (3) The Great Depression (between two World Wars): due to the massive destruction of WWI, governments adopted more interventionist policies in housing. (4) Towards housing for all (three decades after WWII): in this period, heavily subsidized rental housings were built for the masses. Housing was a crucial part of welfare policies. (5) Individualization and fragmentation (at the turn of the 21st century): from the 1980s onward, state-related actors have gradually withdrawn from the housing market.

Contrary to northern Europe where social housing has been a practice since the late 19th century—much more collectively after WWI and reaching its heights after WWII (Fordism)—in the Global South, social housing is a more contemporary phenomenon. As stated by Forrest & Lee (2003) and Nasr and Volait (Nasr and Volait, 2003), it has been limited to the implementation of occasional and restricted programs.

Since the late Fordist period, the notion of social housing was gradually adopted in the housing systems of countries in the Global South. But to what extent do housing systems in the Global South reveal differences in social housing production, provision and consumption as compared to the Global North? And do the basic theories of (social) housing that have sprung and evolved in European contexts shed light on what is going in the Global South?[5]

Distinctive characteristics of housing systems in the Global South

Although it seems that contemporary housing systems all around the world are gradually converging and their differences are fading under the influence of neo-liberal accumulation regimes, a careful look at housing systems in the Global South tells us that there are differences in comparison to housing systems in the Global North, not least with respect to the ‘social housing’ approach that flourished during the Fordist period in Europe. These differences are enumerated in this section as five key factors that, we propose, determine the manner in which social housing has developed in the Global South. In analyzing these factors, we draw from the following key scholars and their theories: S. Schindler’s (2017) study of the distinctive types of human settlements in the Global South[6]; Abramo’s (2016, 2019, 2020) concept of urban informality; A. Roy’s (2017) epistemological approach to urban informality; and J. Robinson’s (2006) concept of ordinary cities in the Global South.

(a) The diverse facets of global financialization

Recent trends of global financialization have significantly affected housing systems. Financialization has transformed real-estate markets and housing systems (Harvey 2014; Moulaert *et al.* 2004). State-led trends such as the re-commodification of social housing, the promotion of policies on (mortgaged) homeownership and the deregulation of investment in private housing (bringing about expansion of especially higher priced housing markets), have become increasingly similar across countries in the Global South (Aalbers, 2017). The financialization of housing policies is not limited to post-industrial economies but has briskly spread through the Global North and South. During the post-Fordist era, a neo-liberal housing policy and discourse, which emphasizes privatization, deregulation and marketization, has gathered momentum around the world. This has resulted in the privileging of housing provision through the market (Kemeny, 1981; Ronald, 2007; Rolnik, 2013).

Post-Fordist globalization has not had a uniform impact around the world. Housing systems in the Global South have not followed exactly the same privatization and financialization schemes that have taken place in the Global North. Aalbers (2015, p. 35) states: ‘Many places in the Global South now have a housing system that has one foot in the pre-modern period and one foot in the post-Fordist period, some of them entirely skipping the modern or Fordist period in housing’ (Aalbers, 2015; Aalbers and Christophers, 2016). In many countries in the Global South, several aspects of housing systems are not in line with the recent globalization trends. For instance, given the lack of institutions promoting financialization, such as investment pools, collective investment, managed funds, or investment funds, mortgages and securitization systems are still so restricted that they limit massive and advanced investment in housing to promote ownership. Because of the instability of property rights and the distortion of markets due to state-created rents, as well as the presence of rent-seeking and corruption, the institutional capacities that promote financialization tools have not developed at the same rate as seen in North America or North-West Europe (Vaziri Zadeh, 2016). In other words, in most of the countries in the Global South, few aspects of the housing systems can be considered post-Fordist; a considerable part of the policies have not synchronized with the post-Fordist developments as they occurred in the North.

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[5] e.g. Cameron (2006) explores the relationship between theories and practices concerning (social) housing from the mid-19th century.

[6] This study identifies three tendencies: (a) ‘cities in the South tend to exhibit a persistent disconnect between capital and labor’, (b) ‘their metabolic configurations are discontinuous’, and, (c) ‘political economy is always already co-constituted with the materiality of Southern cities’.

Housing systems in the Global South are generally characterized by high inflation and macroeconomic instability. This creates an environment where informal markets thrive, where private housing financing is limited to better-off households, and where the state has a strong control of the housing market. And although some financialization tools (such as secondary mortgage system) can be found, the majority (such as securitization systems) are, to a great extent, absent[7].

It should also be observed that while the social housing approach in the Global North has been decidedly restricted during the last decades[8], some countries in the Global South, particularly those with a flourishing economy (for example in India and China) pursue massive implementation of social housing schemes to promote the formal housing market (UN-Habitat, 2011).

(b) The developmentalist state

Developmentalist states constitute a form of capitalism, mostly in developing countries in the Global South with relatively higher incomes, in which political legitimacy, social solidarity and the production and consumption of goods are structured around the primary goal of economic growth and coordinated by a powerful national state (Ronald & Lee, 2012; Ronald & Kyung, 2013).

As many states in the Global South emerged from a (neo)-colonial system, their political regimes (comparatively non-democratic and non-bureaucratic) have focused on achieving fast-growing development. They have justified the approach of '*growth at all costs*' through urbanization and industrialization. Ronald and Lee (2012, p. 115) believe that in developmentalist countries, in the logic of '*productivism*', social policy is based on the necessity of *'intensive economic growth*'.

Holliday (2000) argues that developmentalist regimes follow the logic of '*productivism*'[9], meaning that social policy is either sacrificed in favor of the needs of economic growth or that social policies are developed to serve economic objectives. Thus, in these contexts, certain types of public goods (such as housing) may be pushed to the background (see also Ronald, 2007)[10].

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[7] For instance, Heeg, Ibarra García and Salinas Arreortua (2020) describe how financialization took hold in Mexico, in what Reyes (2020) calls 'Mexico's Housing Paradox'. Migozzi (2020), analyzes the problem of the financialization of housing in South African cities. There are numerous cases showing the paradox of financialization in the Global South. See for example Jorge (2020) on Mozambique; Fauveaud (2020) on Cambodia; Ergüven (2020) on Turkey.

[8] Scanlon, Whitehead, & Arrigoitia (2008) in their research provide different examples of this in post-industrial European countries.

[9] Zhou and Ronald (2017) consider 'productivism' the fourth type of welfare regime in Esping-Andersen's (1999) categorization, which fits well with the developmentalist states in the Global South, i.e. social rights links to productive activity (Ronald and Doling, 2010).

[10] T. Goodfellow (2018) looks at three Eastern African cities (Kampala, Kigali and Addis Ababa), arguing that transformations of urban built environments in situations of late development reflects the political settlement and

Housing plays a particular role in the economic and, on occasion, welfare trajectories of developmentalist regimes. Housing construction has been an important driver of industrial expansion and a stimulus for economic growth. Urban housing construction has provided considerable legitimacy to the 'growth-first' ethos of the developmentalist state. Moreover, housing can also provide economic security for the elites that improves the legitimacy of the state (Leftwich, 2007).

Housing, for developmentalist states, is an interest domain in which they can assert authority through control of land allocation and influence on urban development. David Harvey, based on Marx's theory of 'primitive accumulation', proposed the theory of 'accumulation by dispossession' considering the ways dispossession takes place in different forms of contemporary capitalism '…to transfer [existing] assets and channel wealth and income either from the mass of the population toward the upper classes or from vulnerable to richer countries' (Harvey, 2006, p. 153). Thus, housing for developmentalist states can be abused as a tool to demonstrate their authority. Modern urban housing landscapes and the expansion of the so called middle-class lifestyle gives flesh to the idea that developmentalist states are catching up with the West (Ronald & Lee, 2012).

However, as Khan (2004) argues, developmentalist states, on many occasions, fail to achieve the goals of their ambitious developmental (housing) programs, i.e. promoting the housing sector as an engine of economic growth. In his view, the interactions and synchronization of certain conditions such as market distortions by the state, instability in property rights, (incentives for) rent seeking, corruption and the absence of democracy, lead to a failure of developmentalist ambitions (Vaziri Zadeh, 2016)[11].

(c) Informality

The fundamental change in the geography of poverty is the most prominent contemporary phenomenon in cities in the Global South. Nowadays in Mexico, Brazil, India and other fast developing countries, most poor people settle in urban areas. In many of these countries, poverty is much higher in urban areas than in rural ones; it is not surprising that because prices in formal housing markets are unaffordable for most deprived households, informal urban development keeps growing (Buckley & Kalarickal, 2005; Davis, 2007). Although there are some forms of informality in the Global North (Durst & Wegmann, 2017), in the Global South informal markets have pervaded the allocation of land and housing to deprived families (Broeck *et al.*, 2020).

In most of the fast growing cities in the Global South, only the formal housing markets which serve a limited portion of the urban population, have become subject to regulatory frameworks (Payne & Majale, 2004). The Global South is marked with a long history of insufficient urban housing and lack of access for low-income families to formal social structures. For example, approximately twenty per cent of households in urban areas of South Africa live in some kind of informal settlement (Lemanski, 2009). In some Southern cities this percentage is much higher (Groenewald *et al.*, 2013)[12].

In Asia, according to UN-Habitat (2011, p.vi) reports, almost a sixth of households live in informal settlements due to the lack of affordable housing alternatives. Consequently, as Drakakis-Smith (Drakakis-Smith, 1981), Keivani and Werna, (2001), Groenewald *et al.*, (2013), Abramo, (2019) and others observe in their studies on different modes of housing

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its broader development implications.

[11] T. Goodfellow (2013) provides us with two good cases through his comparison of urban development in Uganda and Rwanda.

[12] They study informality in five sub-Saharan cities: Luanda, Maputo, Cape Town, Ekurhuleni and Johannesburg.

provision in countries in the Global South, the informal mode of housing provision is an essential part of urban development for the majority of deprived households that cannot afford a decent house in the formal sector.

Most of the housing in informal settlements is developed without appropriate formal permission. This form of settlement is usually associated with insufficient urban infrastructure and issues related to land release and property rights (Keivani & Mattingly 2007; Keivani and Werna 2001). Informality is an essential part of the housing provision process in the Global South. Informality is a counter-hegemonic process with rules and values quite different to formal planning prescriptions (Miraftab, 2009; Midheme & Moulaert, 2013; Prathiwi & Moulaert 2017; Leontidou, 2014).

Abramo (2020) finds that there are established institutions in informal markets that might be considered subordinate to formal institutions but which (re)produce some (informal) commercial practices of buying, selling or renting. These institutions facilitate transactions and guarantee the robustness of inter-temporal and inter-generational contracts.

The main reason for the spread of *informal* modes of provision in the Global South is the inability of the conventional market to meet the housing needs of low-income households. When formal markets cannot respond appropriately to issues such as fast urban expansion and increasing poverty, due to the lack of sufficient investment in affordable housing, high inflation and high interest rates, the housing needs of the majority of urban dwellers are met through informal provision (Desai & Loftus 2013).

Some of the characteristics of housing systems in the Global South (and perhaps the Latin rim) that underpin and hold up informality are the parcellation of land purchased from farmers or even land-grabbing with self-building (Delladetsima, 2006). The weak public control over land development encourages self-building that customarily leads to informality[13]. Self-built, inherited from rural and pre-modern traditions, plays an important role in informality.

The necessity of self-building in housing arises from the shortcoming of a financial market that only supports people with secured formal jobs and/or higher incomes. The lack of formal financial support to people with no secured positions in the formal market is one of the main drivers of informal practices and institutions.

(d) The decisive role of the family

In many countries in the Global South, reciprocity plays a crucial role in the socio-economic integration of low-income families in obtaining resources through mutual exchange and networks. The most common networks are family, extended family, clan and even neighbors or ethnic communities (Kesteloot, 1998).

The role of the family in the provision of housing is decisive in the Global South. Due to social structures different to those in the Global North, the family is a principal social institution, it can coordinate the provision of housing to its members, mostly through organizing self-building, inter-sharing of properties among generations, improving the purchase power of young households and managing the patrimony of the family.

Home ownership is linked to particular family-related traditions in many societies in the Global South (and particularly so in informal settlements, through informal market relations). The social meaning of land/home ownership is profoundly rooted in the concept of family patrimony. The low standard, limited amenities, owner-occupied and self-built low-cost houses provide a sort of security to deprived families, particularly when income from irregular and low-paid jobs is insecure. Therefore, although the ownership might take place through informal institutional relations, the rate of home ownership is comparatively high among low-income households[14].

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[13] Payne and Majale (2004) highlight the relationship between the accessibility to proper land and security of tenure, the promotion of informal markets and the affordability of housing.

The extended family (clan) network and other informal welfare services facilitate the provision of housing to the younger generation (Putri & Moulaert, 2017). However, this kind of facilitation does not work—at least not in a decent way—for all families, particularly amongst very low-income households whose residential mobility (ability to move) is severely limited. Low mobility also means a high level of attachment to neighborhoods and paternal proximity (Forrest & Lee, 2003).

(e) The rudimentary welfare system

The welfare system in a country is an overarching structure with social housing policies as one of its pillars, be it an often wobbly one (Malpass, 2008b). In comparison with the welfare system(s) in North America and Europe, there are two reasons for which an appropriate welfare system(s), and consequently inclusive social housing policy, has not developed in the Global South.

The first reason relates to rapid urbanization in the Global South. The massive rural-urban migration occurred during the late 19th and early 20th centuries in industrialized European countries whereas in the Global South migration to cities has sped up over the last few decades. Up to the end of the Fordist period in the late 1970s, the majority of the population in those countries resided in rural areas, for example in Rwanda and Sudan (Goodfellow, 2017, 2014).

In 1976 in Iran, less than 35 percent of the population lived in cities; 25 years later, the share of the total urban population bypassed 50 percent. At the end of the 20th century, after the total population had doubled over 25 years and 70 percent of the population was urbanized, housing needs became a severe challenge (Madanipour, 1998, 2006; Khatam, 2004).

In the first half of the 20th century, countries in the Global South did not have to face the issue of housing needs as industrial countries did; rarely was the issue of social housing provision at the forefront of their agendas. Rather, in the second half of the century, many governments in the Global South recognized the importance of the housing problem in their countries; after the 1970s, many gradually established housing development agencies (Un-Habitat, 2011).

The second reason for which appropriate welfare system(s), and social housing policies therein, did not develop fully in the Global South has to do with the evolution of the labor force. Rapid urbanization in countries in the Global South during the second half of the 20th century proliferated in the context of weak industrial development. During this time, many countries in the Global South shifted their economies from being rural, agriculture-based to being urban, service-based. In contrast, there were two shifts that occurred in Europe's labor force: first there was a shift to the manufacturing sector in the early 20th century and later one toward services. In other words, immigrants in most countries in the Global South moved from the agricultural sector to the service-based sector (and not to the manufacturing sector as in the Global North). In this context, the urban labor market offered precarious unskilled jobs, usually in services and construction. Accordingly, most of the labor power that entered the urban labor market was characterized as pre-commodified and supplied outside regulated markets. As such, it was not of vital importance to invest in the reproduction and skilling of the laborers, which were already abundantly available to work in mainly unskilled jobs. This contrasts with

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[14] S. Proxenos (2002) reveals that the rate of homeownership in some developing countries (e.g. Mexico, India, and Brazil) are more than in many North-West European countries. Correspondingly, the rate of homeownership between the low-income families is comparatively more.

Industrial Europe, where the Keynesian welfare system played a crucial role in the reproduction of labor power.

According to Barlow and Duncan (1994), in this type of rudimentary welfare system, the state is rarely involved in inclusive housing provision policies. For instance, in some African and Asian countries, policies restrict unemployed people's access to welfare services (including affordable housing) while they strongly support the so-called productive members (mostly civil servants).

Defining social housing in the Global South

This section offers a definition of social housing 'made in the Global South' rather than in the Global North. In order to do so, it first deconstructs the conventional definition of social housing as it was practiced in Europe (mostly during the Fordist era); it then proposes a reformulation of social housing taking into account the distinctive characteristics of housing systems in the Global South (elaborated upon in section 3.1).

The conventional definition of social housing (based on the experience of Europe under Fordism) involves the following elements: (a) it is provided by the state or other distributive agencies (subsidy providers), (b) it includes the construction of housing (direct intervention), (c) it targets the disadvantaged whose needs cannot be met in the private housing market, and (d) it is a (semi) public good. These elements have limited relevance to social housing in a Global South context.

Firstly, the role of the state in the provision of (social) housing in the Global South is rather insignificant. Of central importance, rather, is the 'family' as a key agent/institution in housing provision for low income households. In the Global South, the state has not succeeded in meeting the housing needs of the disadvantaged, whereas the (extended) family and informal housing allocation play key roles in housing provision.

Secondly, the social housing model found in the Global North focuses on the direct implementation of social housing through construction of new dwellings, renovation of existing buildings. This contrasts with housing provision programs in the Global South which mostly have to address the informality of settlements. In these countries, interventions in housing markets consist of indirect policy interventions such as the upgrading of sites and services as well reforms of the housing funding schemes (Keivani & Werna, 2001; Charlton & Meth, 2017; Abramo, 2020).

Thirdly, the people benefitting from housing provision programs in the Global South are different from those targeted by conventional social housing policies as conducted by states in the Global North. Social housing in Europe has often aimed at housing poor working class as a means of labor power reproduction. In the Global South, in contrast, because of the 'dissimilarity of the labor market', the targeted inhabitants benefitting from social housing programs are likely to belong to privileged groups. There is substantial evidence that the 'developmentalist state' allocates social housing to privileged groups—strategic agents sustaining the state system—rather than to those in deep need of housing (Ronald & Lee, 2012).

Fourthly, the (re)distribution system in the Global South works in a rudimentary fashion. In European countries during the Fordist period, housing was a cornerstone of the welfare system. Yet, in the Global South, given the 'rudimentary welfare system' and the 'dissimilarity of the labor market', social housing in many cases has been utilized to accomplish the ambitions of the 'developmentalist state'.

There are also other facts be taken into consideration in studying social housing in the Global

South. These facts disclose the necessity of applying a diversity of social housing measures in Global South countries including massive construction of new homes, revision of funding tools, institutional regulation of informal construction and settlements, etc.

- Evidence from the Global South reveals that social housing has played a limited role in housing provision. Indeed, the share of social (public) housing in the Global South is only around 10 percent, or even lower, of the total housing stock (Keivani & Werna, 2001)[15]. This is not so different from the share of social (public) housing in the Global North. But given the greater housing gap in the Global South, the portion of the social housing sector in a housing system must be considerable if this sector is to play a decisive role. Shrinking the size of social housing to a small segment makes its viability difficult. The size of the social housing sector may differ from country to country, yet it has to be large enough in order to have an impact on market forces, i.e. it must have the ability to de-commodify part of the housing system for the benefit of deprived households.

- So far, in many countries in the Global South, short-sighted policies have dominated social housing provision. These policies in most cases fail to meet the housing needs of hundreds of millions of people who live in severely inadequate housing conditions. There should be a push to replace recent failed short-term policies with more deep-rooted and persisting ones. Social housing development programs should be integrated into a comprehensive regional, urban development plan; long-term and sustainable policies should incorporate the development of social housing.

- There is significant heterogeneity in recent approaches to social housing in Europe. A wide range of actors participate in social housing provision: public and private actors, central governments, local authorities and commoners can all be found as partners in social housing provision. This dynamizes the system and capacitates it to adapt innovatively to changing circumstances (De Decker, 2002; Moulaert *et al*., 2014). Social housing provision may indeed include other forms of (non-government) intervention in housing in the Global South as well; for instance, through policies favoring community land trusts that facilitate low-income housing provision (Midheme & Moulaert, 2013).

- To meet the unmet housing demand in the Global South, other types of housing provision services need to be taken into account alongside and synchronously to social housing provision programs. To improve housing provision for low-income families, more inclusive and pluralistic methods need to be applied. This means that the different modes of provision and their key agents in housing systems have to be identified and coordinated through integrated policies.

- In spite of existing evidence on the failure or inefficiency of the state in the Global South, it can still play a central role in the regulation of housing systems, particularly in social housing. In most parts of the Global South, the state is still the sole and most vigorous entity that can provide ‘law and order’, ‘stability of property rights’, ‘essential public goods’, ‘welfare distribution’, and the ‘correction of market’ (Khan 2004).

In sum, we argue that in order to define social housing in a particular housing system in the Global South, the following elements should be taken into account:

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[15] According to Whitehead, Scanlon and Hills (2007), the share of social rental housing in many North-West European countries, despite three decades of re-commodification, is still high. For instance, it is 35% in Netherlands, 25% in Austria, 18% in England, and 17% in France.

(a) Social housing should be an integrated part, if not the main pillar, of inclusive, long-term, comprehensive and innovative redistribution programs (to promote the status and share of social housing in the housing system).
(b) Social housing should involve state-led agency and other non-market societal forces (though the decisive role of the state and its interaction with market-oriented forces is central).

Social housing should include various methods of housing provision. Non-conventional housing provision instruments, such as alternative land division and land allocation measures, assisting self-financing, improving infrastructures and site-upgrading should gain in importance. Moreover, it is essential that these instruments are implemented through collaboration in successive planning stages.

The future of social housing in the Global South

The contemporary massive rural-urban migration[16] and the rapid rate of urbanization in many cities in the Global South that face a significant unmet housing demand (Davis, 2007), make it very complex to figure out the future of social housing.

Two ways ahead can be considered. One sees the fundamental economic differences between the different housing systems fading in the future. The globalization of the financial system will probably reinforce the financialization of the real estate and housing markets, pushing the commodification of land and housing even further. Within the global neo-liberal regime and the ways, it privileges financialization, housing will remain a less important area of welfare policy. In this scenario, social housing programs will remain limited and will benefit only privileged groups among the population (Goodfellow, 2017). As a result, it is likely that informal settlements will take an even greater place in the future. Informality or unconventional methods of housing provision will be the only option for low-income households to settle in cities or the peripheral areas.

Another scenario considers each of the countries in the Global South as a unique and singular locus of the globalized economy. How far each state will roll back the commodification of housing may vary from country to country, but social housing should be rescued from its residual role. Residualization, in this context, means that social housing then becomes a practice set aside only for the most vulnerable (Ronald & Lee, 2012).

Despite the prevailing global neo-liberal ideology that marginalizes the de-commodified social rented housing to a residual form, social housing can play a universal role[17] (Moulaert, Morlicchio & Cavola, 2007; Tutin, 2008). On that account, during the last decade in countries in the Global South there has been a vigorous interest in social housing in order to meet the growing need for housing deriving mainly from income pressure. Notwithstanding the prevailing neo-liberal policy environment, collaborative and innovative social housing schemes that are based on a well-established housing system and rooted in the indigenous social-political context, can play a decisive role in: fighting exclusion, promoting desegregated residential patterns, increasing affordability, limiting price discrepancies, ... Recent practices of *Community Land Trusts* (CLTs), *cohousing communities*, development trusts and other forms of innovative *community-led housing* (CLH), as well as the institutionalization of informal housing practices (particularly in Latin America and Africa) have divulged the robustness of this approach in the provision of housing for deprived households (Davis, Algoed &

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[16] 'In 1950, only 30 per cent of the world's population lived in urban areas, a proportion that grew to 55 per cent by 2018'. United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs (2018).

[17] Evidence reveals, for example in India and China, the success of robust national programs of large-scale affordable housing provision (Un-Habitat, 2011).

Hernández-Torrales, 2020)[18].

Studies focused on the housing sector in the Global South show that there is a revival of interest in the social housing approach. In the contemporary neoliberal context, particularly in the Global South, social housing programs still have the capability of creating social benefits and reducing other external public costs. Social housing is able to assist the restructuring of cities and promote the creation of a more productive workforce, or even to facilitate long-term economic growth (Harloe, 1994; Maclennan & More, 1997; Regan, 1999; Levy-Vroelant, 2009). Davis, Algoed and Hernández-Torrales (2020), for instance, provide us with recent cases of successful practices around the world. How this will take place in future trajectories of social housing will undoubtedly be different from country to country. But, as Scanlon *et al.* (2014) point out, social housing has proved that it can be both innovative and flexible in applying various methods of housing provision (Vaziri Zadeh, 2020).

However, fulfilling this task will likely require 'the recombination of existing agents, transformation of their identities and their associated values, norms, and interests, development of new strategic …orientations, tightening of social interaction among agents' (Moulaert, Jessop & Mehmood, 2016).

Conclusion

In this paper, we argue that housing systems in the Global South show particular features that require taking a fresh look at the conventional approach to social housing seen in European practices.

We argue that in a situation where the traditional patrimony model supports home-ownership (even if institutionalized informally), where ownership constitutes a considerable part of housing demand, but where the financial banking and monetary system cannot support 'homeownership' and the private rental sector is not sufficiently supportive, the proliferation of informal settlements is significant. When the state is not capable of promoting an inclusive supporting welfare system, because reproduction of the labor force is not of vital importance, the family has a crucial role in satisfying the housing needs of younger generations.

Given the dissimilarities between housing systems all around the world, and the fact that the Northern or European social housing approach (as defined during the golden age of Fordism in Europe) is not applicable to other countries and can at most inspire them, this paper offers a redefinition of social housing that is relevant for the Global South. It should be observed that through inclusive, long-term, and comprehensive programs, a new era for social housing is to arise in the Global South.

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[18] Bredenoord, Lindert and Smets (2014) also present successful practices from Asia (India, Pakistan, Indonesia, Sri Lanka, and China), Latin America (Mexico, Brazil, Colombia, Peru, Nicaragua, and Ecuador), and Africa (Egypt, South Africa, Nigeria, Kenya, and Ghana).

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Viewpoint

Gentrifying the Brazilian city? Convergences and divergences in urban studies[1]

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There is a growing number of processes in Brazilian cities that have been identified as gentrification. However, the classic definition of gentrification as a process of transformation of existing urban housing stocks by new homeowners with a higher socio-economic profile poses challenges to understand recent empirical data coming from Brazil and the Global South more generally. Instead of dismissing them as deviant cases, this paper challenges the Northern empirical foundations of gentrification theory and calls for a new methodological approach to both classic and new cases that take into consideration its contextualization. This new framework for gentrification research is based on necessary dimensions that identify the production of gentrifiable space as the initial condition to the process of socioeconomic change with displacement in which built-environment upgrades constitute one of its most visible feature. These dimensions are present in each and every case, bounding the concept and operationalizing research, while local mediating forces make gentrification context-specific. Therefore, urban studies on gentrification. Should understand and explore the nature of these differences, in a return to in-depth studies and empirical research, opening spaces for de-centering positions and building theory from multiple positionalities.

Keywords: Gentrification, urban theory, Global South Studies, Brazil.

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[1] This viewpoint is based on research that resulted in the PhD dissertation ‘In Search of Gentrification: The Local Meanings of Urban Upward Redevelopment in São Paulo, Brazil’ (Siqueira, 2014a) and its subsequent developments.

Introduction

Brazilian cities have been experiencing intense socioeconomic and physical transformations that challenge urban studies. While cities still carry the marks of past processes of uneven urbanization, local scholars have been framing new cases of spatial production with displacement as gentrification. However, a classic definition of gentrification – related to the transformation of existing urban housing stocks by new homeowners with a higher socio-economic profile (Glass, 1964) – poses challenges to understand recent empirical data coming from Brazil and the Global South more generally. Instead of dismissing them as deviant cases, this viewpoint challenges the Northern empirical foundations of gentrification theory and calls for a new methodological approach to both classic and new cases.

Gentrification has inspired heated debates since Glass (1964) first coined the concept as a process of residential succession and displacement in central London. Divergences emerge especially between this classic and more restrictive definition (supported by authors such as Bondi, [1999]; Glass [1989]; and Lambert & Boddy [2002]) and recent debates on a broader definition that may include rural, touristic, new-built and global gentrification (advanced in studies by Phillips [2010]; Gotham [2005]; and Hackworth & Smith [2001], among others). Considering that cities experienced a range of economic, political, sociocultural and physical transformations since the process first caught the attention of scholars, that classic definition has become less useful to understand contemporary urban processes and their variation. Therefore, this viewpoint argues in favor of the concept considering the strong political connotation associated to gentrification. However, there is indeed the need for a definition that captures its essential aspects without over-stretching the concept in order to allow substantive comparative work, including those on alternatives to resist it. The viewpoint, thus, proposes a methodology for gentrification studies that works closer to and builds theory from the diversity of cases that have been challenging its classic definition.

Since gentrification theory originated in advanced capitalist economies in the Global North, calling for contextual knowledge also means recognizing that the advance of planning in different historical moments represented the expansion of global hegemonic powers (Miraftab, 2009; Roy, 2008; Yiftachel, 2006). Indeed, Atkinson and Bridge (2005) suggest that gentrification is a new form of colonialism, considering that local waves of urban investment and consumer choices are becoming more intertwined with global processes. This paper, thus, also engages with Watson’s call for rethinking the ethics of planning in grounding its practice on local knowledge and situated values (2009). By moving among different spaces and temporalities, building contextual knowledge in gentrification theory calls for understanding both necessary and contingent dimensions of spatial production. At stake here is not the fact that gentrification is specific in Brazilian cities or in the Global South. Rather, gentrification is always specific and Brazilian cities, as well as processes within these cities, constitute just other cases alongside traditional cases in the Global North, opening spaces for de-centering positions and building theory from multiple positionalities.

Gentrification in Brazilian urban studies

Gentrification has become popular in Brazilian urban studies. The term is used in its original English form (gentrification), as a neologism (*gentrificação*), or has been translated as ‘ennoblement’ (*enobrecimento*). Despite the usage, most Brazilian urban studies do not discuss gentrification theoretically.

Brazilian studies have been mainly using gentrification theory to analyze so-called ‘revitalization’ projects of colonial downtowns and the commodification of built heritage. Such transformations are related to renovated historical structures that promote cultural or touristic districts in cities such as São Paulo, Recife and Salvador (Vargas & Castillo, 2005). However, while 'revitalization' projects may have been resulting in gentrification in the United States and Europe, in Brazil such results are disputable, especially considering that classic definition of gentrification as a process of residential succession by the transformation of existing housing stocks by new homeowners. In the Brazilian colonial downtowns, even with significant investment by public institutions, the socioeconomic residential profile of these spaces has not changed significantly. The anchor projects of museums, cultural districts and touristic facilities may promote a gentrification of consumption that is limited to specific events, times and places, without having a dramatical effect on the attraction of high-income residents (Frúgoli Jr. & Sklair, 2009; Leite 2007; Ribeiro, 2014).

Brazilian studies also address gentrification within the frame of neoliberal policies (Arantes, 2000; Leite, 2007; Vainer, 2000). Following their Northern peers, Brazilian scholars have examined similar shifts in planning and dismantling of local socioeconomic and political arrangements. Therefore, even if one recognizes that segregation and displacement have historically characterized Brazilian cities, the forms and intensity of recent processes constitute significant changes. The new strategies prioritize private interests, targeting a new image of the city to attract investments and a high-income clientele over facing the more difficult and concrete local realities. In São Paulo, the debate usually follows the Global City assumption, including the emergence of citadels or islands of development connected with international economic flows (Ferreira, 2007). Hosting recent worldwide events, such as the 2014 FIFA's Soccer Cup and the 2016 Summer Olympic Games, also had significant impacts in Brazilian cities with the violent displacement of many (Gaffney, 2015; Mesentier & Moreira, 2014). Although this literature provides important insights on the transformation of planning and urban space, it tends to generalize this structure of urban competition and entrepreneurialism without acknowledging the local forces that may intervene in this process, producing contextually specific outcomes. Therefore, these studies mention gentrification as one of the several results of neoliberal policies without exploring either its definition or the actual dimensions of gentrification in Brazilian cities.

If it is possible to make this type of criticism of recent research on gentrification in Brazil, the reality faced by scholars is one of great urban transformations sensed not only by academia, but also by the media, politicians, planners and residents. Additionally, if Brazilian cases bring into question the above-mentioned classic definition of gentrification, new empirical data coming from South Africa, India, China, other countries in Latin America, as well as Europe and North America have been posing similar challenges. It is no surprise, then, that the call for geographies of gentrification is coming also from the Global North, where not even in the same city is gentrification homogeneous (Butler & Robson, 2010; Hackworth & Smith; 2001; Lees, 2000). Therefore, it is important to explore those fundamental issues with the classic definition of gentrification to address the evolution of the process not only in the new scenarios of global gentrification, such as Brazil, but also in those original locations where gentrification was first spotted.

Divergences and convergences of gentrification

In this viewpoint, based on original research and literature review on gentrification, we intend to define gentrification as a process of upward urban redevelopment with displacement. This definition has two important methodological implications. The first refers to its character as a process, and not an end result. Gentrification is, by these terms, a series of actions that produce change, i.e., upward redevelopment with displacement. Thus, it is not possible to identify a common type or single gentrified space, since it is the process that defines the outcome, and not the other way around. The second and related methodological implication is that gentrification research should not try to find criteria to identify the final outcome (the gentrified space), but focus on aspects to analyze the process of change itself (Beauregard, 1986; Betancur, 2014; Davidson & Lees, 2005).

Given this definition, we propose an analytical framework for gentrification research based on identifying both the necessary dimensions of change and the local mediating forces. This means that there are aspects present in each and every case, bounding the concept and identifying the process. However, local structures, different temporalities, agents and contextual patterns make gentrification on the ground specific and context-dependent. On the one hand, we intend to acknowledge the situatedness of gentrification in time and place (Watson, 2016) and, on the other, we follow a cautious approach neither to overstretch nor to dilute the concept (Forrest, 2016). Thus, the framework we put forward intends to expose the common denominators for building on gentrification theory while paying attention to its diversity as an empirical phenomenon that deserves substantive, rather than formal, comparative work. These fundamental dimensions of gentrification are:

Production of gentrifiable space:

For gentrification to take place there must be a difference in capital accumulated from current uses of space and the potential profits coming from changes in its occupation. Therefore, gentrification is a process of spatial production that unlocks urban land values. In this process of creative destruction, the existing barriers for capital accumulation – the less profitable uses – are displaced (Harvey, 2007). The production of gentrifiable space was systematized first by its conceptualization as a real estate gap or the difference between actual and potential rent (Smith, 1996, 2010). However, since first criticism to urban ecology to more recent Global South studies on urban structure (Villaça, 2001), scholars have demonstrated that land markets are social creation and, thus, rent (and people) is not distributed in the same way on every city. Additionally, studies have also demonstrated difficulties of empirical analysis (Bourassa, 2010; Ley, 2010) and the lack of explanation to why gentrification usually does not happen in the location with the largest gap in a city (Beauregard, 1986; Lees et al., 2008; Ley, 2010). To guide gentrification research, thus, it seems more useful to explore the economic motivations of gentrification in terms of the different approaches to real estate values over time and space, conforming geographies of investment and disinvestment. That is why gentrification is a movement by capital and not by people, and this assumption can be used to understand cases in city cores, peripheries and suburbs in the Global North and Global South alike.

Likewise, there are different forms that capital might assume. In classic gentrification, landlords and property owners might sell or rent their properties for higher values to residents that make reforms and renovations on the existing built stock (Glass, 1964; Lees, 1994). Realizing the existing potential, though, developers also enter the process, producing units that are ‘ready’ for new residents (Mills, 2010; Zukin, 1987). Nevertheless, in both cases the residents’ motivations may not be financial capital itself, but cultural capital and social distinction in recognizing the importance of historical structures (Butler & Robson, 2010; Zukin, 2010).

In Brazil, accumulating real estate, and not immediate financial returns, might also be the motivation for a larger number of small investors. Given the political instabilities and the different economic reforms, which included the confiscation of bank accounts, there is a popular saying in Brazil that 'real estate is the best form of savings'.[2] Therefore, besides corporate investors, many Brazilian families invest in real estate to consolidate their savings and may see redevelopment areas as opportunities. Economic motivations might also materialize as reduced costs for middle or high-income families in South Africa. For instance, Lemanski (2014) found that families in higher income communities bought units in nearby public housing developments to house domestic workers and other employees. If they are not owners and do have direct discounts on monthly wages, the new residents still have a higher socioeconomic profile than the original occupants, causing direct and indirect displacement.

Upward socio-economic change with displacement:

In the conflict between current and future uses, gentrification entails population change – i.e., a group of incomers with a higher socio-economic profile. It is, thus, a class-based concept (Hamnett, 1991; Lees, 1994; Smith, 1996). Therefore, gentrification represents a transformation of households that can be identified by contextual dimensions, such as changes in income; levels of formal education; types of professions; homeownership; number of residents per unit; and race and ethnicity. Moreover, displacement can happen with increases in rents and taxes, diminishing social protections, landlord harassment, pressures to sell properties by real estate developers, and transformations in the local life that might have multiplying effects, such as feelings of political and community displacement (Forrest, 2016; Marcuse, 1986). In neoliberal contexts, gentrification projects led by large developers and the state can also result in demolitions and new constructions that promote direct displacement as well as have spillover effects on current uses with rent hikes, increases in taxes, and evictions (Davidson & Lees, 2005). Finally, diminishing social and housing programs in a context of neoliberal and competitive urbanism can increase the exclusionary effects of gentrification. It is important to notice here the impact of public policy, with State action having effects in the process on both in Global North and Global South cases (Furtado, 2014; Harris, 2008; Lees & Ley, 2008).

Nonetheless, it is necessary to emphasize that the higher level of inequality and the greater housing deficit in the Global South might result in more intense effects on local housing markets. In São Paulo, there are approximately 391,756 households in 1,730 informal communities (*favelas*) and 1,506 tenement housing arrangements (*cortiços*)[3]. In a city with historic and systemic problems with urban infrastructure, there is still a high number of arsons and violent displacements in 'hot' frontiers for capital investment. Additionally, with new competitive policies, some of the best locations in São Paulo are targeted for large urban projects. Concentrating resources and not prioritizing housing solutions, these projects can become tools to promote gentrification, displacing vulnerable households and contributing to further unequal development (Siqueira, 2014b, 2018).

Built-environment upgrades:

Gentrification entails transformations in the built environment, given the distinct socio-economic profile between previous and current users. On the one hand, there is a strong relationship between gentrification and postmodernism as the cultural logic of late capitalism, promoting new patterns of consumption (Harvey, 1989). On the other, physical space transformations are also related to the construction of a new spatial fix for capital accumulation by freeing fixed capital from less profitable uses. In classic gentrification definition, these investments mostly take the form of reform and renovations of the existing structures (Lambert & Boddy, 2002; Lees et al., 2008). However, developers and architects can capture the most visible aspects of gentrification to sell the aesthetics of gentrification (Jager, 2010; Zukin, 2010). In neoliberal gentrification, additionally, public agents and other real estate developers can promote gentrification by investments in physical structure to sell an image of attractive locations (Davidson & Lees, 2005; Hackworth & Smith; 2001).

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[2] The literal translation of the popular expression is 'real estate is the best savings' (imóvel é a melhor poupança).
[3] This data was made available by São Paulo Housing Department. Available at http://www.habitasampa.inf.br/habitacao/. Retrieved in April 22nd, 2020.

Built-environment upgrades in a country such as Brazil might be related to the systemic lack of infrastructure and the different patterns of consumption from high-income groups that are usually not interested in historic units, as previously mentioned. Rather, new buildings have been more attractive to local elites (Siqueira, 2014a). This also seems to be the case in Hong Kong where urban renewal and public action have a great importance on local gentrification cases (La Grange; Pretorius, 2014). In terms of urban structure, Harris' study of Mumbai and London found, besides the more intense effects in Mumbai, that gentrification caused the disruption and disorder of both cities' functioning and organization (2008). Gentrification 'fractured' the original urban tissue, resulting in exclusive spaces in Mumbai and London. The finding is similar to the formation of elite's citadels in Brazilian cities and the invasion of impoverished peripheries across Latin America by shopping centers and high-income gated communities (López-Morales et al., 2016).

Final considerations

In this viewpoint, we put forward a definition of gentrification as a process of upward urban redevelopment with displacement. Classic gentrification concerns the transformation of existing housing stock and the displacement of working-class groups. Globally, gentrification concerns the expansion of neoliberal policies, especially urban entrepreneurialism and new patterns of consumption. These aspects cannot be dissociated and evolve jointly. Nevertheless, these definitions have the intrinsic risk of being deterministic, exploring cases independently of the context. This is also the case of most Brazilian studies that do not acknowledge gentrification's path-dependency.

Even considering that gentrification has gone global or became the main policy of urban neoliberalism, the process has to be understood in its articulation with local patterns once they may alter it over space and time. Therefore, instead of describing its end-result, research should focus on unveiling how gentrification is operationalized and located in different contexts. This paper argues that while there are fundamental dimentions that are present in each and every case, there are also local mediating structures that makes gentrification context-specific. Research on gentrification, thus, has to explore contextual knowledge, using methodologies that dialogue with different spaces, temporalities and agents.

If the framework above is valid, studies on gentrification should understand and explore the nature of the differences between these various cases to generate ideas that can inform practice in contextual ways, including those to resist gentrification. In all necessary dimensions here proposed it is possible to identify variables to operationalize research, such as time series analysis on changes in household income and rent values, as well as strategies to fight back, once rent hikes can expose similar situations, promote dialogues and exchange of experiences. These networks of residents, activists, academics and policymakers yield a type of knowledge that illuminates not only realities similar to their own, but also those that usually contrast sharply with them, hence providing greater insight into the dynamics of gentrification and urban processes more broadly.

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